

William W. Spychalla Bruce C. Renneke
Terry E. Bryan Jimmy R. Eddlemon

IN THE COAST GUARD

The following-named Reserve officers to be permanent commissioned officers of the Coast Guard in the grade of lieutenant:

Joseph J. O'Connell
Alvin Cattalini
Louis J. Korecki

The following-named officers of the Coast Guard to be permanent commissioned warrant officers in the grade of chief warrant officer, W-4:

Charles A. L. Linder	Gordan L. Anderson
Edwin M. Smithers	William B. Muller
Raymond H. Mathison	Frank J. Miller, Jr.
Johnnie Cox	Harry S. Huggins
Keith R. McClinton	Harold L. Brackett, Jr.
Alvadore C. Grant	Isaac W. Lange
Edward L. Wyman	Patrick J. Mahon
Fred Pilatsky	Richard Dickinson
Claud W. Ashcraft	Robert C. Sachs
Frank W. Katteln, Jr.	Donald F. Bradtke
Horace Stephens	Anthony M. Mazeika
Tugg P. Heimerl	Joseph W. Carawan
Elmer Lovan	John P. Hart, Jr.
Victor E. Kindrick	John A. Keller
Wayne J. Fisher, Jr.	Clarence L. Miller
Jack Peterson	Maxie M. Berry, Jr.
Robert E. Bowlby	William M. Rickett
Edward V. Sapp	Clinton J. Tatro
Harry P. Earley	Mario J. Camuccio
Loy J. Russell	John M. Howarth
Penrose C. Dietz	Charles M. Burleson
Basil V. Burrell	Marvin C. Fields
Albert H. Tremlett, Jr.	Jack B. Meadowcroft
Joseph H. McKenna, Jr.	Artis L. Whitford
John H. Suchon	Donald J. Cleveland
John E. Cherney	Robert G. Carnilla
Francis C. Soares, Jr.	Edward L. York
William R. Benedetto	Douglas H. Derr
James J. Burley	James E. Smith, Jr.
Richard E. Simpson	Ellsworth N. Slater
Edward D. Phelps	Richard J. Kilroy
Raymond E. Aholt	Warren B. Barrett
Harlan Kaley	Mervin J. Portwood, Jr.
Alfred R. Kolar	Elwood T. Elder
Eddie Brophy	Patrick J. Flynn, Jr.
Robert H. Neuman	Dewey E. Sutton
Clifford A. Gustavson	Parker J. Pennington
Charles R. Hug	Charles D. Mills
Harold C. Harris	James K. Beebe
	William W. Cloer

The following-named officers of the Coast Guard to be permanent commissioned warrant officers in the grade of chief warrant officer, W-3:

Paul W. Bicking	Melvin J. Girardin
James M. Johnson	Max H. Hinkley
Joseph B. McCarthy	David C. Oeschger
Charles H. Studstill	Paul K. Wines
Robert D. Hedgpeth	Douglas D. Dvorak
Edward F. Magee	Charles B. Branch
Theodore J. Polgar	Paul A. Roberts
William L. McVey	Floyd L. Booren, Jr.
Raymond G. Pullen	Donald B. Erisman
Glen W. Patterson	Jack A. Lang
Frank R. Adams	George A. Rylander
Richard L. Luna	III
Daniel B. Miller	Ralph Sponar, Jr.
Kenneth H. Kester	Walter L. Adams

James C. Flowers	Warren G. Gaugh
Melvin F. Gouthro	Glendon F. Pert
John K. Jenkins	Paul J. Balzer
Edward A. McGahan, Jr.	Joseph E. De Costa
Gilbert Agullar	Taft C. Pilcher
Lionel F. Crossman	George L. Kelly
Glenn D. Cecil	Richard G. Stonehouse
Fred H. Fletcher	George W. Fenlin
James B. Gillis	Wade R. Bickel
Bemon C. Ray	Bill A. Miller
James A. Shepard	Philip W. Wiseman
William L. Wathen	David L. Dawson
Benjamin F. Kennedy	Johnnie L. Hair
Albert K. Fenne, Jr.	Theodore A. Thomas
Oliver W. Brannan	Perry A. Crosson
Boyd J. Davis	Ammon C. McDole
Michael J. Uruclintz	Charles B. McSwain
Allen R. Gulau	John G. Ryan
Belton B. Gray	Donald J. Husel
Joseph E. Correa	James K. Easter
James E. Jordan	Charles T. Pettitt
Chester S. McCreary	Raymond Boyce
Joseph F. Croghan	David B. Triggs, Jr.
Grady S. Hardison	Glenn F. Peterson
Lenwood M. Quidley	Walter C. Parker
Carl W. Vetzal	Melvin Long
Donald R. Boyd	Robert C. Lewetson
James D. Doherty	Jack Lee
John McCracken	James A. Knicky
Robert A. Shell	Gale B. Feick
Edward Baker, Jr.	John C. Merino
James W. Amos	Joseph E. Tamalonis
George R. Rump	Loomis P. Gibson
James B. Boyd, Jr.	David "D" Austin
Edward G. Mackey	Robert B. Lynn
Charles O. Poellinger	Randol E. Jennings
William Aliff	Paul F. Drumgoole
William A. Cobb	Richard A. Kirkman
Arnold P. Ziemian	Russell E. Grose
William A. Strickland	William D. Randall
Paul H. Cogswell	Donald D. Smith
Jack H. Starr	John R. English
Donald E. Schwarz	Robert J. Ward, Jr.
Randolph O. Grady	Matthew J. McCool
Wayne L. Terpstra	William Race
William R. McVey	Philip B. Arnold
Eugene W. Jeter, Jr.	

The following-named officers of the Coast Guard to be permanent commissioned warrant officers in the grade of chief warrant officer, W-2:

Russell Pouncy	Horace C. Webb
Robert W. Baine	Casmir Malinovsky
Charles H. McLean III	Neil J. Dodge
John S. Feagan	Clarence L. Warmack
George H. Rucker, Jr.	Robert C. Rescola
Edmund Katz	Frank W. Meligan
Clair H. Upton	Robert C. Collins
Earl E. Smith	Lonnie "K" Johnson
Joseph B. Binica	Freddie F. Hooten, Jr.
Burl E. Mann	Rodney L. Harter
Ernest L. R. Johnson	Thomas A. Bozeman
Ronald W. Syren	Joseph Slotwinski, Jr.
John J. Ogurkis	Everette H. Hoins
Clarence T. Hayes	Richard B. Petersen
Giles "M" Vanderhoof	Maurice D. Platter
Dick "L" McPherson	Louis J. Jensen
Lyn E. Nicholson	Victor G. Lane
Robert W. Jackson	Clarence M. Pope
George M. Miley	Harold T. Cogburn
Jack W. Gildersleeve	Frank W. Slaney
Robert C. Kunst	William G. Parr

Augusta L. Duncan	Robert E. Behrens
Kenneth A. Parking	Amos R. Daniels
Frank W. Thompson	Francis A. France
Worth H. Hopkins	William T. Burnette, Jr.
Edward L. Goodrich	Raymond A. Hughes, Sr.
James L. Dorsey	Carroll H. Holst, Jr.
Ralph L. Cote	Richard T. Lyon
Thomas E. Stringer, Jr.	Raymond J. Duplin
Anthony J. Magillone	Robert B. Jordan
Walter G. Sears	Harold D. Lineweber
Dalton M. Sheppard	Rex F. Wall
David R. Cheyne	Robert J. Jones
Robert L. Saunders, Jr.	Thomas J. Bobrowski
Clyde R. Hutton	Floyd C. Greenfield
Manual C. Chitwood	William J. Perkins, Jr.
Donald T. Nelson	Kenneth J. Harker
Michael J. O'Donnell	James V. Shilley
Clarence L. Moulton	Kilby T. Guthrie
Toshio Mitsunaga	Robert O. Backlin
Donald E. Darnauer	Gary P. Day
Paul R. McKenna	Richard T. Shannon
Robert G. Sinclair	Edward T. Kassick
Lawrence H. Borells	David M. Donaldson
Artis Copeland	Lee R. Oliver
Charles R. Martin	David M. Peake
Eugene E. Oleson	David L. Heinecke
Russell V. Gilbert	William M. Crumrine
Nicholas L. Galash	Donald D. Olson
John H. Edwards	Austin J. Hudson
John R. Arnold	Thomas C. Calderwood
Alexander J. Kujasky	Dennis E. Coughlin
Edgar B. Mason	Samuel L. Clark
Seben Griffin, Jr.	Ernest D. McLawhorn
Harland D. Speer	Foy A. Stewig
Milford L. Jonas	Laurence J. Murphy, Jr.
Jesse A. Moffett	Alvin W. Sumner
Lynn C. Oliver	William N. Rohrer
Leon R. Cisek	Marvin E. Wilmoth
Harvey R. Brown	Walter C. Parker
Malcolm I. Simmons	Rohlin D. Anderson
Lennis L. Getchell	James M. Johnson
William F. Collier	
John R. Manyon	

DIPLOMATIC SERVICE AND FOREIGN SERVICE

William H. Crook, of Texas, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Australia.

Robert F. Wagner, of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Spain, vice Frank E. McKinney.

IN THE NAVY

Having designated Vice Adm. Waldemar F. A. Wendt, U.S. Navy, for commands and other duties determined by the President to be within the contemplation of title 10, United States Code, section 5231, I nominate him for appointment to the grade of admiral while so serving.

WITHDRAWAL

Executive nomination withdrawn from the Senate May 27, 1968:

POSTMASTER

The nomination sent to the Senate on May 16, 1968, of Noah C. Adkins to be postmaster at Jackson in the State of Kentucky.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

FORD R. MORROW: DEDICATED
WEST VIRGINIAN

HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, July 1 marks the date of retirement of a man who has done much for

West Virginia: Ford R. Morrow, eastern regional public affairs manager for Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp.

Ford Morrow has done wonders for the industrial development of Ravenswood and the mid-Ohio Valley. He was among those chiefly responsible for Kaiser's decision to locate near Ravenswood the company's major Eastern rolling mill which now has 3,400 on the payroll. Ford Morrow was instrumental in persuading

other industries to locate near Kaiser's Ravenswood Works.

July 1 is a sad day but also a glad day for those of us fortunate enough to know Ford Morrow. It is a sad day because of his retirement. It is a glad day because he and his lovely wife, Fran, have decided to make Ravenswood their home.

Under unanimous consent I include in the RECORD an article and an editorial from the Ravenswood News on Ford Morrow's retirement. The Ravens-

wood News is edited by Phil Fourney who has a firsthand knowledge of Ford Morrow's accomplishment.

I only wish West Virginia had a few more Fords in its future.

The article follows:

FORD MORROW RETIRES—TO REMAIN IN RAVENSWOOD

Ford R. Morrow, eastern regional public affairs manager for Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corporation, will retire effective July 1, according to R. A. Sandberg, Kaiser's Vice President for advertising and public affairs.

Based at Kaiser's Ravenswood Works since his current assignment began in December, 1964, Morrow plans to maintain his residence in Ravenswood after retirement.

Morrow's 18 year association with Kaiser began in 1950, when, as a plant location consultant, he worked on site selection for Kaiser's Chalmette Reduction Plant in New Orleans. Following that assignment, he joined the company as Construction Coordinator for the Chalmette Plant and later became Kaiser's Public Relations Manager for the Southern Region.

In 1954, Morrow was assigned to site selection for Kaiser's major eastern aluminum rolling mill. His work was a major factor in Kaiser's decision to construct the Ravenswood Works—largest fully integrated aluminum plant in the world.

From the time Kaiser announced plans to construct the Ravenswood facility in 1955, to his return to Ravenswood in December of 1964, Morrow has served the Kaiser corporate family in a number of capacities, including public relations, executive sales and international operations.

A native of Wellston, Ohio, Morrow had a varied and extensive industrial background prior to associating with Kaiser. From 1928 to 1946, he served as vice president and general manager of Morrow Manufacturing Company in Wellston. The firm manufactured coal mining equipment.

From 1946, he served as vice president and general manager of a new firm, Buckeye Furnace Mining Company, also in Wellston.

From 1940 to 1950, Morrow also served as a plant location consultant for several Ohio River Valley industries, including American Electric Power Company, Vanadium Corporation, Peabody Coal Company and the Truax Traer Coal Company. He was instrumental in locating the Philip Sporn Plant for AEP and the Vanadium Plant near New Haven.

Morrow is presently Chairman of the Facilities, Staff, and Services Group of the Citizens Advisory Committee on the West Virginia Legislature; he is a member of the Governor's Comprehensive Education Committee and a member of the State Advisory Council of Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Morrow also serves on the Board of Directors of the West Virginia Manufacturing Association and represents industry on the Board of the West Virginia Chamber of Commerce.

Educated in the Wellston public schools, Staunton Military Academy, and Ohio State University, Morrow is married to the former Frances Motz of Jackson, Ohio. Their daughters, Barbara (Mrs. Eugene Garber) and Jeanne (Mrs. William S. Porter), reside in Iowa City, Iowa, and Honolulu, Hawaii.

MORROW'S SERVICE HAS BENEFITED US

It is with deep regret that we announce the retirement of Ford Morrow from Kaiser Aluminum in today's News. His retirement becomes official July 1, but Ford will be traveling during the month of June, so his official duties here will cease within the next week.

We are hopeful he and Fran will continue to make their home in Ravenswood, and that we can continue to draw upon him for his leadership and counsel as we've done in the past.

Ford Morrow is more than an employee retiring after years of faithful service to his company. He, more than any other individual, is responsible for the Ravenswood of today . . . and of tomorrow. He is responsible, in large part, for much of the development of the state. For it was Morrow who pushed Ravenswood as the site of Kaiser's plant here in the 1950's. And because of Kaiser, the town has experienced a new being, a future which would not have been possible without an industry such as the one we have.

Further, Morrow's service on state boards and commissions has resulted in development of the Mountain State in ways he'll never receive credit for.

We truly are sorry to see Ford Morrow retire. We will miss him, and the community will suffer at his loss. Our consolation, however, is that we can induce him to remain active in community affairs.

A DRIVE FOR A COMMON GOAL

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, the creative efforts of one of our young soldiers in Vietnam has been brought to my attention, and I would like to share it with Senators.

Dwight A. Holden, a second lieutenant in the 101st Airborne Division, wrote this poem after being in South Vietnam only a few months. He included it in a letter to his parents, Mr. and Mrs. A. F. Holden of Milford, Mich.

I ask unanimous consent that Lieutenant Holden's poem be printed in the Extensions of Remarks. To my knowledge, it has no title, so I suggest a line from the poem, "A Drive for a Common Goal."

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

A DRIVE FOR A COMMON GOAL

In the mountains, jungle and rice paddy plains

Hot, sweaty and sometimes in pain
Long patrols, hunting, searching to destroy
the enemy—its goal.

The birth of gentle fear.

Cautious and alert, a cause to fight

A belief in freedom and right
Not knowing all the facts your thoughts
wander, ponder

But your job goes on.

Back at home, people cry and wonder
why . . .

Say all we do is wrong
Not because they know the reason why.

Just because they're afraid to die

They have no faith in our country and hide
their minds in clouds of drugs.

They have lost their ability to judge.

The worst yet are those who know the
reason why

And then stand still and let us die
Instead of unity and forward drive,

They stay divided and each tell their lies—
Their only goal themselves . . .

And now to those who know and care
To those who do not know and care

Come together—drive for a common goal
And whether right or wrong, support our
country and our destiny.

DWIGHT ARTEMAS HOLDEN,

Second Lieutenant, 101st Airborne Artillery.

VIETNAM, April 9, 1968.

REVIEW OF 1967 EDITION OF YEAR-BOOK OF AGRICULTURE

HON. WALTER F. MONDALE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, all Members of Congress have had an opportunity to examine the 1967 edition of the annual Yearbook of Agriculture. I believe most would agree that this edition, entitled "Outdoors U.S.A.," is among the most beautiful and informative documents in the series.

Last year I invited the attention of Senators to a review of the 1966 annual prepared by Dr. Francis Joseph Weiss, a distinguished science specialist in the Library of Congress. Dr. Weiss has now reviewed the 1967 annual for the April 1968 edition of BioScience. I ask unanimous consent that the entire review be printed in the RECORD.

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

CONSERVATION IN USDA

(By Joseph Weiss, Science Specialist, Library of Congress)

Outdoors USA—The 1967 Yearbook of Agriculture, edited by Jack Hayes, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Office of Information, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 408 p., illus., \$2.75.

It is no exaggeration to state that this is the most beautiful Yearbook the Department of Agriculture has ever published, a delight for the layman to look at and to read. It is an inspiration for every biologist as it connects his own field of specialization with the great problems of today, and the esthetics and philosophy of nature. It reveals the fundamental role which the elucidation of life's secrets play in our endeavors to create healthier and happier environments for all our people and how much more research is needed to preserve them for future generations.

As Secretary Freeman aptly observes in his Foreword, the perplexing problems of today are primarily the result of extremely uneven population distribution. "Every year 3 million Americans squeeze into our already jam-packed cities. Today, 140 million people—or 7 in every 10 Americans—are crowded into just 1% of our land. But rural America has breathing space—room for people to live, to work, to enjoy recreation, to be part of the land." While urban slums, traffic congestions, air and water pollution cause very unhealthy living conditions, through development and conservation of our natural resources rural areas can become ideal sites for communities of tomorrow, where urban blight and social tension are unknown.

While the uninitiated are inclined to identify the activities of the Department of Agriculture with the promotion of farming and forestry and the regulation of our supply of food and fiber, this Yearbook shows how much larger the scope of the Department is. Half of its staff works on some aspect of conservation which encompasses the full sweep of interrelated natural resources and their management. As a conservation document it falls into four natural divisions: The Big Woods (forests and mountains), Water, Beautification, and the Countryside. It tells, for instance, about the fight against soil erosion by planting the sand-stilling European beachgrass (*Ammophila arenaria*). It contains information about securing an adequate supply of pure water by protecting watersheds, elimination of water pollution, and destruction of submerged waterweeds

and undesirable microscopic algae that thrive on the nutrients of sewerage and industrial effluents and obstruct the movement of good quality water. However, many aquatic algae perform essential functions in purifying water and providing nutrients for fish. It will require all the ingenuity of the biochemists and plant physiologists to find methods by which the undesirable aquatic flora can be eliminated without destruction of the biotic balance of living waters which is not possible without aquatic plant growth. No less serious are the problems of air pollution which seriously affect not only the agricultural productivity but also the health of the polluted area's residents. Here the fight is carried out on an interdepartmental basis.

An important field of activity for the biologists in the preservation of our natural resources consists in creating healthy conditions for the growth and development of desirable wild and cultivated plants and animals. Intensive pest control carried out by bacteriologists and entomologists is essential in eradicating plant and animal diseases, producing better crop yields, and creating sounder environmental conditions. On the other hand, intensive study of insect behavior has allowed entomologists to recommend the use of certain insects as weed killers and for the destruction of harmful insects.

A review of this remarkable Yearbook would be incomplete without saying a word about the preservation and enhancement of the natural splendor of the American landscape to which many thoughtful contributions are devoted. A countryside of well-kept farms, grass-covered rolling fields, tree-covered hillsides, and majestic mountain forests is indeed a sight to lift up the heart of every nature-loving American. But even the smallest object of nature's creation—a bird, a flower, a unicellular alga—may be considered from the viewpoint of esthetic as well as of morphological perfection. The Editor and the numerous photographers who contributed to the Yearbook should be complimented for their ability to capture this beauty in many photographs of brilliant impression, reproduced in radiant natural colors or in black and white, that bring out characteristic details with extraordinary similitude.

The biologist who sometimes may feel a sense of frustration by following a narrow path that leads him ever deeper into the secrets of life or the biology student who falls to see the wood for the trees should read the book. It will help to overcome one-sidedness. However, it is good reading material for every biologist whatever his speciality.

LT. THOMAS W. FOY

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

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

LT. T. W. FOY, IN VIETNAM ACTION

A 23-year-old Army career officer from Baltimore has been killed in action in South Vietnam, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

He was 1st Lt. Thomas Walter Foy, son

of Mrs. Frederick C. Grueninger and the late Walter Foy.

CITADEL GRADUATE

Lieutenant Foy, a native of Baltimore, attended McDonogh School and was a graduate of The Citadel, in Charleston, S.C.

He went to Fort Benning, Ga., directly from school and trained with the airborne infantry.

He was transferred to Fort Bragg, N.C., and shipped out April 13 with the 173d Airborne Infantry Brigade, arriving in South Vietnam April 15, according to his wife, Mrs. Peggy S. Foy.

Mrs. Foy, who is living with her mother at 6034 Moorehead road, said she was notified that her husband had been killed May 15 at Bong Son. Death was attributed to shrapnel wounds.

Mrs. Foy said she had received a letter three days ago in which he wrote that he was soon to be promoted to captain.

She said that his letters were always cheerful and that he was a dedicated military man. Lieutenant and Mrs. Foy were married in June, 1966, in Charleston, after his graduation.

Besides his wife, Lieutenant Foy is survived by a sister, Miss Susan Grueninger, and Mrs. Amelia Cialkowski, his paternal grandmother, both of Baltimore.

ONEONTA, ALA., GIRL HONORED BY MARINES

HON. TOM BEVILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, a young Marine from my congressional district, Pfc. Elizabeth M. Hall, who joined the Marine Corps in March, has been named the outstanding graduate in a class of 60 lady marine recruits training at Parris Island, S.C.

Patriotism was Miss Hall's strongest motivation for joining the armed services. Her efforts and achievements are certainly to be commended. I congratulate Miss Hall on her determination to do her part for our Nation, and insert in the Extensions of Remarks of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a recent newspaper article from the Birmingham News, which tells the story of Pfc. Hall's service to her country, as follows:

ONEONTA GIRL IS HONORED BY MARINES

ONEONTA.—A 20-year-old Oneonta girl has scored a hit with the Marines.

Pfc. Elizabeth M. Hall, who joined the U.S. Marine Corps in March, has been named the outstanding graduate in a class of 60 lady Marine recruits training at Parris Island, S.C.

For her achievement, Miss Hall received the Leatherneck Award, which carried with it a meritorious promotion from the rank of private to that of private first class.

A graduate of Susan Moore High School in Blount County, Miss Hall attended Auburn University for one year. Her parents, Mr. and Mrs. M. E. Hall, are both teachers at Susan Moore High.

Patriotism was her biggest motivation for joining the armed services, said the pretty Marine. "If people expect America to stay free, they're going to have to do more about it than just sit around and complain," she said.

NAVY CROSS AWARDED POSTHUMOUSLY TO TEXAN

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I was the first person to point out both from a factual and statistical standpoint as well as generally, the tremendous and heroic contributions on the part of that group of Americans known as Americans of Mexican descent in the struggle for the freedom and for the defense of our country.

I have pointed out time and time again that in World War II, it was from this group from the State of Texas that came the greatest number of Congressional Medal of Honor winners. The first man to fall in Korea from Texas was from this group. They served in great numbers during Korea, in fact, out of proportion to the relative size and population and though we have heard of prisoners of war languishing in Communist camps and being brainwashed and becoming turncoats, to the credit of this group there has never been recorded a turncoat of Mexican descent.

I was the first to point out during the present Vietnam war that tremendous and heroic contributions have been made by this same group. I pointed out last year the statistics revealing the heroism and the service of our soldiers emanating from this particular part of our society. Today, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress the heroic story of one of these brave men who fell in battle in the most noble and epic tradition of these Americans, HC3c. Armando G. Leal, Jr.

I include a Navy citation and news item, as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, Washington.

The President of the United States takes pride in presenting the Navy Cross posthumously to Armando G. Leal, Jr., Hospital Corpsman Third Class, United States Navy, for service as set forth in the following citation:

For extraordinary heroism on 4 September 1967 while serving as a corpsman with the 2nd Platoon, Company "M", 3rd Battalion, 5th Marines, 1st Marine Division (Rein), FMF, in connection with operations against enemy aggressor forces in the Republic of Vietnam. During Operation SWIFT, the 2nd Platoon was providing security for the Battalion Command Group when the platoon came under heavy enemy fire. Petty Officer (then Hospitalman) Leal ran through the fire-swept area, and began administering first aid to several casualties who were directly exposed to grazing fire. Although constantly exposed to heavy fire, and painfully wounded himself, he rendered aid for two hours to wounded Marines who were located between friendly and enemy lines. He refused to be evacuated in order that he might continue his mission of mercy. While treating his comrades and moving them to protected areas, Petty Officer Leal was severely wounded for a second time and, despite being immobilized, calmly continued to aid his wounded comrades. A Marine tried to drag him to a covered position, but was shot in the hand and, at that time, Petty Officer Leal received a third wound. Petty Officer Leal pushed the Marine and told him to take cover from the assaulting enemy whom they

both could see. Suddenly a North Vietnamese soldier fired a machine gun from close range, mortally wounding Petty Officer Leal. Through his swift actions and professional skill, in aiding and protecting the wounded, he significantly eased the suffering and undoubtedly saved the lives of several of his comrades. His exceptional courage and unfaltering dedication to duty in the face of great personal risk were in keeping with the highest traditions of the United States Naval Service.

PAUL R. IGNATIUS,
Secretary of the Navy
(For the President).

PARENTS WILL GET MEDAL FOR HERO

The Navy's highest honor will be presented posthumously Tuesday to Hospitalman Armando Leal Jr., 20 of San Antonio, who was killed in Vietnam last September.

The young man's father, Armando Leal, will receive the Navy Cross medal at 1 p.m. in ceremonies at the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps Training Center, 311 E. Arsenal St.

Leal Sr., a Kelly AFB employe, volunteered for an assignment so he could be near his son. He arrived in Vietnam a day after the son had been killed during a heroic performance of duty.

The citation, in the name of the President of the United States, credits Leal with "extraordinary heroism" by exposing himself to heavy enemy fire for two hours while administering first aid to Marine casualties trapped between friendly and enemy lines.

The Navy says he was painfully wounded, but "refused to be evacuated in order that he might continue his mission of mercy."

According to the military, Leal was badly wounded while moving Marines to a protected area. He was wounded a second time and, despite being immobilized, he calmly continued to "aid his wounded comrades."

Leal was wounded a third time, the citation says, but continued his ministrations until he was dropped in his tracks by a burst of machinegun fire.

The citation concludes: "Through his swift actions and professional skill in aiding and protecting the wounded, he significantly eased the suffering and undoubtedly saved the lives of several of his comrades. His exceptional courage and unfaltering dedication to duty in the face of personal risk were in keeping with the highest traditions of the United States Naval Service."

A Harlandale High School graduate, Leal was serving with the First Marine Division when he was killed during Operation Swift at Loc Quang Tin.

His father, a veteran SAAMA employe at Kelly, had volunteered for assignment to a Rapid Area Supply Support team bound for Da Nang Air Base.

The young man's mother also will be on hand to receive the posthumous award.

REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS

HON. MARK ANDREWS

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, it is my custom to send a monthly report to my constituents in North Dakota. Under unanimous consent I insert the following report in the RECORD at this time:

Whatever thoughts or opinions you may have with reference to their leaders, their actions or their motives, the thousands of people camped by the Lincoln Memorial in Washington serve as dramatic reminders that there is poverty and hunger in our nation.

It isn't just reserved for those who flaunt their deprivation like some kind of badge of honor, nor is it just found in big-city ghettos and the backwoods of the rural South. Underfed, unemployed and ill-housed people exist throughout the United States and theirs is a national problem which must be the concern of us all.

Poverty isn't new to the U.S., of course, nor are government attempts to alleviate it. Since 1960, tax money to aid the poor has tripled (see chart) and many people feel the only way to solve the problem is to spend even more money. Completely overlooked have been two key questions that should be asked of every Federal program: How well have they been planned and administered? How responsive have they been to the needs of individuals?

FEDERAL AID TO THE POOR¹

(Fiscal years. In billions)

Category	1960 actual	1963 actual	1967 actual	1968 estimate	1969 estimate
Education.....	\$0.1	\$0.1	\$2.0	\$2.3	\$2.5
Work and training..	(?)	(?)	1.0	1.2	1.6
Health.....	.6	.9	3.2	4.1	4.7
Cash benefit payments.....	8.3	10.4	12.8	14.6	15.9
Other social welfare and economic services.....	.5	1.0	2.0	2.4	2.9
Total.....	9.5	12.5	21.1	24.6	27.7

¹ Figures represent new obligatory authority for Federal funds and expenditures in the case of trust funds.
² Less than \$50,000,000.

The answers to these questions today is the shanty-town by the Lincoln Memorial as it represents the disillusionment and despair shared by all of America's hungry and poor. It is a massive indictment of the Administration's programs which, though costing far more money than ever before in our nation's history, have failed to come close to the goal.

Recognizing this, a number of my colleagues and I joined in introducing legislation to establish a Commission on Hunger whose duty it will be to determine why it is all of the Federal food programs in effect today have failed to effectively erase hunger from our midst. Rep. Carl Perkins (D-Ky), who joined with us in sponsoring this bill, is Chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, and he has already started hearings on it.

I also believe Congress should enact—at the earliest possible date—a system of tax sharing, to return to the states a fixed percentage of taxes collected. Funds from this source could be used to lighten the load of local taxation, an ever increasing burden, and to revitalize programs in education and health as well as welfare at the local level. This is the approach in a bill I introduced early in this Congress to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. It provides for returning tax funds from the Federal Government to the State and local governments with control remaining at the local level. My amendment has been widely endorsed by North Dakota school officials, and the approach has the support of the Council of Chief State School Officers and the National PTA.

Our nation does have the assets with which to work. Federal income in fiscal 1960 was about \$90 billion. In fiscal 1969, it will be nearly \$178 billion. Thus, we have \$88 billion more to invest in building a greater and stronger nation responsive to the needs of all our people. Those who say that all of our deficit problems are caused by the war in Vietnam do not recognize that during the last two years, two-thirds of our budget increases have gone for domestic programs and only one-third for military.

Thus, the opportunity does exist to accomplish far more without raising taxes— if only we invest the Federal income more wisely and prudently.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

HON. JOHN G. TOWER

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the Republican coordinating committee task force on national security has published this week a most comprehensive and thoughtful review of our Nation's problems in the vital field of defense research and development. As a member of the task force, I am particularly concerned that all interested Senators and other Americans have available for their review a text of this document, entitled "Research and Development: Our Neglected Weapon."

I, and many others, believe the Nation must do better than we are now in this field to insure our safety and strength for the future.

I therefore ask unanimous consent that the task force report, certain supporting tables, footnotes, and appendixes, and a list of the members of the task force on national security be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE'S TASK FORCE ON NATIONAL SECURITY

Nell H. McElroy, Co-Chairman, Secretary of Defense, 1957-1959.

Thomas S. Gates, Jr., Co-Chairman, Secretary of Defense, 1959-1961.

Wilfred J. McNeil, Vice Chairman, Assistant Secretary of Defense and Comptroller, 1949-1959.

E. Perkins McGuire, Vice Chairman, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Supply and Logistics, 1956-1961.

Dewey F. Bartlett, Governor of the State of Oklahoma.

William H. Bates, Member of Congress from Massachusetts.

Arliegh A. Burke, Chief of U.S. Naval Operations, 1955-1961.

George H. Decker, Chief of Staff, United States Army, 1960-1962.

James H. Douglas, Jr., Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1959-1961.

Harry D. Felt, Commander in Chief in Pacific, 1958-1964.

T. Keith Glennan, Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 1958-1961.

Alfred M. Gruenther, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, 1953-1956.

Craig Hosmer, Member of Congress from California.

William E. Minshall, Member of Congress from Ohio.

James B. Pearson, United States Senator from Kansas.

Arthur W. Radford, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1953-1957.

Bernard A. Schriever, Commander, Air Force Systems Command, 1961-1966.

Mansfield D. Sprague, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1957-1958.

Nathan W. Twining, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1957-1960.

John G. Tower, United States Senator from Texas.

EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS

Robert C. Hill, United States Ambassador to Mexico, 1957-1961.

Maurice H. Stans, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, 1958-1961.

Anthony J. Jurich, Secretary to the Task Force.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT: OUR NEGLECTED WEAPON

"It is customary in democratic countries to deplore expenditures on armaments as conflicting with the requirements of the social services. There is a tendency to forget that the most important social service that a government can do for its people is to keep them alive and free."

—Air Chief Marshal Sir JOHN SLESSOR.

INTRODUCTION

Peace with freedom is our nation's goal. Strength and determination are the keys but technological superiority is indispensable to our continued strength.

Only through technological superiority can our nation excel in discovering and developing advanced weapon systems. With the will to maintain military superiority, our nation can expect to deter war or defeat an aggressor should deterrence fail.

By 1961 the United States has stayed at peace for eight years through weapon superiority and skillful use of diplomacy and military power. The weapon superiority was achieved through aggressive scientific and technological research and development.

Present defense policies are depriving America of this critical superiority. There is wishful thinking about our present and future security.

Fearful lest new developments might provoke undesirable Soviet reactions, the Administration thus failed to exploit boldly new concepts in science and technology. There has been a euphoric hope that the world's pace of military science and technology can somehow be slowed—that man's inquisitiveness and ingenuity can be diverted or curbed.¹ As a result our country's research and development has not been aggressively pursued and the consequence has been a slowdown in new weapons development. Decisions so premised seriously endanger the nation.

A major technological breakthrough can decisively tilt the balance of power. Lead time—the time required to advance a new weapons system from concept to production and use is now five to 10 to as much as 15 years. Because of this long lead time—because, also, each scientific breakthrough feeds and spurs other discoveries—the nation that falls behind the weapons system cycle will likely have neither the time nor the capability to catch up.

The outcome of a future major war will probably be determined in scientific research laboratories and factories long before hostilities start. Never again can any major nation reasonably expect to prepare and catch up after war has begun. The technological war is being actively waged today and tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. On its outcome will hinge the survival of our nation and the free world.²

RECOMMENDED U.S. OBJECTIVES

The United States Government should proclaim America's military scientific and technological objectives firmly and clearly. At the minimum, these objectives should include:

Retention of a dominant deterrent posture.

An aggressive research and development effort to ensure technological superiority.

Technological leadership in weapons systems for both general and limited war.

To achieve these objectives, the United States must pursue preeminence in all sci-

entific disciplines. This nation cannot content itself with stalemate or parity.

PRESENT POLICIES

During the past few years our national security policies and programs have fallen critically short of these objectives. There has been a lack of effort to achieve and maintain technological superiority. There has been a failure to acquire and deploy new systems on a timely basis. We imperatively require new weapons—weapons which will maintain for America in the 1970's the military superiority we have enjoyed in the 1960's as a result of vigorous research, development and procurement in the 1950's. (See appendix I.)

Neither Congress nor the public were consulted about, or informed of, the portentous shift made in recent years of the direction of our research and defense policies. Until the 1960's we sought clear-cut American superiority. In contrast current policies appear to accept, if not to seek parity with the USSR.

The Administration's approach has been passive—a sterile, inadequate "reaction."³ New developments have received emphasis only when justified as responses to visible new threats. Yet, new enemy threats can be secretly in development for five or six years before they are detected. (See appendix II.) In any area, therefore, we can fall years behind if our advances in the same area are contingent on the known progress of other nations.

For seven years the Administration has concentrated on reducing the risk and expense in new weapons procurement. It has required the military services to show that all necessary technology is "in hand" as a prerequisite for approving new programs.⁴ The goal of budget saving has been laudable, but the net effect produces second-best, obsolescent systems compared to those of countries willing to press technology forward throughout the development cycle. If all technology must be in hand six months to a year before contract, and five or more years must elapse between contract and delivery, subsequent technological advances can be incorporated in the final systems only as retrofits. Systems so developed are likely to be obsolescent before they reach the field. However, even with "technology in hand" there have been proposed new systems that have been denied.

The Administration further demands excessive assurance of a clear-cut military requirement⁵ before proceeding with the research and development of a new weapons system.

In years past, intelligence estimates permitted responsible planning three to five years ahead, by identifying new threats, then establishing requirements for countering systems in time to cope with the conditions. Today the operating commanders cannot forecast requirements with assurance because the intelligence visibility cannot project far enough. They are, therefore, unable to establish the concrete requirements demanded by current policy. The policy is directly at odds with the realities of modern science and technology.

Implicit in today's policy and procedural impediments are conceptual barriers to the pursuit of aggressive research and development.

People powerfully situated in this Administration have believed that for the foreseeable future the United States and the Soviet Union will be at a standoff in advanced military technology and little can be done to alter this balance. The political derivative of this concept has been that the standoff, or stalemate, enhances world stability and improves the prospect for peace. The military derivative has been that, under an umbrella of technological standoff, future conflicts will be confined to low orders of intensity.

It is claimed by some that we have reached a technological "plateau."⁶ The contention is that further improvements can contribute only marginally to our military strength and are likely to disturb the international equilibrium, increase tensions, and thereby increase the likelihood of war.

There is increasing concern in the scientific, industrial and military communities that these policies and concepts will cause us to fall critically behind.⁷

In February this year the Director of Research and Engineering for the Department of Defense testified that since 1964 the overall research and technological effort has decreased by a "critical" 30 percent. He concluded, "I have become convinced that the net effect of continuing this trend will be a serious weakening of our long term national security position."⁸

The trend has been made even more disturbing by—

Unwise application of cost effectiveness⁹ (see appendix III);

Misuse of the "building block" approach to research and development;

Current budgetary practices (see appendix IV);

Administrative impediments flowing from overcentralization and over-regulation in the Department of Defense;¹⁰

The stifling of creativity;¹¹

Faulty application of arms control concepts;¹² and

A lack of leadership and purpose necessary to create a climate of understanding and participation by the academic community.

THE SHIFTING BALANCE

So restrained and inhibited, the United States has been gradually losing its technological and military preeminence. Meanwhile, the Soviets have unrelentingly pursued superiority. (See appendix V.)

The Administration acknowledges that the Soviets are increasing both the quantity and quality of their ICBM and submarine forces. For the first time the Soviets are deploying large naval forces in the Mediterranean. They have already built and deployed an ABM system. They admit to developing and testing an Orbital Bombardment System. They are known to be building at least three new fighter aircraft systems, a supersonic transport, and a VSTOL system (Vertical Short Takeoff and Landing Aircraft). Their tactical forces are being equipped with new IRBM's (SCAMP), and their surface fleet has a new class of surface-to-surface missiles. Their submarine missile forces are being augmented and modernized with new boats and second generation missiles. There is every reason to believe that they are still building and stockpiling very high yield nuclear weapons, 20 to 50 megatons or more, while testing underground new families of small and lower yield tactical and naval nuclear weapons.

In another arena of potential conflict the Soviets are also making great strides. Their nuclear submarine fleet is overtaking ours in quality and quantity. While our own development and construction of advanced nuclear submarines have been impeded by top level vacillation, Russia's newest vessels are running deeper, faster and quieter than previously, according to recent testimony given to the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee by Vice Admiral Hyman Rickover and Rear Admiral Eugene B. Fluckey. In another naval development the Soviets are constructing aircraft carriers for helicopters and short-take-off aircraft designed to assist their expanding sphere of influence.

In research and development we must assume the Soviets are working on multiple warheads (MIRV). This is a serious threat, since their ICBM boosters can carry much greater payloads than ours, thus out-matching the Administration MIRV programs in quantity or yield or both. They are already recognized leaders in cybernetics, and seek to

Footnotes at end of article.

surpass the United States in other technologies such as laser, hypersonic propulsion, biological research, and all aspects of space research. Test facilities are a key to progress; the Soviet wind tunnels, accelerator and test chambers at their science city of Novosibirsk far exceed the capabilities of those we have built in recent years.

Against this obvious Soviet reach for technological and military supremacy, what has been the U.S. record these past seven years?

Over-all, it is an appalling record. During all this period there has been not one new start on advanced strategic or nuclear weapon systems. Every ICBM and every strategic bomber in America's arsenal today was a legacy from the Eisenhower Administration of the 1950's.

Even in military space systems the major emphasis has consistently been on passive satellites until the recent approval of the Manned Orbital Laboratory program—a program delayed for years. Advanced programs under development by the Eisenhower Administration—Dynosoar and SPAD—were cancelled.

In the tactical area, the aircraft carrying the burden in Vietnam—the F-4, F-105, and the A-6—were all initiated in the 1950's. The primary missiles used by these aircraft, such as Sidewinder, Bullpup and Shrike, are all Eisenhower Administration developments.

The effort to transform the TFX (F-111) into an all-purpose, all-service aircraft has created serious problems. Against military advice, the F-111 was selected as a superior, yet economical, weapons system based upon a misguided and overstated emphasis on commonality. The aircraft were to cost approximately \$2.4 million each. Now they are priced at more than \$6 million each. How ironic that an Administration which has advocated primary reliance on conventional limited warfare and extolled "cost effectiveness" has fixed upon the TFX for this role—a plane designed primarily as a nuclear delivery system and cost-effective only as such! In view of the recent decision that the F-111B, the Navy version, is unacceptable and a substitute aircraft has been initiated, the final cost of the program will increase enormously coupled with years of delay.

The program has resulted in the Air Force having a new aircraft that does not meet the original requirements nor even the downgraded performance agreed to when they were forced into the commonality decision. The F-111B Navy version has been found unacceptable and the FB-111 Bomber version does not meet Air Force requirements for an advanced bomber in the 1970 time frame.

Still less comprehensible is the Administration's decision to rely on the F-106 of the early fifties' technological vintage for our air defense forces. For more than five years we have had far superior Mach 3 fighters such as the F-12 flying on test. The F-106 is slower than the French Concorde, a transport. It is at least one generation behind the F-12 engine, materials, and performance figures. The fact that for at least three years we could have built F-12 fighters superior to any aircraft in the Soviet inventory, and to date have deliberately passed the opportunity by, further suggests that the Administration is less than zealous in keeping the United States ahead.

In the development of smaller tactical weapons the Administration has also been content to drift. Forced at last to act by the war in Vietnam, it began a crash program with the high costs, inefficiencies and waste

that always attend such programs. Dr. Eugene G. Fubini, Deputy Director of Defense Research and Engineering from 1963-1965, said that because the many weapons requirements for the Vietnam war had not been anticipated, the United States was forced to wage the war not as it ought to be fought, but according to the weapons available. After citing a number of new weapons requirements for fighting the limited type of war, he said, "I hope these requirements are properly documented today, but I am not sure."¹³

Shortly after escalation of the conflict in Vietnam, the Department of Defense submitted to Congress the first of a number of emergency supplemental requests, including \$152 million for research and development. These additional funds provided for such items as jungle communications equipment, emergency airfield equipment and jungle boots, all obviously necessary for military action in a tropical environment. Some work in such areas had been in progress, but at a far more leisurely pace than dictated by a realistic appraisal of the threat and need. This dilatory approach typifies the Administration's "crisis-reaction" approach to preparedness.¹⁴

This capsulated review illustrates that our nation's efforts in military science technology and new weapon procurement have been critically deficient for seven years. In the strategic area alone we should have new advanced systems in being today. If we did, our deterrent posture and hence the cause of world peace would be strengthened.

Improvement of existing weapon systems are often cited by the Administration as proof of its zeal for technological superiority. However, the improvements have often been parts of original systems concepts and carried out in the normal development cycle.

Where are the new developments dictated by objective assessment of the threat and the pace of technology? What will be our security posture five to ten years from now? What is this Administration's legacy to our nation?

SOVIET POLICY

The objectives of the Soviet scientific and technological effort have been openly stated by their leaders and are apparent in their achievements. In 1962, the Soviet Minister of Defense, the late Marshall Rodion Malinovsky, stated that the USSR had to accelerate its efforts to exploit the strategic potentials of modern science and technology. He said, "We do not intend to follow behind in development or be inferior to our public enemies in any way . . . in the competition for quality or armament in the future . . . (our) superiority will evermore increase."

Since the late 1950's Soviet budgetary allocations for research and development have been rising sharply. (See appendix V.) They are expected to continue to rise.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order for the United States to maintain technological superiority to serve both military and economic ends, the following steps are urgently needed:

A firm policy of assuring military superiority for the United States must be adopted and implemented.

Establishment of priorities for weapons systems development must be derived from an objective assessment of the threat, on the one hand, and the pace of technology, on the other, then aggressively pursued with adequate funding.

Redefinition of authority at a lower level, restoring responsibility and initiative to responsible commands of the military departments.

Reintroduction of healthy, but controlled, inter-service competition to include actual weapons development in addition to paper studies.

Revision of organization and procedures to help encourage initiative and foster creativity in research and development.

An adequate technical facility base, both government and private, must be reestablished and maintained.

An increased level of joint research and development effort with our allies should be encouraged.

CONCLUSIONS

This nation's research and development effort has not been progressing at a pace equal to either the accelerating spiral of science and technology or the expanding threat. The Soviets in particular have exhibited an aggressive research and development effort to win the technological race. We must also realize that any other nation may achieve a technological surprise. A new event can happen in any scientific discipline; innovations are not restricted to scientists associated only with the military or with any particular nation.

In our view, technological superiority is demanded by both military requirements and economic necessity. Since the means to achieve superiority will have been determined years before, and we have already forfeited years, decisions must be made with great urgency to reorient our research and development programs. Advances in technology must be exploited in weapons development with imagination, determination and zeal. At stake is the peace and security of the United States and the Free World.

APPENDIX I

NEW GUIDED MISSILE "STARTS" AND MISSILE TYPES IN PRODUCTION, POST-KOREAN PERIOD, GOVERNMENT FISCAL YEARS

	1954-57		1958-61		1962-65		1966-68	
	New starts	In production						
ICBM.....	3	0	1	3	0	4	0	2
Air-to-air.....	0	3	0	3	1	3	0	2
Air-to-surface.....	3	0	3	3	1	6	2	5
Surface-to-air.....	1	2	2	7	1	8	1	5
Surface-to-surface.....	4	7	2	9	3	13	1	4
ASW.....	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	2
Total.....	12	12	9	26	6	36	4	20

Note: Does not include canceled programs or research programs, or program definition efforts. Multiple-use weapons are considered program.

Footnotes at end of article.

NEW AIRCRAFT "STARTS AND AIRCRAFT TYPES IN PRODUCTION, POST-KOREAN PERIOD, GOVERNMENT FISCAL YEARS

Type	1954-57		1958-61		1962-65		1966-68	
	New starts	In production						
Bomber	0	5	0	4	0	0	0	1
Attack	2	2	0	4	1	6	0	2
Fighter	2	12	1	13	1	4	0	3
Cargo/transport	3	6	3	7	1	8	0	6
ASW/surveillance	2	4	2	7	0	4	0	3
Trainer	3	5	0	5	0	5	0	5
Utility	5	6	3	12	0	17	2	12
Total	17	40	9	52	3	44	2	32

Note: Does not include canceled or research programs, or program definition efforts. Multiple-use airframes are considered 1 program.

APPENDIX II

INTELLIGENCE VISIBILITY

A fundamental of the decision-making process for research and development is the intelligence input.

The intelligence visibility chart (not reproduced in RECORD), portraying the development cycle of a weapons system over the average span at 10-15 years, reveals that we ordinarily receive fairly good intelligence in the early basic research period. However, once a practical military application or potential is identified, this visibility usually disappears for the next five to six years. The new weapons systems then suddenly appear in a Soviet May Day parade or during testing, having by that point completed the basic development cycle. Thus, our present policies, which require "hard" evidence before we undertake an aggressive development program of our own, tend to keep us six or more years behind.

This delay is induced also by the Administration's inclination to give greater weight to optimistic assessments of Soviet intentions than to hardheaded measurements of capabilities. For example, the Administration persuaded itself that the Soviets would probably not deploy an orbital bombardment vehicle or an anti-ballistic missile system. Part of the problem is "mirror thinking." Our leaders having decided against utilizing these systems, they assumed the Soviets would reason similarly. It was a gross mistake.

In a period when science and technology are making significant strides and the evidence is that the Soviets are aggressively advancing the state of the art, this nation must weigh heavily the Soviet capabilities. An example is the Soviet achievement of "fractional" orbital capability. Knowing also that they have adequate control and thrust, we must assume that they now have or soon will have a complete orbital capability, international treaties notwithstanding. We must not wait until we suddenly discover that such a vehicle is being tested. This precautionary approach must be applied across the whole weapons spectrum.

APPENDIX III

COST-EFFECTIVENESS APPLICATIONS

The use of cost-effectiveness in evaluating military programs is not new. This management tool has been used for many years. In recent years, however, the tool has become, not the servant, but the master of management.

This result may not have been intended but has developed in the Department of Defense as costs analysts have become dominant in the decision-making process. Not infrequently conclusions so reached discard valid military judgment.

Vice Admiral Hyman G. Rickover (Ret.), a frequent critic of the way "cost-effectiveness" criteria have been applied, asserted that if "cost-effectiveness" had ruled in 1948, the U.S. would not then have built its first atomic submarine. He stated also that in calculating the relative worth of a weapon or type of defense cost-effectiveness

studies make no allowance for the value of human life.

In testimony before the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee in 1966, Admiral Rickover revealed a most important flaw in this process, stating that, "In some cases decisions appear to have been made ahead of time and subsequently justified." The Congressional committees concerned with defense have found it extremely difficult and often impossible to obtain the actual cost-effectiveness studies upon which critical decisions have been based.

The currently used cost-effectiveness procedure impairs new weapons developments in two ways. It makes the gaining of Defense Department approval for the development and production of new weapons an extremely involved process, intruding another time-consuming procedure in an already excessively complicated decision-making process.

Second, cost-effectiveness studies demand elaborate costing data. Technology must be in hand in order for precise costing information to be obtained. A research program pushing the state of the art has too many unknowns to be costed precisely. Further, a proposed improvement in a system growing out of a technological advance requires another round of cost-effectiveness analysis on that system.

Cost-effectiveness studies as currently developed give maximum priority to quantifiable data and tend to subordinate subjective factors, even human life.

These studies appear modern, scientific and objective. Applied properly, they can be. But they are misused when their conclusions are permitted to dominate essentially military decisions or justify predetermined views.

Prejudgment validation seems to have occurred when the Department of Defense was attempting to justify its TFX position before the National Security and International Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Government Operations Committee. Alain Enthoven, Assistant Secretary for Systems Analysis, was asked by the Chairman, Senator Jackson, if a cost-effectiveness study had been made on the TFX. He replied no, that at the time the cost-effectiveness technique had not been fully developed. Yet in subsequent discussions he justified the cancellation of the Skybolt program on the basis of cost-effectiveness studies developed in the same period the TFX decision was made.

Thousands of studies costing millions of dollars have been undertaken the past few years. These repeated studies were described by Admiral Rickover as "fog bombs," serving only to conceal the issues under a blanket of fog.

Atomic Energy Commissioner Ramey expressed the problem in these terms: "I would conclude that the abuse of the cost-effectiveness techniques can be just as lethal to a new development project as the unscrupulous use of the requirements system."

The combination of the "requirements" and "cost-effectiveness" criteria have been the major reasons given for not aggressively pursuing such programs as an advanced

bomber, the advance manned interceptor, and military applications in space.

APPENDIX IV

BUDGETARY CONSIDERATIONS

Fiscal responsibility is a requisite in the Research, Development, Test and Evaluation (RDT&E) budget, as in any other budget. Fiscal responsibility, however, does not mean instituting excessive controls and red tape. It does mean having an orderly and effective procedure which enables timely and complete information to be presented for approval. It means effective controls, but in R&D where developments cannot be precisely predicted flexibility is required to prevent the stifling of innovation.

The major requirement in research and development is disciplined, imaginative intelligence. Funds must be provided to support the intelligence, but the quantity of dollars is not an absolute index of effective research effort.

Since funds are never unlimited, priorities must be established. Once they are established, sufficient funding must be applied to produce the weapons system in the time frame dictated by the pace of technology and the assessment of the threat.

The Administration contends that in their years of managing defense research and development programs they have increased the funding by over 300 percent. In gross numbers by current definitions, perhaps this is correct, but at least two other factors have an important bearing on the validity of this contention. First, in 1963, the accounting system was changed. Many items originally considered production funds are now in R&D. Items such as prototypes that formerly were paid from the production account are not in the RDT&E account.

Second, inflation and higher wages have imposed cost increases of well over five percent each year.

An evaluation of these items, coupled with the ever greater cost of more sophisticated weapons systems, suggests that rather than a 300 percent increase there has been no increase or even a reduction in the total effective R&D total.

Secretary McNamara's Defense Posture Statement for Fiscal Year 1969 admitted that basic research funding has declined: "During FY 1965-68, after adjusting for inflation, research funding declined."

The Statement further described this category as the source for the development of major systems and added, "... the effectiveness of the weapons systems we will have a decade hence and our technological strength generally, will depend critically on how well we conduct these two categories of R&D over the next few years."

Viewing this problem in perspective requires an evaluation of the past seven years. There is evidence in this paper of serious, if not critical, difficulties.

Since most research and development programs are not broadly understood or appreciated, their funding in times of fiscal stringency is deferrable without immediate adverse reaction. The complexity of research and development programs makes it difficult for those not intimately familiar with defense R&D requirements to assess their importance. For fiscal and political reasons, therefore, R&D frequently is subjected to fiscal manipulations, the full impact of which is not felt for five or six years.

For example, in the Fiscal Year 1968 budget, the Administration has asked the Department of Defense to cut back in an attempt to prevent the need for a supplemental request during an election year. The cutback figures reported are in excess of 6 billion dollars. Part of this cutback applies to research and development funds. The technique is not to discontinue the whole program, but to reduce the funding level and thereby impose delays.

Whether or not the total Research, Development, Test and Evaluation budget should be increased or decreased is not easily determined. On the one hand, the fiscal juggling, increases in non-productive studies and excessive red tape would suggest that the budget can be cut. On the other hand, necessary programs have been delayed, others have not started, the Soviets continue their aggressive effort and the pace of science and technology is continuing to spiral, all suggesting a budget increase. These and other factors urgently need analysis in depth and an objective answer developed for the sake of our national security.

APPENDIX V

THE SHIFTING BALANCE

United States military superiority today is largely an Eisenhower legacy. In the all-important strategic area, for example, the post-Eisenhower Administrations inherited both the Minuteman and the Polaris systems. Our strategic bombers, the B-52's and the B-58's, were developed prior to the 1960's.

In the strategic aircraft field, there has been no new development of a bomber as a bomber. The modification of the F-111 does not significantly advance the state of the art nor can it adequately perform the mission required of a new strategic bomber in the coming decade.

In the past seven years, this Administration has not developed or produced a prototype of any new Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) system. There has been significant development effort on multiple individually guided warheads (MIRV). This program must be given a high priority so that we will have proven production units as rapidly as possible.

The Air Force WS-120A, the advanced ICBM weapons systems program, repeatedly delayed, was scheduled to go into contract definition phase in fiscal 1968. It will not go into that phase until after Fiscal Year 1969, if at all.

In the tactical area, the aircraft carrying the burden in Vietnam—the F-4, F-105, and the A-6—all were initiated in the 1950's. The primary missiles being used by these aircraft, such as Sidewinder, Bullpup and Shrike, are all Eisenhower developments.

In the attack aircraft category, the Administration has introduced the A-7 (VAL) aircraft which is actually an improved F-8 of 1953 vintage, which in no way materially advances the state of the art.

The most advanced aircraft we have today is the F-12 or SR-71 whose genesis was the secret A-11 started in 1958 under security wraps. Although we have in this aircraft a proven and necessary system, only a few reconnaissance versions have been purchased, notwithstanding repeated Service demands expressing the advantage of an air defense version. This Administration has not even provided funds to keep open a production line so that additional aircraft can be readily procured when required at reasonable costs.

In the cargo-transport area, there has been one addition since 1961—the C-5A. In accordance with existing policy, the C-5A, although a new development, is based upon current technology. It is primarily an increase in size.

The increase in Soviet submarine activity and capability makes our antisubmarine warfare ability increasingly important. The major aircraft role is being handled by the P-3, started in 1958. In the anti-submarine warfare missile category, ASROC and SUBROC were started in 1956 and 1958 respectively.

As of this time, no advanced anti-submarine warfare aircraft has been developed.

There has been one new development start on an air-to-air missile, the Phoenix (Scram); two in the surface-to-air, Sprint and Spartan; and two in the tactical surface-to-surface category, Lance and Tow.

In the crucial area of military use of

space, positive direction and aggressive effort are lacking. Our efforts have been largely defensive, rather than a balanced mix of offense and defense. During a Congressional hearing in 1966, Lieutenant General Ferguson, Chief of Air Force research and development, was asked how well we are doing in outpacing Soviet technology in the field of space. He answered, "... I am frankly concerned at the outlook. . . ." Various Congressional committees have expressed the same concern. The House Committee on Government Operations in a 1966 report stated: "The Committee believes that in the interest of national security the potential manned military uses of space deserve immediate increased attention." (Report "Government Operations in Space.")

The Army has been struggling for approval of the development of an armed helicopter since the early 1960's and finally was given approval in the Fiscal Year 1966 budget. Even here it should be noted that the program was not in the original FY 1966 budget request, although by that time the war in Vietnam had clearly established the need.

In discussing the effects of current policies on Army R&D projects, General Harold K. Johnson, Army Chief of Staff, told the Senate Armed Services Committee in discussing the Fiscal Year 1969 defense budget: "Repeated stretch-outs of equipment development projects not only lead to increases in total costs, but also invite the risk of fielding new—but already obsolescent—equipment when it finally is accepted as standard issue. This provides only marginal improvement of the replaced equipment, which in the interim has had to be modified—at added cost—in order to maintain its usefulness in coping with an everchanging threat."

"The Soviet government is not limiting itself to those military means which the adversary has. Undoubtedly, this would be insufficient. The creation of new methods of combat which the imperialistic aggressor still does not possess is a task of Soviet science and technology." ("War and Politics," USSR Ministry of Defense, 1962.)

In 1962, during a closed-door Senate hearing on the FY-66 defense budget, the Secretary of Defense was asked, "Is it just a matter of time before the Russians catch up with the U.S. in strategic nuclear forces?" The Secretary responded, "There is no indication that they are catching up or planning to catch up—I am simply saying that there is no indication they are in a race at this time."

As a result of sustained efforts, the Soviet leaders have made tremendous strides in their nation's scientific and technological posture and have translated these gains into the whole spectrum of military hardware. The major emphasis has been to concentrate on what is called the high payoff area; that is, nuclear weapons and advanced delivery systems for those weapons.

A major acceleration by the Soviets has taken place since the extensive 1961-62 nuclear test series.

Since the 58 megaton test in 1961, they have claimed to possess a 100 megaton weapon. The claim has feasibility. In November 1964, a second generation ICBM, THE SS-7 or SASIN, was first displayed in a Moscow parade. In the early 1960's, the second generation ICBM missile SS-8 was deployed. In the 1965 May Day Parade, the Soviets displayed a smaller ICBM—the SAVAGE which appears to be similar to the Minuteman. The Scrag was again shown in November 1965 and the Soviets now claim it is a missile with an orbital bombardment capability. Also, in 1965, the Soviets first paraded a large mobile missile the Scrooge enclosed in a pod on a carrier. Statements and evidence suggest that they are developing mobile missiles and launchers for both their ICBM and IRBM.

Observers at the November 1967 Parade reported a new ICBM, a new generation I/IRBM, and a new Polaris-type missile.

Extensive work is known to be going on in

aerospace propulsion and related items. At least three new air-to-air missiles have been seen since 1962, each deployed with a different new fighter. The three new missiles have been code named Alkali, Ash and Awl. The three new fighters bear the western code name Fishpot C (a limited all-weather fighter), Fiddler (a long-range interceptor and reconnaissance aircraft) and Flipper (also known as Mig 23).

During the 1967 Domodedovo Air Show, three other new aircraft were shown, including one with VSTOL capability. During this show, Chief Marshal Vershinin and Marshal Krasovski, emphasized Soviet ability in air launched strategic missiles. They also indicated intense interest in anti-submarine warfare, saying that the Soviet naval aircraft, presumably the Beriev Be 8, had been equipped with "an assortment of means to detect and destroy underwater vessels."

It is almost certain that the Soviet equivalent of the U.S. Supersonic Transport (SST) could readily become a bomber.

In naval developments, the Soviets displayed a new ballistic missile—SARK—in 1962, which was described as both a shipboard and a field weapon. Two years later in the November Anniversary Parade, a second generation solid fueled inertially guided Sub-Launched Ballistic missile (SLBM), the SERB, was displayed.

To develop a Polaris defense the Soviets are diverting part of their bomber fleet with improved sensing devices and offensive capability. They also are developing anti-submarine warfare aircraft carriers and a growing fleet of Polaris-type nuclear missile submarines.

By the early 1960's, the Soviet service fleet was also being equipped with new classes of short-range surface-to-surface missiles.

In the May Day Parade in 1965, the Scamp, a mobile IRBM with solid propellant, was first displayed.

Certainly the most dramatic Soviet development in recent years has been the development and deployment of their ABM system. Although its precise effectiveness and extensiveness is a matter of debate in our intelligence community, work is continuing.

The recent tests of the Orbital Bombardment System have been said to be fractional. Nevertheless, the Soviets have exhibited the capability for a complete Orbital Bombardment System.

Also being reported is Soviet effort in multiple warheads, a dramatic and serious new development. It is probable a program in this area would include individually guided warheads.

Development of military transports ranging up to the giant Antonov An-22 are being pursued. Reports also indicate a wide variety of specifically designed air transportable tanks, armored personnel carriers and self-propelled artillery with increasing emphasis on the lower levels of weapons.

The Soviets are known to be doing an enormous amount of work in the area of computers, information process and cybernetics. This capability itself will provide tremendous assistance to all the other phases of military R&D.

Lasers seem to be an area of particular interest to the Soviets.

Clearly the Soviets are placing extensive effort in new weapons developments. There are many other examples. Those cited here show the broad spectrum of activity and the level of effort. The Soviets have not slowed down. They have not pushed their developments merely as a restriction to U.S. developments. They clearly appear to be striving for scientific and technological superiority.

APPENDIX VI

An important measure of science and technology is the level of qualified manpower. Since about 1952, the Soviet Union has been graduating more scientists and engineers per year than the United States.

By 1965, the Soviet Union had developed a scientific and technical labor pool of about 1,700,000 working on research, development test and evaluation. Comparatively, the United States had 1,077,000. Inclusion of NATO would add approximately 670,000.

In 1950, the Soviet Union graduated some 35,000 new engineers. Now, more than 150,000 new engineers are graduated each year. At this rate, the Soviets are graduating about three engineers for every one graduated in the United States.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Although knowledge doubled only once between 1750 and 1900 and again between 1900 and 1950, the scientific community estimates that it has doubled again between 1950 and 1960 and will double again by 1970.

² This reality is clearly recognized by the Soviets. In an article in *Communist of The Armed Forces*, Lt. Col. B. Bondarenko wrote in 1966: "In the past it was possible to change the relationship between forces during the course of a war. This was characteristic even of the Second World War. Now, in connection with the revolution which has occurred in military matters, the significance of military technological superiority even in peacetime has increased greatly. Under the influence of nuclear weapons . . . the importance of an early period of a war increased and it has become increasingly more difficult to change the relation between forces during the course of the war."

³ The clearest public expression of this "reaction" policy was given by Secretary of Defense McNamara on September 18, 1967, in San Francisco when he was discussing the ABM problem. He stated that we were spending additional money on offensive weapons systems programs to offset the Soviet ABM deployment. Then he went on to say: "But we should bear in mind that it is money spent because of the action-reaction phenomenon."

⁴ Department of Defense Directive No. 3200.9, pp. 4-5. "It is intended that the technology that is required to meet a system specification not exceed in quantitative performance that which can be demonstrated either in development form or in laboratory form. Projection into Engineering Development of anticipated developmental achievement will be permitted only when sufficient quantitative results have been obtained, in laboratory or experimental devices, to allow such projection with a high confidence. In general, these projections will assume the probability of Engineering Developments matching but not exceeding laboratory results."

⁵ As Mr. James T. Ramey, Commissioner of the Atomic Energy Commission, said, the government must get rid of the "requirements merry-go rounds." He pointed out that every new project had to be justified on the basis of "military requirements" and that many promising developments particularly in space could never be pushed or even demonstrated if development had to wait for the establishment of requirements. As Dr. Edward C. Welch, Executive Secretary of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, said, "If we had required a clear cut prior mission, we would probably have developed no airplanes, no space craft or, in fact, no wheel."

⁶ Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., Chairman of the Corporation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, recently stated that we cannot "rest on our oars" thinking that the race has been won. "We may be only at the beginning of unexampled scientific and engineering achievement," he said.

Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson told a Congressional committee on April 27, 1966: "It is clear that the Russians do not accept the notion that military technology has reached a plateau and that the present military balance is fixed for the future. They are gambling enormous resources on the

chance that they may score a decisive advance in weapons systems."

In testimony before Congress on the Fiscal Year 1969 Defense budget, the Director of Research and Engineering for the Department of Defense stated, "There is no technological plateau now nor is one about to be created. We are convinced that research and exploratory development efforts require increased support during the next few years to insure many options—a margin of safety—against technological challenge."

⁷ Dr. Harold Agnew, Weapons Division Leader at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory recently stated:

"The apparent drift in national policy on the concept of balance of power and stability is resulting in a stifling of innovation. We find ourselves being authorized to build or to consider only those systems which respond to a clearly defined threat.

"As a result, we are continually reacting on the defensive. The initiative no longer seems to be up to us. The initiative always seems to be in the other fellow's camp.

"Since we react only to those systems or threats which have been proven to exist, and it takes several years to react, we are continually in danger of coming up with answers to threats which have changed, if indeed come up with answers in a time frame which is relevant at all."

⁸ The Director of Defense Research & Engineering for the Department of Defense stated to the Senate Armed Services Committee during a discussion of the Fiscal Year 1969 defense budget:

"A lesson reinforced over and over through out history, especially in our era, is that science and engineering continuously make possible completely new military capabilities and threats. National security today is more directly linked than ever before to the practice of first rank science and engineering. We have a strong technical-military position today only because we built a strong research and technology base in the past. We must maintain this position. . . .

"Yet there are some indications that the program is eroding, that we must act forcefully to reverse the recent funding trend. Some of this reduction [from Fiscal 1964 to 1968] has produced healthy belt tightening, a sorting out of the good from the bad. And we have used these funds—in a sense savings—for other high priority projects. But, as I emphasized earlier, the net effect of continuing this trend will be a serious weakening of our long-term national security position.

"Moreover, these numbers do not tell the whole story. The cost of doing research has steadily increased at a rate of at least 5% a year. If we adjust by this rate, then our research and technology effort in Fiscal 1968 was about 70% that of the Fiscal 1964 level, a critical 30% reduction.

"During the past three years, in terms of dollars not discounted for increased costs, our exploratory development funding to industry has decreased by about 35%; to universities by 19%, and to in-house military laboratories by 8%.

"Last summer, I asked a special panel of the Defense Science Board to consider the adequacy of our research and technology base to meet future needs. Their unequivocal answer was that the recent cuts were so deep that the Defense Dept. may begin to run the risk of not meeting its genuine technological goals."

⁹ This Administration, applying its concept of the "building block" approach, claims to be developing the "options" necessary to blunt any technological surprise by an enemy. Such an approach, to be effective, must be adequately funded. Money alone, however, is not enough; with today's increasingly sophisticated systems, there is no high degree of assurance that a system will work until it is all assembled as a working system. As "Kelly" Johnson, Vice President of Lockheed Aircraft, one of the foremost aviation experts

in the world today, has said, the "building block" system "optimized the component" and does that "more on paper than in fact" instead of optimizing the entire system.

If a system starts to be pulled together only after a visible threat appears, generally in the prototype or test stage, there is no time to complete development, produce and deploy a system prior to the enemy's deployment.

¹⁰ Progress in research and development has been considerably impeded by overcentralization and over-regulation in the Department of Defense—a subject to be covered thoroughly in another paper.

One of the most serious of these "road blocks" is the number of approval levels a new program must go through. They have increased enormously—some 16 levels can now comment. Nearly all can stop a program, but very few can approve. Those responsible for research and development projects have reported that at times it has taken up to three years to get final approval.

Also, reported by the noted defense writer, Hanson Baldwin, on February 16, 1965, "Before a final contract for a project is signed and actual development starts, an average of at least 50 signatures of approvals is required—sometimes as many as 100 or 200. Some individuals, required by legal or administrative reasons to sign twice, have had to be briefed twice; by the time the second signature was needed, they had forgotten what the contract was about."

¹¹ Invention cannot be predicted nor can innovation be precisely costed.

The scientist must have challenge, opportunity, and a program which will allow him to prove or disprove his concepts.

Various restrictions imposed by Administration policies—procedural and intellectual—tend to stifle creativity, the evolution of new ideas, and the incentive to explore new horizons. These creative individuals, not being at the top of the pyramid, have been increasingly buried by overcentralization and over-regulation.

Within the minds of these scientists and engineers will evolve many of the new concepts and means to solve not only military problems but economic and social problems as well. These men must not be viewed as purveyors of conflict. They are the means by which free men will remain free. They are a primary source for the relief of the problems and suffering of the world. As an individual has the moral obligation to use his talent to the maximum benefit, so too does a nation.

¹² Although never outwardly stated as policy, it is evident that this Administration is applying arms control considerations early in the R&D cycle. This is reasonable only if there is concrete knowledge that our enemies are also applying the same considerations at the same place.

It is safe to apply such constraints only after a new concept or a new weapons system is proven. Only then can defense leaders counter any sudden technological surprise with the ability to respond in a timely manner. Equally important, our own advances in science and technology will give us greater insights into what is possible to an enemy.

If we are to have the options to respond to threats in the future, we must have the means in hand. Then we can consider political, arms control or any other factors in deciding whether or not to buy for inventory. This is the only safe and sane way to proceed.

¹³ Keynote speech at the 1967 Western Electric Show.

¹⁴ As Secretary McNamara told the Senate Armed Services Committee in his "Fiscal Year 1969 Posture Statement":

"As you know, we have been financing and managing the special R&D requirements of the Southeast Asia conflict through the PRO-VOST Program. But each year we have had to add to the amount requested for that program in the initial budget. In FY 1966, for example, we requested \$180 million in the

initial budget and had to add later another \$190 million; in FY 1967 the initial request was \$395 million and \$285 million was added later; in FY 1968 the initial request was \$566 million and through December 31 of last year \$103 million had already been reprogrammed for or added. While we are requesting \$522 million for PROVOST in FY 1969, we

can be sure that new requirements will arise during the year which will have to be financed from some other source." (Page 157)

This was reiterated and expanded by the Director, Defense and Engineering, in his statement before the Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, on the Fiscal Year 1969 budget:

Provost funding
[Rounded in millions]

	Fiscal year 1964	Fiscal year 1965	Fiscal year 1966	Fiscal year 1967	Fiscal year 1968	Fiscal year 1969 ¹
Provost in initial budget.....	\$95	\$180	\$180	\$395	\$566	\$522
Added later ²	5	20	190	285	103	275
Total SEA.....	100	200	370	680	669	797

¹ Estimated.
² As submitted in fiscal year 1969 budget.
³ Reprogramming (including SRSA), emergency fund approvals, and/or supplemental funding.
⁴ Incomplete; totals as of Dec. 1, 1967.
⁵ Estimated to be added by reprogramming and use of emergency funds.

TAX-FREE TAX RAISERS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, when tax-free foundations are permitted to dump their millions to lobby to raise taxes on the good citizens something must be done to correct the injustices of the tax loopholes.

The American people are asking what part of the current inflation scare has resulted from the dumping of tax-free moneys in circulation—under the guise, of course, of doing good.

Tell the taxpayer threatened with a 10 percent surtax why his taxes should be increased while the foundations go tax free.

I include the release from the Evening Star for May 26, 1968, and related clippings, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, May 26, 1968]

LEGAL FUND A BIG FORCE IN NEGRO RIGHTS DRIVE

NEW YORK.—"One thing the gradualists don't seem to understand—we are not trying to make people love us when we go to court. We are trying to keep them from killing us."

The words were the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's, spoken at the height of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott in defense of an organization that not only provided the legal power in his drive for Negro equality but has been the elevator for the entire civil rights movement.

It is the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. (LDF), a collection of lawyers whose knowledge of constitutional law is built on almost 60 years of court battles for Negro rights.

It started in 1910 as the legal arm of the Infant National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and one of its first efforts was a friend of the court brief in the successful Supreme Court fight to overthrow Oklahoma's "grandfather clause" barring Negroes from voting.

NOW INDEPENDENT

Today, the LDF takes more cases to the Supreme Court than any other litigant except the U.S. government. It had 23 cases before the court in the spring term alone. The suits—seeking open housing, faster

school desegregation, legal rights for welfare mothers, abolition of the death penalty—show how far the struggle for Negro equality has moved.

The LDF has become an independent organization that serves as the legal arm of the entire civil rights movement, representing groups as well as unaffiliated individuals.

During the years of the all-out attack on the "separate but equal" school segregation laws, its director-counsel was a tall, outspoken attorney named Thurgood Marshall, now a Supreme Court justice.

Since 1961, the LDF has been spearheaded by Jack Greenberg, a young constitutional lawyer who has helped push the fight for Negro rights into Northern slum ghettos.

At the LDF headquarters overlooking Manhattan's Columbus Circle, a staff of 28 attorneys keeps commuter schedules to other cities to plan strategy, defend cases and advise 250 cooperating attorneys scattered across the country. In 1967 the LDF defended 13,000 individuals.

Under a Ford Foundation grant, its activities have expanded into legal rights for the poor, aimed at setting national precedents in such fields as welfare benefits, public housing, landlord-tenant and creditor-debtor laws, consumer protection and special problems in criminal, family and juvenile law.

TRAINING LAWYERS

Two special LDF programs have been set up to train civil rights lawyers.

Weekend institutes offer continuing training in newest legal theories and strategies. An intern program, designed to augment the supply of civil rights attorneys, offers promising young lawyers a year's training in New York.

With the help of a Rockefeller Foundation grant, the LDF has also expanded its community service division providing legal help on the community level in the South to implement recent legislation.

Such a wide range of projects has pushed the LDF budget over the \$2 million mark.

Besides foundations, a substantial amount of the operating funds comes from the Negro community, with large contributions from sororities and fraternities, organizations of business and professional men and women, and professional athletes.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 20, 1968]

PRESBYTERIANS VOTE \$50,000 FOR SCLC
(By Casper Nannes)

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—The 180th General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. today approved an advance of \$50,000 to the Southern Leadership Conference for its development fund.

The check for this amount will be presented to leaders of the SCLC on May 30 in

Washington as "the first evidence of the desire of the United Presbyterian Church to participate in its development fund."

In addition, the General Assembly also had a motion authorizing either today or tomorrow a special offering to be sent immediately to the Poor People's Campaign.

The special offering in addition to proposals here before the 820 ministerial and elder commissioners (delegates) amounting to \$200,000 for the denomination's Fund for Freedom.

Financial and staff support for the Poor People's Campaign already has been given by the United Presbyterian Board of National Missions, which has supplied \$6,500 for food and medical expenses.

In an address to the assembly last week, SCLC's head, the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, called upon the 3.3-million-member church to establish a \$10 million Martin Luther King Poor People's Development Fund.

He later explained the major part of the fund "would be used by the SCLC to foster the development of ghetto-owned businesses, low-cost housing, self-help industries, and cooperatives in economically deprived areas of our nation."

The assembly passed a resolution Friday freeing \$12.6 million of the church's investment funds for housing and business ventures in low and middle income areas. The move made the money available through boards, agencies and seminaries.

Among moves taken by other churches, the Episcopal Church General Convention last fall passed a measure earmarking \$9 million over a three-year period for urban needs. Last month, U.S. Catholic bishops approved a statement calling for "substantial" contributions to the fight against poverty, and the United Methodist Church General Conference passed a motion urging the denomination to invest \$20 million in this cause. Other denominations have set varying sums in the fight against poverty.

Among the other actions to come before the General Assembly before its week-long meeting ends Wednesday is a statement on the church's position on the Vietnam war. The closely guarded report of a special committee on Vietnam was scheduled for presentation today.

The church's newly elected moderator, Dr. John Conventry Smith, yesterday warned the General Assembly that riots in America, apartheid in South Africa and the war in Vietnam are "symptoms of the same worldwide disease."

"You cannot be a foreign missionary and ignore Mississippi and Harlem," Dr. Smith declared. "And you cannot concentrate on Puerto Ricans in the ghetto and Mexican Americans in Texas, and ignore Latin America. For the Christian, it is all of a piece."

A Lutheran theologian, Prof. Edmund A. Steimle of Union Theological Seminary in New York, called for a radical change in Christianity and religious bodies.

"Abolish the residential parish, or shake the dust of it from our feet and experiment with other forms of ministries. Away with the old forms of worship. Down with the bureaucracy of the church. God is no longer to be found in churches, but in streets and ghettos. God's name is . . . change."

The churches, he contended, have played "the waiting game of business as usual. Churchmen reflect massive indifference to the problems of race and poverty, getting drunk on the peace of a Sunday morning in church where the entirely proper comfort of the Gospel becomes cheap grace in our hands."

As a result, Steimle said, young people have turned aside, "disenchanted or in disgust." The present need, he said, is to "grasp the future in your bare hands and bring it into the present tense."

Statements on the church and government relations as well as the church and the ecumenical movement are among those to be

presented to the commissioners before the session ends.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 18, 1968]

JUSTICE SYSTEM NEEDS REVAMPING, STUDY FINDS

"Something just has to be done right away"—under the leadership of Mayor Walter E. Washington—to prepare Washington's criminal justice system for the possibility of another riot-caused deluge of mass arrests.

This is the conclusion of a private foundation's consultant who studied what happened to the 7370 people who were arrested during the April rioting here. His report was released yesterday.

Attorney Ronald Goldfarb, serving as consultant to the Stern Family Fund, found that Washington's police courts and lawyers responded to the emergency "in a much better way" than those of other cities studied by the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders.

"I believe the Bail Reform Act was violated" by General Sessions judges during the riot, Goldfarb told reporters yesterday. He said the judges were put on the spot by legitimate concern for protecting the community that left too many defendants in jail rather than free on personal recognizance or low bail.

Curfew violators were kept behind bars overnight, rather than being served summonses and allowed to go home after promising to come to court for trial, Goldfarb said.

"This meant that some curfew violators were treated more severely" than people arrested for serious crimes who were freed on bail, he said. And he guessed that "many innocent people were probably caught up in mass curfew arrests."

Goldfarb recommended that:

Mayor Washington delegate someone in his office to be sure that the courts, bar associations, police and others make specific plans for any future mass-arrest situation.

Changes in the processing of defendants already proposed by the police and General Sessions Chief Judge Harold Greene be put into effect. They include simplifying arrest papers police fill out, attaching photographs to the papers to identify the defendants and processing all court defendants through a "staging area" in the U.S. District Court before they go before a General Sessions judge.

Prosecutors, defense attorneys and D.C. Bail Agency officials be placed in each police precinct "to weed out the bad cases" and free some defendants on summonses at that point.

An "information center" be set up to provide help and information for defendants, their relatives and friends, and the press.

A law be written to authorize judges, after exhaustive hearings, to jail for the duration of the riot people arrested for serious crimes who pose a danger to the community.

The Mayor's power to declare a curfew and set penalties for violating it be spelled out specifically by law and made clear to the public.

The city's bar groups prepare volunteer attorneys for service in General Sessions Court in case of future disorders.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, May 26, 1968]

WHITE PROBLEM DESCRIBED TO HEALTH, WELFARE COUNCIL

The "white problem" is the most urgent domestic issue facing the United States, a Negro business executive told a welfare conference here.

"White America has painted itself into a corner with its obsession on race and now wants to exit from the room without walking in the paint," said Ramon S. Scruggs, Ameri-

can Telephone & Telegraph Co.'s personnel director for urban affairs.

Scruggs spoke at the annual conference on the Health and Welfare council of the National Capital Area. Some 700 whites and Negroes attended the affair Friday at the Shoreham Hotel.

FALSE ASSUMPTION

One false assumption of white America, Scruggs said, is that only the hard-core ghetto black man is enraged and bitter because of his treatment.

"The truth is that black men and women in America, whether they sit in draped and carpeted offices, or whether they huddle in slum housing, know that this American society has cheated and looted them, and they see it within," Scruggs declared.

Every black man, woman and child at some time in his life has experienced hurt and rejection because of his race, Scruggs said.

"I hope you will keep this before you as you wonder about what you may consider aggressive conduct on the part of black people today," he said.

White America must "turn itself around," he said. White people must stop treating people who look differently "as things apart—as nothing persons."

Scruggs urged social welfare agencies and businesses to stop spending money to study the Negro and to delve instead "into the pathology of white racism."

He urged his listeners to work among white Americans to achieve an open society. "Make sure that you don't think it is natural and normal to have a conspicuous absence of black Americans in meaningful roles," he said.

Glenn E. Watts, who is chairman of the 1968 United Givers Fund drive, was re-elected president of HWC. Watts will appoint HWC Vice President Dr. C. Frank Jones as acting president during the months he will be devoting to the drive. Watts called himself a "president on leave of absence."

A panel speaker, Wiley A. Branton, executive director of the United Planning Organization, said the first priority of the day is how to organize the latent strength of the poor in a nonviolent way.

Poor people can't win their struggle without the help of everyone else, Branton said. But while other people can give technical assistance to the poor, he said, "You must give up the reins. They want to make the decisions that affect their lives."

The result of the shift in power will be more equitable distribution of resources in the District, he said.

Another panelist, Sherrill J. Luke, director for program development in the District government, said the District is committed to taking services to people in their own neighborhoods in order to respond to the people more effectively.

At a session on health services, an official of the Office of Economic Opportunity indicated he thought the poor should have some sort of control over the medical personnel in neighborhood health centers.

Dr. Gary London, acting chief of health services for OEO, noted that the private patient can change doctors if he doesn't feel his physician is sympathetic or if the doctor has inconvenient office hours.

EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION IN GEORGIA

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, the people of Georgia are very proud of the fact that our State has one of the largest

and one of the most outstanding educational television networks in the entire country.

Recently, a new station, WDCO—channel 15—near Macon, went into operation, providing coverage for the central Georgia area. It is estimated that no other State now has such extensive ETV coverage as Georgia.

The Atlanta Journal of May 7 published an editorial commenting on this new ETV station and the importance of educational television in our modern schools today.

I join the Journal in welcoming WDCO to the Georgia ETV network and in complimenting the education officials of Georgia for their splendid work in taking educational television into the school and into the home. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

ALL OVER ETV

A word of congratulation is due the state's educational television network, on the occasion of the announcement that its tenth station, WDCO (Channel 15) near Macon, will be dedicated May 29.

Channel 15 is already broadcasting, and has been for a month now. And its coverage of the central Georgia area means that Georgia ETV's broadcasting covers the whole state, with the exception of a tiny area containing 1 per cent of the state population. (The network is working on covering that area, too.)

No other state in the Union, according to network officials, is so thoroughly covered—with the possible exception of Rhode Island, which has only one station and may not have room for another one.

Since educational television, through national and local programming, affords some of the best television available—affords, in fact, deeper, livelier and more serious documentary shows, at least, than commercial television—its coverage of Georgia is no mere paper accomplishment. It is an accomplishment, indeed, that should help educate a great many viewers across the state.

Just because Georgians cook better chicken than anybody in the world doesn't mean they can't learn a lot from Julia Child.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON INTERVIEWED BY JIM BISHOP

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the most widely read and respected reporters of our time is Jim Bishop. Mr. Bishop recently interviewed President Johnson, following the President's announcement that he would withdraw from consideration for the office of President.

Jim Bishop headlined his column: "L. B. J. Longs for Comfort of Ranchhouse." In the article, he describes the long and arduous commitment that President Johnson has made to public service for 40 years. Summing up, Jim Bishop says:

On the cold, factual record, Lyndon Johnson emerges as the most productive President of all time.

In my view, this is certainly a valid judgment by an authoritative observer of the national scene. For a very human look at President Lyndon B. Johnson, I recommend the article by Jim Bishop and insert the article in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Salt Lake Tribune, May 18, 1968]
L. B. J. LONGS FOR COMFORT OF RANCH HOUSE
(By Jim Bishop)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—We sat in the Fish Room waiting. It is an intimate room with a big rosewood table and high-backed chairs. Once, the wall held a billfish caught by John F. Kennedy. Everyone called the place the Fish Room. Now the flat white walls are decorated with Christmas paintings of the Hill Country of Texas; landscapes that are peopled with bluebonnets and that melt into rocky hills ribbed with patches of yellow flowers.

Some old friends came in to chat while we waited for President Johnson. The lower echelon group—policemen and Secret Service men—have "tenure." After Jan. 20, they will still work here. The others, appointive men of substance, are already looking for work. The feelers are out in many directions. President Johnson kept the Kennedy crowd with him, even though their loyalties were to a dead knight. Now they too have left, swinging a free leg up on the Robert Kennedy wagon, hoping to get back in power if he makes the grade. In the back of the White House the Jacqueline Kennedy Rose Garden, as formal and wind-blown as its namesake, will stay.

THIRD FLOOR HAUNT

The little attic room on the third floor is due for a change, depending on the whim of the new man. It has an inclined slope. Franklin D. Roosevelt used to be wheeled up there to read and look off to the masts of sailboats on the Potomac. Truman used it for poker games with cronies. On those evenings, he added a little bourbon and a splash of branch water.

Mrs. Kennedy used it as a classroom for Caroline. Women friends of hers from Georgetown sent their children—by invitation only—to the White House center hall at 8:30 a.m., five days a week. All of them, including Caroline, brought their lunch. The others contributed equally to the cost of a teacher, books, pencils and rulers.

When she left, Luci Baines Johnson used it as a den. She had couches, a soft-drink bar with stools, some school banners and mementos on the wall. A record player crashed out the mood music of the teen-ager. Next January, that room will be altered by a new tenant.

SAT AND CHATTED

The President called us into his office and we sat and chatted about nothing of consequence. Kelly sat at my side and she was moved to say: "Mr. President, I have never seen you look so well."

The big brown eyes were bright. The hair is a little grayer, but the figure is less bulky and he sat between the couches on a rocker, the frames of his glasses between his teeth, and he seemed genuinely glad to see us.

He will not run again, even if the nation stood as one man and asked him to do it. His mind is made up. He has had, as he points out, 40 years of public service and that's enough. Ever since he quit, his popularity has been rising like a fever thermometer, but he is no longer impressed.

OLD RANCH HOUSE

Few people understand how much that old ranch house, built by his aunt long ago, means to him. It isn't palatial. It's full of hardwood frontier furniture and deer antlers as hat racks.

All through the time that Lynda and Luci

were growing—and before—he and Mrs. Johnson have been in Washington 80 percent of each year. An additional 10 percent was spent mending political fences or campaigning. He just wants to go home.

"I think when I get there," he said, waving the glasses, "I'm just going to sleep awhile. Just sleep."

I pooch-pooched the notion, because Lyndon Baines Johnson was born running at top speed. No, he insisted, he will sleep and lounge awhile. After that . . . ?

"I don't know," he said. I suggested that, like other Presidents, he will start to write his memoirs. The President put on a broad smile. In the field of writing, he defers to Mrs. Johnson. She has a degree in journalism. He isn't sure what she will do, but he said: "You know, she has kept a strict diary from the first day we got here."

MOST PRODUCTIVE

On the cold, factual record, Lyndon Johnson emerges as the most productive President of all time. More progressive legislation has been enacted in any one year of his tenure of office than other Presidents have achieved in four. If he and Mrs. Johnson write a book—or a series of them—there will be some electrifying disclosures of history behind the scenes.

He doesn't look like a so-called lame-duck President. Obviously, he doesn't feel like one. He is now free to call his shots openly, without fear or favor. He can do as he pleases for the next eight months. And, in spite of his critics, he can step down in a blaze of glory.

When we parted, the President said something unusual. It had an air of finality about it. He shook hands and murmured: "God bless you, Jim." In January, the nation may be saying that to him . . .

EVEN OUR CRITICS DO NOT WANT UNITED STATES TO WEAKEN

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Spartanburg, S.C., Herald, of May 21, 1968, contains an editorial entitled "Even Our Critics Don't Want United States to Weaken."

Hubert Hendrix, the capable editor, reminds us that even our critics abroad who deplore the war in Vietnam are also fearful that we may weaken in our resolve.

An English magazine, well known as a leftist anti-American publication predicted that if the United States weakens in negotiations in Vietnam, gigantic backwash would occur in Europe.

The editor reminds us that a great and responsible nation "cannot have friends or be loved."

Mr. President, in order to remind Senators of the necessity to stand fast on our ultimate goal for peace in South Vietnam, I invite their attention to this editorial and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

EVEN OUR CRITICS DON'T WANT UNITED STATES TO WEAKEN

The United States has a fixation concerning what other people in the world think about the United States.

Our nation desires to be respected as a powerful leader with only altruistic motives.

It is a laudatory trait, though more than somewhat irritating when it is abused or misunderstood—as it so often is.

We stand virtually alone against communist expansion in Southeast Asia, except for the token assistance from a few nations in that sector of the world. Even such a staunch ally as Great Britain has abandoned us, not to mention the France that was.

Sen. J. W. Fulbright, that fierce arch-critic of U.S. strength in Asia, declares that our role in Vietnam is a disaster that has undermined our reputation.

"We are losing our influence throughout Europe," he warns.

Sen. Robert F. Kennedy says so, too: "To many of our traditional allies and neutral friends, we have behaved as a superpower ignoring our own historical commitment to a decent respect for the opinions of mankind."

Is it true, then, that the United States should withdraw from its role of Free World defender—except when its own security is threatened directly?

Do those "traditional allies and neutral friends" really wish for us to become isolationist and leave the rest of the world to its fate?

No. Little of that emerges from the anti-American outbursts.

Fulbright cited the German student demonstrations. Yet, the truth is that few of the protestors demanded that the U.S. withdraw from Berlin or Germany. West Germans know all too well the fate of their countrymen to the east.

One of the leftist students told a newsman: "I admit that we want to eat our cake and have it. Frankly, we are taking advantage of American democracy to voice our dissent."

In England, a leftist anti-American magazine, New Statesman, said that if the U.S. weakens in negotiations on Vietnam, a "gigantic backwash" would occur in Europe. "America's future resolve to have no more Vietnams will create disagreeable problems for the very nations who have most criticized the United States," it warned.

Charles de Gaulle is fully aware that he can cavort wildly and flirt with the Russians only because American nuclear power affords him the ultimate protection.

It was he who said, "A great and responsible nation cannot have friends or be loved." Americans would have a better conception of their nation's place in the world if they recognized the truth in that.

HOUSE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE WANTS FARM RELIEF BILL EXTENDED THROUGH 1970

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the American Farm Bureau Federation and many farm and economy groups oppose extending the Agricultural Act of 1965 for another year—through 1970.

Farm experts insist this program is degenerating to a relief subsidy for wealthy farmers and rural corporations receiving annual payments ranging in amounts each year from \$50,000 and \$100,000 up to over \$1 million.

All Members should read the 1,500-page volume of the April Senate Agriculture Committee hearings which reveals all recipients who have received payments of \$5,000 or over during 1967.

I hereby submit a news article from the New York Journal of Commerce of

May 22, 1968, on last Tuesday's hearing for a rule on H.R. 17126.

HOUSE PANEL DEADLOCKED ON FARM BILL
(By Leah Young and Tom Connors)

WASHINGTON, May 21.—Basic farm legislation ran into a roadblock in the House Rules Committee today, and how permanent a barrier it is nobody is speculating.

The one year extension of the Basic Farm Act of 1965 failed to receive a rule to go to the floor by a six to six tie vote this morning. At the same time, a vote to defer the legislation temporarily was also defeated. Right now the legislation is "hanging in limbo" with nobody predicting when or if a new move will be made, a House Agriculture spokesman said.

This morning's session in the Rules Committee was fraught with criticism on the expense of the program, with much ado about farmers who receive a million dollars in federal payments.

There is speculation that the farm bill may be used as ransom to force the House Agriculture Committee, which gave the bill bi-partisan support, to report a supplemental appropriation for the food stamp program. This approach is favored by Rep. Leonor K. Sullivan (D-Mo.).

TO BRING IN 300 COUNTIES

An aide to Mrs. Sullivan explains that the present appropriation for \$225 million will cover present programs and bring in 300 counties that have been waiting to get into the program. But a supplemental appropriation is necessary, he explained, if all who need food stamps are to receive them. He said that there are 100 more counties that have asked to enroll in the program and predicted that more would follow.

Four years ago farm legislation was held up until the Food Stamp Bill was passed.

There was also speculation this morning that some members of the Rules Committee voted against bringing the farm bill to the floor until the pending tax hike-budget cut legislation is acted upon.

The bill was presented to the Rules Committee this morning by House Agriculture Committee Chairman Bob Poage (D-Tex.) whose testimony brought on a number of critical comments, principally from Rules Committee member Ray J. Madden (D-Ind.).

Rep. Madden said the farm program under the bill is "one of the major reasons" for the large influx of tenant farmers into the cities as, he charged, large corporations take over the land to earn government subsidies.

He read into the record examples of payments of \$1 million to \$2 million for individual farmers.

REJECTION FEARS

He said the reason for consideration of extension this year rather than next is that these "big farms are anxious to get this over for another year because they are afraid that the next Congress might not pass it" in view of urban crisis problems.

Rep. Poage replied that in most cases it is the larger farmers who are seeking to end the program and the smaller farmers who need it to keep from being squeezed off the land.

Rep. Madden countered by arguing that the bill would authorize more than \$3 billion in farm payments and yet rural legislators won't back \$600 million for model cities legislation, preferring instead to cut this figure to \$300 million.

Rep. John B. Anderson (R-Ill.) rules maintained that in view of the tax increase and spending reduction package now pending in Congress, it is "very bad time" to add "more uncontrollable expenditures" to the nation's budget picture.

Rep. Page Belcher (R.-Okla.), senior GOP member of House Agriculture, may have hit one reason for the committee's action, or lack of it, on the bill today.

In the course of seconding Rep. Poage's

call for a one-year extension, he said the American Farm Bureau Federation is opposing this vigorously—"they don't want to see it extended another minute."

A YOUNG SCHOLAR'S EXCELLENT ANALYSIS OF THE MEGALOPOLITAN TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, recently there came to my attention an excellent study entitled "Moving Megalopolis: How We Can Preserve Mobility in the Northeast Corridor," written by Livingston L. Biddle IV. The study describes in the clearest detail the great congestion already plaguing our conventional automotive and air transport facilities in the great urban region of the Northeast, and it argues persuasively that we should make better and more effective use of our railroad facilities.

This is a theme which I have frequently sounded myself, and I am always pleased and encouraged to hear it stated anew. Mr. Biddle's paper is a special source of satisfaction, however, because he is a member of this year's graduating class at Groton School, Groton, Mass., and plans to go on to Princeton University next fall, where he will major in history. His excellent paper on transportation in megalopolis was prepared as part of his major course program at Groton. It is reassuring indeed to see a new generation coming to the fore which is genuinely concerned with public problems and willing to venture into the difficult and uncertain area of proposing solutions.

I am particularly pleased to note that the solution envisioned by Mr. Biddle incorporates the concepts of Dr. Constantine Doxiadis, the celebrated Greek planner and urban scientist, who tells us that we should plan to use our various modes of transportation to correspond with the various scales of human activity: We should use airplanes for transcontinental and transoceanic movement, high-speed trains for interurban travel, autos for local regional trips, and our own two feet for neighborhood errands. Mr. Biddle suggests that Doxiadis' "rule of scale" offers a sensible and rational way for planning and coordinating our national investment in transportation, and I thoroughly concur in this view.

Finally, I wish to note that Mr. Biddle brought a special family association to his task, inasmuch as his father, Livingston Biddle was a special assistant on my staff and helped in much of the preliminary work which resulted in the High Speed Ground Transportation Act of 1965.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the excellent article entitled "Moving Megalopolis," written by Mr. Livingston Biddle IV, be printed in the RECORD.

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

MOVING MEGALOPOLIS: HOW WE CAN PRESERVE MOBILITY IN THE NORTHEAST CORRIDOR

(By Livingston L. Biddle IV)

On Saturday, July 3, 1965, there was a parkway traffic jam in New Jersey that lasted seven hours, stretched forty-five miles, and entangled an estimated one and a half million cars. On January 3, 1965, a clear, crisp day 1,190 planes took off and landed at Kennedy International Airport, some having to circle as much as 78 minutes before landing due to the airport's inability to handle such volume. On both of these days the trains ran with empty seats.

These incidents illustrate dramatically both our heavy reliance on our air and highway facilities and our neglect of our railroads; they show us that at peak periods of travel our airways and highways have reached their saturation points; and they force us to answer the question, "How can we preserve our precious freedom of mobility, the freedom to move wherever we please whenever we please in Megalopolis, a region whose already enormous transportation demands are increasing at a tremendous rate?" To solve this problem I think we must adopt Constantinos Doxiadis' plan. We must redress our current tendency to overuse certain modes of transportation while we neglect others. Instead we must fully utilize all modes of transportation, assigning different roles to each mode, and thus arriving at a network of closely coordinated transportation systems, in which each mode fulfills a specialized mission and is fully complementary to the others. Airplanes should be devoted to long distance, inter-Megalopolitan travel; railroads to middle distance, intra-Megalopolitan travel; and automobiles to short distance, intracommunity, personal travel. While such assignments could by no means be regarded as inflexible, I feel that development along these lines would provide the best solution for the growing transportation problems of Megalopolis.

To fully understand our urgent need of a new system of transportation we must first take a close look at Megalopolis. Megalopolis, a term first used by Dr. Jean Gottmann, consists of the corridor of urbanized counties which stretch from Fairfax County in northern Virginia to Rockingham County in southern New Hampshire, and which with its high density of population has the appearance of a very large city, the word's literal meaning. Megalopolis is the most densely populated area of its size in the country. On its 53,575 square miles, 1.4 percent of the nation's land area, live 40 million people, 20 percent of the nation's population. The most characteristic quality of Megalopolis is, as Dr. Gottmann says, its constant movement. "By car, bus, train or plane the traffic along the axial belt of Megalopolis is the heaviest in the world." The Commerce Department estimates that travel in the Megalopolitan Corridor will increase 150 to 200 percent between 1960 and 1980, as population increases 30 percent. Such traffic increases would surely crush our already often saturated transportation system, and thus I feel that it is now of primary importance for us to update our transportation system to meet the demands of the future. By solving the transportation problems of Megalopolis, indeed, we will be doing not only ourselves but also the rest of the country a great service since by 1980 there are expected to be 25 such megalopolis scattered across the country.

Let us first look at our highway facilities and what must be done to prepare them for the increased demands of the future. Today there are about 20 million automobiles in Megalopolis. This number is constantly increasing, necessitating a corresponding increase in highway facilities. Should we continue to expand our highways wildly until the time comes when most of our land is covered by concrete? (Such a time is not as far off as one might think. It has already

come to Los Angeles where 30 percent of the downtown land areas is taken up by streets and expressways, 32.8 percent is occupied by parking lots, and only 37.2 percent is left for the business activity which is the life of the city.)

I think a course of broad expansion would be a great mistake since highways and automobiles are expensive, dangerous, unhealthy and wasteful. I feel the answer to our highway problem lies instead in making the best use of the facilities we have by defining automobiles as a means of short distance, personal transportation, and transferring long distance drivers to the railroads.

Modern highways and automobiles are, as I have said, expensive, dangerous, unhealthy and wasteful. The cost of modern highways is astronomical, especially near cities where land is extremely expensive. A 1.5-mile downtown strip of Boston's central artery cost 40 million dollars per mile. (It must be remembered that it costs 3 million dollars to construct either a university library or a 100-bed hospital.) The expansion of highway facilities would just mean an increase in the gigantic death tolls incurred on the highways every year. One Commerce Department official estimates that, with expansion, in the fifteen-year period ending in 1975 traffic accidents would cause more fatalities than were suffered by American troops in all conflicts from the Civil War through Korea. Such expansion would also augment the air pollution created by automobile exhaust and atomized rubber from automobile tires. Finally, automotive systems should not be expanded because cars represent both a waste of space and time. In general automotive travel requires nine times as much space as moving one person by public transportation. An automobile occupies more than 200 square feet of space twenty-four hours a day, and, indeed allowing room for maneuvering, parking an automobile requires up to 350 square feet of space, almost twice the office space required for one worker. Lastly, time spent driving an automobile is basically wasted time.

How can we transfer long distance drivers to railroads, thus avoiding the necessity of expanding our highway facilities and making the best use of the facilities we now have? Two methods should be used. Firstly, highway tolls should be raised during peak periods of travel, making it cheaper at these times to take the train than to drive. In this way I think much long distance highway traffic could be transferred to the railroads.

Also I think that by putting special cars that could carry automobiles on trains, many who were going to need a car at their destination would decide not to drive but to take the faster, easier train.

Our air facilities present much the same problem as our highway facilities, and thus they must be dealt with in a similar manner. Present airport facilities are already saturated at peak periods. Because of safety regulations the maximum capacity of an airport is 35 landings per hour. However, Kennedy International Airport already has a peak hour volume of 54 planes wishing to land per hour and Boston's Logan airport has 40. The result of such demands is congestion above the airports—congestion which is not only costly to airlines and passengers in terms of extra flying time waiting to land, but extremely dangerous, as was illustrated on December 16, 1960, when two planes circling above New York collided killing 132 people. Our already huge air demands promise only an increase in the future. A study by SARC predicts that commercial airliner movements will grow 150 percent by 1980. The result of this growth will be "severe and intolerable congestion" unless something is done.

Is wild expansion the answer to our air problem? No, since expansion would be ex-

remely expensive and very ineffective. If we were to expand our air facilities to meet future needs, we would have to build ten new instrument controlled runways in Megalopolis by 1980. These facilities would cost a prohibitive 1 billion dollars, and they would be ineffective since the increased traffic they would be serving would, for the most part, be made up of short-haul travelers for whom the new terminals, which because of high land values would have to be quite remote from cities and suburbs, would be especially inconvenient, the short distance traveler having to spend as much time getting to the airport as in the air.

I feel that the solution to our air problem is twofold. Firstly, we must define our air planes as long distance, intermegalopolitan carriers and we must shuffle their short haul passengers to the railroads by simply canceling short distance flights. And secondly, we must find new ways, such as banked runways, to make the best use of our current facilities. By these two steps I feel we can enable our airports to handle future demands without significant expansion.

The key to the problem of future mobility in Megalopolis lies in utilization of our railroad facilities. We must assign all middle distance, intra-megalopolitan traffic to our railroads. I would emphasize that in advancing railway utilization I am thinking of what railway service can and should be and not what it presently is. Railway passenger service in Megalopolis today is "seedy and inadequate, often dirty and often late." However, railway transportation is potentially the most efficient way of moving great numbers of people over distances of four hundred miles or less.

Railroad trains are not susceptible to time-consuming traffic jams and unpredictable delays on entering stations, and thus railroad travelers can count on arriving on time in any weather. Travel by train is much safer than travel by car or airplane. From 1940 through 1960 there were only 1.22 passenger fatalities per billion miles of rail passenger service, while there were 14.01 passenger fatalities per billion miles of air passenger service, and 31.3 passenger fatalities per billion miles of highway driving.

One set of railroad tracks can move twenty-one times as many people per hour as a lane of expressway. An additional Commerce Department estimate is that the hourly passenger capacity of a single set of intercity railroad tracks is about equal to the average capacity of a major airport.

Trains meet much less air resistance than lots of individual cars. Their flanged steel wheels encountered much less friction than rubber tires on concrete, and because of these two facts it takes three times as much power to move the same weight at the same speed on highways as on railroads. Trains also do not need the large amount of power required by airplanes for lift, stability and turning, and thus it takes ten times as much power to move the same weight at the same speed by air as by railroad. Because they need less power trains can do more work than cars or planes for less fuel. When a new high-speed train was tested out between Chicago and Detroit it transported 250 people with a consumption of less fuel than two Cadillacs would have used.

Airports require much more land than railroads. The land area of four airports serving New York, Kennedy International, La Guardia, Newark and Teeterboro is 13.5 square miles, an area just about equal to the entire land area occupied by the 250-mile long 75-foot wide New York Central right-of-way linking New York and Chicago. The railroads already own all the right-of-ways they will need in the future, while each new airport requires about eight thousand acres of prime land—airports usually being built near cities—and likewise each new highway requires much valuable land. Also, railroad tracks are already down, and, as a result,

highway construction costs are often sixteen times that of revitalization of roadbeds.

On the railroads and not in automobiles "travel time is useful time" since one does not have to worry about the road. And finally, railroads are much better for the health of megalopolis than cars or planes since they contribute far less, if at all, to air pollution.

Today's railroads are in such bad shape for several reasons. Because of government regulation which forces the railroads to continue certain services, such as commuter service, at a loss (the tremendous amount of rolling stock involved in commuter service lies empty for the rest of the day), because of government subsidization of competing highways and airports, and because of high taxation of their rights-of-way, railroads today do not have the funds with which to experiment and find new facilities which would improve their passenger service. The fastest schedule between New York and Washington, the afternoon Congressional's three hours and thirty-five minutes, has not been improved since 1930. Because of this "technological retardation" passengers have been leaving the railroads in droves.

If we are to utilize our railroads fully, defining them as the means of middle distance, intra-megalopolitan travel—and I feel we should make full use of them since they are the most efficient middle distance carrier—we must redress their technological retardation and modernize them, making them more attractive to the public than automotive or air travel. To do this we must extend the same treatment in taxation and regulation to railroads as to airlines and highway carriers, give public support for clearly unprofitable but socially desirable railroad services, such as commuter services, and generally both encourage and help our Megalopolitan railroads to operate frequent, comfortable, on time, high-speed trains.

I think that Senator Claiborne Pell's High-Speed Ground-Transportation Act of 1965 provided an excellent first step in this direction. This act authorizes up to ninety million dollars of government money for demonstrations, research, and development in ground transportation. Of this amount eighteen million dollars have been set aside for modernizing existing facilities to test the public's reaction to improved service. This summer several ultramodern 170-mile per hour trains will be placed in service between Washington and Boston, and soon high-speed automobile-carrying trains which will combine the flexibility and mobility of the automobile with the efficiency of mass transportation will be placed in service between Washington and Jacksonville.

Also, by this act sixty-four million dollars have been earmarked for research and development of entirely new techniques of high-speed ground transportation. Here such interesting new concepts as hovercraft and tunnel trains powered by linear induction motors are being experimented with in the hope of discovering for the future a means of ground transportation even more efficient than the railroad.

Thus, in Megalopolis we face an extremely difficult problem: How can we maintain our freedom of mobility, our freedom to go wherever we please whenever we please, when our air and highway facilities are already saturated at peak periods and travel demands are ever increasing. By 1980 we will need one billion dollars worth of new air facilities and vast amounts of new highways. One Commerce Department official recently estimated that the southern approaches to New York City alone will require forty new lanes of highway in the foreseeable future. Is wild expansion of air and highway facilities the answer to our problem? I don't think so. I feel that Constantinos Doxiadis' plan offers a much safer, healthier and more economical solution to our problem, and I think we must hasten to adopt this proposal. Doing this, we

must utilize fully all modes of transportation, and we must create a network of closely coordinated transportation systems, in which each mode fulfills a specialized mission—airplanes serving long distance, inter-Megalopolitan travelers, railroads middle distance, intra-Megalopolitan travelers, and automobiles short distance, intra-community travelers—and in which each mode is fully complementary to the others.

SHE SEES WORLD THROUGH A MIRROR

HON. TOM BEVILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, it was my honor to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD last year an award-winning Freedom Foundation essay on "The American Way of Life" written by Miss Margaret Jean Jones, of Baileyton, Ala.

Margaret is a unique individual. She is vitally interested in the people and events of the world, and has never missed voting since the day she turned 21.

Margaret Jean Jones' story is one of courage and determination. Courage not to let a handicap keep from her the accomplishments she sought; determination to do her part for her community, her State, and her country.

Her story is one of faith, determination, and patience. It is a story I am proud to share with my colleagues in the Congress.

Under unanimous consent, I insert in the Extensions of Remarks of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, an article written by Mrs. Charlotte Miller, of the Birmingham News, which relates Margaret's contributions toward making this world a better place to live:

SHE SEES WORLD THROUGH MIRROR

(By Charlotte Miller)

To see the world through a looking-glass sounds like a story of Alice in Wonderland . . . but Margaret Jean Jones sees the world this way day in and day out.

Margaret is almost completely paralyzed and can only see visitors or the world outside her window by looking directly up through a hand mirror.

"I'm afraid people who don't realize I cannot turn my head think I'm vain," she smiles and says.

She has an extremely rare disease involving the muscles. It progressed until all parts of her body were paralyzed except her right hand. Her legs did not become paralyzed until six months after high school graduation in 1953.

Margaret was double-promoted in elementary school and says that had she not been, she would never have been able to graduate because her legs would have been paralyzed six months before graduation.

The name of the disease which has left her bedridden is myofipisoficanprogressiva—and she says she has to keep it written down to remember it.

It was not diagnosed until 11 years ago when she spent 18 weeks at the National Institute of Health in Bethesda, Md.

There more than 100 doctors read her X-rays, but of that number, only one recognized the disease and he had only seen one case.

But despite of this handicap, Margaret radiates cheerfulness and determination, and seemingly the proverbial patience of Job.

She manages to write articles for several national publications, a weekly column called "Through the Looking-Glass" for the local paper, and occasionally does articles for The Birmingham News.

"Since I have only the use of one hand and must lie completely flat, it took me seven years to figure out how to use a typewriter, although I had taken typing in high school. Since I cannot be raised high enough to see the line of type, I had to perfect the touch system, and find a way to return the carriage. Finally, I hit on the idea of bending a piece of clothesline wire and hooking it in the carriage to pull it back. I make surprisingly few errors."

Margaret first began her writing career in high school when she won awards for two essays in a contest sponsored by the VFW.

Her first article published was entitled "Self-Made Handicaps are Hardest to Overcome!" and appeared in American Mercury, in 1961, a magazine for intellectuals now out of print. Since then, she has written for Youth Instructor, a religious publication, Accent on Living, Woodmen of the World, The Birmingham News Sunday Magazine, the Alabama Sunday Magazine, and The Cullman Times.

Margaret is vitally interested in people and events happening in the world outside. Difficult as a trip to the polls is, she has never missed voting since the day she turned 21.

She is the recipient of two Freedom Foundation Awards for essays on "The American Way of Life," one of which was reprinted in the Congressional Record last year.

She also is serving as chairman of the Reunion Committee for the Farview High School Class of 1953 this year and is a member of the Baileyton Methodist Church, for whom she does volunteer clerical work.

Margaret Jean Jones of Baileyton never walks in sunlight, but her voice and manner reflect the sun seen through her "looking-glass."

CAMPUS OR BATTLEGROUND?

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, a most timely and appropriate article concerning the upheaval at Columbia University was published recently as the lead article in Barron's magazine. Written by Robert Hessen, an instructor in Columbia's Graduate School of Business, the article was reprinted in this morning's edition of the Wall Street Journal.

This is an article that ought to be read by every Member of Congress and by every university administrator, faculty member, and student.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

[From Barron's, May 20, 1968]

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

(By Robert Hessen)

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 was not. 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 falling peacefully to attain two of its political objectives on campus:

(1) The severing of the 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 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 de-

mands 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 Castor'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 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 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 any one 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 county."

(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 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 represent 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 sufficient 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 counter-action. One means is to withhold financial sup-

port 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.

RHODESIA: VICTIM OF U.N. CONSPIRACY

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, international sanctions aimed at overthrowing Rhodesia's bid for independence from Britain amount to "barefaced aggression, unprovoked and unjustified by a single legal or moral principle."

Such comes with authority from none other than Mr. Dean Acheson, former U.S. Secretary of State.

In fact, Mr. Acheson proceeded further in an American Bar Association address to state:

The U.S. is engaged in an international conspiracy, instigated by Britain and blessed by the United Nations to overthrow the government of a country that has done us no harm and threatens no one.

The interesting rebuttal from the father of the year, Mr. Goldberg, was typical U.N.-State Department factual discussion. "Sheer nonsense." Perhaps Mr. Goldberg means no one not in the inner circles is entitled to tell the people the truth. Or where there is no rebuttal to wrong the party line is to discount the truth as "nonsense."

It is time for the people of the United States to throw off the chains of slavery to international conspiracies and the tyranny of British Socialism.

We did win the War of Independence of 1776, did we not? We just overlook clearing the British trained members out of the State Department.

I include the Evening Star report of May 25, 1968, on Mr. Acheson's speech and Mr. Kilpatrick's column of May 26 on U.N. hypocrisy and related comments:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 25, 1968]

ACHESON RAPS RHODESIA FOES

Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson says invocation of international sanctions aimed at Rhodesia's bid for independence from Britain amount to "barefaced aggression, unprovoked and unjustified by a single legal or moral principle."

"It will surprise some of our fellow citizens, though hardly anyone here today, to be told that the United States is engaged in an international conspiracy, instigated by Britain,

and blessed by the United Nations, to overthrow the government of a country that has done us no harm and threatens no one," Acheson told an international law group here yesterday.

"The charge that Britain brings against Rhodesians is one that George III once brought against Americans and sought unsuccessfully to enforce by arms," he said.

TALKS TO BAR GROUP

Acheson spoke at a luncheon of the international and comparative law section of the American Bar Association.

His criticism was directed at a United Nations call for economic sanctions against Rhodesia after that country's white minority government asserted its independence from Britain in November 1965.

Acheson's comments brought a sharp reply from Arthur J. Goldberg, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

"As we say in United Nations circles, the former secretary of state is a distinguished gentleman, but what he says is sheer nonsense," Goldberg told a National Press Club luncheon.

DECRIES MEDDLING

Acheson said that Rhodesia's approach to government, in which whites have the controlling voice, may not be "everyone's cup of tea." But, he said, "neither was it anyone's business; nor was it apartheid."

"It was a matter relating solely to the international affairs of Rhodesia—in which the United Nations was forbidden by its charter to meddle."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 26, 1968]

THE SMOG OF HYPOCRISY AT THE UNITED NATIONS

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—It is good to get back to the United Nations. One feels so at home in the smog.

In recent weeks the smog—the smog of hypocrisy, that is—has seemed especially thick. It is worse than the faint haze that always hangs over Congress. It is infinitely more nauseous than the cheerful lies of an Oregon campaign. The Security Council is back on Rhodesia again, contemplating a couple of punitive resolutions, and the most elementary principles of fair play and basic law have floated down the river. They are lost in the fog and may never be seen again.

One of the resolutions, taking the approach of let's you and him fight, comes from the Afro-Asian bloc. It begins by reaffirming the spurious assertion that Rhodesian independence "constitutes a threat to international peace and security." No such threat ever has been proved; it has merely been stated. Rhodesia has threatened no one.

The Afro-Asian resolution goes on to concede that economic sanctions have failed to bring Rhodesia to her knees, partly because of the sympathetic position taken by Portugal and South Africa. Therefore the resolution proposes to censure Portugal and South Africa by name, but more than this is required: The resolution urges Great Britain "to take urgently all necessary measure including the use of force to bring an end to the rebellion."

The second resolution, sponsored by Great Britain, is longer and more legalistic. Its purpose is to give another turn to the sanctions screw. Members of the United Nations would be obligated to prevent the flow of capital into Rhodesia, to ban travelers on Rhodesian passports, to prevent aircraft and ships from transporting Rhodesian freight, and generally to ostracize and isolate Great Britain's rebellious offspring.

The two resolutions have been kicking around for more than a month. The Afro-Asian delegations are trying to pick up support from Latin-America, but the Latins are playing it cool. It is generally agreed that the Security Council will reject an appeal to

force, even if Britain has to exercise its veto, but pressures are being generated for hard-line action.

One wonders dreadingly, why? Why has Rhodesia been singled out for the unprecedented punishment imposed by the council? The familiar answer is that Rhodesia's "illegal white racist regime" has flagrantly denied the principles of self-determination, majority rule, and one man, one vote.

Surely it is true that Rhodesia's government has refused to extend those principles here and now. But one is compelled to ask: When did these principles get to be the law of the United Nations? And if violation of these principles can be construed as a threat to international peace, why is the rule not applied to all alike? Why the double standard?

The questions are unanswerable; or more accurately, as Dean Acheson has said, they can be answered only in terms of the transparent hypocrisy that has emerged with the African bloc. The United Nations is paying a high price for this indulgence. Obviously, the sanctions imposed thus far upon Rhodesia have failed. Not only Portugal and South Africa have ignored them; as a recent article in Reporter magazine made clear, dozens of other nations have winked at them, too. The impotence of the UN becomes steadily more apparent.

Why compound the folly? George Ball, who will replace Arthur Goldberg as U.S. Ambassador next month, has described economic sanctions as a "romantic delusion." In his recent book, "The Discipline of Power," he has bluntly remarked that non-military sanctions are more likely to result in annoyance than hardship.

This further objection arises, that adoption of a hard-line council resolution will make political survival even more difficult for Rhodesia's Ian Smith. He is treading a perilous path. If he stumbles, right-wing extremists will move into power. Once that happens, Great Britain, the United Nations, and Rhodesia's black majority will have lost far more than they could have gained by wiser policies all along.

[From American Opinion, June 1968]

FROM AFRICA

(By George S. Schuyler)

Students of World War III with their attention riveted on Vietnam and the Pueblo incident might well be equally concerned with the African sector of the conflict where significant gains have been made by the Communist enemy.

There is first the continuing devastating civil war in Nigeria where the successes of the Federals over the Biafran rebels have been largely made possible by massive aid from Moscow in the forms of arms and aircraft. Of course, since the Lagos government has no pilots capable of flying the Soviet planes, the Kremlin has graciously sent an ample supply of those too. With the death toll already at thirty thousand, or more than the total U.S. deaths in Vietnam, it continues to mount daily as Soviet bombers destroy cities, churches, and hospitals in the absence of any worthwhile military targets. The British military aid to Lagos has also been substantial, but nothing approaching the Russian help which came from the beginning after urgent appeals.

Thanks to this foreign military aid, the Federal forces have demolished Biafra's great trading city of Onitsha—where a \$1.4 million market is now a scorched skeleton of twisted girders, the \$17 million bridge across the mighty Niger has been destroyed, and the population of 160,000 has been reduced to less than 1,000, without water, electricity or food, except that supplied by the victorious Federal forces of General Yakubu Gowon.

Both the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches have appealed for peace in Nigeria in a joint statement

saying they "unite in one voice in most urgent appeal to both contesting parties for an immediate cessation of armed hostilities in this sad conflict and for the establishment of a lasting peace by honorable negotiations in the highest African tradition." Neither of these august bodies, of course, has ever appealed to the Algerian dictatorship for the release of the kidnaped and imprisoned Moise Tshombe; nor to anyone in behalf of the half million Christians and pagans chased out of southern Sudan by the Khartoum politicians befeared by Soviet arms (nothing can be done about the half million already slaughtered there in the civil war which has been going on since 1956); nor have they appealed on behalf of the thousands of hapless Jehovah's Witnesses who have been raped, robbed, tortured, and killed by the brave forces of Dr. Hastings Banda, dictator of Malawi.

Only the much-maligned Portuguese and the French have helped supply arms to the Biafrans, though the Dutch (with their usual eye to commerce) have run several freighters through the blockade. The United States has aided neither side but has recognized all sorts of virtue in the case of Lagos. In return it has been daily denounced by the Moscow-leaning Nigerians.

President Tubman, of one-Party Liberia, and Emperor Haile Selassie, the daddy of all African dictators—who co-chaired the Nigerian peace mission of the Organization of African Unity—have been distressingly ineffective as the genocide against the talented and progressive Ibo people of Biafra has progressed. But, as a sort of farcical note, it was announced in mid-March that a month hence the big brass of the Negro Leadership Conference on Africa would emplane for Lagos to offer their good offices in bringing about Nigerian peace (something they can't maintain in their "ghettos" at home!). The delegates were to be Roy Wilkins of the N.A.A.C.P.; Whitney Young of the Urban League; A. Philip Randolph, President of the Sleeping Car Porters; and, Dr. Martin Luther King, the nonviolent agitator. With King now gathered to his fathers, the trip may be postponed with no loss to anybody except the airplane companies.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union is zealously prosecuting its plans for conquering Africa, thereby enriching its sources of mineral wealth and denying same to the capitalist world. The Rhodesian war is being stepped up with increasing attacks across the Zambezi border by guerrillas trained by Chinese Communist military experts and equipped with the latest arms. It is estimated that there are two thousand of these guerrillas in Tanzania and Zambia, although the voracious President Kenneth Kaunda denies they are being trained in his country. This is affirmed by James R.D. Chikerema, Lusakabased Vice President of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, and the Dar es Salaam-based Oliver Tambo, who heads the African National Congress forces in Tanzania. But, only the incredibly naive believe them. Both operate up-to-date headquarters from which they direct the movement of their Communist guerrillas across the Rhodesian and Mozambique borders.

The multi-racial Rhodesian army has repulsed the several murder teams sent across the Zambezi, but its officers admit that the guerrillas are highly trained and well equipped. That figures, since their leaders were instructed in Russia and China, with the rank-and-file being drilled in Tanzania and Zambia—and the whole tribe carrying Russian- and Chinese-made rockets and rocket-launchers. Since each guerrilla gets a \$70.50 handout when he starts out on a mission, it is evident that Messrs. Chikerema and Tambo are handling a lot of money from the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity (which gets it from the Soviet Union).

Parked over in Kinshasa and also backed by the O.A.U. is Communist Holden Roberto, author of the March 15, 1961 atrocities in Angola, with his forces of the Revolutionary Government of Angola; across the Congo River in Brazzaville, capital of the old French Congo, is quartered the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, headed by the Communist Angolan intellectual, Dr. Neto. Roberto has the nod and cash from the O.A.U., but Neto's funds come directly from the Red bosses.

The other prong of the Red pincers on Southern Africa is directed by Eduardo Mondlane, President of the Mozambique liberationist group called FRELIMO, which is quartered in Dar es Salaam. A Mozambique mulatto, married to an American girl from the Midwest, and formerly Professor at Syracuse University, Dr. Mondlane was originally bankrolled by the Ford Foundation which supported his "school" on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam. His outfit is now financed by the O.A.U.'s Liberation Committee and is credited with having eight thousand guerrillas training inside Mozambique and an equal number in Tanzania. The 65,000-man Portuguese Army is holding its own and the rebels are making no advance.

The strategy is to invade Rhodesia, Angola, Botswana, and Mozambique, and to encircle South Africa, the real goal. With South Africa's wealth in capital and natural resources, and South West Africa's diamond bonanza, the Communists figure they could have it made. The only obstacle to world conquest would then be the United States.

RBC COMMENTARY

(By Mr. P. Hanson)

"A Bad Week's Work". That was how the London Times described the legislation rushed through the House of Commons to stop the rush of Asian immigrants entering Britain from Kenya. So they have no home to go to. Britain won't take them. India has set its face against them, and Kenya is determined to get rid of them.

And not only them, but Europeans as well. A senior official wrote from Nairobi last month, that the world is now hearing about the Asian exodus without realizing that a significant outflow of Europeans is now building up. The warning was there, a long time ago. Anyone who had lived in Kenya for ten years prior to "Uhuru" had the constitutional right for two years after independence to assume Kenya citizenship. Not just to ask for it, but to assume it. That gave them, Europeans and Asians alike, until December 1965; yet today, there are over eight-thousand applications for citizenship—all made in due time—which have not yet been approved. Those people and their families now find themselves subject to a spate of legislation designed to restrict employment to Kenya citizens. They are being refused work permits, trading licenses, transport licenses and denied the right to sell their land to anyone who is not a citizen of Kenya, and the right to employ non-citizens.

The Kenya Government must be well aware of the risks it runs. There are a million bags of maize to be moved into bulk storage before the next crop comes in within the next few months. But the Asian lorry-owners have no licenses, and the African transporters will not be able to move one-tenth of the crop. So there can be little doubt that the Kenya Government's policy is deliberate.

Europeans have written from Kenya that they will not visit Rhodesia because they might well be denied re-entry into Kenya. But their message is clear: what is happening in that country today is the certain and logical end of accepting the principle of "one man, one vote." Yet two years ago, Kenya was being acclaimed as a demonstration to Rhodesians of how a viable multi-racial state under a black government could work. For the white man, as well as for the Asians,

the time has come, not for any re-appraisals, but for level-headed scouting around for new fields, for fresh lands. The message for ex-patriate communities in Kenya is clear. It is a silent message, but piercing and simple: they are no longer wanted in Kenya.

The article says that most of the expatriates who stayed after independence, did so with the best intentions and contributed largely to the development which has impressed overseas visitors. In return, they expected good-will and a free atmosphere. This is what is now disappearing.

The Asians have tried to use their British passports and get into Britain, only to find the door bolted in their faces. Will the Europeans fare any better, or must they join Mr. Callaghan's queue? They are a minority. The clauses in the constitution negotiated with the British Government have failed to protect them.

The British Government today is powerless to protect them. Just as powerless as it was to protect minorities in Aden. And no principles embedded in a constitution will do it for them.

The message in Kenya is one that Rhodesians should heed. "One man, one vote" sounds fine at the United Nations, but it is only a key opening the Pandora's Box of African rule for Africans only.

The suddenness and abruptness of Mr. Wilson's latest challenge to Rhodesia poses the question as to whether his real intention is to get the Rhodesian Government to solve this particular problem for him and thus leave him free to turn to other and, from a British point of view, more pressing matters. For there are certainly more urgent affairs for Mr. Wilson to consider. Devaluing the pound was drastic, but it did not solve Britain's economic worries, and these are far more vital to the survival of Mr. Wilson's Government than anything that happens in Rhodesia.

Last month, Britain's gold and dollar reserves rose by some £9 million, but this was not enough to settle the qualms felt by the money markets that deal in the pound sterling, which this week slipped to its lowest level since devaluation last November. The basic reasons for this renewed run on the pound is the feeling abroad that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Roy Jenkins, still has to produce a really tough budget if he is to restore the position of Britain's economy. And this time, the United States is not in the same position as in the past—when she was able to bring to bear massive support for the British pound.

Now America has her own problems, and her resources are committed to an all-out effort to avoid an increase in the price of gold, which would be tantamount to devaluing her own dollar. Last week, an even greater rush for gold was triggered off by a demand put before the American Senate that a halt be called to supplies of gold being sent to the London pool. And the rumours that South Africa might switch her gold sales from the London market to Paris brought even more sales of dollars and pounds. While all the time the world waits to see what steps Mr. Jenkins will take this month. Already he has been advised by the most influential pressure groups on economics outside the Treasury that he needs to raise some £500 million in extra taxes. The National Institute of Economics and Social Research warned Mr. Jenkins that industrial output must be reined back and so must the natural rise in weekly earnings that everyone in Britain wants.

The problem that Mr. Wilson's Government faces is one of confidence. They have to persuade the world that it is perfectly safe to keep pound notes locked in a drawer with no risk of them being worth less tomorrow. But the world in general is showing an ever increasing mistrust of paper money, and thus the pound gradually shrinks in value. Unless Mr. Wilson can re-establish this

confidence then the British people face a bleak outlook, as the money in the weekly pay packet becomes worth less and less. Already the situation is being taken seriously enough for there to be speculation on the formation of a National government, similar to the one that was formed in 1931, when the Labour Government of Mr. Ramsey MacDonald fell—for very similar reasons.

Whether it be in the form of a coalition or a general election, any such change of government will take time, and during that time the ordinary man in the British street will have to tighten his belt and hang on in the hope that his political masters will be able to come up with some sort of solution that will let him go about his daily business with some sort of assurance that next week's pay packet will buy as much as this week's.

Reports from New York today say that African nations have demanded that the Security Council should meet immediately to consider the Rhodesian issue, but add that this is unlikely to happen for at least a week. The Special Committee on Colonialism has drawn the Security Council's attention to what it calls the grave situation in this country; while the United Nations Commission on Human Rights called on the Security Council to take "immediate and appropriate action" to restore peace and security. Both these bodies repeatedly refer to African murderers as "freedom fighters" and to Rhodesia as a "colony". All this effort to get the Security Council to meet infers that Rhodesia is a threat to world peace, for that is what the Council exists to deal with. Apart from the laughability of such an idea, have these bodies, and the organization of African Unity, which screams for the invasion of Rhodesia, put up any protests about those who have died, and are dying, in Mauritius?

At the same time as the Human Rights Commission and the Special Committee on Colonialism were issuing their tirades in New York, the British Government announced that the visit of Princess Alexandra to Mauritius has been cancelled. Why? Because of the recent violence on the island. A spokesman for the British Commonwealth Office said that it had been hoped that the state of emergency could have been lifted before the Princess was due to arrive. But this has not been possible, and, as the spokesman added, conditions have not yet returned to normal. But Mauritius is a British Colony, and the same Government which is prepared to tell the Security Council that Rhodesia is a threat to world peace, is not in the least concerned that the United Nations should investigate what is going on in Mauritius. British troops had to be rushed there in January, after a week of rioting in which twenty lives were lost, and there were fresh incidents last month. So it would seem that a definition of a "threat to world peace" is subject to double standards.

If the accent is put on the word "world", then it is difficult to see how either Rhodesia or Mauritius can be classed in this category; but if the accent is on "peace", then no person in their sane and sober senses could say that Rhodesia is less peaceful than Mauritius, and the Commonwealth Office itself admits it—by cancelling Princess Alexandra's visit. The spokesman even added that he did not think the Queen would be represented at the celebrations when the island is granted its independence next week.

The idea of granting independence to a colony at a time when it is not safe for the Royal Family to go there, may seem ludicrous, but the wooly thinking that goes with the sacred cow of one man, one vote—presumably can excuse anything, even leaving the Mauritians to kill each other with no one to hold the ring.

It may be ludicrous, but it is also tragic. For the once-great powers at the United Nations will still pay heed to the shrill cries of Afro-Asian countries that have nothing to lose but their free hand-outs.

While in Mauritius, Hindus will go on killing Creoles and Muslims, and vice versa, while the United Nations get ready to welcome them as the newest member; and one day Mauritius may even get elected onto the Security Council.

There are plenty of harsh words being used about Rhodesia in many parts of the world. But the vitriol poured out comes, in the main, from militant and highly vocal minorities who manage to make far more noise than their numbers merit. Their abuse is heard by the majority and is bound to influence ordinary people wherever they live—for those same ordinary people have, in all-too-many cases, hardly heard of Rhodesia. And, setting the record straight is a difficult task, albeit a vital one. The truth, if it comes from Rhodesia, is automatically suspect and liable to be written off as propaganda. From this country, it may seem an almost hopeless task, but Rhodesia has friends abroad—whether in the form of organized societies, or individuals.

A case in point comes from Canada. There, a petition with a thousand signatures has been submitted to the Government's External Affairs Committee, asking for an official party to be sent to Rhodesia to find out the truth for itself. One of the prime-movers in getting this petition submitted to the Government was a former Rhodesian farmer, Mr. Cedric Greenhill. Born in England, and now a Canadian citizen, Mr. Greenhill farmed in Rhodesia for sixteen years, and so his views on the dispute between this country and Britain should carry some weight with Canadians. The paper presented to the External Affairs Committee calls for the dispatch of an all-party Parliamentary group to Rhodesia and asks that Canada, instead of taking sides, should act as a mediator.

This petition, submitted by the Canadian "Friends of Rhodesia" Society, asks the Government to seek a ruling from the International Court in the Hague on the legality of the economic isolation of Rhodesia. On this point, Mr. Greenhill says that the present condemnation of Rhodesia, without a hearing, discredits both the United Nations and Canada. For, not only are sanctions illegal under the Charter, but against Canadian Law, under which the accused have the right to face their accusers and must be presumed innocent unless proved guilty. Yet Canada has imposed sanctions without the matter ever having been debated on the floor of the Canadian House of Commons. Mr. Greenhill drily asked whether Canada has ever before waged war—economic or otherwise—without a parliamentary debate. Whether the Canadian Government will take the slightest notice of the petition, is a moot point, but at least it will leave ordinary Canadians without the excuse that they don't really know what their own Government is up to.

Mr. Greenhill's statement has rubbed in the fact that the Land Apportionment Act is maintained in order to prevent those with most money obtaining most of the land. And just in case that may not convey much to the average Canadian, Mr. Greenhill goes on to point out that if Canada had instituted a similar measure to protect the indigenous Red Indians, it would be like giving their British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Facts like these can only be put across by someone who knows both Rhodesia and Canada. Even if the Canadian Government is not persuaded by the arguments, at least it means that the still, small voice of truth will gradually be heard. And if it is not believed immediately, at least it may make the ordinary public all over the world stop and think. This is what seems to have happened as far as the reaction by the Canadian External Affairs Committee is concerned. One of the organizers of the petition described it by saying that quite a few liberals were taken aback

by this brand of truth and responded by asking some honest questions.

And that is all that Rhodesia asks for: honest questions.

Messages of goodwill poured into Mauritius yesterday as it became an independent nation. Messages of goodwill, and messages appealing for restraint by all those involved in the island's racial tension. Amongst the latter was one from Pope Paul who urged Christians to co-operate with Hindus, Moslems and Jews in an effort to build a stable Government for the new state. Pope Paul called Mauritius the melting pot of European, African and Asian civilisations, and his message noted that the island had been "wisely prepared" for independence. It must be presumed that Pope Paul has advisers who have counselled him as to the wise preparations in Mauritius for Independence. And, being faceless, they escape responsibility for the wildness of their advice. For if riots are wise preparation for independence, then the world is truly mad. And does the fact that the largest single political party is violently opposed to independence really indicate the wisdom of these preparations? Perhaps one day the world will learn who these advisers are. But, by then it will be too late. The damage will have been done, and history will have been written in Mauritius . . . perhaps in blood.

It is always the same: when Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin met at Yalta—they had advisers. When the map of Europe and much of the world was rolled up, the press cameras were focused on the three leaders—not on the nameless ones in the background. Only later did history relate who they were and what they did. President Roosevelt was a dying man. He took with him to Yalta his Secretary of State, Edward G. Stettinius, who was carried to the Conference on a stretcher. The two main issues of the Conference were the United Nations and Poland. It was then that the idea of the veto was born. The partition of Poland was decided; Germany was split; Yugoslavia was amongst the victims, and the King and Prime Minister were persuaded to get together with Tito. Within a few months, that coalition was ended and Tito was in complete control of the country. The Russians had gained all their points. The fate of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania became a foregone conclusion.

And who advised the dying American President and the invalid Secretary of State? Harry S. Hopkins . . . who according to recent publications had no formal status in the American delegation. A man of the left for whom there could be no Anglo-American ganging up on the Russians. The other person present was the subsequently notorious Alger Hiss, at the time attached to the State Department. It took a long time for the F.B.I. to catch up with Alger Hiss and get him convicted of spying, and during that time the damage was done—not by the leaders but by the shadowy figures in the background.

And, today, Mr. Wilson has built up a reputation in Britain of almost incredible folly. Popularity polls show that he rates lower in public esteem than practically any British Prime Minister at any time. But what is more incredible is than any one man in a position such as he has achieved could possibly make so many errors of judgment. His efforts to take Britain into the European Common Market failed. His policies left Aden independent but bloodstained. His Rhodesian policies have united this country against him; and Mauritius looks like being another Aden. The tale is endless.

Perhaps Mr. Wilson has many advisers. It is easy to say that he is the victim of bad advice. But is it? Could it be that it is just as subtle and Machiavellian as that given to President Roosevelt at Yalta?

THE FUNERAL SERVICE OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., IN ATLANTA, GA.

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on Tuesday, April 9, 1968, there was held what was probably the most unusual funeral tribute ever given an American who had never held a public office.

On that day, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was laid to rest in his native soil in a funeral service in which hundreds of thousands participated.

First, at 10:30 in the morning there was the limited audience which was able to crowd into the Ebenezer Baptist Church, of which Dr. King's father, Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., was pastor. A memorial service was held there.

This was followed by the march of the funeral procession from the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Ga., to the campus of Morehouse College in Atlanta—a march of approximately 5 miles, in which hundreds of thousands participated. The final service was held on the campus of Morehouse College in the afternoon. The entire services—march and final services—embraced a period of some 6 hours.

Following the memorial march, the memorial service on the campus of Morehouse College was held in the open, and thereby many thousands of the hundreds of thousands who had made the march were able to be visible participants.

In the final service, the stirring funeral eulogy by Benjamin E. Mays, president emeritus of Morehouse College, was heard by many tens of millions on television and radio in America, and stirred the people of the Nation.

The entire services and the march and the oration by Dr. Mays were televised all day long that day by the television networks of America, and were viewed by untold tens of millions of people.

Having been in Atlanta, Ga., that day as a personal participant in the services and having been requested to make the order of service available to many people, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed at this point in the Extensions of Remarks the complete order of the funeral services under the title, "Obsequies, Martin Luther King, Jr.," as printed in 14-page booklet form and used at the service April 9, 1968. I also request unanimous consent that there be printed at this point in the Extensions of Remarks the stirring funeral eulogy by Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president emeritus of Morehouse College.

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

OBSEQUIES: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., APRIL, 9, 1968, 10:30 A.M., EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH—2:00 P.M., THE CAMPUS OF MOREHOUSE COLLEGE, ATLANTA, GA.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., 1929-68

Martin Luther King, Jr., is like the great Yggdrasil tree, "whose roots," a poet said, "are deep in earth but in whose upper

branches the stars of heaven are glowing and astir."

His roots went deeply into the inferno of slavery, this black baby born January 15, 1929, to Alberta Williams King and Martin Luther King, Sr. Now the roots have grown to those upper branches, and he is indeed among the stars of heaven, this beautiful man, husband, father, pastor, leader.

He is free and he is home, and the world has come to his home to honor him and hopefully, to repent the sins against him and all humanity.

Martin Luther King came of a deeply religious family tradition. His great grandfather was a slave exhorter. His maternal grandfather, the Rev. Adam Daniel Williams, was the second pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church where for eight years, Dr. King and his father were co-pastors.

This lineage which permeated his life was an enormous influence on him and what he would ultimately become.

His father, born at the turn of the century in Stockbridge, Georgia, came to Atlanta in 1916. In 1925, Martin Luther King Sr. married Alberta Williams. They were blessed with a daughter and two sons. The youngest son is the Reverend Alfred Daniel Williams King of Louisville, Kentucky, who went to Memphis, Tennessee, one infamous day "to help my brother." The daughter is Christine King Farris of Atlanta, who went to a home that night to comfort her brother's wife. The other son was Martin Luther King, Jr.

Rearing in a home of love, understanding, and compassion, young Martin was to find 501 Auburn Avenue a buffer against the rampant injustices of the "sick society" for which he would become the physician.

A serious student, Martin Luther King was an early admissions student at Morehouse College in Atlanta, from which he graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1948.

His great "wrestling inside with the problem of a vocation" must have been prophetic of the many agonizing hours which would eventually characterize his life.

Having felt the stings of "man's inhumanity to man," Martin Luther King believed law would be his sphere for combating injustices. The ministry as he saw it was not socially relevant; however, at Morehouse, in the brilliant Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, he saw the ideal of what he wanted a minister to be. In his junior year, he gave himself to the ministry.

At Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, Martin Luther King was further stimulated but still his quest for a method to end social evil continued. Through courses at the University of Pennsylvania, deep, serious reading, and provocative lectures, he began to find answers which would crystallize his thinking and give him the philosophy by which he would "redeem the soul of America." Because of the color of his skin, his life was threatened at this institution, but with the aplomb that would be typical of his response to later threats, he disarmed his attacker.

He was the first Negro to be elected president of Crozer's student body, and this began what would become a series of firsts for this son whose roots were in slavery.

With a partially satisfied, but still fermenting mind, he matriculated at Boston University, at the time the center of personalism, the philosophical posture which he had adopted. Studying under two of the greatest exponents of his philosophy, Martin King was to find this theory an enormously sustaining force in the future.

In Boston, he met Coretta Scott, an equally concerned and talented New England Conservatory student from the South. On June 18, 1953, at her Marion, Alabama home she became Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr. She was later to realize her highest dreams, not in concertizing, but in singing the songs of freedom and being her husband's disciple from "Montgomery to Montgomery."

This happy marriage brought into life four children; Yolanda Denise, born November 17, 1955; Martin Luther III, born October 23, 1957; Dexter Scott, born January 30, 1961; and Bernice Albertine, born March 28, 1963.

The Ph.D. degree was awarded Martin Luther King in 1955, and again there was a great "wrestling inside." Sensitive to the needs of his native South, he decided to return to the land from whence he had sprung, and preach a "socially relevant and intellectually responsible" gospel. He accepted the "call" to Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, and began his pastorate September 1, 1954.

The cradle of the Confederacy was a seething cauldron of racial injustice, and this grandson of a founder of the Atlanta Branch NAACP was asked to assume the presidency of the Montgomery Branch NAACP. Again the wrestle.

Finally, he answered negatively, but on December 1, 1955, the refusal of Mrs. Rosa Parks to give up her seat to a white man on a Montgomery bus made the young, erudite minister answer affirmatively when asked to chair the newly formed Montgomery Improvement Association.

Mrs. Parks' arrest for violation of the system of racial segregation set off a new American Revolution. Daring to do what was right, Ralph and Juanita Abernathy stood up with Martin and Coretta King when there were nothing but "valleys of despair," and their loyalty has never known the midnight.

Now, the myriad religious and philosophical forces which had shaped his life would be put to the test and this selfless, compassionate man would "forget himself into immortality."

"Christian love can bring brotherhood on earth. There is an element of God in every man," said he after his home was bombed in Montgomery. This new attack on America's social system gave every day application to the teachings of Jesus, and captured the conscience of the world.

On April 4, 1968, an assassin took the earthly life of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Profound, but unpretentious; gentle, but valiant; Baptist, but ecumenical; loving justice, but hating injustice; the deep roots of this Great Spirit resolved the agonizing wrestling and gave all mankind new hope for a bright tomorrow.

It is, now, for us, the living to dedicate and rededicate our lives to the Cause which Martin Luther King so nobly advanced.

He Had a Dream.

THE LEADERSHIP OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

1955-56: Montgomery Bus Boycott.

1957: Founding of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

1958: Beginning of massive South-wide voter registration.

1959: Nonviolent education programs; school integration drives.

1960: Founding of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; the sit-in movement.

1961: Freedom Rides; the Albany Movement—Albany, Georgia.

1962: Establishment of SCLC Citizenship Education Program and SCLC Operation Breadbasket.

1963: The Birmingham Movement; The March on Washington.

1964: The Nobel Prize for Peace; the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

1965: The Selma-to-Montgomery March; The Voting Rights Act of 1965.

1966: The Chicago Movement; the March Against Fear in Mississippi.

1967: The war in Vietnam and the call for peace; the Cleveland Movement.

1968: The Poor People's Campaign; Memphis.

MEMORIAL SERVICES: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., 1929-68—ATLANTA, GA., APRIL 9, 1968

I. Ebenezer Baptist Church, Family and Faith.

II. Memorial March, Commitment and Movement.

III. The Morehouse College Campus, Knowledge and Wisdom.

IV. Interment, "Free at last, free at last! Thank God Almighty, I'm free at last!"

I. Memorial services, Martin Luther King, Jr., Ebenezer Baptist Church, 10:30 A.M.

The Reverend Ralph David Abernathy, Officiating.

Processional: "Cortege," Dupre.

Hymn: "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross," arr. Lowell Mason.

Prayer: The Reverend Ronald English, Assistant Pastor, Ebenezer Baptist Church.

Hymn: "In Christ There Is No East or West," Alexander R. Reinagle.

Old Testament Scripture: The Reverend William H. Borders, Pastor, Wheat Street Baptist Church.

Hymn: "Softly and Tenderly," Will L. Thompson.

New Testament Scripture: The Reverend E. H. Dorsey, Pastor, Tabernacle Baptist Church.

Hymn: "Where He Leads Me," J. S. Norris. Tribute, Dr. L. Harold De Wolfe, Mentor of Dr. King.

Solo: "My Heavenly Father Watches Over Me," Charles H. Gabriel, sung by Mrs. Mary Gurley.

Sermon excerpts.

Spiritual: "Balm in Gilead," Traditional.

Recessional: "Largo" from "New World Symphony," Dvorak.

II. Memorial March

Martin Luther King Jr. marched for freedom. We march today in grateful recognition of the freedom he has now achieved.

III. Martin Luther King, Jr., The Campus of Morehouse College, 2:00 P.M.

The Reverend Ralph David Abernathy, Officiating.

Prelude: Improvisations on Negro Spirituals, Improvisations on "We Shall Overcome."

Processional: "Cortege," Dupre.

Hymn: "O God, Our Help in Ages Past," Isaac Watts.

Prayer: Dr. Gardner C. Taylor, President, Progressive National Baptist Convention.

Old Testament Scripture: Rabbi Abraham Heschel, Professor, Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Spiritual: "Balm in Gilead," Traditional, Morehouse College Glee Club.

New Testament Scripture: The Reverend Franklin C. Frye, President, National Council of Churches.

Spiritual: "Ain't Got Time to Die," Traditional, Ebenezer Baptist Church Choir.

Tributes: The Honorable Ivan Allen, Jr., Mayor, City of Atlanta; Mr. Robert J. Collier, Chairman, Board of Deacons, Ebenezer Baptist Church; Most Reverend John J. Wright, Bishop of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Rosa Parks, "Mother" of Montgomery Movement; The Reverend J. E. Lowery, Chairman, Board of Directors, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; The Reverend Andrew J. Young, Executive Vice President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Solo: "Precious Lord, Take My Hand," Thomas A. Dorsey, sung by Miss Mahalia Jackson.

Eulogy: Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President Emeritus, Morehouse College.

Hymn: "The Morehouse College Hymn," J. O. B. Mozeley. "We Shall Overcome."

Benediction: Bishop W. R. Wilkes, Presiding Bishop, Third Episcopal District, African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Recessional: "Largo" from "New World Symphony," Dvorak.

IV. Interment

South View Cemetery.

THE DREAMS AND INSPIRATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

1958: "History has thrust upon our generation an indescribably important destiny—

to complete a process of democratization which our nation has too long developed too slowly. How we deal with this crucial situation will determine our moral health as individuals, our cultural health as a region, our political health as a nation, and our prestige as a leader of the free world."

Statement to an Alabama judge, 1958: "Although I cannot pay the fine, I will willingly accept the alternative which you provide, and that I will do without malice."

1962: "It may get me crucified. I may even die. But I want it said even if I die in the struggle that 'He died to make men free.'"

Letter from a Birmingham Jail April, 1963: "The question is not whether we will be extremist but what kind of extremists will we be. Will we be extremists for hate or will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice—or will we be extremists for the cause of justice?"

The March on Washington, August 28, 1963: "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but the content of their character."

1964: "Some of you have knives, and I ask you to put them up. Some of you have arms, and I ask you to put them up. Get the weapon of nonviolence, the breastplate of righteousness, the armor of truth and just keep marching."

On taking a position against the war in Vietnam, 1967: "Cowardice asks the question, 'Is it safe?' Expediency asks the question, 'Is it politics?' Vanity asks the question, 'Is it popular?' But conscience asks the question, 'Is it right?' And there comes a time when one must take a position that is neither safe, nor politic, nor popular, but he must take it because conscience tells him that it is right."

On the Poor People's Campaign, 1968: "Poor people's lives are disrupted and dislocated every day. We want to put a stop to this. Poverty, racism and discrimination cause families to be kept apart, men to become desperate, women to live in fear, and children to starve."

April 3, 1968: "Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will . . . I've looked over and I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you, but I want you to know tonight that we as a people will get to the promised land."

HONORARY PALLBEARERS

Board of Deacons, Ebenezer Baptist Church, S.C.L.C. Staff, Men of the Clergy.

ACTIVE PALLBEARERS

1. Mr. Milton Cornelius.
2. Mr. Jethro English.
3. Mr. Arthur Henderson.
4. Mr. Howard Dowdy.
5. Reverend C. K. Steele.
6. Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth
7. Reverend Jesse Jackson.
8. Reverend Fred C. Bennette.

I TRIED TO LOVE AND SERVE HUMANITY

Martin Luther King Jr., Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia, Sunday, February 4, 1968: "If any of you are around when I have meet my day, I don't want a long funeral. And if you get somebody to deliver the eulogy, tell him not to talk too long . . . Tell them not to mention that I have a Nobel Peace Prize. That isn't important. Tell them not to mention that I have three or four hundred other awards. That's not important. Tell them not to mention where I went to school. I'd like somebody to mention that day, that 'Martin Luther King Jr. tried to give his life serving others.' I'd like for somebody to say that day, that 'Martin Luther King Jr. tried to love somebody.' I want you to say that day that I tried to be right on the war question. I want you to be able to say that day, that I did try to feed the hungry. And I want you to be able to say that day that I did try in my life to clothe those who

were naked. I want you to say on that day, that I did try, in my life, to visit those who were in prison. I want you to say that I tried to love and serve humanity."

TO OUR FRIENDS

In this hour of sadness, we wish to acknowledge with deepest gratitude the great outpouring of sympathy and warm consolation we have received from our friends throughout the world. You have lifted our hearts, and with your help and the immortal guiding spirit of our son, husband, father, brother, martyred leader—Martin Luther King, Jr.—*We Shall Overcome*.—THE FAMILY OF MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

Funeral under the direction of: Hanley Bell Street Funeral Home, Marcellous Thornton Funeral Home, Atlanta, Ga.

EULOGY OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
ATLANTA, GA., APRIL 9, 1968

(By Benjamin E. Mays, president emeritus, Morehouse College)

To be honored by being requested to give the Eulogy at the funeral of Doctor Martin Luther King, Jr., is like asking one to eulogize his deceased son—so close and so dear was he to me. Our friendship goes back to his student days at Morehouse College. It is not an easy task; nevertheless, I accept it, with a heavy heart and with full knowledge of my inadequacy to do justice to this man. It was my desire that if I pre-deceased Doctor King, he would pay tribute to me on my final day. It was his wish that if he pre-deceased me, I would deliver the homily at his funeral. Fate has decreed that I eulogize him. I wish it might have been otherwise, for, after all, I am three score years and ten and Martin Luther is dead at thirty-nine.

Although there are some who rejoice in his death, there are millions across the length and breadth of this world who are smitten with grief that this friend of mankind—all mankind—has been cut down in the flower of his youth. So, multitudes here and in foreign lands, queens, kings, heads of governments, the clergy of the world, and the common man everywhere, are praying that God will be with the family, the American people, and the President of the United States in this tragic hour. We hope that this universal concern will bring comfort to the family—for grief is like a heavy load; when shared it is easier to bear. We come today to help you carry the load.

We have assembled here from every section of this great nation and from other parts of the world to give thanks to God that He gave to America, at this moment in history, Martin Luther King, Jr. Truly God is no respecter of persons. How strange! God called the grandson of a slave on his father's side, and the grandson of a man born during the Civil War on his mother's side, and said to him: *Martin Luther, speak to America about war and peace; about social justice and racial discrimination; about its obligation to the poor; and about non-violence as a way of perfecting social change in a world of brutality and war.*

Here was a man who believed with all of his might that the pursuit of violence at any time is ethically and morally wrong; that God and the moral weight of the universe are against it; that violence is self-defeating; and that only love and forgiveness can break the vicious circle of revenge. He believed that non-violence would prove effective in the abolition of injustice in politics, economics, in education, and in race relations. He was convinced, also, that people could not be moved to abolish voluntarily the inhumanity of man to man by mere persuasion and pleading, but that they could be moved to do so by dramatizing the evil through massive non-violent resistance. He believed that non-violent direct action was necessary to supplement the non-violent victories won in the Federal courts. He believed

that the non-violent approach to solving social problems would ultimately prove to be redemptive.

Out of this conviction, history records the marches in Montgomery, Birmingham, Selma, Chicago, and other cities. He gave people an ethical and moral way to engage in activities designed to perfect social change without bloodshed and violence; and when violence did erupt it was that which is potential in any protest which aims to uproot deeply entrenched wrongs. No reasonable person would deny that the activities and the personality of Martin Luther King, Jr., contributed largely to the success of the student sit-in movements; in abolishing segregation in downtown establishments; and that his activities contributed mightily to the passage of the Civil Rights legislation of 1964 and 1965.

Martin Luther King, Jr. believed in a united America; that the walls of separation brought on by legal and de facto segregation, and discrimination based on race and color, could be eradicated. As he said in his Washington Monument address: *"I have a dream!"*

He had faith in his country. He died striving to desegregate and integrate America to the end that this great nation of ours, born in revolution and blood, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created free and equal, will truly become the lighthouse of freedom where none will be denied because his skin is black and none favored because his eyes are blue; where our nation will be militarily strong but perpetually at peace; economically secure but just; learned but wise; where the poorest—the garbage collectors—will have bread enough and to spare; where no one will be poorly housed, each educated up to his capacity; and where the richest will understand the meaning of empathy. *This* was his dream, and the end toward which he strove. As he and his followers so often sang: *"We shall overcome someday; black and white together!"*

Let it be thoroughly understood that our deceased brother did not embrace non-violence out of fear or cowardice. Moral courage was one of his noblest virtues. As Mahatma Gandhi challenged the British Empire without a sword and won, Martin Luther King, Jr., challenged the interracial wrongs of his country without a gun. And he had the faith to believe that he would win the battle for social justice. I make bold to assert that it took more courage for King to practice non-violence than it took his assassin to fire the fatal shot. The assassin is a coward; he committed his foul act and fled. When Martin Luther disobeyed an unjust law, he accepted the consequences of his actions. He never ran away and he never begged for mercy. He returned to the Birmingham jail to serve his time.

Perhaps he was more courageous than soldiers who fight and die on the battlefield. There is an element of compulsion in their dying. But when Martin Luther faced death again and again, and finally embraced it, there was no external pressure. He was acting on an inner compulsion that drove him on. More courageous than those who advocate violence as a way out, for they carry weapons of destruction for defense. But Martin Luther faced the dogs, the police, jail, heavy criticism, and finally death; and he never carried a gun, not even a knife to defend himself. He had only his faith in a just God to rely on; and the belief that "thrice is he armed who has his quarrels just". The faith that Browning writes about when he says: "One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward; Never doubted that clouds would break; Never dreamed that right though worsted wrong would triumph; Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to wake."

Coupled with moral courage was Martin Luther King, Jr.'s capacity to love people.

Though deeply committed to a program of freedom for Negroes, he had love and concern for all kinds of peoples. He drew no distinction between the high and the low; none between the rich and the poor. He believed especially that he was sent to champion the cause of the man farthest down. He would probably say that, *if death had to come, I am sure there was no greater cause to die for than fighting to get a just wage for garbage collectors.* He was supra race, supra nation, supra denomination, supra class, and supra culture. He belonged to the world and to mankind. Now he belongs to posterity.

But there is a dichotomy in all this. This man was loved by some and hated by others. If any man knew the meaning of suffering, King knew. House bombed; living day by day for thirteen years under constant threats of death; maliciously accused of being a Communist; falsely accused of being insincere and seeking the limelight for his own glory; stabbed by a member of his own race; slugged in a hotel lobby; jailed thirty times; occasionally deeply hurt because friends betrayed him—and yet this man had no bitterness in his heart, no rancor in his soul, no revenge in his mind; and he went up and down the length and breadth of his world preaching non-violence and the redemptive power of love. He believed with all of his heart, mind, and soul that the way to peace and brotherhood is through non-violence, love, and suffering. He was severely criticized for his opposition to the war in Vietnam. It must be said, however, that one could hardly expect a prophet of Doctor King's commitments to advocate non-violence at home and violence in Vietnam. Non-violence to King was total commitment not only in solving the problems of race in the United States, but in solving the problems of the world.

Surely this man was called of God to do this work. If Amos and Micah were prophets in the eighth century, B.C., Martin Luther King, Jr., was a prophet in the twentieth century. If Isaiah was called of God to prophesy in his day, Martin Luther was called of God to prophesy in his time. If Hosea was sent to preach love and forgiveness centuries ago, Martin Luther was sent to expound the doctrine of non-violence and forgiveness in the third quarter of the twentieth century. If Jesus was called to preach the Gospel to the poor, Martin Luther was called to give dignity to the common man. If a prophet is one who interprets in clear and intelligible language the will of God, Martin Luther King, Jr., fits that designation. If a prophet is one who does not seek popular causes to espouse, but rather the causes which he thinks are right, Martin Luther qualified on that score.

No! He was not ahead of his time. No man is ahead of his time. Every man is within his star, each in his time. Each man must respond to the call of God in his lifetime and not in somebody else's time. Jesus had to respond to the call of God in the first century, A.D., and not in the twentieth century. He had but one life to live. He couldn't wait, even though he died young. How long do you think Jesus would have had to wait for the constituted authorities to accept him? Twenty-five years? A hundred years? A thousand? He died at thirty-three. He couldn't wait. Paul, Galileo, Copernicus, Martin Luther, the Protestant reformer, Gandhi and Nehru, couldn't wait for another time. They had to act in their lifetimes. No man is ahead of his time. Abraham, leaving his country in obedience to God's call; Moses leading a rebellious people to the Promised Land; Jesus dying on a cross; Galileo on his knees recanting; Lincoln dying of an assassin's bullet; Woodrow Wilson crusading for a League of Nations; Martin Luther King, Jr., dying fighting for justice for garbage collectors—none of these men were ahead of their time. With them the time was always ripe to do that

which was right and that which needs to be done.

Too bad Martin Luther King, Jr., died so young. I feel that way, too. But, as I have said many times before, it isn't how long one lives, but how well. It's what one accomplishes for mankind that matters. Jesus died at 33; Joan of Arc at 19; Byron and Burns at 36; Keats and Marlow at 29; Shelley at 30; Dunbar before 35; John Fitzgerald Kennedy at 46; William Rainey Harper at 49; and Martin Luther King, Jr., at 39.

We all pray that the assassin will be apprehended and brought to justice. But, make no mistake, the American people are in part responsible for Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, death. The assassin heard enough condemnation of King and of Negroes to feel that he had public support. He knew millions hated King.

The Memphis officials must bear some of the guilt for Martin Luther's assassination. The strike should have been settled several weeks ago. The lowest paid men in our society should not have to strike for a more just wage. A century after Emancipation, and after the enactment of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, it should not have been necessary for Martin Luther King, Jr., to stage marches in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma, and go to jail thirty times trying to achieve for his people those rights which people of lighter hue get by virtue of their being born white. We, too, are guilty of murder. It is time for the American people to repent and make democracy equally applicable to all Americans. What can we do? We, and not the assassin, not the prejudiced, not the apostle of hate, we represent America at its best. We have the power—not the assassins—to make things right.

If we love Martin Luther King, Jr., and respect him, as this crowd surely testifies, let us see to it that he did not die in vain; let us see to it that we do not dishonor his name by trying to solve our problems through rioting in the streets. Violence was foreign to his nature. He warned that continued riots could produce a Fascist state. But let us see to it also that the conditions that cause riots are promptly removed, as the President of the United States is trying to get us to do. Let black and white alike search their hearts; and if there be prejudice in our hearts against any racial or ethnic group, let us exterminate it, and let us pray, as Martin Luther King, Jr., would pray if he could: *Father, forgive them for they know not what they do.* If we do this, Martin Luther King, Jr., will have died a redemptive death from which all mankind will benefit. Morehouse College will never be the same because Martin Luther came by here; and the nation and the world will be indebted to him for centuries to come. It is natural, therefore, that we here at Morehouse, and President Gloster, would want to memorialize him to serve as an inspiration to all students who study in this center.

I close by saying to you what Martin Luther King, Jr., believed: *If physical death was the price he had to pay to rid America of prejudice and injustice, nothing could be more redemptive.* And, to paraphrase the words of the immortal John Fitzgerald Kennedy, permit me to say that Martin Luther King, Jr.'s unfinished work on earth must truly be our own.

MR. HARRY J. KONIARES

HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts.
Mr. Speaker, recently a very close friend

of mine passed away aboard an airplane en route from Hawaii to Los Angeles, Calif. Harry J. Koniaries, born in Hellenion, Greece, and former resident of my home city of Malden, Mass., came to this country at the age of 14. His business career, mainly as a restaurateur, spanned more than a half century. A member of the Malden Rotary Club and Malden Chamber of Commerce, he was founder of the Massachusetts Restaurant Association and also served as director and was a past officer of the National Restaurant Association.

Mr. Koniaries was one of the most outstanding and most successful businessmen in the congressional district which I am privileged to represent, as well as in the State of Massachusetts. He epitomized the best in the business world. He was constantly supporting good causes, giving of his time and his energies. I for one will never forget his work, his personality and his outstanding character.

I present at this time an excellent editorial written by David Brickman, editor and copublisher of the Malden Evening News, in which he eulogized the late Harry J. Koniaries.

Mr. Speaker, I place this editorial in the RECORD at this point. The editorial follows:

HARRY J. KONIARES

The sudden passing of Harry J. Koniaries while planing home with his wife from a vacation in Hawaii last Saturday removes from the local scene a figure who proved by his own life that America is, indeed, the land of opportunity.

It was shortly after the turn of the century that he came to America, as a youth of but 14, from his native Greece. As with so many immigrants, he came with dreams and aspirations, but little, if any, money. He knew he had to work, and he did, with a zeal and determination so characteristic of those thousands who sought on these shores a new way of life and an opportunity to achieve something meaningful and tangible.

Settled in Malden with diligence and perseverance he established himself, married, had a family, and finally started in the restaurant business. The Kernwood, founded by him more than 40 years ago on Pleasant St., quickly established its reputation as a fine eating place in the suburbs of Boston; and as its reputation grew, so did Mr. Koniaries' affluence. He acquired property in Malden Sq. and in every instance was responsible for its improvement on the sound theory that well-cared for and modern business buildings not only attract responsible and imaginative tenants, but as well tend to enhance business in the shopping center as well.

The growth of the Kernwood in Malden is a testimonial to his sagacity and dedication to serving the public well. While in later years he has been less active in the Kernwood, he enjoyed seeing his two sons, John and George, not only follow in his footsteps as outstanding restaurateurs in operating the business, but also expand by developing in Lynnfield another Kernwood restaurant.

Harry Koniaries, who for years made his home with his wife and five children in Malden until acquiring a home in Lynnfield, was something more than a restaurateur in Malden, however. His interests were broad and varied; and his concern about the vitality and growth of downtown Malden was continuous and imaginative. No undertaking to improve Malden failed to have support of father Koniaries, nor, for that matter, of his children, who have taken to heart the

lessons from their father that made him so well-liked and so well-known in the Greater Malden community.

In his passing at 77 it can be well said that Harry Koniaries lived a fruitful and productive life, not merely as a husband and father, but as a man who was involved in his community and did much for it. All who knew him—and there are so many who did over the years—sympathize with his lovely family in their hour of grief, but are the better for having encountered him in his walk through life.

PIECEMEAL ATTACKS ON PROPERTY

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Washington Evening Star, of May 23, 1968, contains a significant article entitled "Piecemeal Attacks on Property," written by Mr. David Lawrence.

Mr. Lawrence builds a case on the ruling of the Supreme Court that a parcel pickup area in a suburban shopping center cannot be protected from picketing by minority group demonstrations. He points out that this is another invasion of privacy by a ruling of the Supreme Court, which in effect has reduced the rights of private property owners little by little in a succession of decisions over the past few years.

Mr. Lawrence cites the ruling as one that will have far-reaching effects not only in labor union controversies but also on the rights of demonstrations to intrude on private property.

Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to this thought-provoking 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:

[From the Washington Evening Star, May 23, 1968]

PIECEMEAL ATTACKS ON PROPERTY

(By David Lawrence)

Nobody in official life would venture to exalt communism but, little by little, owners of private property are being deprived of their rights through rulings of the Supreme Court of the United States. The latest decision proclaims that even though a number of stores may combine to have their own private parking lot, this cannot be protected against picketing by labor union advocates or by minority-group "demonstrators."

The case decided this week by the high court overruled a Pennsylvania state court which had enjoined picketing of the parcel-pickup area of a supermarket and the adjacent parking lot in a suburban shopping center. Justice Thurgood Marshall, however, in writing the majority opinion, dealt not merely with the activities of labor union pickets who were trying to keep business away from stores whose employees were non-union, but also broadened picketing rights so as to include "consumers protesting shoddy or overpriced merchandise, and minority groups seeking non-discriminatory hiring policies that a contrary decision here would have."

The net effect of the Supreme Court opinion is that a parking lot owned and operated by private businesses are nevertheless subject to picketing and "demonstrations." No ac-

count is taken of the possible losses of damage the retail stores might suffer because of the "demonstrations."

Justice Byron White, who was deputy attorney general during the administration of President Kennedy, wrote in a dissenting opinion:

"In no sense are any parts of the shopping center dedicated to the public for general purposes or the occupants of the plaza exercising official powers. The public is invited to the premises but only in order to do business with those who maintain establishments there. The invitation is to shop for the products which are sold. There is no general invitation to use the parking lot, the pick-up zone, or the sidewalk except as an adjunct to shopping.

"No one is invited to use the parking lot as a place to park his car while he goes elsewhere to work. The driveways and lane for auto traffic are not offered for use as general thoroughfares leading from one public street to another. Those driveways and parking spaces are not public streets and thus available for parades, public meetings, or other activities for which public streets are used."

Justice Hugo Black, in another dissenting opinion, held that the state court's injunction was valid. He said:

"I believe that whether this court likes it or not the Constitution recognizes and supports the concept of private ownership of property. The 5th Amendment provides that 'no person shall . . . be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.'

"This means to me that there is no right to picket on the private premises of another to try to convert the owner or others to the views of the pickets. It also means, I think, that if this court is going to arrogate to itself the power to act as the government's agent to take a part of Wels' property to give to the pickets for their use, the court should also award Wels just compensation for the property taken."

Although the cases on which the decision was rendered this week arose out of picketing by labor unions, the ruling opens up the whole question of whether the premises of a retail establishment are a "public" place to which anybody can have access at any time for "communicative purposes"—such as arguing with customers in a store that they should refrain from buying goods until the owner changes his attitude on a public issue.

Certainly this is a broader interpretation of the "free speech" concept than has ever been rendered before by the Supreme Court. The significance of the ruling may have far-reaching effects not merely on labor-union controversies but on the rights of "demonstrators" and crusaders to intrude on private property."

The real question is who is going to compensate the store owner when his business is directly injured by the license now apparently given by the Supreme Court to "demonstrators" or pickets to damage at will the owner of any business without incurring any responsibility for the loss.

FREEDOM OR DICTATORSHIP?

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, I place in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial by Harry J. Lally, general manager and editor of the Reporter, a weekly newspaper in Toms River, N.J. I recommend

the reading of this editorial, as it is an effort to arouse the patriotic thinking of all Americans:

FREEDOM OR DICTATORSHIP?

During the past year, I have endeavored to awaken the readers of this newspaper to the incredible conspiracy, dedicated to nothing less than the overthrow of our democratic government with the replacement of a totalitarian communistic dictatorship. Anyone who is shocked or nonplused at this statement is either blind, naive, totally indifferent or completely remiss in doing their "current events" homework.

In a series of articles titled "The Coming Welfare State," I pointed out that the climate is right for "take-over" and that a large segment of apathetic Americans actually wanted (consciously or subconsciously) a "Big Brother" type of government. In an article titled, "Phase II," I outlined the Communist "master plan," which is now in high gear, to force the dissipation of our great wealth by keeping us spending and fighting "bush" wars around the globe.

Regarding the Vietnam situation, I warned that Asia was a Communist trap—a bottomless quagmire—that was fully intended to swallow the military might of the U.S. while Russia was steadily building up a naval and missile power that will be far superior to ours.

On youth and education, I have accurately editorialized on just how the Communist conspiracy has confused and corrupted our bright youngsters by the use of "pot" and pornography, and have, indeed, completed a very successful "brainwashing," as evidenced by the series of riots and revolts at our colleges and universities.

Communist influence and agitation have also been very successfully used to precipitate the recent wave of civil disorders across the nation by using the civil rights movement as a tool. In a column titled "We Must Live By The Rules," I asserted that if we are to continue as a democracy and a free society, our laws MUST be obeyed and all violators of this concept MUST be punished to the fullest extent. To settle for anything less is to invite civil strife . . . anarchy . . . and eventual dictatorship! . . .

There is no doubt in my mind that the "take-over conspiracy" reaches even into the elevated plateau of higher government. The stage is set . . . the players are reciting their well-rehearsed lines and pathetically enough, the audience of "boob-tube" addicts, who are subliminally brainwashed right down to their well-polished cordovan loafers, are lapping it up and wildly applauding for "Big Brother" to make his center aisle entrance and thank them for their loving adoration. You know who's in that cheering audience . . . you see them all about you every day! . . . that large segment of indifferent . . . individually selfish . . . non-thinking . . . unfeeling . . . lazy . . . over-indulged . . . uninformed . . . mass-oriented . . . child neglecting . . . non-contributing . . . incentiveless . . . group of Americans who would gladly exchange the responsibilities of individual freedom and self-government for the all-encompassing "Big Brother" embrace that promises a pre-fabricated, look-alike split level trap, wrapped around the chromium splendor of Detroit's finest home away-from-home!

Happiness—to this group—is a big-screen color TV, a case of premium beer and a mini-skirted, "Miss Clairol" blonde wife who knows she's a "sex-pot" because she obediently buys and uses all of the necessary cosmetics prescribed by those "groovy," "cool-looking" TV announcers! "Who the hell cares who gets into the White House next January," they exclaim! "As long as I get mine, Baby . . . that's all that counts!" . . . And they needn't worry, because the way our nation is headed, they'll get theirs all right!

As the Man on the cross once said: "Forgive them, for they know not what they do." . . . Let's be charitable and forgive them! . . . But I can't be charitable enough to forgive the politicians who do know what's happening and continue to sell their country down the river for votes! During this election period, I have yet to see one single New Jersey politician—of either party—with enough courage and sincerity to make a public statement of exactly what he thinks about the sickness that is gripping our great nation. Oh . . . they'll confide in private—"Don't quote me though, Harry . . . you understand how things are"). You're damned "tootin'" I understand how things are, and I get sick to the depths of my stomach with a man who lacks the courage of his convictions and will sell out his very soul for votes!

I personally am for a sensible war against poverty . . . I am 100 per cent for civil rights legislation—in practice—that can guarantee first-class citizenship for all Negro Americans . . . I will uphold the right of students to opinionate, participate and even peacefully demonstrate to be heard . . . I am for progress and intelligent change in governmental policy that may be necessary in tailoring our concepts to fit a modern, free society!

However . . . I cannot stand by and watch the type of willful acts of rioting, violence, looting, arson, rape, murder and general insurrection that is taking place daily and being tolerated with "kid glove" treatment by our leaders across the nation, because they are fearful of losing votes in the forthcoming election. Lawlessness breeds anarchy! Anarchy breeds dictatorship! That is exactly the goal of the present Communist conspiracy, taking place right now, in America!

The forthcoming presidential election will seal the fate of these United States of America. So far, no candidate has taken a firm stand on anything. Why? Because each one is convinced that a fast line of "double-talk" and a Madison Avenue image will please every group and carry him into the White House. For my part . . . I can only tell you that my vote will go to that candidate—Republican or Democrat—who has enough "guts" to stand up and tell Americans the truth—tell it the way it really is!

What will I do if no candidate has that much stature? Would you believe Australia . . . or some other place where they still have men—and truth—and character—and incentive—and law—and justice—and individual freedom? If no candidate makes an honest presentation of the facts—my friends—then, it's a time for a great deal of soul-searching!

(Error's note: Coincidentally, as I was writing this week's column, a public statement, by a member of the House of Representatives, found its way to my desk. I have never had the pleasure of meeting Congressman James B. Utt (R-California), but I applaud his courage and sincerity. If we had more men like Congressman Utt in Congress, our great nation would not now be suffering from a critical sickness. I was granted permission by the Congressman to reprint his remarks, which appear on this page.)

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS FOR AIR FREIGHT TRANSPORT

HON. EDWARD W. BROOKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, on May 16 the Honorable Robert T. Muruhy, Vice Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, delivered a speech to the New England

Air Cargo Symposium, held at Northeastern University's Burlington, Mass., campus.

I ask unanimous consent that his remarks, which summarize the problems and prospects for air freight transport, be printed in the RECORD.

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

ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT T. MURPHY, VICE CHAIRMAN, CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD, BEFORE THE NEW ENGLAND AIR CARGO SYMPOSIUM, NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY, BURLINGTON, MASS., MAY 16, 1968.

It is a great pleasure for me to be here this evening to participate in the "New England Air Cargo Symposium," jointly sponsored by Northeastern University, the Associated Transportation Organizations of New England and the Civil Aeronautics Board. As you may know, the Board conceived the idea for the first regional air cargo workshops which we jointly sponsored with the National Industrial Traffic League. It was my pleasure to open and close the first series of workshops in Seattle in September and in Los Angeles in November, 1966.

It has been the Board's hope that through these forums we can promote a broader understanding of the air freight business, not only within the Board itself and within the airline industry, but most importantly, among the present and future users of freight services. Marketing air freight is not a simple task. Its benefits are much more complex than those evident in carrying a package between two points at a given price. To quantify the value of air freight service in hard dollars and cents requires a quite sophisticated analysis.

My personal concern with air freight has continued since the time in the late 50's when the Aviation Subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee, for which I was then serving as Counsel, conducted extensive hearings on the feasibility of a Government guaranteed loan program for air carrier acquisition of modern all-cargo aircraft. We were concerned about the ability of that phase of air transportation to grow and develop, as we knew it should, in the absence of aircraft specially designed and built to carry freight. Also, at that time there was some doubt about the continued viability of the all-cargo carriers as well as the capability of the combination carriers to achieve the great "breakthrough" in air freight so confidently predicted by most of the learned air transportation experts. But it was the firm view of Senator Mike Monroney of Oklahoma, the able Chairman of the Subcommittee, that with the advent of more appropriate aircraft types and the development of improved ground handling systems, the air freight breakthrough was inevitable. The passage of time has proven him so right in this area of air transportation as it has in so many others to which he has devoted his far-sighted leadership and talent.

I scarcely need cite more than a few statistics to this group to clearly demonstrate the soundness of that position. In the last 10 years domestic cargo ton-miles have increased 500 percent. Prudent estimates place the growth in the next five years at 300 percent, not only in terms of cargo ton-miles, but also in terms of absolute tons of goods moved. Modern jet aircraft specifically designed for carriage of freight are in service. Our airline industry and local airport authorities have invested billions in jet freighter aircraft and terminal and loading facilities. The newer stretched jets provide cubic capacity equal to their lift capacity. At major airports throughout the country freight terminal facilities are being expanded and automated. The quick-change jets permit very attractive utilization for the carri-

ers: these craft can carry passengers by day—when they want to move—and cargo by night—when it wants to move. Some of the automated freight handling, sorting and loading facilities at airports are truly revolutionary. Calling upon computer technology and other disciplines, tremendous advances have been made in the rather mundane but important tasks of keeping track of shipments and insuring that they continue to move on an ordered basis.

The most recent cargo activity figures continue to show important growth. Domestic air cargo traffic on all U.S. scheduled airlines—trunks, local service carriers and all-cargo carriers—was up 25.1 percent in the first quarter of 1968 over the same period in 1967. This reflects a 16.4 percent increase in air freight, a 6 percent increase in express and an astounding 62.5 percent increase in mail tonnage. This latter figure is the result of the Postmaster General's decision to dispatch additional first class mail by air. The discontinuance of railroad postal car services because of the cutback in passenger trains plus the emphasis on overnight delivery have greatly improved postal service to the economic benefit of air carriers. The zip code system—to use a descriptive phrase which greatly oversimplifies the Department's exceedingly well developed regional postal distribution system—has been and will continue to be a prime generator of air cargo business.

Despite these generally favorable trends in air cargo growth—trends which would be regarded as outstanding in any other industrial endeavor—a certain concern has been voiced by some of those involved in the development of this important air transportation service. Many feel there was a slowdown in cargo growth last year, perhaps a reflection of the general economy and the requirements of the Viet Nam airlift. We have become accustomed in the most recent years to very high annual percentage cargo growth statistics. As the base increases in size, such rates of annual growth will obviously level off. In my view, however, that time has not yet come. It is apparent, in any event, that continued growth in air cargo traffic requires concentrated study and promotion in the immediate years ahead.

In the past, the airlines have attracted the obvious commodities to air freight, that is, those of high intrinsic value where speed of delivery is of the utmost importance. It is interesting to note that the commodities moving by air have changed relatively little in recent years. Machinery and machine parts of all kinds, motor vehicles and equipment, clothing, chemicals, perishable foods and plants, etc., make up the bulk of air freight. Additional commodities are being attracted to air on the basis of diligent sales efforts which emphasize the savings inherent in air transportation not only in terms of the transportation charge itself but also in terms of reduced warehousing and inventory maintenance costs, reduced exposure to damage and loss, etc. But similar sales techniques must continue to expand the types of commodities carried. The air freight industry cannot depend solely on increased traffic in the commodities I just mentioned. Everyone knows this and I congratulate the carriers on the sophisticated sales programs they are developing to merchandise air cargo. I have seen some of their presentations which are aimed at selling ranking executives on what air freight can do, not just as another transport mode but as a vital factor in industrial merchandising techniques. Good performance at reasonable rates is the product. But perhaps at this point in time in the development of air freight it is accurate to say that "the medium is the message." Hard sales work is still the order of the day.

No item of air freight—inanimate object that it is—decides by itself that it will travel by air and independently delivers itself to

and from the airport as is the case with passenger traffic. The decision to move by air in the freight business involves more complexities than in the passenger business. That decision does not necessarily depend solely on the availability of an aircraft or even on the availability of a reasonable charge. It is a decision frequently enmeshed in shipper calculations turning on distribution costs, distribution time deadlines, on inventory control, warehousing practices and other related industrial factors. In my judgment, therefore, selling air freight is a more difficult task than merchandising passenger air transportation. And it is equally evident that the encouragement of the greater use of air freight can only come about through a better understanding and a greater degree of coordination among the shippers, carriers and the regulatory body responsible for its promotion and development.

I do not pretend to know all the solutions and am, for one, quite willing to give the carriers considerable freedom to experiment. The recent history of the Board's regulatory approach would appear to reflect that view. There are many extremely complicated factors in handling cargo, factors which, without careful attention, can add to the transportation cost. Presumably the mechanized handling of freight in more and more terminal areas will ease this situation. Receipt of more containerized freight from consignors will serve the best interests of shipper and carrier alike.

After some faltering initial steps, the air carriers have wholeheartedly recognized the efficiencies in containerized traffic and from the statistics made available to us at the Board, seem to be making significant progress. During the May-October 1967, second six-month period after the air carrier container tariffs were approved, container ton-miles accounted for an estimated 3.97 percent of the combined system ton-miles of American, Flying Tiger, Northwest, TWA and United. That percentage was almost double the experience in the first six-months period. The 3.97 percent figure may not sound impressive but it amounted to over 22 million ton-miles and, in my view, compares quite favorably with the 4.3 percent piggyback contribution to total railroad revenues in 1965 (the latest data available to me). Piggyback operations doubled between 1960 and 1966 and I herald that accomplishment. I cite the comparison only to indicate that the air transport industry is doing quite well in containerization too. However, with the increase in capacity resulting from more and more all-cargo schedules to more cities in larger aircraft and the increased use of the versatile quick-change aircraft, additional sales efforts must be expended if the full potential of air cargo service is to be realized.

Containerization leads one with some logic to the air cargo rate structure—a structure which in some circles is regarded as a rather complex one. It is, of course, not nearly so complex as that the surface modes have built up over a much longer period of years. I think it is fair to say that we at the Board have been and are still amenable to such simplification in the rate structure as the carriers may propose and is generally acceptable to shippers. I am not sure that, strictly speaking, it is our function to propose or oppose rate experimentation. Should not the Board promote and oversee carrier-shipper developments?

One matter does suggest itself, however. I have long thought that greater use of a mixed commodity rate or freight-all kinds rate would be welcome in air transportation. With more and more freight moving in containers and regardless of what commodities might be mixed inside the container, it seems to me that a rate per container based on weight, plus a further rate incentive for greater product-density, would be

significant improvements. Also, surface rates per container without regard to weight have been found particularly attractive to certain shippers. The benefits of such a pricing system in air transportation are so obvious that there must be some fatal flaw in my position. However, if there is no such fatal flaw, "Why don't we do it more often"? Such shipments could be so much more easily facilitated.

This leads me to a recent development of considerable interest. The Secretary of Transportation has established a Transportation Facilitation Committee whose responsibility it is to study means of "facilitating" traffic. Facilitation is indeed a \$2.00 word selected to encompass an easier flow of traffic through the existing transportation pipelines. This Committee, made up of distinguished representatives from industry, from all transport modes and from the various governmental departments, will study the elements of intermodal transport; the problems inherent in documentation—that is, all the scraps of paper required to move a package or a passenger; problems in cargo and passenger terminal processing and the matter of travel and trade promotion. This is obviously a very major undertaking. However, the emphasis being placed on these vital subjects and the cooperative desire of government and industry to reach sensible solutions forbodes some significant measure of success in the months and years to come. I, for one, am a firm believer that our single common purpose is to accommodate people and packages in our national transportation system rather than to create or continue a structure encrusted with useless, unnecessary rules, regulations and paper work. Much has been done but there are still vast areas for improvement. The line-haul vehicles are available now, or soon will be, to carry the traffic flow. We know about the trucks and the planes. And more and more new rail cars of various kinds are being placed in service. What we must do now is concentrate on improving the procedures and systems and terminal facilities which may otherwise impede realization of the full efficiencies and promise of these new vehicles.

Let me turn now to one of the most widely discussed topics at the Board's first series of air cargo workshops, that is the matter of the air carriers' practices in handling shippers' claims. Under present law, limitations on the old common law responsibilities of a common carrier can be justified only if there are sound public policy reasons to support them. After the 1966 workshops, the Board concluded that this matter should be pursued on an informal basis among the interested parties rather than through a formal Board investigation. Accordingly, the carriers have undertaken to discuss the matter among themselves. However, little if any progress can be reported. I recognize that it is difficult to modify practices of many years standing. However, it is clear that some of the inequities of the present system must be corrected. I urgently hope that the continuing carrier dialogue will produce results. If it does not, reluctant as we may be to enter this complex field, I am sure that the Board will not hesitate to act. I need only remind that as a result of our investigation a few years ago of passenger baggage liability questions, the Board, in my view, cut through the myriad arguments and problems by establishing a maximum liability limitation considerably higher than had been proposed by the carriers. We have provided an opportunity for voluntary action on cargo liability issues in line with what I regard as a sensible regulatory approach but are committed to a resolution of this problem on a timely basis one way or another.

Finally, I wish to treat of a development of local interest; that is, the necessity for those of us here tonight to insure the

adequacy of air transport service to meet the increasing needs of New England. After a rather extended period in the economic doldrums as many of our industries moved to the South and the West, we have witnessed a turnaround with New England's economy growing during each of the 60's. In 1967, New England's net income gain, after adjustment for price increases, was 5.5 percent. The gain was 5.8 percent in 1965 and 5.7 percent in 1966. New England's 1967 income performance was significantly ahead of the 4.1 percent real income increase experienced throughout the country. The regional demand for labor, particularly skilled labor, continues strong. Unemployment during 1967 was relatively low at 3.8 percent. The years 1965, 1966, 1967 have all shown healthy increases in total employment. During this same period, the level of capital spending by New England manufacturers compared very favorably with the country as a whole. In summary, all current indicators suggest that 1968 will be the eighth successive year of significant expansion in the New England economy.

What explains this favorable trend? In a sense the answer is simple: more industry is locating in New England and present industry is growing. But there are more subtle forces involved. There has been considerable relocation of manufacturing activity within the six-state region. Employment and capital outlays are being redistributed throughout the area. For example, Massachusetts' share of the increasing total capital expenditures have decreased in recent years while the shares of Maine and Connecticut have significantly increased. Maine's paper industry continues to grow but also activity in food, textiles and shoes has increased noticeably. The aircraft and shipbuilding industries are growing in Connecticut. The non-electrical machinery industry in my own State of Rhode Island is expanding as it is in Vermont. New industries as well as old are relocating in the medium and smaller size cities throughout the area.

Without probing more deeply, it is apparent, as I am sure you gentlemen are more personally aware than I, that new industries are spreading throughout this region with a very beneficial economic impact for its residents. The point of particular interest to us gathered here tonight is that the air transportation services provided in the region must adequately serve this increasing economic activity if present very salubrious growth trends are to continue. New England's ability to attract industry rests in part, of course, upon its competitive transportation position *vis-a-vis* other areas of the country. There must be fully adequate transportation service available from all modes for raw materials or unfinished goods moving into the area and a complementary service to ship our products out of the area to the ultimate distributors and customers. As far as airline service is concerned, this means there must be good service at such cities as Burlington, Augusta and Manchester as well as at Boston and Hartford. Not only must we have adequate air service, but also a fully coordinated air-ground service must be available. Each of you can play an important part in seeing to it that the economic resurgence of the New England region includes the development and availability of a fully adequate transportation service, on the ground as well as in the air.

Finally, I wish to congratulate Northeastern University for co-sponsoring this Symposium during National Transportation Week here on its suburban campus in the historic environs of Lexington and Concord. I have enjoyed the occasion to share with you these thoughts on air cargo which presents so much of a challenge and so much of an opportunity for us all in the years ahead.

OTTO F. OTEPKA'S APPEAL

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the civil service appeals examiner completed his review of Mr. Otepka's case May 20, 1968.

Unfortunately, the examiner sustained the lower action taken by the Department of State.

Mr. Otepka was found guilty of conduct unbecoming an officer of the Department of State.

I am inclined to agree with the examiner—putting country first and being a dedicated American is conduct unbecoming the Department of State. I wish that it were otherwise—but the Department of State is unworthy of a man of Otepka's conduct.

Under unanimous consent I include the examiner's findings and decisions as follows:

U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., May 22, 1968.

HON. JOHN R. RARICK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RARICK: This is in response to your telephone request today regarding the case of Mr. Otto F. Otepka.

The Appeals Examiner has completed his review of Mr. Otepka's case. Mr. Otepka was demoted, reassigned and reprimanded on the basis that he violated a Presidential Directive regulating the release of agency documents.

The Appeals Examiner advises that the evidence in the case, in his judgment, requires a decision affirming the action of the Department of State. A copy is attached for your information.

This decision becomes a final administrative decision of the Commission unless Mr. Otepka appeals to the Commission's Board of Appeals and Review within fifteen (15) calendar days of the receipt of the decision as he has been advised.

If Mr. Otepka does appeal to the Board of Appeals and Review, I will be pleased to advise you of the result.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. MACY, Jr.,
Chairman.

Enclosure.

APPEAL OF MR. OTTO F. OTEPKA UNDER PART 752, SUBPART B, OF THE CIVIL SERVICE REGULATIONS

Appeal from a reduction in rank and pay, i.e., demotion from GS-15 to GS-14; and reassignment and reprimand, Department of State, effective December 13, 1967.

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Otepka filed an appeal with the Civil Service Commission by letter dated December 20, 1967. Thereafter, he submitted additional support material by letters dated December 27, 1967; January 10 (two communications); January 12, January 29 and February 20, 1968.

The appellate record was received from the Department of State on January 11, 1968. Mr. Otepka and his counsel reviewed the case file on January 12, 1968.

The agency's counsel, Mr. Irving Jaffe, reviewed the case file on February 20, 1968. A hearing was held before the Civil Service Commission on March 7, 1968. The appel-

lant appeared with his counsel, Mr. Roger Robb, and testified.

The agency was represented by Irving Jaffe, Esquire, Justice Department.

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS PROCEDURE

We find that Mr. Otepka was entitled to appeal to the Civil Service Commission and that he filed a timely appeal.

The reasons for the action are set forth in the Department of State's letter of proposed adverse action dated September 23, 1963. The agency's letter of September 23 contained specifications to support thirteen (13) charges; five (5) charges—that the appellant had conducted himself in a manner unbecoming an officer of the Department of State; four (4) charges—that he had been responsible for declassification of classified documents without adherence to prescribed procedures; four (4) charges—that he had been responsible for mutilation of classified documents.

We find that the notice of proposed adverse action set forth specifically and in detail the reasons for the proposed adverse action. By the terms of the September 23, 1963 letter, the appellant was allowed ten (10) days to reply both personally and in writing and to furnish affidavits or other evidence in support of his reply. The appellant replied in writing on October 14, 1963. We find the appellant was allowed a reasonable time to reply to the proposed adverse action.

By letter of November 5, 1963, Mr. John Ordway, Chief Personnel Operations Division, Department of State, notified the appellant of his findings that all thirteen (13) charges were sustained and that it was the decision to effect his removal on November 15, 1963.

On November 14, 1963, Mr. Otepka appealed the agency decision to the Department and requested a hearing. In view of this appeal, the removal action was not effected.

A hearing was held in the Department of State beginning June 6, 1967. At the outset of the hearing ten (10) charges and supporting specifications were withdrawn leaving three (3) charges and supporting specifications which are quoted below:

"(1) *You have conducted yourself in a manner unbecoming an officer of the Department of State.*

Specifically: You furnished a copy of a classified memorandum concerning the processing of appointments of members of the Advisory Committee on International Organizations Staffing to a person outside of the Department without authority and in violation of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948 (13 Fed. Reg. 1359). This Directive provides:

"All reports, records, and files relative to the loyalty of employees or prospective employees (including reports of such investigative agencies), shall be maintained in confidence, and shall not be transmitted or disclosed except as required in the efficient conduct of business."

"You were reminded of the prohibition contained in this Directive on March 22, 1963, when you received and noted a copy of a letter from Mr. Dutton, Assistant Secretary of State, to Senator Eastland, Chairman of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, dated March 20, 1963. A copy of this letter, indicating that you 'noted' it, is enclosed as Exhibit C.

"In your sworn statement, referred to above and enclosed as Exhibit A, you stated on pages 7 and 8 that you gave a copy of a classified memorandum entitled 'Francis O. Wilcox, Arthur Larson, Lawrence Finkelstein, Marshall D. Shulman, Andrew Cordier, Ernest Gross, Harding Bancroft, Sol Linowitz', to Mr. J. G. Sourwine, Chief Counsel, United States Senate Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws, of the Committee on the Judiciary. This memorandum con-

cerns 'the loyalty of employees or prospective employees' of the Department within the meaning of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948.

"This is a breach of the standard of conduct expected of an officer of the Department of State.

"(2) *You have conducted yourself in a manner unbecoming an officer of the Department of State.*

"Specifically: You furnished a copy of a classified memorandum concerning the processing of appointments of members of the Advisory Committee on International Organizations Staffing to a person outside of the Department without authority and in violation of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948 (13 Fed. Reg. 1359). This Directive provides:

"All reports, records, and files relative to the loyalty of employees or prospective employees (including reports of such investigative agencies), shall be maintained in confidence, and shall not be transmitted or disclosed except as required in the efficient conduct of business."

"You were reminded of the prohibition contained in this Directive on March 22, 1963, when you received and noted a copy of a letter from Mr. Dutton, to Senator Eastland, dated March 20, 1963. A copy of this letter, indicating that you 'noted' it, is enclosed as Exhibit C.

"In your sworn statement, referred to above and enclosed as Exhibit A, you stated on page 9 that you gave a copy of a classified memorandum entitled 'Processing of Appointments of Members of the Advisory Committee on International Organizations Staffing', to Mr. J. G. Sourwine. This memorandum concerns 'the loyalty of employees or prospective employees' of the Department within the meaning of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948.

"This is a breach of the standard of conduct expected of an officer of the Department of State.

"(3) *You have conducted yourself in a manner unbecoming an officer of the Department of State.*

"Specifically: You furnished a copy of an investigative report concerning a prospective employee of the Department to a person outside of the Department without authority and in violation of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948 (13 Fed. Reg. 1359). This Directive provides:

"All reports, records, and files relative to the loyalty of employees or prospective employees (including reports of such investigative agencies), shall be maintained in confidence, and shall not be transmitted or disclosed except as required in the efficient conduct of business."

"You were reminded of the prohibition contained in this Directive on March 22, 1963, when you received and noted a copy of a letter from Mr. Dutton, to Senator Eastland, dated March 20, 1963. A copy of this letter, indicating that you 'noted' it, is enclosed as Exhibit C.

"In your sworn statement, referred to above and enclosed as Exhibit A, you stated on page 10 that you gave a copy of an investigative report dated May 27, 1960, to Mr. J. G. Sourwine, concerning 'Joan Mae Fogtanz'. This report concerns 'the loyalty of employees or prospective employees' of the Department within the meaning of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948.

"This is a breach of the standard of conduct expected of an officer of the Department of State."

On December 9, 1967, the Secretary of State issued the Department's findings and decision on Mr. Otepka's appeal. The decision substitutes a lesser penalty for the previous decision to remove. The penalty provision effected on December 13, 1967 is quoted below:

"(a) That he be severely reprimanded.

"(b) That he be reduced in grade from GS-15 to GS-14, step one.

"(c) That he be transferred to duties in the Department of State which are within his qualifications but which do not involve the administration of personnel security functions."

We find that the Department of State complied with the procedural requirements of law and regulations in effecting the action against Mr. Otepka.

MERIT

In a letter of January 12, 1968, counsel for the appellant wrote the Appeals Examining Office and requested an investigation to discover "the identity of the person or persons who clipped the documents alleged to have been found in Mr. Otepka's burn bag, the identity of the person to whom the recording of Mr. Otepka's telephone conversations were delivered, and the precise facts surrounding the erasure of these recordings, if they were erased." Counsel for the appellant stated that, "It is our belief that these undisclosed individuals were agents of those who schemed to destroy Mr. Otepka, and that disclosure of their identities will lead to the identification of their principals. . . ."

The letter of January 12, 1968 from counsel for the appellant to the Appeals Examining Office made reference to "Charges 4-11 inclusive" in the original letter of charges and counsel noted that the Department of State had advised him that it held Mr. Otepka "responsible" for clipping classified documents but refused to name the person who did the actual clipping. He also noted that he had requested permission to examine Mr. Otepka's burn bag and the contents in order to establish the identity of others who had used the bag, but was again denied.

In addition, the counsel alleged that Mr. Otepka's phone was tapped; that an Elmer Dewey Hill had stated he delivered the records to an unknown person on orders of Mr. Reilly but Reilly has testified he had no recollection of such an order. He also noted that Mr. Otepka demanded the tapes of his conversations be produced but was informed they had been erased.

The charges against the appellant which the Department relied on to justify his demotion allege that he committed certain specifically-described acts. As a result, it was concluded that it was not necessary to the proper adjudication of this appeal for the Appeals Examining Office to investigate alleged actions of other personnel of the Department of State along the lines urged by the appellant's counsel. His counsel was accordingly advised in letter of January 23, 1968, that evidence and testimony would be limited to the allegations on which his demotion was finally based.

On January 29, 1968 counsel for the appellant wrote the Appeals Examining Office and reiterated, "It has been Mr. Otepka's position at every stage of these proceedings that the charges against him were a subterfuge and were not brought in good faith, but were contrived pursuant to a wrongful scheme and design to harass and destroy him. In exploring the issue thus raised, it is important to determine the identity of the person or persons who clipped the documents alleged to have been found in Mr. Otepka's burn bag, the identity of the person to whom the recording of Mr. Otepka's telephone conversations were delivered and the precise facts surrounding the erasure of these recordings, if they were erased. It is our belief that these undisclosed individuals were agents of those who schemed to destroy Mr. Otepka, and that disclosure of their identities will lead to the identification of their principals, whom the Department of State is attempting to protect."

Counsel for the appellant contended his

hypothesis is relevant to the appellant's case and asked for production of the affidavit submitted to the Secretary of State by Clarence Jerome Schneider and affidavits submitted by Elmer Dewey Hill, John Frances Reilly and David I. Belisle. Also requested was a report of wiretapping submitted by Mr. George W. French, Jr., and Ambassador Wilson Flake.

As already indicated above, the charges relied on to support the demotion of the appellant were based on allegations that he committed certain acts. The record reflects he admitted those acts (although not the "wrongness" attributed to them). As a result, it was concluded that the basic issue presented by the appellant's appeal was whether these admitted acts justified his demotion and, accordingly, that the existence of a conspiracy, even if established, was not decisive at this posture of the case. Accordingly, the Appeals Examining Office advised the appellant's counsel that his request for discovery of this evidence was denied.

A hearing was held in the Commission on March 7, 1968 at which time appellant read a prepared statement and was cross-examined by the agency counsel.

Appellant defends against the charges relied upon for the adverse action and states that his delivery of certain documents to the Chief Counsel of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, Committee of the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, is authorized by 5 USC 7102 and any action against him for so exercising his rights under 5 USC 7102 is illegal. This Section reads as follows:

"Sec. 7102. Right to petition Congress; employees

"The right of employees, individually or collectively, to petition Congress or a Member of Congress, or to furnish information to either House of Congress, or to a committee or Member thereof, may not be interfered with or denied."

The appellant offers neither case citation nor analysis of the legislative history of 5 USC 7102 to support a hypothesis that the legislature, when it enacted the Lloyd LaFollette Act of 1912, 5 USC 7102, intended also to protect the unauthorized taking of documents from an agency and delivery of them to the legislature. Research of the legislative history of the Act and judicial cases in the perimeter indicate that 5 USC 7102 does not preclude the State Department from taking action against Mr. Otepka for violation of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948 prohibiting the disclosure alleged.

He also contends that delivery of the documents was not a violation of the Presidential Directive. We think it clear that the delivered documents come within the description used in the Directive which covers "all reports, records, and files relative to the loyalty of employees or prospective employees (including reports of . . . investigative agencies)".

All three documents involved are "records . . . relative to the loyalty of" persons covered by the Directive. Each of the documents referred to in the first and second charges is also a "report . . . relative to the loyalty of . . . prospective employees" therein named. The document involved in the third charge is a report of the investigation into the background of the person named in it and fits the category described parenthetically, but explicitly, in the Directive, i.e. "reports of . . . investigative agencies."

In addition, the documents disclose the kind of data concerning persons which the President decided should be disclosed outside the Executive Branch only after the President, in a particular case, determines that disclosure is in the public interest. Therefore, this contention of the appellant is dismissed.

The appellant also contends that he was required to deliver the documents pursuant to his duty to testify before the Senate Subcommittee. The testimony of the Chief

Counsel for the Subcommittee indicates he did not ask the appellant for the file on any particular person. The testimony of the Chief Counsel of the Subcommittee at the State Department hearing indicates the discussion between him and the appellant centered on the credibility of the appellant's testimony, vis a vis, that of his superior. In his testimony, the Chief Counsel of the Subcommittee said he told the appellant to "put up or shut up," with regard to the appellant's statements that his was the accurate testimony given before the Senate Subcommittee.

The appellant could have reasonably interpreted counsel's request as a demand for proof over and above the appellant's oral testimony. However, there was no demand made upon him to take the precipitous step of securing and delivering record files in violation of the Presidential Directive. There was another alternative open to him. For example, he could have told Counsel for the Subcommittee that the proof was there for the Subcommittee to request from the Secretary of State. Therefore, we must dismiss this contention of the appellant.

The appellant contends that if there was an offense, it was insignificant. He said the personnel security report of Joan Mae Fogltanz contained no derogatory information. He said also that the Secretary of State has released personnel investigation files to the Senate Subcommittee.

Any action by the Secretary of State would not alter the fact that a decision to release a report of investigation was not Mr. Otepka's to make. Although he describes the background information in the report of Fogltanz to be favorable, nevertheless, the information was given in confidence to an investigator and contained details about the private life of the person investigated. In addition, the other documents delivered indicate the existence of derogatory information about persons named therein. We cannot agree the offense is insignificant.

The appellant further contends that what he did was done in defense against those who would destroy him. He says he had no adequate channel of protest in the Department of State and hence was required to use this means, i.e., delivery of the documents to defend himself.

The appellant's judgment concerning the inadequacy of remedies in the Department of State can be given little weight. The machinery was there, and until he used it, he has no basis for calling it inadequate.

The appellant also contends that conduct unbecoming an officer of the State Department is not defined by Department of State Regulations. This is a technical plea. The answer is there is no requirement that an agency must list or specify all things that constitute conduct unbecoming an officer of that agency to exclusion of all other possible conduct.

The appellant also contends that his being forced to appear before a hearing officer who was an employee of the Department of State and the long delay in rendering a decision in his case violates concepts of fair play and make the action against him one that is unconscionable.

The channel of appeal chosen by the appellant under which he appeared before an employee of the Department of State is an optional appeal channel established pursuant to Part 771 of the Civil Service Regulations. The appellant need not have appealed to the State Department. He could have chosen to appeal direct to the Civil Service Commission. The appellant contributed to some of the delay in this case but he need not have undergone more than sixty days suspense after he chose to appeal to the Department of State. Here again he could have cancelled his appeal and filed an appeal with the Commission. In short, the appellant chose the forum and also chose to

wait out its process. This contention is dismissed.

The record reflects the appellant's position was abolished; access to certain data was taken away from him and he was placed under close surveillance. It also fairly reflects conflict between Mr. Otepka and his immediate superiors beginning in 1960. Although one might not be prepared to accept the extremes of Mr. Otepka's hypothesis, that a group in the State Department had conspired to destroy him, nevertheless, the record is fairly clear that higher management in the State Department did not desire that Mr. Otepka occupy an influential position in its security program. However, administration of the security program is not the property of any particular employee but is the responsibility of top management in the Department of State. There is no obligation by any department to keep a career employee in any particular field so long as his rights as a career employee are observed. This record contains no demonstration of any act in violation of Mr. Otepka's rights in this respect by the Department of State. Its efforts to train him for use in other fields is evident by the War College assignment which the appellant regarded as so suspicious.

The appellant in this conflict has struck one blow through which he accomplished much of what he says his enemies had in store for him. He delivered to the Chief Counsel, Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security three documents of a security nature. He had no right to take the files and records of his agency and release information which he knew may be disclosed only by the President. Furthermore, he had no right to invade the privacy of those who were named in the three documents. It is a fair conclusion that having taken this action one time, he might well do it again and it is reasonable for management to discipline him and remove him from the area where he has demonstrated capacity for harm. Therefore we conclude that the action taken by the Department of State was for a cause as will promote the efficiency of the service and that the decision to effect the action was not unreasonable, arbitrary or capricious.

DECISION

It is recommended that no change be made in the personnel action of the Department of State in effecting the demotion and reassignment of Mr. Otto F. Otepka on December 13, 1967.

This recommendation becomes a final decision of the Civil Service Commission unless either the appellant or the employing agency files an appeal with the Board of Appeals and Review, U.S. Civil Service Commission, Washington, D.C. 20415, within fifteen (15) calendar days of receipt of this decision.

Section 772.307 of the Civil Service Regulations provides that such an appeal must be in writing setting forth the basis for the appeal.

Since there is no further right to a hearing, additional representations (if any) should be made in writing and submitted in duplicate with the appeal to the Board.

JAMES T. MASTERSON,
Chief, Appeals Examining Office.

RIOTING IS EXPENSIVE FOR ALL

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Dillon S.C., Herald of April 23, 1968, contains an interesting editorial entitled "Rioting Is Expensive for All."

The editorial makes the point that money spent controlling riots and repairing the damage is generally used for nonconstructive purposes. It calls to our attention that the Government's revenue is reduced because businessmen are no longer able to maintain their business and provide jobs in riot areas.

Money that could be spent to help solve the problems of the Nation's poor is therefore wasted on riot control and everyone is penalized, the poor perhaps most of all.

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

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

RIOTING IS EXPENSIVE FOR ALL

If the money being spent in the United States to control riots and to repair the damage left by them could be spent instead to develop better education and housing facilities and provide job training, a big beginning would be made today solving some of the problems which plague the nation's poor.

The fires, looting and vandalism not only are costly to businessmen, some of whom are forced out of business, but are costly to the local state and federal governments because the businessman's tax-paying ability is reduced.

The businessman who may have provided jobs becomes unable to do so, and thus more taxes are lost. Consequently the government has less money to spend on needed projects.

Even the threat of riots are costly. Municipal governments are earmarking larger portions of their budgets to train and equip police for riot control.

It all adds up to a lot of money being spent for basically non-constructive purposes when it is very much needed for constructive undertakings.

And everyone is penalized, perhaps the poor most of all.

SELF-HELP IN EDUCATION

HON. RICHARD H. POFF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to quote for the RECORD the speech delivered by Mr. Tyler Fulcher, division superintendent, county school board of Amherst County, Va., at the ceremony dedicating the latest addition to the facilities of the Amherst County High School, a gymnasium which serves a second function as an auditorium for the student body:

ACCEPTANCE OF GYMNASIUM

Today is a great day for Amherst County. The people of Amherst County have achieved another victory in the school construction program. May 18, 1968, is a day on which we welcome a new addition to the family of school buildings. In September, 1953, we, the people of Amherst County, took a look at ourselves, in the area of public school education. Many of the things we saw we disliked, and we realized as a result of this look that the hour of decision had come, and reality was ours to face.

On that day, in September, 1953, in retro-

spect, as to the school buildings, we saw the following:

1. 10 One-room schools.
2. 4 Two-room schools.
3. 2 Three-room schools.
4. 4 Large elementary schools.
5. 5 Combined high and elementary schools.

Only one of these twenty-five buildings then in operation had all of the basic adequacies for a school building, namely to-wit:

1. Seating.
2. Ventilation.
3. Lighting.
4. Space.
5. Sanitation.
6. Heating.
7. Lunchroom facilities.

In the remaining twenty-four buildings, there were two or more inadequacies.

On that date, September, 1953, we found that our curriculum was equally inadequate. The five consolidated high and elementary schools offered an average of eighteen (18) units. At that time, the State required at least thirty (30) units for accreditation. The public schools of Amherst County, therefore, faced academic bankruptcy.

Other pertinent bases for a decision might be given. However, the time and purpose of this meeting will not permit. At this time, it is sufficient to observe that the people of Amherst County did make a decision.

In this moment of deep reflection, the citizens of Amherst County, with the able leadership of the Amherst County School Board and the Amherst County Board of Supervisors, developed a public school philosophy, and a direct statement of it was projected. Thusly, it was stated:

1. We believe that the Amherst County Public School System is concerned with America's greatest resource—her youth.
2. We believe that the professional process, or activity, in the Amherst County Public School System is among the finest—the building of human personalities.
3. We believe that the goal of the Amherst County Public School System is the highest—the worthy American citizen.

With the belief that the youth of Amherst County is our greatest resource; the building of human personalities, our finest activity, and the worthy American citizen our chief goal, the people of Amherst County went forward to achieve and to conquer.

As of this date, Amherst County is in the fourth phase of its long-range building program. With the building of a new Amherst Elementary School, all of our pupils in Amherst County will be housed in A-1 buildings, with all of the basic adequacies, the functional and flexible aspects included. This great goal should be achieved by September, 1969. Yes, by September, 1969, we expect all of our students to experience daily an excellent learning climate. During the great period of school building construction in Amherst County, we have been equally diligent in the development of our educational program. Instead of the eighteen units in 1953, we now offer in our secondary schools more than seventy different courses. We have also made corresponding progress in our elementary schools; and, in all of it, we have not forgotten Health and Physical Education, and we have not forgotten intramural and interscholastic athletic contests.

Some forty years ago, when Health and Physical Education were first introduced, teachers laughed in amusement, and the taxpayer almost rebelled in disgust. At that time, it was contended that pupils got too much exercise anyhow, in their normal course of living; and, that the matter of health was a family, not a public concern.

A great cry went out among the populace: "What will they think about next? After all, what is this world coming to? Now we have Physical Education for those who are already over-exercised, and Health Education

for those who never get sick." At that time, one can easily see that, once again, public school education was put on trial. The court had been convened. The judge, the jury, the lawyers and the witnesses all were present.

As of this day, a day in the Space Age, May 18, 1968, times have changed, and, with it, a change in the attitude of the people towards Health and Physical Education. Modern technology has changed us from an age of muscle and brawn to an age of intellect and culture. We have now entered the "Push-Button Age".

The "Push-Button Age" is lessening the need for physical exercise more and more, each year. The urge for physical exercise does not appear to be inherent in man. Man exercises himself in direct proportion to his relationship to the law of natural selection. In the early age of our history, man's survival depended upon his physical strength and agility. Today, the challenges of the wilderness have almost disappeared, and man exercises less and less. One of the reasons for this spacious gymnasium is that it is offered as a substitute for the challenges of the past, and as a hope for the future.

The flabby muscle, and the sluggish intellect, have no place in the history of Amherst County.

In athletic contests, whether they be intramural or interscholastic, lessons may be learned, and objectives accomplished. Any athlete worthy of the name knows that good, clean living from day to day, from hour to hour, and from minute to minute, is the first basic principle of life. Any athlete worthy of representing his school in any intramural or interscholastic contest knows the value of a strong body and a clear mind. The strong body and clear mind are not automatic gifts of nature. They must be earned by good, clean living.

In the Amherst County Public School System, we, the officials, and we, the people, admire the strong body and the clear mind, based upon good, clean living. We advocate this; we sponsor this; and, we erect fine buildings to promote the purpose.

One of the hardest lessons for mankind to learn is the lesson of teamwork and cooperation. Teamwork and cooperation are fine words, and by merely having them spoken, or repeating them ourselves, we feel better. Our spirits are uplifted. In football, basketball or baseball, or in any of the major sports in which a group is involved, the need for working together is quickly learned. Every man on the team is his brother's keeper. If one member of the team commits an error, the net effect is that all commit the error. If one falls, then all fall. It is during the period of practice for the contests, and during the contests themselves, that togetherness has its finest moments; and this is a characteristic we like to see in adults, young, middle-aged, old and senile. Athletes may outgrow the game, or become too busy or too old to pursue it, but the lessons they learned may never be forgotten.

In contests of the nature which will be held there, here in this gymnasium, some of our students will first learn the true worth of the individual, and his own true potential. Teamwork is important. Cooperation is important. Victory is important. But the foundation of it all, the basis of all of it, is the individual, each individual player. In each athletic contest, as it is in each contest in life, the quality of the individual and the quality of human character will be tested.

In our age of materialism, an age in which great emphasis and major importance are centered in the material, as contrasted with the morals of life, selfishness usually raises its ugly brow. In our efforts to build, or to help build, human personalities, we are constantly and continuously in an all-out effort to conquer and to repel this negative aspect of human relationships. In athletic contests guided by high ideals of sportsman-

ship, the player, each individual player, learns first to forget himself, forget self-ambition, and merge his best, the best he has, for the good and advancement of the group or the team. He learns that in order to succeed, in order to win, the team wins, and not any one individual on the team. Yes, he learns the precious lesson of selflessness. The word selflessness denotes and connotes a multitude of virtues, upon which success rides high, and rides high at any age in life.

Among the first students to learn, and to learn in action, the lessons, of worthy American citizenship is the athlete. It is this knowledge which motivated the construction of this magnificent gymnasium.

From the beginning of her history, nature has been continuously signalling calls to her people. Amidst all counties and all localities of the United States, Amherst County is one of the most beautiful. The beauty of her nature has been the call to man. The call is this: Will the acts of man correspond to the gift of nature? In public school education, the call was heard in 1953. Now, therefore, spotted along the landscapes in Amherst County, one may see large, stately and sophisticated school buildings. Here, in the midst of nature's great contributions, they stand as great edifices of learning.

On Tuesday, August 28, 1956, we first held our dedication exercises here. On September 1, 1956, this school was first opened to our students; and, since September, 1956, many things have happened on this stately site.

In 1960, we lighted our athletic field, it being one of the better fields in the Commonwealth.

In 1961, eight new classrooms were added, with activity rooms and teacher lounges. In 1964, twelve classrooms were added, with enlarged heating plant, cafeteria, kitchen and library facilities.

In 1965, a new music suite was added, it being one of the most modern.

In 1966, a new vocational shop area was added, including space for Auto Mechanics, Electricity, Agriculture, Drafting and Distributive Education.

In 1968, the new gymnasium, along with three Health and Physical Education classrooms are being dedicated.

In reference to the dedication in 1956, this speaker said, in part:

"This evening, the Amherst County High School joins a great heritage and assumes its proportionate responsibilities. We cannot foresee the history of this school, as it takes its place among other schools in Amherst County and in Virginia; it is yet to be written; but this we know . . . a school in which loyalty, honesty, goodwill, fair play and other such values are standards for action; a school which stands as evidence of a thrifty, intelligent and industrious people, fully aware of its responsibility to the present and its obligations to posterity; a school whose doors are the gateways to learning, whose corridors are the avenues to wisdom, whose classrooms are the source of knowledge, whose stairways are the paths to understanding, and whose walls are the symbols of stability, fortitude and strength, is imbued with hope and promise. This we accept as our school, a school in which the native capacities of youth may be emancipated; the County of Amherst enriched; the State of Virginia benefitted; America strengthened, and in which the high principles of the Divine Creator may be practiced."

This evening, May 18, 1968, we may add the following to the formal words of acceptance:

In the name of an aroused, dynamic, intelligent and sophisticated citizenry, with the good, tried and able leadership as reflected by the Amherst County School Board, and the Amherst County Board of Supervisors, the youth of Amherst County shall have their "Day." Therefore, we accept this

addition to the Amherst County High School, for and in the name of the challenging concept: The youth of Amherst County shall have their "Day."

TET IMPACT: MORE SOUND THAN FURY

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I have been impressed with the earnestness with which one prominent citizen of South Vietnam has been trying to get a message across to us here in the United States. The man is Dr. Phan Quang Dan, who has recently been named Minister of State and Open Arms in President Thieu's new Cabinet and the message concerns the Tet offensive. Now Dr. Dan knows both his country—where he has been in political life for over a decade—and this country, where he studied medicine. Dr. Dan's qualifications as a patriot are attested by his prominence as a critic of the regime of former President Ngo Dinh Diem, a role that led him to prison although he had been elected to the National Assembly. Following his release from prison after the fall of Diem, Dr. Dan won the presidency of the Gia Dinh provincial council in 1965. Since then he has been chairman of the National Political Congress and a member of the Constituent Assembly. Last fall he ran for Vice President on the ticket with Phan Khac Suu but lost to President Thieu and Vice President Ky.

This man, who knows his own people and knows us, has been traveling far and wide in this country with a message. Last night he was a guest on the Mutual Broadcasting System's Labor News Conference. There he was asked what had been the outcome of the Tet offensive. He replied that the Tet offensive—which so many of us here have thought established the Communists as the winners in Vietnam "inflicted serious human loss and material damage in South Vietnam. But it also brought out many basic strengths on the South Vietnamese side." He said:

The Army and police turned out to be basically loyal. They fought bravely and well. After the Offensive—

He said—

we found the army and the police were more reliable than before. The South Vietnamese people have many facets—strong anti-Communist feelings are everywhere . . . the newly established regime was also quite stable . . . South Viet-Nam emerged from the Tet Communist offensive as a very viable state.

Perhaps most significantly he said:

After the Tet offensive, people got very angry—furious—at the Communists, and there was a new sense of patriotism, of nationalism. People are joining the armed forces with greater enthusiasm than before . . . We are now in a strong position. There is no reason for us to give in to them. South Viet-Nam, the freedom of South Viet-Nam, has to be saved, regardless.

This is his message. It is an important message, and he wants it to be heard and understood. He sent the same message to the Christian Science Monitor which printed it on April 30. I place that article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

TET IMPACT: MORE SOUND THAN FURY

(NOTE.—The writer of this dispatch is a veteran political figure in South Vietnam who ran for the vice-presidency in last year's presidential elections.)

(By Phan Quang Dan)

SAIGON.—Like ripples in a lake, the emotional shock of the Communist Tet offensive may have been wider when it reached the United States than it was in South Vietnam.

The Vietnamese people have had some experience in reverse with this kind of news. It occurred when American war protesters staged street demonstrations from coast to coast culminating last October in a spectacular march on the Pentagon.

Reaction in Vietnam was out of proportion with what took place in the United States. While Vietnamese nationalists grew worried, Communists and fellow travelers were exuberant, convinced that impassioned deprecations in the streets of the cities had got the upper hand over responsible debate in the capital. They were also convinced that the American people had lost their will to resist aggression and that any further war escalation by Hanoi and the National Liberation Front would force the Americans out of Southeast Asia in a matter of months.

LOSSES ASSESSED

Such estimates based on sensational headlines and oversimplified facts were, of course, far wide of the mark.

It is true that the Communist offensive has inflicted severe human and material losses on South Vietnam and that the new republic is afflicted with serious weaknesses. It would, however, be highly erroneous to conclude that the Communists scored a major victory, that they are growing stronger and that the fight for freedom in Vietnam is doomed to failure.

The Viet Cong representative in Moscow had announced by the end of January that a Communist-led coalition government would soon be set up in Saigon.

This speculation was not without a basis. In the recent past, popular uprisings overthrew the dictatorial regime of Ngo Dinh Diem in November, 1963, and later on brought the downfall of three other governments.

The present Saigon regime was bitterly criticized both at home and abroad for inefficiency and corruption. Influential Vietnamese and American politicians persistently voiced pessimism regarding its viability. It all added up to the impression that South Vietnam was a rotten fruit about to fall.

TURMOIL EXPECTED

The Communists, by throwing 60,000 invaders into surprise assaults on the most vital population centers, thought they would create more turmoil than needed to wreck such a shaky regime.

Facts, however, did not bear out Communist forecasts. The South Vietnamese Army and police fought back bravely and well and in many instances they fought alone—without American assistance. There was no case of a unit surrendering or going over to the enemy, even when overwhelmed in number and firepower. Rumors repeatedly echoed in the international press that the South Vietnamese Army and police were badly infiltrated with Communists were thus proved to be grossly exaggerated.

Months before the Communists onslaught there were rumors that the cities might soon be invaded. The Communists had failed to score modest victories by attacking isolated posts such as Dakto in the highlands and were losing ground in the countryside. They

showed signs that they were groping for a new strategy. They started to launch commando attacks on minor district capitals in provinces as wide apart as Thua Thien on the Perfume River and Bien Hoa on the Dong Nai River.

CLUES SCATTERED

There were plenty of straws in the wind presaging that some unusual event was in the making.

Yet the South Vietnamese and their allies were not informed on the scope and timing of the Communist plot. No arms caches were discovered, no Communist conspirators arrested, no important documents captured which would have unveiled the foe's designs.

The South Vietnamese and allied intelligence services were well organized and resourceful. There was, however, a conspicuous absence of popular participation in these efforts. Professional agents, no matter how well trained, operating without that important political factor, can be compared to diligent ants which might assiduously circle a coconut in all directions and yet have the most serious difficulties in learning what goes on inside.

STRENGTH UNKNOWN

This absence of mass organization to support the allied troops was the major weakness of an otherwise powerful war machine. The Communists were thus free to plan in great secrecy and attack at the time and place of their choosing.

This absence of popular participation made it also difficult to dislodge Communist guerrillas after they succeeded in infiltrating population centers. The allies did not know the foe's strength and whereabouts with accuracy, and had to resort to heavy shelling and bombing over large areas to wipe out even small units of Communist invaders, causing greater destruction than needed.

In spite of this weakness—the people's lack of involvement—there was no popular uprising, no peasant revolt in the villages, no city-worker revolt in the factories. No Communist flags were raised by the population. The few Red flags flying over Hue were hoisted by the invaders themselves. People either locked themselves indoors or fled from the attackers; there were even instances of their fighting the Communists with knives and sticks.

In the wake of the Communist offensive the political situation in South Vietnam remained surprisingly orderly and stable.

LEGALITY UNCONTESTED

In the past 25 years, under comparably dramatic circumstances, whether after the Japanese coup in March, 1945, the signing of the Geneva Agreements in July, 1954, or the overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem in November, 1963, the country has been plunged into chaotic situations with political groups mushrooming by the hundreds and bitterly contending for power. This time the legality of the constitutionally elected government was not contested by anyone.

People are showing resiliency and are resuming their everyday work and rebuilding their houses from rubble. Determination to resist Communist aggression is stronger than before.

For the first time city dwellers themselves realize that this war is theirs. There are fewer draft dodgers.

This opportunity could turn a temporary military success into political victory if it were forcefully seized upon by the South Vietnamese Government to move fast, reorganize the ARVN (Army of the Republic of Vietnam) and its administration, do much more to subdue corruption, carry out sweeping land reforms, mobilize active popular participation, and achieve national unity.

It is safe to draw from recent events the following conclusions:

1. The National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) has been weakening and this process continues. Since 1966 it has lost every conventional battle waged against the allies whether in the highlands or in the Mekong River Delta. Its daily average of ambushes and acts of sabotage has decreased steadily.

Indiscriminate Viet Cong terrorism and heavy taxation have alienated the peasants who had previously supported the Communists because of hoped-for agrarian reforms.

The Viet Cong gradually lost more of the countryside in South Vietnam. Hard as it tried it did not succeed in preventing the nationwide elections organized by South Vietnam to elect the Constituent Assembly in September and the House of Representatives in October last year.

In the Tet offensive the Viet Cong played but a secondary role.

2. The North Vietnamese Communists have been moving steadily into the center of the stage to replace the Viet Cong. They initiated, planned, and led the attacks on South Vietnam's cities. In the I Corps area, especially in Hue and Quangtri, they did the fighting. Deeper south they also played the leading role.

LESS SUPPORT SEEN

There are no Viet Cong guerrillas around the demilitarized zone and Khe Sanh was encircled only by North Vietnamese troops.

The North Vietnamese soldiers will command even less popular support than the Viet Cong which at least had the advantage of being from South Vietnam and knowing the villages well.

The North Vietnamese are infiltrating Laos and Cambodia and they are invading South Vietnam by whole divisions. By contrast, the South Vietnamese and the Americans continue to respect the boundaries and look upon North Vietnam as a forbidden sanctuary.

3. The rules of the war used to be hit and run on the Communist side, search and destroy on the allied side. These rules have been changed, at least for the time being.

It has been seen that the Communists have massed troops to beseege Con Tien, Dong Ha, Khe Sanh, Quangtri, and Hue.

Economic difficulties in North Vietnam and the political slowdown of the Viet Cong in South Vietnam have very likely brought home to Hanoi that its hope of sustaining a protracted war of 5, 10, 15, or 20 more years no longer sounds very realistic.

4. The troops of the allied countries gave a reassuring sign of a working military alliance. The South Vietnamese and American troops, the most important by their size, bore the brunt of the Tet fight. But the other allies—Thais, Filipinos, New Zealanders, Australians, and South Koreans—also played their parts. The South Koreans did prodigious work in the II Corps area. The Australians helped regain control of Barla and Phuoc Tuy with the least damage to the civilian population.

5. South Vietnam with all its weaknesses is emerging as a viable state with a basically loyal Army and police and a population committed to freedom.

6. Now that President Johnson has started down the path of peace talks, the bulk of the South Vietnamese people are watching to see what transpires as if their lives depended on it, which is in fact the case.

Previous hints at peace terms from Hanoi, made casually at parties or dropped by minor diplomats, appeared to politically alert South Vietnamese to be like soap bubbles, as compared with the blows of aggression from Hanoi and the Viet Cong, which were hard as rocks.

The South Vietnamese people have suffered the heaviest losses from this war waged on their land, but they want peace more than any other people involved.

NO SAINTS IN MY FAMILY

HON. ELIGIO de la GARZA

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, these days, it is not often that accomplishments like those of Mr. Alberto Gutierrez are recognized. Mr. Gutierrez epitomizes the value of work and its rewards. He lives in Rio Grande City, Tex.

To misquote an old song, "Livin' Weren't Easy" at Rio Grande City years ago. But, Mr. Gutierrez took the simple matter like things being tough in his stride and has made a name for himself.

He and his wife have four sons. "They aren't saints—and we wouldn't want saints in our family," the couple insists.

Their four sons are, Alberto, Jr. who is a captain in the U.S. Air Force Medical Corps. He is a graduate from the University of Texas and from the medical branch of the University of Texas at Galveston, Tex. Homero, who spent 4 years in the Air Force and 1 year in Alaska after putting in 36 hours of college work at Pan American College. Now, he is operating one of the Gutierrez' service stations. Roberto, is a senior in pharmacy at the University of Texas and Ricardo is a junior arts and sciences student at Texas A. & I. University. He is attending the university on a football scholarship.

Mr. Speaker, so everyone can read how Mr. Gutierrez got ahead I recommend the following from the Humble Energy Marketer, as a mighty impressive story:

NO SAINTS IN MY FAMILY

Alberto Gutierrez of Rio Grande City, Tex., can show you four fine sons. He and they are used to callouses on their hands.

After 34 years of hard-earned success as a Humble distributor in Rio Grande City, Texas—only a few miles from Mexico—Alberto Hector Gutierrez talks freely about the thing he knows best—work.

Without boasting, he says: "Show me a man with callouses on his hands, and I'll show you a man. My boys and I have had plenty of them."

He and his wife, Guadalupe, have four fine sons and a pair of new arrival twin grandsons to prove their point. "They aren't saints—we wouldn't want saints in our family," the couple insists. "But we can't help being proud of sons who have worked as hard as they have to make something of themselves."

A special glow lighted Alberto's face and an admiring tone came into his voice as he began ticking off the details: "Alberto, Jr., is a captain in the U.S. Air Force Medical Corps. He graduated from the University of Texas and from the Medical Branch of the University of Texas at Galveston. Yet, he can get in the saddle right now and ride herd. Homero spent four years in the Air Force and a year in Alaska after putting in 36 hours of college work at Pan American College. Now, he is running one of our service stations. Roberto is a senior in pharmacy at the University of Texas, and Ricardo is a junior Arts and Sciences student at Texas A&I College. He is attending on a football scholarship and plans to go into ranching when he graduates, if I can't get him to come into the business with me."

SUCCESS CAME SLOWLY

While the Gutierrez family has prospered, success came slowly in the early years. The

Rio Grande Valley is even farther south than Miami, Florida, and Rio Grande City was a long way off from everything when Alberto gave up brick making for oil selling in 1934.

Today, the Valley is blessed with rich soil and has a dependable source of irrigational water from Falcon Dam. Three crops a year are normal. But the lush emerald-green citrus orchards lie well to the east of Rio Grande City. Ranching and oil production held out their hands to the new reseller in those early days, when even gravel roads were only a road builder's dream. Car traffic, naturally, was slim. If you had a flat, you fixed it yourself. There wasn't a single Humble service station when Alberto began serving all of Starr County.

When Humble moved a deep test drilling rig into Zapata in 1934, however, Alberto's hopes of selling more than his normal 3,500 gallons of product a month brightened. Until that time, a 500-gallon delivery had been a big one. Now, filling the rig's 8,000-gallon tank became a challenge and a muscle builder. Alberto would load 10 55-gallon drums on his truck, drive to the rig, and pump them out by hand into the big tank. Sixteen trips were required to fill the tank, and few men could stand up under the punch which Alberto's biceps enabled him to deliver.

But work has also made Alberto Gutierrez a humble man. "It takes so little effort to be nice," he says with a shrug. "I never lie to people, I lend a helping hand wherever possible, help dealers with their problems, we smile together, shake hands, show sympathy, and try to make people feel good. That's what life is all about. It's really not hard to make it pleasant. People like to be treated nice. One of my dealers hadn't seen a company salesman or his supplier in the 27 years he had sold a competitive product. All I had to do to get his business was to treat him like a human being. I have never lost a dealer in the 34 years I have sold Humble products. What's the use in starting now? If we have problems, we talk and work them out. We become friends, and we stay friends. Things work out right that way. And I started this policy right at home—always spending all the time with our boys that was needed. Every one of them has caught at least a hundred-pound fish. Every one has come to me when we needed to talk things out. They haven't always gotten all the money they asked for either. It's foolish to spend money for things you don't need. They know that now. My wife and I have always given our boys our love freely. We encouraged them to make something of themselves. Today they are men!"

GROWTH IS SUSTAINED

Alberto's volume has grown because of such conscientious attention to his family and his customers. Only one customer had a pump when he was delivering those 3,500 gallons of product a month. Others had barrels, and he used to fill them with a five-gallon bucket. But through the years his sales have climbed to as much as 200,000 gallons a month—about one-half the potential in Starr County. Some of the 19 dealers he serves have been with him almost as long as he has been in business.

Ranching—spurred by the lush buffel grass now found in the area—and farming have contributed substantially to his business. Chief crops are watermelons, cantaloupes, lettuce, tomatoes, green peppers, cabbage, carrots, cauliflower, onions, and potatoes. Soil conditions near the Rio Grande River are particularly rich, because the river occasionally overflows, leaving a productive layer of silt.

Crops the past winter, however, were hampered by the intrusion of Beulah, one of the worst hurricanes in the history of South Texas. Annual rainfall in the dryland farming area around Rio Grande City is about 18 inches. Beulah pelted the area with almost

that much in one day, with near chaotic results.

As the storm raged inland, with winds as high as 160 miles an hour, the normally tranquil semitropical Valley shuddered under a half-billion dollar crop, home, and business loss. Because of its higher ground, Rio Grande City became a haven for those fleeing the storm. The city's normal population of 6,435 was almost tripled as churches, schools, convents, the court house, Alberto's stations, and homes were opened to victims.

When the United States and Mexico declared a common disaster area along the Rio Grande in a show of mutual concern and helpfulness, help continued to pour in. Special detachments from Fort Hood, Fort Sam Houston, the Red Cross, and the Salvation Army rushed in with a field kitchen, a supply tent, sleeping tents, showers, sanitary facilities, clothes, blankets, and air mattresses.

Serving as a public spirited citizen in such crises as this, and by being a good neighbor day-to-day, Alberto Gutierrez and his family have earned a loyal following among their customers. In addition, their hard work has helped accumulate land, cattle beef, and lumber interests. Check the hands of each: you will find calluses.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES FOR ATLANTIC UNION CONVENTION

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, surprises in the political arena abound today, but none is more hopeful than the agreement of all five candidates for President on the desirability of calling a convention of our North Atlantic allies to lay the foundation for a true Atlantic community.

While the smallest difference of viewpoint among the presidential candidates is avidly sought and magnified in the press daily, the unanimous agreement of these same candidates on a far-reaching foreign policy initiative is practically overlooked.

Fortunately this was not overlooked by Mr. Roscoe Drummond whose column appears in 160 newspapers over the Nation. Aware of the potential significance of agreement among the candidates for President on such a fundamental change in the relationship among these nations, Mr. Drummond recently devoted his column to this. I am inserting it in the RECORD at this point, as it appeared in the Washington Post for May 18, 1968. It should be of special interest to the more than 100 Members of this body who have sponsored or support the Atlantic union resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 232, and others, by which is sought a convention of the NATO nations to seek agreement on setting Federal union as their eventual goal.

The setting of such a goal would vastly amplify the significance of the ministerial meetings of NATO, the next of which, in June, will consider the recommendations of the Harmel group concerning the political aspects of the alliance.

The article follows:

CANDIDATES OF BOTH PARTIES URGE FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVE

(By Roscoe Drummond)

The latest political surprise: Humphrey, Kennedy, McCarthy, Nixon, and Rockefeller are in agreement—and not just on motherhood.

When you get every Democratic and Republican presidential candidate to agree on anything, you would think it was either meaningless or trivial. It is neither.

They agree on a major foreign policy initiative—that the United States should take the lead to call a citizens' convention of all the North Atlantic Allies to lay the foundation for a "True Atlantic Community."

The goal would be to expand the military alliance of NATO into some form of political and economic union to strengthen the forces of the Free World.

The very attempt to do this might seem overly ambitious, impractical, and at the very least premature.

But it doesn't seem so to five of the most prestigious political leaders in the Nation, one of whom will be the next President of the United States.

And to others as well, for the convening of an Atlantic conference to which each of the member nations would send a delegation of 18 eminent citizens is endorsed by Gen. Eisenhower, former President Truman, Barry Goldwater, Gov. Romney, former Gov. William Scranton, Dr. Edward Teller, economist Arthur Burns, former NATO commander General Matthew Ridgway, and former Budget Director P. F. Brundage.

The support which the five presidential candidates are giving to this initiative is contained in statements from each of them released by Clarence Streit, editor of Freedom and Union Magazine.

All five urge Congress to pass the resolution which Sen. McCarthy introduced in the Senate and Rep. Paul Findley (R-Ill.) in the House. These resolutions would have Congress name the U.S. delegation to a convention with similar delegations from "such other NATO nations as desire to participate," making the convention possible even if France rejects it.

The groundwork has already been laid for such a meeting. A preliminary Atlantic convention, initiated by the U.S. Congress, met in Paris in 1962 and unanimously urged "that the NATO governments promptly establish a special governmental commission to draw up plans within two years for the creation of a true Atlantic Community to meet the political, military, and economic challenges of this era."

None of the NATO governments acted. Now the next President of the United States is committed to act. There are, I think, three main reasons why there is growing support for such an initiative in Congress and much wide-approval, in the judgment of pollster Elmo Roper, in the country than many realize:

1—While the danger of war in Europe is declining and thus the military role of NATO is less crucial, the primary need is to strengthen the political and economic bonds of the Atlantic Alliance.

2—The U.S., Britain, West Germany, Italy, and the others don't feel they should be immobilized indefinitely by Gen. de Gaulle.

3—There has been no creative American diplomacy in two decades in the Atlantic. U.S. policy today rests almost totally on the initiatives taken in the late 'forties—the Marshall Plan, Foreign Economic aid, the North Atlantic Treaty, and its military arm—NATO. The conviction is growing that yesterday's answers aren't best adapted to today's problems, that something new needs to be done.

Nixon, Rockefeller, McCarthy, Kennedy, and Humphrey agree. That's quite a consensus.

CONGRESSMAN CLAUDE PEPPER
INTRODUCED LEGISLATION TO
IMPROVE WIDOWS' ANNUITIES
UNDER THE RAILROAD RETIRE-
MENT ACT

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, in line with my continuing interest in improving life for our senior citizens, I am today introducing a bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act in order to increase survivor annuities paid to widows of deceased railroaders. I propose that the monthly annuity paid to a widow be the amount that would have been paid to her husband if he were living, had attained age 65, and had otherwise qualified for an employee's annuity. The bill would place a floor under such payments so that in no case would a widow receive less than \$103 a month.

I am speaking on behalf of the more than 260,000 widows aged 60 and over and the roughly 9,000 widows who are under age 60 but who have children in their care. Widows account for more than half of all women beneficiaries receiving annuities under the Railroad Retirement Act. It might be of interest to note that more women than men receive benefits under the act despite the fact that relatively few women work in the railroad industry. My bill also would cover eligible widowers but their number is negligible.

It is true that as of March of this year widows, as well as all other railroad retirement beneficiaries, received an increase in their annuity payments. This increase was granted to assist the beneficiaries in meeting rising living costs. It does not, however, improve substantially if at all, the position of the widow relative to that of other categories of beneficiaries.

Let me elaborate. In December 1967 the average monthly payment to a retired worker was about \$155. The average payment to a wife was \$69. The average annuity to an aged widow was almost \$81. Thus, a widow has only about \$11 more a month than a wife, who in addition to her own annuity, presumably shares in that of her husband's. My bill, of course, would not bring the average widow annuity up to the level of the average paid to retired workers. This, of course, is due to the fact that payments to new entrants onto retirement rolls are higher, so that the average for living retirees is higher than the average would be of the deceased workers.

To me, the extensive use of the special-social security minimum-guarantee provisions in the Railroad Retirement Act in calculating survivor annuities is additional evidence of the inadequacy of the Railroad Retirement Act on behalf of survivors. This provision guarantees that benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act will be at least 10-percent higher than they would be if railroad work were under social security. In about two-thirds of the cases it is

more favorable for widows' annuities to be calculated under the special guarantee provision whereas only a small percentage of the payments of retired workers are calculated under this guarantee. I want to make it clear that I approve of the guarantee, but I also think that its frequent application for one category of beneficiaries points up a failing in the regular railroad retirement formula in computing payments for that category. Aged widow annuities paid under the minimum guarantee averaged \$92 a month; those calculated under the railroad formula averaged about \$59. As already mentioned, the average for all aged widows was about \$80.

The women in the group with which my bill is concerned do not have much opportunity to augment their meager annuity through employment because they are too old or must remain at home to care for their children. Those women who are able to enter the labor market are not only subject to the same earnings test as are social security beneficiaries, but if they work for an employer covered by the Railroad Retirement Act they are paid no annuity at all, regardless of how much or how little they earn.

I hope I have conveyed in this brief statement the urgency for passage of my bill.

A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON GREECE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, this week I returned from a trip during which I spent 2 days in Athens. Since the takeover of the Greek Government by a military junta in April 1967, I have been interested in the progress made toward restoration of basic freedoms for the Greek people. My purpose for the visit to Athens was to get a firsthand idea of what the junta is doing and what steps are being taken to put Greece back on the democratic track. During my stay in Athens, I talked at length with a dozen people. About half of my contacts were American Embassy officials; the other half were Greek citizens, most of them former members of Parliament or former Government ministers. A majority of them were conservatives.

Among the politically articulate persons with whom I spoke—and this includes all the Greek contacts I made in Athens—opposition to the present regime was unanimous, all the way across the political spectrum. I cannot generalize on the attitudes of the Greek masses, whose views may vary. The people of Greece have only limited access to information because censorship of the press, in effect since the 1967 coup, remains severe. The junta not only controls what is printed; it dictates what is printed.

Generally, I found, the Greeks hold three opinions about the relationship of the United States with their country. First, the United States had quite a bit to do with the coup. Second, the United

States finds the junta acceptable. Third, if the United States wanted to change the Government, its influence is sufficient to do so. The second opinion—that the junta is acceptable to the United States—is based in part on visible moves taken by this country, such as the continuation of military aid and the recent friendly gesture of inviting the head of the junta to dinner aboard an American aircraft carrier. The Voice of America broadcasts one-half hour a day in Greek, including American newspaper editorials that are critical of the Papadopoulos regime. But American editorials are often equally critical of the U.S. Government for its too friendly attitude toward the junta, and thus may confirm Greek impressions about our Government's position.

I found great skepticism, Mr. Speaker, about the prospects that the junta intends to yield its power back to civilian rulers. Although the regime promises to submit a draft constitution to the electorate in June and to hold a plebiscite on the constitution in September, no dates have been set for elections. On the other hand, I believe the junta is aware that the United States strongly supports the return of parliamentary democracy to Greece.

Yet Greece, at present, is a long way from parliamentary democracy. It is a full-blown police state. Let me cite a few reasons why.

Torture of political prisoners has occurred in some Greek prisons. It is unclear whether the torture incidents have been isolated or whether they have resulted from a deliberate policy of the Central Government. But in two of my conversations in Athens, specific instances of physical torture were referred to.

The junta has removed, and replaced with appointees of its own, labor, cooperative, and local government officials.

Arrests and imprisonment of persons who speak critically in public continue. Thousands of Greeks have been imprisoned.

The junta has a system of political "commissars" scattered through the Government and some industries—people who act as the eyes and ears of the rulers.

Premier Papadopoulos is working to create a political base for his group. If this effort is productive, the possibility of elections may become stronger. Yet it is felt that junior officers in the regime will be particularly resistant to the restoration of democratic processes.

Among our interests in Greece, Mr. Speaker, are several Voice of America radio transmitters, a major air base on Greek soil, and access to their seaports.

It would be enormously useful if the United States could dispel the feeling of the Greeks toward our Government's relationship with the junta, letting the Greek people know that the United States is committed to the early return of democracy.

In order to bring about this change, I would recommend military aid to the present Greek regime should be ended or sharply reduced.

The solutions to the Greek problems, it is clear to me, will have to come from the Greeks themselves, not from other

nations. At the same time our interests are not served by continuing to give support to a repressive police state. Continuation of the military rule, without the return to constitutional government as soon as possible, will lead to increasing restiveness among the Greek people. Under our present course, if the present regime is thrown out, it may well be replaced by a government much more hostile to the United States.

We must, at the same time, face the prospect that the junta will remain in power for a long time. We should, therefore, begin now to plan substitute facilities for those U.S. facilities now in Greece. The United States cannot and should not continue to limit its policy options by dependence upon existing facilities in Greece.

These observations, Mr. Speaker, reflect my initial impressions based on my visit to Greece. At some future time, I hope to be able to expand further on policies which I think the United States should follow toward Greece.

UNWISE RESTRICTIONS ON THE EXTENSION OF FEDERAL AID TO HIGHER EDUCATION

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month the House voted overwhelmingly to adopt amendments to the Higher Education Assistance Act of 1968 to prohibit the extension of financial assistance to individuals who violated university rules in a way which the university determined was serious and lead to disturbance of the institution. I voted against this amendment and made my reasons for doing so clear at the time.

These amendments intrude on academic freedom. They will intimidate the exercise of free thought and study in the university. They lend Federal sanction to rules made without the safeguards of due process. And, they discriminate against the not-so-well-to-do who are dependent on Government financial help to get through college.

Today's Washington Post carries a sensible editorial which condemns this action of the House, and which cites the statement of Education Commissioner Harold Howe that these provisions are an unwarranted intrusion into the university and that they constitute double punishment for the single violation of university rules.

I commend this editorial to your attention by inserting it in the RECORD at this point:

DOUBLE DEALING

Some of the excesses and absurdities of student demonstrators have produced among legislators (who ought to know better) reactions which seem no less excessive and absurd. The House of Representatives gave its approval the other day to a proposal which would cut off Federal grants and loans to college students found guilty of participation in campus disturbances. It strikes us as an instance of Congressmen rushing in where

wise academic administrators have learned to tread most warily.

Campus disturbances vary very greatly in degree and kind. Some are healthy, some dangerous and damaging. Where they involve violations of law, the law in its ordinary course ought to be left to deal with the violators. To add extra legal penalties in the form of denial of grants and loans to students is at once unfair and provocative. It is much more likely to cause trouble than to cure it.

Harold Howe, the United States Commissioner of Education, talked about this sensibly and illuminatingly last Thursday on NBC's *Today* show. "The fact is," he said, "colleges have the authority they need to deal with their students and where situations arise in which law enforcement is necessary, they have local authorities and local laws to take care of matters of property damage and trespass and things like that.

"And it seems to me quite unreasonable for the Federal Government to reach its long arm into the internal affairs of colleges and universities. It seems to me even more unreasonable to set up a system of double penalties. If these youngsters have done something wrong they'll be punished under laws which exist, and here the Congress is saying that it will create an additional special punishment which operates only on those who happen to hold fellowships or student aid loans of some sort or other, thereby creating a special punishment for poor students, if you will."

We commend the good sense of that statement to the Senate in the hope that it will undo the intemperance of the House.

TRADING STAMPS AND GAMES

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, some time ago I introduced legislation that has become known as the Truth-in-Trading Stamps Act. This consumer protection legislation is not designed to do away with trading stamps, but rather to give the housewife a fair deal in the marketplace.

Recently the Ed Wimmer newsletter, published by the National Federation of Independent Business, presented a status report on trading stamps. Because of the importance of this issue to American consumers I commend the aforementioned newsletter to my colleagues' attention and wish to include it in the RECORD at this point:

PROGRESS REPORT: TRADING STAMPS AND GAMES

Indications are building up, that the Giveaways, Contests, Games, Trading Stamp Plans and other devices containing an element of 'chance', or where the words 'win' or 'free' are employed to move goods and services, have just about run the course of Congressional tolerance.

For a decade and a half, more and more money is being poured into promotions that have carried the stigma of the 'something for nothing' mania that has swept the nation. Spokesmen of the big chains and oil companies have referred to trading stamp plans, contests and excessive giveaways as "schemes" and "rackets" which have "turned the market place into a national casino" while ruining thousands of small businesses and adding billions to the cost of living.

The gigantic Safeway chain, second largest in the nation, ran full-page advertisements charging coercion by trading stamp company representatives, and told the public that "trading stamps are a racket" and are "costing you 2 1/2% on your food bill". The Kroger Company openly attacked stamps as "a burden on the people"—"a disease"—and Kroger controls the Top Value Stamp Company. The President of A&P referred to stamps as "a drain on civilization," and when the stamp companies invaded Canada, the Dominion Stores Company used double-page spreads to say: "Go home, Yankee Stamp Racketeers, and Take your Canadian Cousins With You."

Leading clergymen have hit the games and stamp offers as "appeals to that something for nothing desire that causes the people to lose all their sense of good judgment". Government investigators, the courts, and leading universities have joined the clamor of demands for reform. Small businessmen representing almost every kind of business have swarmed into state capitals seeking curbs on stamps, games and giveaways, as necessary to the preservation of their enterprises.

When I testified in Wisconsin to uphold the stamp law prohibiting redemption in anything other than cash, I found the State Chamber of Commerce seal on elaborate booklets defending trading stamps as a legitimate device; the impression being that the Chamber was lobbying for the trading stamp companies, and paying for the circulation and mailing of such material. In fact, it was alleged that the stamp companies had actually contributed a large sum to the State Chamber, or to its active or past officials, to compensate them for their expenses and lobbying activities. This was denied at a meeting where I spoke, where Chamber members voted not to support trading stamp pressures on the legislature after hearing and understanding both sides of the story.

To criticize the Chamber may be unfair to some degree, due to the threats of the stamp companies to withdraw their business from Wisconsin firms making paper and manufacturing premiums for the stamp companies—now the biggest customers of many of our largest companies. In fact, top officials of some of these corporations were induced to appear against the best interests of their smaller wholesale and retail customers, on threat of losing stamp company business—Admitting they were coerced, just as thousands of gasoline dealers have testified to being coerced by their suppliers, "to take on trading stamps or lose your lease".

There have been reports from hundreds of legislators re bribes for their votes. Consumer groups all over the nation have been "paid" to appear at legislative hearings to testify in favor of the stamp promotions, and efforts to curb various games and contest abuses have met with the same kind of resistance. The result has been that some members of Congress like the Honorables Lester Wolff, New York, and Henry Reuss, Wisconsin, have introduced bills to dampen the promotion of schemes costly to the consumer, and to protect the ethical enterpriser who refuses to adopt a program aimed at the 'cupidity' of the American homemaker. At one university, a professor said:

"The appearance of gain is so well devised that the ordinary eye cannot detect the fraudulent intent of the purveyor; therefore, there being a compelling reason for interference by the legislature."

Roger F. Dreyer, Executive Vice President, The Ohio Petroleum Marketers Association, may have stated the case against giveaways in its true light when he warned his industry:

"You need to change your ways or the government—local, state and federal—will step in and remove the 'free' from free

enterprise insofar as the oil industry is concerned. . . .

"This organization can no longer sit idly by and close its eyes to the plaguing problems and ridiculous practices carried on under the name of free enterprise. Oil marketing not only has a black eye, but it also has had breath.

"We are accused by responsible people and organizations of running carnivals and side-shows rather than service stations. We are being accused of littering up the landscape with closed, abandoned and unsightly service stations. We are being accused of running a lottery with our various promotion games in violation of the state's constitution. And what has been our pat answer to all this? 'We have a right to do all these things under a free and competitive system. After all, this isn't Russia yet!'

"The problem has become so great that it is overshadowing all the good we do. This problem has become so acute that it will live to haunt us if we do not heed the warning signs of today!

"The message is loud and clear, Mr. Oilmarketer; change your ways or the government, at the urging of the general public, will change it for you."

Steps now contemplated could remove this burden from our free enterprise system, now costing billions of dollars and bringing chaos to many markets; which has been exposed by reputable newspapers, legislators, association officials, corporations and legislators as "a plague on our society." Certainly the prospect of such action would be welcomed by people in all walks of life.

Frank Weikel (writer for The Cincinnati Enquirer), in a series of articles, delved into various game promotions by oil companies and came up with the following conclusions:

"A guy swimming the English Channel in a storm with an anchor around his neck, has more chance at success than those playing the gas station 'giveaway' games has of winning.

"Someone was a winner, but it wasn't the customer who was given the cards.

"I have now checked three sealed boxes (one was Cash in a Flash; one, Sunny Dollars, and the other, Pay Day), and out of nearly 3500 cards I have found only \$27 worth of winners. The three boxes cost the dealers \$42.62.

"It looks like the area gasoline dealers will be putting a two-cent a gallon increase on gasoline prices in the near future, and one reason the increase is needed is to pay for these contests."

Articles such as this, and statements from Gulf Oil and other big company officials, attacking the trading stamp-gimmick-giveaway schemes (so ably exposed by Weikel and other newspaper writers and editors across the nation), and the vigorous efforts of consumer groups, government agencies, state legislators and organizations like our own, are certain to reduce or eliminate many harmful marketing practices.

The problem should be solved within the marketing structure, but inasmuch as business has refused, or failed, to act on its own, what else is left but the legislative process? Are the schemes to take \$8 or \$10 billion by 1970, instead of the presently estimated \$4 billion?

Would we have a farm problem if this excess weight on the price structure was going to the embattled farmer, 5,000,000 of whom were driven from the land since 1950? Does it make sense to channel billions of dollars worth of goods through a parasitic addition to the distribution system (the redemption center or the oil company's catalogue), with the cost of stamps, games or gimmicks hidden in "the price"? . . . As one rebellious housewife remarked: "We are being seduced at the checkout counter and gasoline pump, and we are not screaming."

WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL 62, POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE, OBSERVES 55TH ANNIVERSARY WITH TESTIMONIAL FOR MRS. ALICE NAHORMEK, OF CHICOPEE, NEWLY ELECTED DISTRICT 1 COMMISSIONER OF PNA

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the members of Polish National Alliance Council of Western Massachusetts, No. 62, celebrated its 55th anniversary on Sunday, May 5, with a banquet and testimonial honoring Mrs. Alice A. Nahormek, of Chicopee, who was recently elected commissioner of District 1, Polish National Alliance.

As an honorary member of Council 62, it was my privilege to address the many members who gathered at the Butterfly Ballroom of the Polish National Home in Chicopee for their joint 55th anniversary celebration and testimonial to one of their outstanding members, Mrs. Nahormek, whose new jurisdiction as commissioner now embraces the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, and has a Polish National Alliance membership of 24,000 Americans of Polish descent.

During my remarks, I said:

The Polish National Alliance came into existence 88 years ago. It has grown to be the largest fraternal organization of Americans of Polish descent in the country. Think of it—spawned by a small group of Polish fighters for freedom, who fled German and Russian Oppression in their native land, the Polish National Alliance now boasts a membership of more than 370,000 and assets of almost \$125 million.

Council 62 of Western Massachusetts celebrates its 55th birthday on this occasion. In the fall of 1913, 5 groups, 605 and 702 of Chicopee; 711 of Chicopee Falls; 1053 of Springfield, and 1484 of Indian Orchard were gathered together and officially given the number, "Council 62, Polish National Alliance," by the Polish National Alliance of North America with headquarters in Chicago, Illinois.

This council has actively participated in civic, community, and religious projects. As a fraternal organization it has given aid to its needy and aged members. It has not only contributed much to the people of Polish ancestry, but to the entire community. Its ideals of loyalty to our country and respect for law and order have been engrained in its members.

Being a firm believer that the future lies in youth, the first Council 62 PNA youth group was organized in 1933 by Mrs. Frances Matras. Known as "Harczerstwo," several of these groups are continuing the work started 35 years ago.

Realizing that youth needs an outlet for the summer months, the council in 1947, purchased 80 acres of land on a lakefront in Bondsville, Massachusetts. The Polish Alliance Youth Camp operated as a resident camp and received funds from the Chicopee Community Chest to accommodate some 300 youngsters, for a 6-week period each summer, regardless of their race or religion.

Fifty-five years of active participation in fraternal, youth, and governmental affairs has brought forth a larger membership to Polish National Alliance Council 62, stronger ideals and a greater loyalty to the United States of America.

This is the heritage that you and the

pioneer members of Council 62 leave to the younger generation.

More than a year ago, in December, 1966, I had the privilege to join in the dedication of the American Research Hospital for Children in Krakow, Poland. I had the opportunity to witness, in person, the enduring spirit of the Polish people and their great affection for the United States. I saw, too, the deep seated love for their church and their religion. As I knelt in the Magnificent Church of Marjacki (St. Mary) in the center of Krakow, I felt the ardor of their devotion and caught the fervor of their dedication to liberty and freedom.

And, at that moment, I came to know, with greater conviction, that tyranny would never conquer their spirit. I realized more fully then, that the communists may suppress freedom of expression, but they will never extinguish it in Poland. They may fear and attempt to shackle the power of the Church, but they will never diminish the faith and prayer of the Polish people.

And, let me add, that I sensed the inspiration that you have given to your native land and its people. The letters that you send, the assistance you give, the helping hand that you have constantly offered to these brave people in Poland, have given them strength and courage.

This gathering of the Polish National Alliance Council 62 tonight will have meaning for them. For it helps to keep their spirit alive.

I come here tonight to congratulate you on what you are doing here, and to express the gratitude of the United States. I also want to congratulate your honored guest, Mrs. Alice Nahormek, on her election as Commissioner of District 1, Polish National Alliance. No one works harder and produces so much for this organization than Alice Nahormek. She has organized the children into fine groups which stress Polish culture, dance, and music and their entertaining has been tremendously successful, thanks to the zeal and leadership of Alice Nahormek.

As an honorary member of Council 62, Polish National Alliance, I want to take this opportunity to wish you, Alice Nahormek, a most successful tenure in office as Commissioner for District One, Polish National Alliance.

Mr. Speaker, I include with my remarks news stories from the Holyoke Transcript-Telegram, of May 3, and the Springfield Union, of May 6, concerning Mrs. Nahormek and the 55th anniversary banquet; the testimonial and banquet program, including the Council 62 officers and committee members; and the text of the certificate granting me honorary membership in the Polish National Alliance, Council 62, on the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the council in 1963:

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Union, May 6, 1968]

POLISH ALLIANCE COUNCIL FETES MRS. NAHORMEK

CHICOPEE.—Polish National Alliance Council 62 held a combination 55th PNA anniversary celebration and testimonial for Mrs. Alice Nahormek, District 1 commissioner of Chicopee, Sunday at the Polish National Home.

THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY ATTEND

More than 350 persons joined the celebration and feted Mrs. Nahormek, who was recently elected District 1 Commissioner, comprised of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire.

She has been a member of the Chicopee organization since 1933, when the local youth group was established by her mother, Mrs. Patrick Matras. It was the first PNA youth group in New England.

Mrs. Nahormek has served in every post of both Groups 2590 and 62 and is the only woman elected president of Council 62.

She is a charter member of Polish Alliance Youth Camp, Bondsville, where she served as director of the girls camping season from 1948 to 1953.

She became Chicopee's first policewoman on March 26, 1953.

[From the Holyoke (Mass.) Transcript-Telegram, May 3, 1968]

MRS. NAHORMEK WILL BE FETED AT TESTIMONIAL

This Sunday, some 350 persons including relatives, friends, invited guests and dignitaries will gather at the Polish National Home, Chicopee, to honor Mrs. Alice A. Nahormek at a testimonial in recognition of her recent election as District 1 Commissioner of the Polish National Alliance. The district comprised of the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire, has a membership of 24,000.

The event beginning at 4 p.m. is being sponsored by the Polish National Alliance of Western Mass., Council 62, in conjunction with the organization's anniversary.

Congressman Edward P. Boland will be guest speaker. Serving as toastmaster will be City Treasurer Atty. Edward J. Ziemba. Also at the head table will be City Collector Alphonse Lacroix and Mrs. Lacroix who will represent Mayor and Mrs. Richard H. Demers; Rev. Raphael Wisniewski, pastor of St. Anthony's Church; Joseph Dancewicz, national director of District 1 and Mrs. Dancewicz; Stanley Soja, president of PNA Council 62, and Mrs. Soja; Mrs. Ziemba, Mrs. Nahormek, her daughter, Patricia, and her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Francis Matras.

Mrs. Nahormek, 43, a native of Chicopee, is no stranger to the organization. She began her career in 1933 at the age of nine when her mother established in Chicopee the first PNA youth group in the New England area.

Actively participating in PNA work for the past 35 years, Mrs. Nahormek has served in every office of PNA Group 2590, Chicopee, as well as PNA Council 62. To date she has been the only woman president elected to serve in Council 62.

She is a charter member of the Polish Alliance Youth Camp, Bondsville, where she served as director of the girls camping season from 1948 to 1953. As an advisor to the PNA Junior League, she instructs the girls in Polish folk dancing and singing who perform for organizations and clubs upon request.

Mrs. Nahormek, Chicopee's first and only policewoman, a post she assumed March 26, 1953, is the daughter of Patrick and Frances Rosiek Matras. She received her elementary education at the Patrick E. Bowe and St. Stanislaus Schools and is a 1941 graduate of Chicopee High School.

A graduate of the Felt and Tarrant Compotometer School, she studied Army administrative methods at the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., while employed by the former Springfield Armory. She has also studied child guidance while attending Alliance College, Cambridge Springs, Pa. Mrs. Nahormek has also worked in the capacity of payroll supervisor in the former Armory's tabulating department and as a secretary to the finance officer and chief clerk at Westover, AFB.

A member of St. Anthony's Church, Willimansett, Mrs. Nahormek is president of the New England Assn. of Policewomen.

A charter member of the Polish Women's Civic Club, she holds membership in the Chicopee Business and Professional Women's Club, the VFW Auxiliary Post 452.

Mrs. Nahormek, widow of Francis P. Nahormek who died in 1965, lives at 59 Francis St., Chicopee. She has two daughters, Patricia, 20, a junior at Skidmore College, N.Y., and Mrs. Nancy Papodopulos, 19, of Chicopee.

POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE COUNCIL 62 55TH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET AND TESTIMONIAL FOR MRS. ADELA ALICE NAHORMEK, COMMISSIONER DISTRICT I POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AT BUTTERFLY BALLROOM, POLISH NATIONAL HOME, CHICOPEE, MASS., SUNDAY, MAY 5, 1968

Address of welcome: Mrs. Stella Sabaj, General Chairman.

Introduction of toastmaster: Atty. Edward J. Ziemba.

American and Polish anthems: Groups 2590 and 2986 PNA.

Invocation: Rev. Raphael Wisniewski, Pastor, St. Anthony's Parish, Chicopee, Massachusetts.

Greetings—City of Chicopee: Alphonse Lacroix, City Collector, representing Mayor Richard H. Demers.

History, Council 62 PNA: Stanley Soja, President Council 62 PNA.

Entertainment: Youth of Group 2590 PNA, Chicopee, Mass. Directed by Mrs. Sophie Golba.

Remarks: Honorable Edward P. Boland, Mass. Congressman.

Remarks: Rev. Raphael Wisniewski.

Entertainment: Youth of Group 2986 PNA, Ludlow, Mass. Directed by Mrs. Anna Lopata.

Address: Joseph A. Dancewicz, National Director, PNA, New Bedford, Mass.

Presentation: Stanley Soja.

Remarks: Mrs. Adela Alice Nahormek, Commissioner District I PNA.

Commissioner District I PNA.

COUNCIL 62 OF POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE

OFFICERS 1968

Stanley Soja, President.

Mrs. Mary Gurski, Vice President.

Henry Wiatrowski, Vice President.

Mrs. Sophie Bardzik, Secretary.

Mrs. Stella Sabaj, Treasurer.

Peter Pazik, Marshal.

TESTIMONIAL COMMITTEE

General Chairman: Mrs. Stella Sabaj.

Honorary Chairman: Stanley Soja.

Mrs. Sophie Bardzik.

Mrs. Regina Cebula.

Mrs. Sophie Golba.

Mrs. Ann Peresada.

Mrs. Rose Corso.

Kazimierz Rybczyk.

Ludwik Swierad.

Mrs. Veronica Galuska.

Johnm Polaczak.

Mrs. Mary Gurski.

Henry Wiatrowski.

Mrs. Angela Chmura.

Mrs. Petronela Chmiel.

Mrs. Mary Tomchik.

Joseph Przybycien.

Izador Szymiczek.

Mrs. Anna Lopata.

Joseph Robak.

Music by Polka Vagabonds.

COUNCIL 62 OF POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE,

CHICOPEE, MASS.

(Gmina 62 Zwiajker Narodowego Polskiego)

For his true spirit of brotherhood, and his untiring efforts in the causes of Freedom, Justice, and Equality, Council 62 Polish National Alliance of Chicopee, Massachusetts, representing two thousand eight hundred and nine Americans of Polish descent, has voted United States Representative EDWARD P. BOLAND an honorary member of Council 62 Polish National Alliance on the 10th day of November, 1963, the date of the 50th anniversary of said Council.

ADELA M. NAHORMEK,

President.

ANN PERESADA,

Vice President.

THEODORE F. CEBULA,

Vice President.

SOPHIE C. BARDZIK,

Secretary.

JOHN S. POLACZAK,

Treasurer.

INVERTED PRIORITIES

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, it is alarming that the Appropriations Committee has reduced by almost 50 percent the administration's budget request for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. These funds are urgently required to enable EEOC to enforce title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination in employment. The budget request is necessary both to improve the existing quality of enforcement, which clearly needs to be strengthened, and also because the 1964 act provides that title VII coverage is to be extended to smaller employers as of July 1968. Yet, the budget request has been cut in half.

Title VII protects one of the most basic rights—the right to equal consideration for a job. Some Members of the House continually berate those who will not work, who seek what are termed "hand-outs." Yet to halve the enforcement budget of EEOC would be to deny good jobs to minority group members who want to work but who suffer illegal discrimination.

And some Members of this House are also fond of calling for more law and order. Yet this reduction halves the number of personnel charged with enforcing a vitally important law.

I am hopeful that my colleagues will act to restore the full request for Equal Employment Opportunity Commission funds when we consider H.R. 17522, the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies appropriation bill, fiscal year 1969, tomorrow. I include an editorial from the New York Times of May 27, 1968, entitled "Wrong Way Congress," which speaks to this lamentable reduction:

WRONG-WAY CONGRESS

The upside down sense of priorities that rules on Capitol Hill has rarely been displayed more revoltingly than in two actions taken on the same day last week by the House Appropriations Committee.

The \$13 million budget recommended by the Johnson Administration for enforcement of the equal employment opportunities provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was cut in half, presumably for reasons of Federal economy. But no such frugal husbandry of the public purse was evident when the committee dealt with appropriations for the greedy lobby that keeps the domestic shipbuilding industry afloat despite its recklessly high costs. The committee voted to double the more than \$100 million appropriation that the White House had proposed for new construction in the merchant marine, an industry which, as noted above, has been made scandalously uncompetitive in world commerce by the slothful practices of labor and management.

The report of the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders has reinforced the already abundant evidence that racial bias in jobs and promotions is a major threat to American stability. The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission is the chief watchdog against such discrimination. At the start of the new federal fiscal year in July, the jurisdiction of the Commission, under the able chairmanship of

Clifford Alexander, is being extended to many thousands of smaller companies.

This extension not only increases the number of businesses the Commission must police by 250 per cent, but adds even greater complexities of enforcement. Congress has told the Commission that it wants all complaints of racial discrimination processed within 60 days—a not unreasonable requirement if Negroes are to retain faith in the agency's worth.

But the Congressional slash in the streamlined budget requested by the Administration condemns those who seek the Commission's help to wait as long as two years for final action. No one can expect the agency to retain credibility on that basis.

The price will be paid in a further erosion of the trust the disadvantaged place in white society to address itself responsibly to rectification of the abuses that ultimately explode in riots. The right and necessary course for the House is to restore the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission's full appropriation when it votes on the committee's recommendation tomorrow. The place to economize is on the overfat shipbuilding subsidy.

ROCKVILLE MAN DIES IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland, Mr. Speaker, Sgt. John A. Bifareti, Jr., a fine young soldier from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend his bravery and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

ROCKVILLE MAN DIES IN VIETNAM—SGT. JOHN BIFARETI, JR., WAS INFANTRY SQUAD LEADER

ROCKVILLE, Md. May 22.—An Army sergeant from Rockville who had recently been placed in charge of an infantry squad was killed in action May 17 in Vietnam, the Defense Department reported today.

The soldier was identified as Sgt. John A. Bifareti, Jr., 24, son of Mr. and Mrs. John A. Bifareti, Sr., of the 14200 block Arctic avenue.

Sergeant Bifareti, who was sent to South Vietnam last September, had been serving with the 25th Infantry Division in the Cu Chi area northwest of Saigon, his father said.

RECOMMENDED FOR MEDAL

In recent letters to his family the soldier reported that he had been recommended for the Bronze Star Medal and had been made an infantry squad leader, Mr. Bifareti stated.

The sergeant had served as a point—or forwardmost—man in the squad for about six months and had been expecting a "rear echelon" assignment when he was promoted to squad leader, his father said.

The promotion resulted in the sergeant's staying in active combat, Mr. Bifareti said.

GREW UP IN PITTSBURGH

Sergeant Bifareti was born in Butler, Pa., and grew up in Pittsburgh. He studied civil engineering at Notre Dame University for two-and-a-half years until illness forced him to leave school.

The soldier worked for Montgomery county in a surveying team for about two years before enlisting in the Army in September, 1966.

His father said the young man, in order to enter the service, had to appeal the initial findings of a pre-induction physical in which he was rejected.

Mr. Bifareti, an employee with the Veterans Administration, moved his family to Rockville about five years ago.

Besides his parents, Sergeant Bifareti is survived by a sister, Cathy Louise, and three brothers, Donald B., who returned from Vietnam duty with the Army last August; Lawrence V., and Ronald G. Bifareti.

FREE LUNCH FOR SOME

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Education and Labor has been holding extensive hearings on hunger in America.

Among the first witnesses were members of the Committee on Lunch Participation, who called our attention to the fact that there are more than 4 million children of disadvantaged families in America who are not today getting hot lunches in their schools. The New York Times recently ran an editorial on this entire subject which, to a considerable extent, has served as the framework for part of the investigation now being conducted by my committee.

The New York Times is to be commended for calling this deplorable situation to the attention of the American people. The editorial follows:

FREE LUNCH FOR SOME

Millions of children, too poor to pay for their lunch in school, must watch daily as their more affluent classmates eat. Millions of others go hungry "only" a few days a week while they wait for their turn to come again in an absurd and inhumane system of rotation that allows them only two or three free lunches a week. And many of those who are included in the National School Lunch Program are subjected to the humiliation of having to wait at the end of the line until the paying customers have been fed.

The Committee on Lunch Participation, sponsored by leading civic and religious women's organizations, disclosed that many states fail to make more than a token contribution to what is intended to be a matching program. In a callous way of penny-pinching, these states substitute the meager funds contributed by poor children themselves for such tax contributions as the Federal regulations call for.

Ironically, many of the neediest children are ineligible for free lunches because the substandard schools in the urban and rural slums which they attend lack lunch rooms and cafeterias. The committee's disclosure that fewer than two million youngsters, or only about 4 per cent of the public school enrollment, at present are able to get free or reduced-price lunches is a tale of shocking neglect of the poor in an affluent society.

The committee's demand that free lunches be made available to all who cannot afford to pay must be met without delay. At the same time the states must be required to assume their part of the responsibility honestly and equitably, and the Department of Agriculture, as the Federal agent responsible for the program, must be given the authority and the means to police its implementation. It is intolerable to expect children to get any benefit from free education while they go hungry and to subject them to the humiliation of scrounging leftovers in order to be strong enough to learn.

POOR PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY TAKES OVER AMERICAN

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, with so many of the poor people population appearing to be 30 years of age and under—it came as no surprise that a spur operation of the Poor People's Campaign would be a student teach-in against taxpayers and anticommunism.

The surprise was that American University—here in Washington, D.C.—would turn over 17 classrooms, office space, phones, and equipment to be used as an indoctrination center for intellectual subversion of the United States.

A genuine moral victory for the extremists of the left in their propaganda bid for an image of progress and respectability. To be able to teach revolution against the United States in our Nation's Capital in classrooms of a university called American.

Quite a setting for brainwashing and propaganda activities by such anti-American instructors as Kenneth Clark, David Dellinger, Harry Belafonte, Joan Baez, Ivanhoe Donaldson, Tom Hayden, Todd Gitlin, Dick Gregory, and Michael Harrington and others.

Right in line with their program to undermine the American people in every word and institution held sacred and revered.

By the time this "wrecking crew" gets gone, they'll have made the word "American" a dirty word even to Americans.

I include the Evening Star account of May 23 and the national education program report as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, May 23, 1968]

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, IN SHIFT, GIVING SPACE FOR POOR PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY

American University will provide classroom and office space for the planned Poor People's University despite a statement on behalf of AU and four other universities in the District that no such campus facilities would be provided.

The Consortium of Universities—made up of American, Catholic, Georgetown, George Washington and Howard—announced Tuesday that because of "normal operations" they would "be unable to provide either dormitory or on-campus classroom facilities for out-of-town college students."

At Georgetown University today, a group of about 20 students were holding a sit-in to protest the school's failure to provide space on campus for the Poor People's University.

Joseph Gerson, a Georgetown student, said the protest would be continued until the university's policy is changed.

The demonstrators were gathered outside the office of the Very Rev. Gerald Campbell, Georgetown president, in the Healey building, named in honor of Patrick Healey, the university's only Negro president, who held office before the turn of the century.

According to the consortium statement, the cooperation of the five universities would involve "encouraging members of the faculties and students to participate."

American University's intentions of going further than this, however, were reported by Brady Tyson, AU coordinator for the project.

He said AU will provide 17 classrooms from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. daily from May 29 to June 16 in the 1900 block of F Street NW, and

office space, two telephones and office equipment in the 2000 block of G Street NW.

The Poor People's University is planned by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in conjunction with the Poor People's Campaign.

According to previously announced plans, the idea is for at least 5,000 to 6,000 visiting college students and some of their teachers to take part in the Poor People's University. Included would be courses in nonviolent demonstrating tactics, and such subjects as poverty, racism, economics and the effects of the Vietnam war.

[From the National Program Letter]

RADICAL STUDENTS AID REDS

Communists in America are making frightening strides in mobilizing "student power" in the nation's high schools, colleges and universities for a violent revolutionary assault upon the United States and its institutions. The plan is to incite and organize millions of students into a paramilitary force joined to revolutionary Black Power—with which World Communism expects ultimately to overthrow the U.S. and gain dominion over all mankind.

This sounds fantastic, doesn't it?

Jerry Rubin, revolutionary leader, prominently active in Communist causes, who helped to direct the mammoth assault on the Pentagon last October, says: "The goal is a massive white revolutionary youth movement which, working in parallel cooperation with rebellions in Black communities, could seriously disrupt this country." Is this "goal" fantastic? I have before me a news dispatch from Santa Barbara, California. The headline says: "Students Discuss Ways to 'Destroy' Universities." A subhead says: "Revolution Proposed."

"REVOLUTION" SPELLED OUT

The Santa Barbara News-Press had sent reporter, Tom O'Brien to cover a conference of college student leaders from throughout the nation, sponsored and financed by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions which was set up with Ford Foundation money. After reading the News-Press report, I wrote the Center for a full text of the speeches and discussions.

Here is one of the student leaders speaking: "I'm going to say loudly and explicitly what I mean by revolution. What I mean by revolution is over-throwing the American government and American imperialism and installing some sort of decentralized power in this country. I'll tell you the steps that I think will be needed. First of all, starting up fifty Vietnams in Third World countries. (Note: The Communists explain "Third World" as the "oppressed" people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.)

TO AID "BLACK POWER"

"This is going to come about (continued the speaker) by Black rebellions in our cities, joined by some white people. People in universities can do a number of things to help. They have access to money and they can give these people guns, which I think they should do. They can engage in acts of terrorism and sabotage outside the ghetto..."

The speaker was Devereaux Kennedy, president of the student body at Washington University, St. Louis.

A fact which should cause shivers to run up the spine of all concerned Americans is that, according to reports given at this national conference of students leaders, approximately 10 per cent of all students in our colleges and universities follow such revolutionary leadership, and such young revolutionaries as Kennedy now hold student body presidencies in about half the colleges and universities!

Stan Wise, one of the conferees, secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating

Committee (SNCC), said American institutions must be destroyed. He proudly said SNCC was "absolutely without doubt responsible for the race riots throughout the country" last summer.

The Communist press in America, and its radical, revolutionary "sister" publications, including many "underground" college newspapers, are full of reports on ramifications of the "coming revolution". Always the "student power" revolution is tied in with the revolutionary Black Power forces.

REDS MOBILIZING YOUTH

Communists working skillfully and effectively within our country, now that the U.S. Supreme Court has virtually demolished the legal safeguards against them, have mounted a mammoth revolutionary youth movement with the aim of destroying American capitalism and overthrowing our Republic. The "World Student Strike", with its most significant manifestations in the U.S., is but a part of the agitation and operational plan.

"Political Affairs", the theoretical "journal of the Communist Party, U.S.A.", gives full credit to the Party for (1) mobilizing radical American youth into a force which now has reached frightening proportions, and (2) for welding various facets of the revolutionary youth movement, including a "Black Youth" force, into a "United Front" which will ultimately function as part of the "anti-imperialist" revolution to overthrow the United States.

Working for twin goals

Two months ago at the University of Chicago, a "front" called "Student Mobilization Committee" brought together in conference approximately 1,000 leaders of nation-wide youth organizations, ranging from college YMCA's and "Student Christian" movements, to revolutionary Black Power elements and well-known Communist-front youth groups such as the W. E. DuBois Clubs. The Communists dominated the conference, and in the end won their most important goal, the unification of divergent youth groups into a nation-wide revolutionary force.

The key conference "unity" resolution was written by self-proclaimed Communist, Bettina Aptheker, whom "Political Affairs" described as "spokesman for the Communist Party and a member of the DuBois Clubs." It was an obvious move by the Communist apparatus to draw white youth organizations together with the revolutionary Blacks in the two primary goals which are today paramount in Communist strategy: (1) U.S. pull-out of the Vietnam war, leaving victory for World Communism, and (2) "self-determination" for the "Black people", meaning take-over and control by Negroes in cities and communities where they are in the majority, including Washington, D.C.

The Communist boast

Here are the Communist boasts, as printed in their official journal (for guidance of the revolutionaries throughout the country): "For the first time since the thirties there will be a student strike. Of course, though it has been agreed to in conference, it will take long, hard work and much skill to carry it through on each campus. For the first time in years there will take place a mass student action which will mobilize both black and white students."

The Chicago conference, the Communist publication says, "is another concrete proof of the critical importance in the student youth movement of a Marxist youth organization based on a working-class approach. The fact that only the DuBois Clubs were capable of raising these questions (of white and black coalition of the 'oppressed') shows the importance of such an approach."

MR. HOOVER'S WARNING

"The American college student today is being subjected to a bewildering and dangerous conspiracy perhaps unlike any social challenge ever before encountered by our

youth. On many campuses he faces a turbulence built on unrestrained individualism, repulsive dress and speech, out-right obscenity, disdain for moral and spiritual values, and disrespect for law and order. This movement, commonly referred to as the 'New Left', is complex in its deceitful absurdity and characterized by its lack of common sense.

Radicals are busy

"Fortunately, a high percentage of the more than 3 million full-time college students are dedicated, hardworking, and serious-minded young people; however, their good deeds and achievements are greatly overshadowed by those who are doing a tremendous amount of talking but very little thinking.

"Much of this turmoil has been connected with a feigned concern for the vital rights of free speech, dissent, and petition. Hardcore fanatics have used these basic rights of our democratic society to distort the issues and betray the public. However, millions of Americans, who know from experience that freedom and rights also mean duties and responsibilities are becoming alarmed over the anarchistic and seditious ring of these campus disturbances. They know liberty and justice are not possible without law and order.

Reds pleased

"The Communist Party, U.S.A., as well as other subversive groups, is jubilant over these new rebellious activities. The unvarnished truth is that the communist conspiracy is seizing this insurrectionary climate to captivate the thinking of rebellious-minded youth and coax them into the Communist movement itself or at least agitate them into serving the Communist cause. This is being accomplished primarily by a two-pronged offensive—a much-publicized college speaking program and the campus-oriented communist W. E. DuBois Clubs of America. Therefore, the communist influence is cleverly injected into civil disobedience and reprisals against our economic, political, and social system.

"There are those who scoff at the significance of these student flareups, but let us make no mistake; the Communist Party does not consider them insignificant. The participants of the New Left are part of the 100,000 'state of mind' members Gus Hall, the Party's General Secretary, refers to when he talks of party strength. He recently stated the Party is experiencing the greatest upsurge in its history with a 'one to two thousand' increase in membership in the last year.

Need spotlight on Reds

"For the first time since 1959, the Party plans a national convention this spring. We can be sure that high on the agenda will be strategy and plans to win the New Left and other new members. A Communist student, writing in an official Party organ, recently stated, 'There is no question but that the New Left will be won.'

"Thus, the communists' intentions are abundantly clear. We have already seen the effects of some of their stepped-up activities, and I firmly believe a vast majority of the American public is disgusted and sickened by such social orgies. One recourse is to support and encourage the millions of youth who refuse to swallow the communist bait. Another is to let it be known far and wide that we do not intend to stand idly by and let demagogues make a mockery of our laws and demolish the foundation of our Republic."—J. Edgar Hoover, Director FBI

DICK GREGORY AT YALE

In the early 30's it became "fashionable" in crackpot "intellectual" circles throughout America to champion the Communist cause. The term "Pinko" was coined to describe what later was to be called "Fellow Travelers", those who aid the Red conspiracy. Some

Americans woke up in the 50's decade when Communists in strategic positions within the American government were caught in espionage activities which aided the Soviet Union in every step of their development of nuclear power. The Smith Act was passed and we began as a nation to erect some semblance of a safeguard against Red subversion.

The set-back wasn't taken lightly by World Communism. The Reds geared all their propaganda and penetration apparatuses to breaking the safeguards and toward returning Communism to "respectability" inside America. They were successful. Through Supreme Court decisions, the internal security laws were virtually nullified. Colleges began again to have Communist speakers address student assemblies. The louder a Red official would condemn the American system, the more popularity he seemed to achieve at some of America's biggest universities.

Today the "radicals" are having their greatest popularity as university and college speakers.

Dick Gregory, Negro comedian and self-styled "racist", was the featured speaker at the Yale University annual dinner for the graduating class this January. He had reached the pinnacle as a campus lecturer, apparently, when he threatened to close down the Democratic National Convention in Chicago next August with a "Black Power" uprising. Here is an excerpt (completely in context) from his full address to the Yale Seniors and their professors:

Will burn down United States

"Let me tell you something tonight: we will burn your house down to the ground (and we mean that), if you think you are going to keep talking this insane and think you going to keep on insulting us like this we'll burn it down to the ground, man. This is what we trying to say. We are sick and tired of your insults and we not going to take them anymore, whether you like it or not.

"Let me ask you to raise your hands. How many of you read when Henry Ford, 3½ weeks ago hired 6,000 Negroes? Any of you read that in the paper? Did you also read that they didn't have to take the tests when they hired them?

"Henry Ford, one of the largest corporations in the world, hired 6,000 niggers in two days. Why do you think they hired them? Because of nonviolence? You—right know it wasn't that. The fire got too close to the Ford plant, baby. Don't scorch the Mustangs, Baby. You-all, running around talking about how riots hurt, do you realize how long it would have taken us through peaceful channels to get 6,000 black folks hired and through those tests? . . .

American flag "a rag!"

"Let me speak briefly on the insanity of that war in Viet Nam, and the insane country that you coming out into, the laws that we pass, and this flag sitting right here. We just got an insane law to say you can't burn an American flag. I say, What in the - - - is the American flag but a - - - rag like all the other flags all over the world. I'm not interested in rags . . ."

"America is a cigarette machine to us. We didn't put forty cents in it to get something that was going to make us sick, we put 400 years of our lives in that machine, baby, to get something that was going to make us well, and we didn't get nothing, man . . . So in the form of Detroit, Watts and Chicago we kicked that machine . . . Now we gonna break this machine up in little, bitty pieces; that's what we say!"

No wonder our nation is on the brink of disaster!

SCHOOL TAKEOVER PLANNED

"Black Power" revolutionaries, who have been agitating American Negroes to unite in a revolution and overthrow the United States, confidently expect early success in one of their first revolutionary steps—the take-over by "Black Power" of all schools and colleges

predominantly Negro. They expect in schools and colleges which are predominantly White to be able to lead substantial numbers of the White pupils and students into the revolutionary force being mobilized coast to coast.

The National Guardian, listed by Congressional committees as a Communist-front publication, has published an article outlining some of the plans for the predominantly Negro schools after being taken over by the "Black Power" forces, and before the final revolutionary strike. Here is what they say will happen in schools taken over by "Black Power."

Allegiance to black nationalism

"Our Black student enters a building adorned with pictures of great Black fighters such as Marcus Garvey, Malcom X, Muhammad Ali, etc. The walls of the corridors and the classrooms are covered with signs bearing such survival slogans as 'Learn or Burn,' 'Teach or Reach,' 'Instruct or Duck,' 'Unite or Perish,' 'Keep on Pushing,' etc. His school day begins in his home room with a pledge of allegiance to his own red, black and green flag. His pledge is a poem such as LeRoi Jones' 'We are Beautiful People.' (Jones is a Negro revolutionary.)

"After the morning exercises are over he goes to physical training where the first part of the period is devoted to target practice on the school shooting range. Following this he reports to a nearby classroom for instructions in weaponry, gun handling, and gun safety. All instructions in the self-defense and weaponry classes are conducted in Swahili and Yoruba . . . As our black student moves about the building, loud-speakers placed in the ceilings continuously bathe him with the quiet sounds of Malcolm X speaking, LeRoi Jones reading one of his poems. . ."

But the "Malcolm X Society," an organization of middle-aged revolutionaries headquartered in Detroit, scoffs at the gradualism represented in such long-range planning. They propose as a first step in takeover of America the immediate establishment of an all-black "Republic" in five Southern states. The states: Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina. Whites would be evicted.

Using the youth

Richard Henry, who calls himself "Imari," is described in an Esquire Magazine article as a "Black Power advocate who argues that the doctrine of 'one more chance, Honky' is outdated. His revolutionary plans," says the magazine "include a mass black migration to enclaves in the South, where with protection of Red Chinese submarines in the Gulf of Mexico, the fighting could begin in earnest. Doubters should be aware that Imari, a Detroit ghetto leader, admits there was advance planning in the (Detroit) riot." But even such elders in the "Black Power" revolution movement, count on the fiery militancy of youth, both black and white, to aid in achieving their aims.

We saw in the assault on the Pentagon last October the ability of the Communist apparatus to attract tens of thousands of college students into mass demonstration and then incite them into actual attack upon police and military authority.

THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 126th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

ORVAL W. ADAMS, EXEMPLARY AMERICAN

HON. SHERMAN P. LLOYD

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, Salt Lake City, the State of Utah, and the entire country which he loved have lost a great citizen in the passing last week of Orval W. Adams, retired president of Zions First National Bank and former president of the American Bankers Association. Mr. Adams lived 84 years of usefulness and in the spreading of cheer and encouragement wherever he walked. Salt Lake City newspapers gave eloquent testimony to the good which was contributed by this man's life and it is appropriate that these editorial testimonials be reprinted on these pages because Orval Adams devoted himself to good government and vitally involved himself in the challenges of his country.

The editorials follow:

[From the Deseret News, May 20, 1968]

ORVAL W. ADAMS

In the banking and business world, Orval Adams was known and universally respected for his unceasing crusade for sound money and sound government. Indeed, to his logical banker's mind, the two were inseparable—you can't have one without the other.

His voice was widely heard in this world of finance and business. It was heard across the country when, in 1937, he was president of the American Bankers Association. In the years since, on the many important boards he served and in other forums, it was seldom stilled until his death last week. America is a better place because of that voice of conscience.

But Orval Adams inhabited a broader world than that. His was also the world of civic service. He was an indefatigable worker for his community. No one was more effective in raising funds for worthwhile projects—probably because no one was more personally generous.

But with all this, the world he loved best was that of family and friends. He was the best of neighbors. His words of encouragement and support blessed so many lives. Of all the tributes paid at the time of his passing, perhaps none was more meaningful than the brief tears shed by little children in his neighborhood because in the death of this 84-year-old man they felt they had lost a close friend.

Orval Adams loved this city and its people. He refused to be shut away from them. In recent months, after age and illness had partially incapacitated him, it was touching to see him shuffling along the streets of his beloved downtown Salt Lake City and to be greeted with the warmth and affection that always radiated from the man.

To his gracious widow and six stalwart sons, the Deseret News extends its condolences in his passing and its gratitude for more than a half-century of leadership and friendship.

[From the Salt Lake Tribune, May 20, 1968]

ORVAL W. ADAM'S LIFE A JOURNAL OF BANKING

In his day-to-day business a banker gets to know many kinds of people. But not many people get to know him. Orval W. Adams was a popular exception who became a personal landmark in downtown Salt Lake City.

Even those unacquainted with the bushy-browed former president of the American Bankers' Association spoke to him because he said "hello" first.

Mr. Adams, whose career was a journal

of intermountain banking's growth and reliability, died Saturday at 84. But his legacy is a living one and it reaches into teller's cage and executive suite alike in banks up and down the mountain country and beyond.

Sixty-four years of service to his profession did not preclude like service to the community that shared his success. He was active in athletics in his earlier years and throughout his life took part in civic enterprises. He was also a force in Republican circles and battled over the years what he saw as the opposition party's "economic illiteracy."

At a banquet honoring him upon his retirement as president of Zions First National Bank, Mr. Adams summed up his financial and political creed: "The responsibility of every American," he reminded his well-wishers, "is to maintain fiscal integrity." Then he added: "Let us from the past take courage and stand for principle rather than political expediency; for substance rather than form in our struggle for economic enlightenment."

Mr. Adams lived those words as well as he spoke them.

MARKETING INFORMATION SERVICES

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the marketing of agricultural products is a complicated process. It is a very remarkable process, when you consider that thousands of tons of all kinds of foods and other agricultural products are moved across the country every day from widely scattered producing areas to the cities and towns in every State.

One important part of this remarkable marketing process is the Federal-State Market News Service. Market news—information on the prices, supplies, and market conditions for products in producing areas, and on prices paid and supplies available in wholesale receiving markets—helps producers to make more intelligent marketing decisions, gets agricultural products to where they are needed, and increases efficiency throughout the channels of distribution.

The Federal-State Market News Service has provided nationwide reports on supplies, prices, and market conditions for most agricultural products for over 50 years. But one important agricultural commodity thus far has not been included in this service—cut flowers.

You can find flower shops in every city and practically every small town, but the size and value of the floriculture industry as a whole is surprising. Cut flower production at shipping point has an annual value equal to that of the U.S. rice or orange crops—and it is one-third larger than that of the apple or peanut crops. Sales of floriculture products by the country's 22,000 retail florists are estimated to be \$1 billion annually.

The cut flower industry recently expressed concern about the lack of nationwide market information for their products. Last year they asked the Consumer and Marketing Service of the U.S.

Department of Agriculture, which operates the Federal-State Market News Service in cooperation with State agencies, to make a feasibility survey of a market news service on cut flowers. Members of the industry paid for the survey.

The survey showed a market news service for cut flowers was feasible, so the industry then requested, and provided funds for, a pilot market news project, operating in one area.

The Fruit and Vegetable Market News Service has been operating this pilot market news project from San Francisco since December, and I think I can say it has been a distinct success. They report daily prices and market conditions of roses, carnations, standard chrysanthemums, and pompons sold by producers and shippers in the central coastal countries of California. This area was selected for the pilot project because it grows four of the five major crops of the industry. The fifth major crop is gladioli. This production area sales information is of particular interest to producers, shippers, wholesalers, and retailers throughout the country. I can give you an indication of that interest by saying that requests for the report, which is published three times a week, have come from every State in the Union except one. The information is available daily through the nationwide leased-wire system which connects all market news offices. A wholesaler or shipper anywhere in the country can telephone the nearest fruit and vegetable market news office and get the day's information as soon as it is available.

The pilot project also reports sales on the San Francisco wholesale market to local and nearby retailers. These reports cover the five major crops, plus all other types of flowers shipped in from Hawaii, Florida, other parts of the country, and from foreign countries. Firms in foreign countries, incidentally, have also shown wide interest in the market news report. The Market News Service has received requests from firms in Finland, Greece, Australia, and 20 or more other countries.

Why is this service so valuable? Prices of perishable commodities, such as cut flowers, are influenced to a great extent by supply and demand. For the first time, a grower can look at an unbiased Government report to see if he is receiving as much for his product as the buyers will pay. Shippers can decide whether the trading activity reported by market news will justify asking for higher prices or if a reduction would stimulate buyer's interest. Wholesalers can decide which commodities will be most profitable to handle and can buy accordingly. Retailers can plan their promotional efforts based on reports of which commodities are plentiful. In the end, consumers will benefit from the greater variety of offerings and better values which result from more efficient marketing. A byproduct of market reports is the statistical data which accumulates and is available for study by researchers who can assist the entire industry in long-range planning. This information is not available from any other source.

The pilot project is scheduled to end in June. It has served its purpose. It has shown that market news is of tremendous value to the floriculture industry. And the Fruit and Vegetable Market News Service is to be congratulated for developing methods of reporting sales and prices of cut flowers which have proven so useful to the industry.

But I hope we do not let it stop there. I hope it will be possible to continue this market news service on cut flowers as a permanent part of the Federal-State Market News Service. The floriculture industry has done a good deal to demonstrate its support and need for this service. Now perhaps it can join with other major agricultural industries in the benefits of this Federal-State program established to help agricultural industries in the marketing of their products.

CAPT. KIMBALL J. SCRIBNER

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, several days ago I called the attention of my colleagues to a recently published book by Capt. Kimball J. Scribner, a pilot for Pan American World Airways.

Captain Scribner's book, "Your Future as a Pilot," brings to bear his many years of experience with Pan American.

This weekend I came across a review of Captain Scribner's book in the *Clipper*, an aviation trade publication. Because this review so clearly expresses my high regard for "Your Future as a Pilot," and, principally, in recognition of the growing importance of aviation in this country and the partial answer provided by Captain Scribner, I wish to include in the RECORD a copy of that review:

CAPTAIN'S BOOK TOUTS AVIATION FOR A CAREER

"Good evening ladies and gentlemen, this is Captain Scribner speaking to you from the cockpit," begins a book that many a young man will find valuable if he is looking for a career that combines travel, excitement, good income and a place on the frontiers of technology.

The book is "Your Future as a Pilot," by Pan Am Captain Kimball J. Scribner. It could be the most important birthday or high school graduation present a young man—or girl—ever received.

Written in a conversational style that is as engaging as it is precise, Captain Scribner describes the types of aviation careers open to all, from crop-dusting to air taxis to piloting a jet airliner. Captain Scribner also enumerates the qualifications necessary for the various careers and, equally important, tells what the jobs pay.

He does not restrict himself to "cockpit careers," but also explains what jobs exist on the ground in aviation. Nor are females ignored. If a girl is thinking about becoming a stewardess, here is a good book for her to begin with before asking the airline of her choice more specific questions.

Captain Scribner, who has been flying since he was 16, even provides advice about selling airplanes and operating an airfield. He hasn't missed a facet of the flying business—either personally or in his book.

LIFE TENURE ON SUPREME COURT

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, Members of Congress have been asked by their constituents on many occasions, "What can be done to change the 'life tenure' of members of the U.S. Supreme Court?"

David Lawrence, writing in the U.S. News & World Report, has this to say about "Good Behavior" of Judges—Who Defines It?" This fine editorial offers plausible suggestions—that the members of the Court be named for a period of years and that the U.S. Senate maintain "continuing jurisdiction" over the members of the Court. The article follows:

"GOOD BEHAVIOR" OF JUDGES—WHO
DEFINES IT?

(By David Lawrence)

Does the constitution of the United States really provide for the life tenure of Justices of the Supreme Court? The words "life tenure" do not appear anywhere in the Constitution.

The prevailing impression, however, is that, once appointed to the bench, a judge can be removed only by impeachment. But the Constitution says that the impeachment power can be invoked solely in the case of "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors."

Supposing, therefore, that no such crime or misdemeanor is committed and that in all sincerity the Supreme Court Justices render judgments which nevertheless have the effect of nullifying important provisions of the Constitution, what steps then are available to the President or to the Congress to see that the Constitution is not destroyed by decrees of the judiciary?

Where is the protection against arbitrary and capricious action by the judges? Five Justices of the Supreme Court, constituting a majority of the nine, are able to establish themselves as an oligarchy and rule the United States. How does our famous system of "checks and balances," inherent in the Constitution, deal with such a contingency?

The Constitution says:

"The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.

"The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office."

Since Supreme Court Justices may hold office only "during good behavior" and since obviously the Court itself cannot be the judge of its own "behavior," it follows logically that the President and the Senate, acting together, have the constitutional power to determine just how "good behavior" shall be defined.

The Constitution does not use the word "confirmation" but says that "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," the President "shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law."

Since the Senate can give "consent," it can withdraw "consent," as Alexander Hamilton once argued in *The Federalist*. There is nothing

in the Constitution which says that the Senate must acquiesce in the retention of any judge who does not conform to the standards which may be set up to define the term "good behavior."

Congress could require by statute that every Justice come before the Senate periodically—perhaps every six years—for "reconfirmation." There is no hint in the Constitution that confirmation once given is an irrevocable action. Reconfirmation occurs regularly now on the reappointment of various administrative officers of the United States, and in the case of judges of the Court of Tax Appeals and members of quasi-judicial bodies such as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission and the Federal Communications Commission. In all these instances, the term of office is definitely fixed by Congress.

Where the tenure is not fixed, however, as in the case of "ambassadors and public ministers," the process of reconfirmation becomes merely a method of re-examination looking toward the termination or extension of the period of service.

The phrase "good behavior" in the Constitution indicates a continuing jurisdiction by the President and the Senate over the tenure of the judges.

The Supreme Court, on its part, has recently proclaimed a "continuing jurisdiction" over the States and all their schools and over all citizens who may do or say anything in connection with court orders issued in segregation cases. This "continuing jurisdiction" is accomplished through injunctions issued by the judges which may not be terminated for decades to come.

There is no reason, therefore, why the Senate of the United States on its part may not maintain a "continuing jurisdiction" and a process of observation to determine whether the Supreme Court Justices are confining themselves to those judicial functions specifically granted to them by the Constitution or by Congress.

Congress can clarify the whole problem in a law—indeed, there would appear to be no need for a constitutional amendment—which would provide a suitable method of establishing whether the official conduct of such Justices still complies with the meaning of the words "good behavior." Such a law should provide that a two-thirds vote be required for an adverse judgment—withdrawal of consent by the Senate.

The President, because he is a part of the appointive power, should be given by law the authority to consent or refuse to consent to the Senate's judgment.

This would give both the executive and the legislative branches an opportunity to share in the responsibility for whatever action is taken. The American people would be able to fix responsibility, too. They could deal at the polls every two years with a mistaken Congress and every four years with a mistaken Executive.

The hearings in the Senate in each instance relative to the determination of whether "good behavior" has been achieved or disregarded should be based on the specifications set forth in such laws as Congress may pass concerning "appellate jurisdiction." For the Constitution does give Congress the right to say what cases may be appealed to the high court and to define what authority the Supreme Court shall have in particular cases. This power is derived from the Constitution, which says:

"In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make."

Certainly if a Justice has not lived up to the rules set forth by Congress when it defines by law the "appellate jurisdiction" of the Supreme Court, or if he refuses to appear before the Senate for reconfirmation, he would not be fulfilling the meaning of the term "good behavior" as defined by Congress, and his term could thereupon be ended. If he still disobeyed, he could be impeached and removed for violating a specific law.

It is to be noted that to Congress is given the power of "regulation" of the Supreme Court's jurisdiction.

This is the main safeguard which the American people possess as against what a member of the Supreme Court itself once described as a power "inherently oligarchic." Thomas Jefferson all his life regarded the Supreme Court as "an irresponsible body" and "independent of the nation itself."

It was never intended by the Founding Fathers that the American people should be governed by five men, sitting as a majority of the Supreme Court, who could by judicial order frustrate the FBI, release confessed rapists, and prevent law-enforcement officers in federal, State and city governments from nipping treason in the bud or stopping corruption before plots of this kind can be consummated and grave damage done to the nation.

One of the laws which Congress clearly has the power to make relates to the conduct of its own proceedings, including investigations. Congress has the right to say by statute that the Supreme Court shall not be permitted to pass on cases which involve in any way a change in the rules of the Senate or the House. This must be respected by the Supreme Court because the Constitution explicitly says:

"Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member."

The Supreme Court in a recent decision conceded that a legislative "investigation is part of lawmaking." Plainly, therefore, there is no right bestowed on the Supreme Court to tell Congress what rules it may or may not make for the conduct of its own investigations which are admittedly part of those proceedings.

But the Court nevertheless undertook to tell the Congress that whatever "rules of its proceedings" it might adopt, these are subject to further review by the Supreme Court of the United States. This is a plain violation of the Constitution.

Can it be persuasively argued that the framers of the Constitution ever intended to leave the President and the Congress helpless to carry out their constitutional functions in the face of such deliberate interference by the judiciary? Can it be said that no means of restraint at all was provided in the Constitution against such arbitrariness on the part of members of the Supreme Court who could indefinitely constitute a majority and issue decisions with all the force of law?

The obvious answer is that Congress, as the body which is representative of all the people, was given such power. It is up to Congress, therefore, to exercise it promptly by defining "good behavior" and at the same time limiting the "appellate jurisdiction" of the Supreme Court.

This, to be sure, is the system of "checks and balances" which the American people have written into their Constitution. It is time for the American people, through their elected representatives, to stop judicial usurpation and to prevent the growth of judicial despotism.

It is time to bring well-meaning but misguided justices to a realization that they cannot and must not expect to function in contempt of the Constitution itself and still remain in office.

WASHINGTON SICK FROM RIOT'S
AFTERMATH

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN
OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the closing paragraph of an interesting editorial over WCYB-TV on May 6, 1968, points out strongly that Washington is sick from the riot's aftermath.

The closing paragraph sums up the situation as follows:

Our National Capital should be a model of law and order, but Washington, D.C., is sick from an ever-mounting crime situation; sick from the effects of demonstrations and rioting which have made gangs of little Castros thumbing their noses at authority and law enforcement.

The editorial follows:

WASHINGTON SICK FROM RIOT'S AFTERMATH
(WCYB-TV editorial)

For many, many months before the April rioting began, our National Capital city of Washington had an extremely high crime rate. Street muggings, assaults, rapes, robberies, were common.

In the wake of April's rioting the crime situation has worsened.

Further aggravating the picture is the proposed march of the poor on the Capital city, with its attendant ingredients for explosive disorder.

The Washington Post newspaper Sunday gave a sobering story of the city's condition; it called on the Government to make it absolutely clear that violence will not be tolerated.

The Post says: "The District of Columbia is now being plagued with the aftermath of the recent riot which made a bad crime situation worse. Stories coming out of the shattered areas paint a discouraging picture.

"More than 50 incendiary fires have been reported; windows, many of them just-installed replacements, are being broken every night. Merchants tell of incidents in which their stores have been vandalized by gangs. Others say they have been threatened. Those merchants who say they are not bothered usually go on to explain that this is because everyone knows they are heavily armed and are ready to shoot intruders.

"The city has a serious problem.

"Some of the problem undoubtedly arises as a carryover from the riot. The policy of restraint adopted by the police when they were outnumbered at the outset of last month's rioting was sound.

"But it was also certain to produce bad side effects. One is reflected in the fear of merchants that if their property went unprotected during the early stages of the riot, it will still be unprotected.

"Another and more serious effect seems to be an attitude among some young toughs is that if they got away with looting and burning under riot conditions, they ought to be able to get away with it now.

"Respect for law and for property if once diminished, is sometimes hard to re-establish. But it must be re-established. Disrespect for the law must now be squelched vigorously and promptly.

"The burden of stopping this violence rests on the whole community, not on the police alone, for it was on behalf of the whole community that the police made the choice that life was more valuable than property during the riot.

"Above all, the situation requires that the Government make it absolutely clear that this violence will not be tolerated. If the augmented patrols now being put into operation cannot do the job, other steps will have to be taken to strengthen the forces of law and order." End quotation.

Our National Capital should be a model of law and order, but Washington, D.C., is sick from an ever-mounting crime situation; sick from the effects of demonstrations and rioting which have made gangs of little Castros thumbing their noses at authority and law enforcement.

TWELFTH DISTRICT OF
MASSACHUSETTS

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the people of the 12th District of Massachusetts have given an enthusiastic response to a poll on the vital issues we are currently facing at home and abroad. We have just completed tabulating the answers to my questionnaire from some 10,000 citizens of the communities I have the privilege to represent.

This response is to me a reminder of the fact that we do indeed have government by the people. While in the final analysis, we all recognize that as elected Representatives of the people we must make the final decisions on how to vote on the various measures brought before us, questionnaires are undoubtedly one of the most valuable channels of direct communication between the Representative and the people.

The opinions of my constituents on all 12 issues are contained in the complete report attached below.

I urge other Members of Congress to adopt this practice in order to better communicate with the people they serve.

DISCRIMINATION AT RESURREC-
TION CITY

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I was today moved by reports from Resurrection City in which Mexican-Americans and Indians from the Southwest, including my own constituents, charged that they had been discriminated against by black power elements dominating Resurrection City.

I have asked the Attorney General of the United States to undertake an immediate investigation to determine whether the civil rights of Mexican-Americans, Indians, and Appalachian whites are being violated by the authorities of Resurrection City and the organizers of the so-called Poor People's March.

I refer, Mr. Speaker, to a statement to press association reporters today by Mr. Reies Tijerina of Los Angeles who is the leader of 350 Indians and Mexican-Americans who came here from the Southwest to participate in the demonstration. He stated that his group will not leave their temporary shelter at a school in Southwest Washington and move into Resurrection City "until we have definite assurances that black people will treat us fairly and will pay as much attention to our grievances as to their own."

The spokesman for the minorities asserted that black people were discriminating against other groups in the demonstration and that Mexican-Americans, Indians, and poor whites were not being given a voice in the campaign strategy.

Mr. Tijerina revealed that poor whites from Appalachia now in Resurrection City are in trouble and have indicated a desire to move out because they are "tired of being abused, pushed around, humiliated, and discriminated against by the black people." He said a group of 100 Indians had similar sentiments.

The spokesman also revealed that Mexican-Americans and Indians had been promised in California by Rev. Ralph Abernathy's organization that they would be "equal partners" in the demonstration.

However, upon arriving in Washington the black militants seemed to have taken over here, and nobody else gets a chance to talk, Tijerina told the press.

It appears, Mr. Speaker, that this has become a shocking travesty on equal rights. Those who are crying loudest for equality are denying equality to others. It appears that our Indian and Mexican-Americans may have to demonstrate separately because of the bigotry to which they have been subjected.

I am fearful for the physical safety of the Appalachian whites, Indians, and Mexican-American minorities who are caught up in this demonstration and have been brought here penniless and totally dependent upon the black leadership that is now charged with discrimi-

RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE TO CITIZENS OF THE 12TH DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

	Yes	No	Unknown
1. Do you approve of the President's conduct of the Vietnam War?.....	29.1	54.5	8.7
2. In North Vietnam, do you favor (a) intensified U.S. air attacks; (b) a bombing halt; or (c) maintaining air attacks at the present level?.....	(a) 37.1	(b) 35.8	(c) 17.1
3. Should the United States continue to trade with nations that are aiding North Vietnam?.....	17.3	68.4	6.8
4. Do you believe the American people are receiving sufficient information from the Government on vital foreign and domestic issues to allow them to vote intelligently?.....	21.1	64.0	7.4
5. Do you support the administration's proposed increase in taxes?.....	35.6	50.2	6.8
6. Do you believe that Federal spending on domestic programs should be reduced?.....	48.9	38.6	4.8
7. Should industries which install equipment to reduce air and water pollution be granted tax credits by the Federal Government to offset part of the expense involved?.....	59.8	26.7	5.7
8. Do you favor returning a percentage of the tax money collected by the Federal Government to State and local governments to be used as they see fit?.....	49.9	32.5	9.7
9. Do you favor Federal legislation to celebrate Memorial Day, George Washington's Birthday, and Veteran's Day on Monday each year?.....	50.0	39.6	3.5
10. Do you favor my Marine Sanctuaries Act, which would prohibit drilling or exploring for oil in certain fishing and recreation zones of our seas?.....	80.3	7.0	5.5
11. Do you approve making Plymouth Rock (and 10 or 15 adjacent acres) into a national memorial park?.....	64.4	19.4	8.7
12. Do you support the administration's proposal to tax travel overseas?.....	38.1	50.2	4.5

nating against others just as badly as the so-called racists they denounce.

I feel that the Department of Justice must act immediately under the provisions of the Civil Rights Act and other laws to assure the safety and rights of the minority groups that have been subjected to this treatment by the hypocritical and arrogant mayor and city manager of Resurrection City.

A LETTER OF INTEREST

HON. JOSEPH P. VIGORITO

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. VIGORITO. Mr. Speaker, in recent months a great deal of criticism has been leveled at our Nation's college students. Every day we pick up a newspaper to read of rebellion here and rebellion there.

It is unfortunate that there is very little said about the responsibility of this current college-aged generation. A few weeks ago I had the pleasure of talking with a young lady from my congressional district, now a student at Oberlin College.

An aware young lady, involved in our national problems, she and her fellow students came to Washington to demonstrate their concern over the plight facing many of our citizens. Our talk was a most productive one. I was reinforced in my view that the majority of our young people in college are intelligent, enlightened, and involved citizens, not the destructive type we are often led to believe have taken over our campuses.

I think my colleagues might be interested to hear of this young lady's very well stated views on the urban and rural plights facing the United States. For that reason, Mr. Speaker, I enter her short letter into the Record:

OBERLIN COLLEGE,
Oberlin, Ohio, May 14, 1968.

Hon. JOSEPH P. VIGORITO,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. VIGORITO: Talking with you last Thursday in your Washington office was a very great privilege for me. I would like to take this opportunity to thank you once again for your interest in me and in the Oberlin expression of support for the Poor People's Campaign.

I am aware of and grateful for your fine voting record in matters of the poor and the underprivileged in our country. I know that you share my concern for the crisis in our cities. I hope that you and your colleagues in Congress will view the Poor People's Campaign with compassion as an exercise of the "right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition their government." This Campaign, I am sure, is a symbol of hope for those minorities who have all but lost their faith in the democratic process for any alleviation of their distress. I fear for my country if this symbol meets dogmatic inaction, or if the requests of those who march non-violently meet deaf ears.

If you would like more information about our programs of research and action in Oberlin, please let me know.

Thank you again for your time and your interest.

Sincerely yours,

SUSAN REESE.

SOCIAL SECURITY SHOULD PROVIDE WORKING WIVES WITH THEIR PROPORTIONATE BENEFITS

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, with all the concern of equality of benefits for women, I think it is appropriate for the Congress to give serious consideration to an amendment of the social security law which would provide wives that work with the opportunity to receive proportionate benefits for the amounts that they have contributed to the fund.

This bill would amend the present law and thus provide the payment of benefits to a married couple based on their combined earnings record where that method of computation would produce a higher combined benefit.

The inequity in the present law now provides that when a working wife and her husband retire, she may either have approximately half of his social security pension, as his wife, or her own pension as a worker, whichever is greatest. But she always forfeits one to take the other in actual practice.

I am hopeful that the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS], will give due consideration and evaluation of this proposal. In addition, my colleagues of the House should

seriously join in this effort to correct this inequity from continuing and endeavor to advocate this body to take action on this legislation.

WYATT POLL DRAWS RESULTS

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1968

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, my office has just completed the tabulation of returns from my 1968 congressional questionnaire. This poll, which I send annually to residents of Oregon's First Congressional District, covers many of the important issues facing this body.

The questionnaire, itself, was distributed in February, and the tabulation includes returns as late as last week. Therefore, the answers given show the feelings of a cross-section of my constituency over this period of time.

I received the fantastic total of 25,165 individual replies to my survey. This is almost a 25-percent increase over the number I received back last year. The critical and immediate importance of some of these issues may have led to the overwhelming number of responses.

Here then, for the inspection of my colleagues, are the results of my 1968 congressional questionnaire.

Percentage figures may not total exactly 100 percent, as they were rounded off to the nearest 10th:

[In percent]

	Yes	No	No opinion	
1. The war in Vietnam:				
a. Should the United States withdraw immediately and unconditionally from Vietnam?.....	26.3	65.7	8.0	
b. Should the United States take the military steps necessary to close Halphong and the other ports of entry in North Vietnam?.....	55.6	24.6	19.7	
c. Should we continue to increase the commitment of American ground troops to Vietnam?..	26.8	56.5	16.8	
d. Do you favor the taking of whatever military actions are deemed necessary to force North Vietnam to the conference table?.....	57.1	28.0	15.0	
e. Should the United States cease, unconditionally, its bombing attacks on North Vietnam?..	23.8	63.6	12.5	
2. Foreign aid:				
a. Should we continue to extend military assistance to other countries?.....	34.2	53.8	12.0	
b. Should we continue to extend economic assistance to other countries?.....	52.8	36.6	10.6	
3. Do you favor the current administration policy of promoting trade with the Soviet Union and other Communist-bloc countries in Eastern Europe?.....	49.5	38.9	11.6	
4. The Federal budget:				
a. Do you believe that, except in times of grave crisis, the budget ought to be balanced each year?.....	83.3	10.4	6.2	
b. In light of the increased expenditures made necessary by the war in Vietnam, do you think that the funds for various Great Society programs should be cut back?.....	70.3	23.0	6.7	
5. Tax increase:				
a. Do you favor the President's proposal of a temporary increase (a 10 percent surcharge) in the Federal income tax?.....	28.3	65.0	6.7	
b. Do you think that the President should be required to schedule a general reduction of Federal spending as a precondition to the enactment of a tax increase (surcharge)?....	78.2	10.7	11.2	
6. Do you favor the adoption of a plan to provide, either in whole or in major part, for the public financing of presidential campaigns?.....	20.4	69.0	10.6	
7. Should taxpayers be allowed an income tax deduction (of, say, up to \$100 a year) for political campaign contributions?.....	34.3	55.4	10.3	
8. Do you favor the lowering of the voting age to 18?.....	32.1	63.2	4.7	
9. Should Congress propose a constitutional amendment to grant to the District of Columbia one or more seats in the House of Representatives?.....	47.5	25.8	26.7	
10. Do you favor the requirement (added by Congress at the close of the last session) that all persons receiving assistance under the aid to families with dependent children (AFDC) program, except for children and the infirm, must participate in a work-training program as a condition for receiving such aid?.....	83.0	9.2	7.8	
11. Do you favor the continuation of the Federal highway beautification program (including such matters as billboard and junkyard control and landscaping efforts)?.....	64.5	26.7	8.9	
12. Do you favor the President's proposal to improve the U.S. balance-of-payments position by imposing restrictions on the travel of American tourists outside the Western Hemisphere?.....	32.3	58.7	9.0	
13. Should Congress enact a statute designed to make juries in Southern States more representative of the local population?.....	51.4	26.5	22.1	
14. Should Congress propose a constitutional amendment to permit voluntary prayer in the public schools?.....	62.4	25.6	12.0	
	Good	Fair	Poor	No opinion
15. How do you rate the present administration's performance?	8.3	33.4	54.1	4.3

NEW YORK TIMES STARTS BIG LIE
TECHNIQUE IN ROCKEFELLER
PUSH

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, many of us have been wondering when the New York Times would be sufficiently scared to start its smear campaign against conservative Republicans. It started, as anticipated, a little early since their candidate, Governor Rockefeller is not faring very well out in public. Just as Rockefeller himself launched a vicious tirade against conservatives in 1963 and 1964, the New York Times started the ball rolling for the hate syndrome in its editorial "The GOP's Missing Men."

From time to time I have pointed out the duplicity of the Times in its characterization of liberals and conservatives. It rarely refers to a "leftist" or a "left-winger," but throws the "radical right" and "rightwing" tags around like it was promoting a bargain-basement sale at Macy's. In this particular editorial it seemed to lump everyone who is against Rockefeller—and that would be most of the responsible Republicans, Mr. Speaker, into this nebulous "rightwing" camp.

They used the following in describing Mr. Rockefeller's opposition: "the right-wingers," "ferocity of the rightwing opposition," "party's radical right," and "extreme conservatives." That is their "All the News Fit To Tint" at its very worst. Republicans should be forewarned of this hate and smear campaign.

Of course, in the lexicon of New York Timesese, anyone more conservative than Governor Rockefeller is probably a rightwinger and liberals, at worst, are moderates.

If we use their terminology, Governor Rockefeller is honestly the furthest to the left of any Republican presidential candidate so that would certainly make him the candidate of the "leftwingers." Why do they not at least show enough fairness to put this in perspective. If they label conservatives as rightwingers, why not put the designation of leftwingers on their philosophical counterparts? Probably too honest for them to consider.

Conservatives remember that Governor Rockefeller unjustifiably threw these same scare and smear words at conservative Republicans following the Young Republican National Convention in 1963. His creditability has been doubted by many conservatives, including myself, ever since that time.

He used the terminology of "radical right," "subversion from the radical right," "radical, well-financed, and highly disciplined minority," "vociferous and well-drilled extremist elements boring within the party," and so forth.

He falsely charged that the Young Republican convention was dominated, to use his own words, "by extremist groups, carefully organized, well financed and operating through the tactics of ruthless, roughshod intimidation. These are the tactics of totalitarianism."

He went on to irresponsibly say:

I am now convinced that, unless the vast majority of Republicans who subscribe to these principles, are aroused from present inaction—whether this inaction stems from complacency, from fear or from a fantastically shortsighted opportunism—the Republican Party is in real danger of subversion by a radical, well-financed and highly disciplined minority.

He refused to name one person or cite one example. This is the heart of the big lie technique. You do not worry about facts—you make the charge often enough so gullible people will tend to believe it because they have heard it. He helped give the Democrats their battle cry in the 1964 election by these flagrant misrepresentations. On a Meet the Press program later he was pinned down but in characteristic abandon for the truth, shrugged off the question. Here is the record of the exchange on this subject:

Mr. SPIVAK. Governor, when you charge that the Republican Party was in "real danger of subversion by a radical, well-financed and highly disciplined minority," can you tell us who was leading and who was financing that disciplined minority?

Governor ROCKEFELLER. No, it is very hard and that is one of the problems.

Mr. SPIVAK. Now Senator GOLDWATER thinks your statement was aimed at him. Was it?

Governor ROCKEFELLER. No, it was not, but Senator GOLDWATER's name is used by anonymous personalities who are putting up large sums of money and by an organization—different organizations who are trying to penetrate the party standing for these principles.

Now, the New York Times is starting down the same road again. We do not expect them to change. We cannot even expect Governor Rockefeller to change. But we should at least be aware of their tactics of discord and smear. Name names and cite groups or stop throwing epithets. The mainstream of Republican thinking can figure out the New York Times' part in the Rockefeller push. They should fool no one.

Mr. Speaker, I include the New York Times article at this point. The Rockefeller statement of 1963 is included herewith as a reminder:

STATEMENT BY GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER, JULY 14, 1963

Over the past months, many leaders of the Republican Party, myself included, have been working to put the party in a position to face the challenge of the 1964 election as a strong and united fighting force.

A minority party must be united for principle to provide the effective opposition and constructive alternatives that our country sorely needs. It must be united for principle and reach beyond its own boundaries to win. It must be united for principle to command broad support.

The paralysis of government that we are witnessing today in Washington stems from the fact that the Democratic Party is not united for principle, but in effect is two parties of opportunism proceeding in opposite directions.

In making this effort toward unity for principle, it was my conviction that the activities of the radical right, while deeply disturbing in many ways, would represent an inconsequential influence on the Republican Party.

It was my conviction that despite differences in emphasis among the party's responsible elements, there was an overwhelming consensus within the party on the fundamental articles of Republican faith.

In broadest terms, these articles of faith are:

1. Unswerving dedication to the preservation of our own freedom and the extension of freedom throughout the world through a firm, resolute, and positive foreign policy.

2. Equality of opportunity for a better life for all Americans regardless of economic status, geographic location, race, creed, color, or national origin.

3. Faith in our Federal system of government as the best assurance of freedom and equal opportunity and as the only hope of keeping democratic government close to the people and responsive to their will.

4. Faith in the private enterprise system as the dynamic, creative base for social progress in a free society and of freedom of individual initiative without which man cannot be really free or equal.

5. Faith in the fundamental importance of fiscal integrity in government as the indispensable political base for economic growth and the vitally needed expansion of job opportunities.

6. Faith in our heritage of freedom of speech and of information and in the right and need of the people to know all the facts on the issues confronting them as essential to the preservation of a free society.

While as a party and as a people, we have been keenly aware of the grave threat to these principles posed by international communism, I have now come to the conclusion that many of us have been taking too lightly the growing danger to these very same principles through subversion from the radical right.

I am now convinced that, unless the vast majority of Republicans who subscribe to these principles, are aroused from present inaction—whether this inaction stems from complacency, from fear or from a fantastically shortsighted opportunism—the Republican Party is in real danger of subversion by a radical, well-financed and highly disciplined minority.

For it has now become crystal clear that the vociferous and well-drilled extremist elements boring within the party utterly reject these fundamental principles of our heritage. They are, in fact, embarked on a determined and ruthless effort to take over the party, its platform and its candidates on their own terms—terms that are wholly alien to the sound and honest conservatism that has firmly based the Republican Party in the best of a century's traditions, wholly alien to the sound and honest Republican liberalism that has kept the party abreast of human needs in a changing world, wholly alien to the broad middle course that accommodates the mainstream of Republican principle.

This cannot be allowed to happen. The continuing commitment of the Republican Party to its historic principles, including its fundamental dedication to equality of opportunity for all men, cannot and must not be betrayed. No temptation of political gain through cynical expediency can be permitted to becloud our commitment to principle and purpose.

No one could fail to be deeply disturbed by the proceedings at the recent Young Republican National Convention in San Francisco. I am completely confident that the overwhelming majority of Young Republicans of this country respond today, as they always have, to the idealism of the party's tradition. I am confident that they want it to continue to be a positive and responsible party serving the best interests of all the people.

But every objective observer at San Francisco has reported that the proceedings there were dominated by extremist groups, carefully organized, well financed and operating through the tactics of ruthless, roughshod intimidation. These are the tactics of totalitarianism.

Unfortunately, this cannot be brushed off as irresponsibility. For youth is responsible.

The leaders of the Birchers and others of the radical right lunatic fringe—every bit as dangerous to American principles and American institutions as the radical left—who successfully engineered this disgraceful subversion of a great and responsible auxiliary of the Republican Party are the same people who are now moving to subvert the Republican Party itself. They claim initial success and predict ultimate victory for their efforts.

These people have no program for the Republican Party or the American people except distrust, disunity and the ultimate destruction of the confidence of the people in themselves. They are purveyors of hate and distrust in a time when, as never before, the need of the world is for love and understanding.

They have no concern with and offer no solution for the problems of chronic unemployment, of education and training, of housing, of racial injustice and strife, of all the other problems which must have answers if our democratic ideals are to be translated into loving reality.

And in the political sphere, they offer something equally sinister.

Completely incredible as it is to me, it is now being seriously proposed to the Republican Party that as a strategy for victory in 1964, that it write off the Negro and other minority groups, it deliberately write off the great industrial States of the North (representing nearly 50 percent of the country's population), that it write off the big cities, and that it direct its appeal primarily to the electoral votes of the South, plus the West and a scattering of other States.

The transparent purpose behind this plan is to erect political power on the outlawed and immoral base of segregation and to transform the Republican Party from a national party of all the people to a sectional party for some of the people.

No such plan ever has, or ever will succeed. It cannot stand the light of day. It will be rejected out of hand by the Republican Party. It will be rejected by the Nation. It will be rejected by the South.

The South has long pointed out that the racial problem is not a sectional problem, but a national problem. I know that there is southern leadership that wants to participate in a national solution.

A program based on racism or sectionalism would in and of itself not only defeat the Republican Party in 1964, but would destroy it altogether.

The Republican Party is the party of Lincoln. It was founded to make men free and equal in opportunity. It is the party of all men, the only truly national party in America. For that party to turn its back on its heritage and its birthright would be an act of political immorality rarely equaled in human history.

No cloak of so-called States' rights can conceal the real purpose behind this strategy. The political rights of States are clear within the Federal system and their realization depends importantly upon the exercise of States' responsibilities within that system. But a century ago, a great war decided for all time that in the area of human dignity, States' rights must forever yield to the rights of the individual. And so in this area, the invocation of States' rights can only be regarded as a pretext.

For the Republican Party, political success cannot be divorced from political morality and the fact is that the party's dedication to the equality of all men is still, and must more than ever before, be its guide to leadership and to victory.

Far from abandoning this dedication, the whole burden of the distinguished 1961 report by Chairman Bliss, of Ohio, was that both the party's greatest challenge and its

brightest opportunity lay in its willingness to deal with the great urban problems confronting our Nation, and the people of the cities, especially the minority groups.

The path to victory is not in running away from the people of this country. The path to victory is in seeking out the people in the areas where they live, in accepting the responsibilities of leadership in the solution of their problems and demonstrating to them, as the Republican Party has in many areas, that in it is to be found the will, the sincerity, the competence, and the drive to make this a better land for all its people.

The issue that confronts the Republican Party today is the gravest in its history.

I have no doubt whatever that responsibility, moderation, and sound progress continue to be the spiritual allegiance of the overwhelming majority of the Republicans of this country.

But a complacent majority, or a fearful one, or a majority misled to betrayal of its principles in pursuit of political fantasies will be as surely subverted by militant extremism as such majorities always have been throughout all history.

No Republicans can stand by idly in the face of this threat. No Republican can stand aloof from issue that it presents. One must be either for or against these forces. The time for temporizing is over.

Some in the party have already spoken out against this threat. This is a responsibility for all of us. I for one will do everything in my power, working with others to counter the influence of these forces and to defeat their purposes.

For the future of this great Nation lies not in the unprincipled extremism of the radical right any more than it lies in the unprincipled opportunism that has captured the Democratic Party.

It lies in the fiscally responsible, humanely principled mainstream of American thought and leadership that the party of Abraham Lincoln, of Theodore Roosevelt, of Robert Taft has always represented and will continue to represent.

It is said that in the next presidential election, the voters should be given a choice. I agree.

There must be an alternative to a faltering administration that has suffered a Communist military base to be established 90 miles off our shores—the most visible symbol, but by no means the only one of a general deterioration in our national security and our posture of leadership before the world.

There must be an alternative to an administration that is floundering in its fiscal management, that has been unable to settle on a program, let alone effect a solution, for our stagnant economy and our millions of unemployed.

There must be an alternative for an administration that by inaction has plunged our country into the most soul-searing racial strife of our history.

There must be an alternative. But, in the sound instincts of the American people, that alternative will never be found in a party of extremism, a party of sectionalism, a party of racism, a party that disclaims responsibility for most of the population before it even starts its campaign for their support.

Such an alternative is not a choice but a mockery.

The choice that must be provided to the American people is to be found only in a party of responsible Republicanism, truly faithful to its Lincolnian heritage, truly national in scope, concerned with the opportunity and well-being of every individual citizen and thus commanding the confidence of the country as a whole. Last but not least, it must be responsibly and constructively concerned with the strengthening of this country's leadership of the free world.

The choice as to whether such a party shall be presented to the electorate is a choice for all Republicans. In the days between now and the Republican Convention, where the final decision will be made, that choice and these issues must be submitted to them. I have no doubt as to the outcome. And I have no doubt that out of this process will come the kind of moral strength, the strength of principle, that is needed to win and that is needed to govern.

The Republican Party stands today at the crossroads of its destiny. Its destiny is to save the Nation by first saving itself.

[From the New York Times, May 26, 1968]

THE GOP'S MISSING MEN

As the Oregon primary approaches, political attention concentrates on the possible alliance of Governors Nelson A. Rockefeller and Ronald Reagan. Only the coming together of the Republican party's foremost liberal and foremost conservative, it is argued, can overcome the long lead of the man in between, Richard M. Nixon.

But such an alliance is illogical both in principle and in practice. The right wingers are as deeply reluctant to boost Mr. Rockefeller into the Presidency as the liberals are to see Mr. Reagan one heart beat away from it. In both the Rockefeller and Reagan camps many people would rather take their chances with the fuzzy philosophies of Mr. Nixon than join forces with their most obvious ideological opponents.

In an evident effort to diminish the ferocity of the right-wing opposition to this candidacy, Governor Rockefeller last week carried his one-sided courtship of Mr. Reagan to considerable lengths. He sought him out for an unscheduled conference in New Orleans and afterward told reporters that he could discern no "ideological gulf" between himself and Mr. Reagan, a statement he subsequently—and wisely—modified. There are, of course, serious substantive differences between the two men on foreign affairs, civil liberties, social welfare and the Federal Government's role in race relations.

There is also the grave question of personal capacity. Mr. Reagan has yet to demonstrate that he is a competent Governor or that he is qualified to be an architect of the nation's foreign policy and commander in chief of its armed forces and nuclear power.

Although Governor Rockefeller's overtures to Mr. Reagan can be faulted on several grounds, it must be recognized that he has to win over or at least disarm the hostility of the party's radical right because he has failed to receive proper support from the party's moderates. The real concern of the Republican party should not be the improbable alliance of its liberals and extreme conservatives but rather the procrustation and fatuity of the moderates.

The Republican Governors of the industrialized urban states are the natural leaders of their party's moderate forces because regardless of their own ideological predilections, they are forced to deal with today's urgent problems of city, race and expanding suburb.

But the Republican Governors are this political season's missing men. They seem determined to re-enact their feckless performance at the governor's conference four years ago on the eve of the Goldwater nomination. Mr. Rockefeller has himself partly to blame since his shilly-shallying about getting into the race disheartened some early supporters; but the future leadership of the nation is too important for a great party worthy of its responsibilities to try to contrive a national ticket out of a fragile collaboration between its most disparate elements.

It is up to the leaders of the solid center of the Republican party to return to duty and act now in behalf of its future.

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on May 25, 1963, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, the heads of the African and Malagasy states and governments signed the Charter of the Organization of African Unity—OAU. The organization, presently headed by the President of the Congo—Kinshasa—Joseph Mobutu, has demonstrated to the world its determination to work for peaceful settlement of disputes and keeping the peace in Africa. Its record, in the short period since its inception, is one in which the leaders of Africa can trade great pride.

I extend to the people of Africa and to the African statesmen who gave so much of their energies and efforts to establish this great organization our congratulations and best wishes for continued success.

Following is the text of the communication which President Johnson sent to President Mobutu on this occasion:

MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT MOBUTU ON THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU), MAY 25, 1968

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As the world celebrates the fifth anniversary of the Organization of African Unity, I want you to know the deep interest with which we in the United States have watched its growth and followed its achievements.

Measured within the span of world history, five years is only a passing moment. But measured against its record, the O.A.U. can take just pride in its major accomplishments:

It has made solid contributions to keeping the peace in Africa and to the settlement of disputes.

It has focused the conscience of the world on the cause of freedom and justice in Southern Africa.

It has enhanced the Continent's economic prospects by encouraging regional organizations.

We share with you the fundamental principles expressed in the Charter of the O.A.U.: "the inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny; freedom, equality, justice and dignity . . . for African peoples; the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent; and the responsibility to harness the natural and human resources of Africa for the total advancement of its peoples." We are also proud of our special historical relationship to Africa, which has so enriched our own national culture. Most of all, America and Africa share a common vitality and purpose. The world looks to both of us for the answers to age-old problems.

I am certain that time will not diminish the abiding faith of my countrymen in the realization of Africa's aspirations. Nor will it change our determination to help the OAU to reach its goals.

Today all Americans join me in saluting the African statesmen who had the vision to create this organization and the strength and wisdom to carry forward its purpose. We pledge our support in helping you build the Africa you desire.

With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S ADDRESS TO ILGW CONVENTION

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, in a memorable address to the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union in Atlantic City on Saturday, President Johnson summed up his administration's achievements by stating an obvious fact.

There have been more than 200 major basic measures enacted to better humanity that will compare favorably with all the measures enacted in the previous years in the social field the President said.

And Mr. Johnson declared:

If I could have one hope today, it would be this: That whoever may be President, wherever he may reside, whatever party he may belong to, he will look at the social record of the last five years and say, "We have just begun."

I share the President's view. We have just begun. But it has been one of the most promising beginning in American history to meet headon the enormous challenges and opportunities of American life.

This administration has been second to none in meeting these responsibilities. The American people must know that they have a President responsive to their needs and committed to their progress.

I insert into the RECORD the text of the President's address to the ILGWU convention:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION, ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.

Thank you very much.

Governor Hughes, President Stulberg, Dave Dubinsky, Louigi Antonini, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Mr. Stulberg, I had to come here today because through all of my trials and tribulations—and the problems and burdens—that go with the office I hold, you and your Union have stood by my side in day and night, in sunshine and in sorrow.

If you could stay with me during what we have gone through the last few months, you can stay with these folks all through the years until we win what we are after.

I told Dave Dubinsky, I said, "I am glad to be here today with all of my friends of the Old Left."

Some of us can remember the good old days when we were the New Left back more than 30 years ago when I was first captured by some of your leaders and enlisted in a great cause. I was an up and coming Young Liberal from the South.

Three from my State followed the recommendations of the leadership of this Union. They were such radical recommendations that two of those three were defeated. I survived.

Some of your leadership got Mr. Roosevelt, who was then President, to send a message to the Congress on May 24, 1937. That message arrived at the House of Representatives just about the time I arrived as a young Member.

Among the things the President said in that message are as follows:

"Mr. Justice Brandeis, Mr. Justice Clark, and Mr. Justice McKenna agreed with Mr. Justice Holmes. A majority of the Supreme Court, however, decided five to four against Mr. Justice Holmes and laid down a rule of Constitutional law which has ever since driven into impractical distinctions and sub-

terfuges all attempts to assert the fundamental power of a national government over interstate commerce. But although Mr. Justice Holmes spoke for a minority of the Supreme Court, he spoke for a majority of the American people."

Upon that message, the Congress enacted into law—I will just read a part of Section VI—that radical provision of other years:

"Every employer shall pay to each of his employees who is engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce wages at the following rates:

"One, during the first year from the effective date of this Section not less than 25 cents an hour;

"Two, during the next six years from such date not less than 30 cents an hour;

"And, Three, after the expiration of 7—should I say long—years from such date, not less than 40 cents an hour, or the rate not less than 30 cents an hour prescribed in the applicable order of the administrator issued under Section VIII, whichever is lower. This Section shall take effect upon the expiration of 120 days from the enactment of this Act.

"No employer shall, except as otherwise provided, employ any of his employees in commerce or the production of goods for commerce for a work week longer than 44 hours" and so on and so forth.

You did not require that law to protect your people. Your thinking had been more advanced. But you required that law to protect all the working people of the United States. That is what has been so wonderful about your Union. You haven't just tried to look after yourself—you have tried to look after all of us.

But times have changed. Today, we hear something about new politics and "participatory democracy."

So I have come here to participate with you—the very model in my judgment of the Old and the New Democracy.

Whenever I hear talk about new alignments and the New Liberalism, I think of my old friend, the ILGWU. You have always had your slogans, too. You were the prophets of liberalism. You preached and you practiced your faith.

Politics—politics, Thank goodness—has long been a religion with you—but never on Saturday.

And I came here today, Mr. Stulberg, to tell you and the members of this great Union that the old-time religion is good enough for me. And the old-time liberalism is good enough for me.

Being here in this great hall in Atlantic City, Governor Hughes, brings back many fond memories for me. I guess you all know why this city means so much for me. I don't think there is a man, woman or child in all of this country who doesn't get a lump in his throat watching the Miss America contest each September.

There is one difference between today and the night I was here in August of 1964 at the Democratic Convention. It is of a difference that some of you former cutters, pressers, operators and finishers may be especially interest in knowing about it. You have a chance to look at the only man in the long history of the needles trade who used a speech rather than the scissors to cut off his own coattails.

I must admit that your reception puts me in somewhat of a sentimental mood today. There is something about this Union—something about this convention—something about Louis Stulberg—something about David Dubinsky—something about Evelyn Dubow that makes me feel right at home. It is something about all of these three and all of you out there that makes me feel right at home.

It is not just that you are my friends and that you have demonstrated your loyalty time and time and time again at the ballot

box and in your influence on good legislation. It is much more than that.

Somehow, the ILGWU seems to me to be a model in miniature of the great America that we all seek and we all dream of.

As I look out there from this podium today, I see delegates, I see Americans of every race of every color, and of every creed. You work together in harmony because you share a common ideal which is more important than anything else—you are building. You are running one of the great democratic trade unions in all of the world.

This, of course, is because you have always asked the right question when admitting people to your membership. You don't ask:

"Is he white?" or
"Is he Jewish?" or
"Is he Catholic?"

You simply say, "Is he—or much more often she—a garment worker?"

I have been involved in national politics now since 1931—almost 38 years—and as I am about ready to go back home—I think I would like to leave one message with my dear friends here. I would like to leave this message behind me. I would like to carve it in rock:

"Ask the right question."

And I would add that in both your experience and mine, the right question is usually how?, not what?

Back in the first decade of this Century, every social reformer knew what was necessary to eliminate the terrible sweatshops, the triangle fire-traps in which the garment workers were literally held in wage-slavery—There were economic treatises.

There were politicians out with sonorous speeches,

There were catastrophe-mongers who wanted to destroy the whole system to eliminate its abuses.

There were alleged intellectuals who were talking about us.

But what do the intellectuals know about us?

There were innumerable answers to the question, "What should be done?"

The system we knew had to be changed. But when it came to "How?", there was only one group that had an answer that made sense. They didn't say, "We will meet in the Union Square daily and we will carry signs and we will make speeches and we will give our treatises and our lectures and our seminars until there is a change in the system."

If so, they would still be there.

They said, "We will build a union." Of course, all the professional cynics—they had them then, too—said it was impossible—you couldn't beat the system—the men and women, mostly immigrants, didn't have the staying power.

Then, in 1909, when I was one year old, out came the waist-makers in a strike that "couldn't last."

But it did—and those girls—there may be a few here today—no longer girls, but still committed unionists—put the world to shame and brought a wave of support from decent Americans throughout this land everywhere.

So, a great union was born. And it grew because a few dedicated Americans—often with strange accents—took the ideals of our society at face value and said, "How can we put them into practice?"

It has not been an easy half century. You had your extremists with a vested interest in catastrophe who argued that destruction was the road to construction.

But your leaders—men like David Dubinsky and Louis Stulberg—and to those of us that were on down the line—they knew that you cannot build a utopia on ashes. And, after a terrible struggle which almost broke your union, these false prophets were defeated.

Since then, we have had wages and hours from 25 cents an hour to \$1.60 applied to all the working people in this land.

In this last half century, we have passed

four comprehensive far-reaching civil rights bills from the Right to Vote to a Right to Equal Housing—and on all four of those measures you and I have led the way.

We have junked and discarded our archaic immigration laws. And we stood with pen in hand in front of the Statute of Liberty in this Administration and wrote a new immigration law that permits families to again be reunited and puts another humane statute on our books.

We have passed Meat Inspection, Auto Safety, Truth in Lending, and we have just begun with a long list of more than a dozen other consumer measures that will be written into the law of this land because of your help.

For almost 200 years, we shunned our responsibility of national leadership in educating our children. But in the last four years we have declared it our national policy that every boy and girl born in this country has a right to all the education that he or she can take.

And we are—I am here to tell you—practicing what we preach.

While others have written their learned treatises and flourished their rhetoric from coast to coast, we have put them from Head Start at 4 to Adult Education at 74. And the ILGWU has had among its most cardinal principles performance instead of promises.

And as we meet there today, those Head Start kids at 4 and those Adult Education grandmas at 74 are learning to read and write in the classrooms of this country.

We have inaugurated the greatest conservation programs since the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt. And this year we are putting more land for recreation back in the public domain for the first year in decades than we have taken out with highways and freeways.

We are putting that land not out in Montana or Wyoming where you cannot get to it unless you have got a jet. But we are putting it near the centers of population where you can get to it in an hour and a half.

We talked about Medicare from the time Harry S. Truman—that great President—proposed it. We talked about it and thought about it and dreamed about it for more than 20 years.

But we wrote it into law. And you got your Medicare payments. Twenty million of you have your Medicare cards. You don't have to go and consult your son-in-law before you go to the hospital when you need it.

And I am telling you something else. This may not have been done with charisma or style. But it has been done.

I will tell you something else. What this great union has done with Medicare I am charging you with the responsibility of doing with Kidycare.

The blush of shame ought to come to the cheeks of every proud American who talks about the most powerful and richest nation in the world when it realizes that in infant mortality the United States ranks not one—but 15 down the list.

Just as we have tried to cope with the problem of our age, we have got to cope with the problem of our babies. We have got to get to them before it is too late. We have got to correct the deficiencies of their eyes, or their teeth, or their ears, or their bodies due to lack of proper treatment to their mothers.

You have got to have her examinations at critical periods. They have got to have treatments of doctors when they need it.

We can no longer go on in the days ahead as we have gone in the days past—and our next goal is on to Kidycare now that we have got Medicare.

I wish I could talk all day. But I can't. I have other things to do and so do you. But I just want to summarize by saying to those of you who have fought colonialism and those of you who have fought and bled and died to reject totalitarianism that neither colonialism nor totalitarianism have

made any advances in these five years. They retreated instead.

And aggression—wherever it has reared its ugly head—has stopped in its tracks.

And freedom has not retreated an inch or a foot of soil that freedom held in 1963. Freedom holds in 1968.

But I did not come here to give you a history of your union or of the last five years. I just wanted to point out a few of the high spots.

There have been more than 200 major basic measures enacted to better humanity that will compare favorably with all the measures enacted in the previous years in the social field.

But I think you know this story maybe far better than I do since you helped build this organization and since this organization gave the leadership and answered "aye" on every roll call that advanced these measures.

I have drawn upon your history this morning because I find when I study it and I look upon it that it is both valuable and comforting to me in a time of stress and anguish. To the officers of this great union, Louis Stulberg and your retiring President, David Dubinsky—men that will give loyalty to principles and give loyalty to me as they have during every day of this five years—will give loyalty to you.

There is a great deal of rhetoric in the air these days. As is natural in an election year, there is a speaker on every stump—and some places where they can't find stumps.

As I conclude—and as one who will shortly be a private citizen—I want to give you some advice. When you listen to the speakers, draw on your own experience—draw upon the collective wisdom that you have accumulated in the years that you have been building this great union.

When men—or women, or boys, or girls—come to you and give you their prescription for America, listen to what they think is the matter with America.

But before it is all over, you demand from them an answer to the crucial question, "How, how are they going to do anything about it?" It is not "What?" It is "How?" It is not the promise. It is the performance.

For the essence of politics, like trade unionism, is the ability to put a cutting edge on abstractions, to find an administrative remedy for a rhetorical dilemma.

And power—power as my old friend, Eric Hoffer, puts it—just does not "come in cans." You cannot go down to the corner drugstore or the supermarket and pick some of it up in a basket.

Power for the ideals that we cherish has to be created by little, by the small and the seemingly insignificant decisions of dedicated, courageous men and women—most of whom are invisible, most of whom never make speeches, most of whom never issue manifestos and most of whom never get on the television or get their pictures in the papers.

It is these people—people of this caliber—who have made the ILGWU a model—a model—of democratic trade unionism in the world.

It is your kind of people who make it possible for anyone to be President of the United States.

I want to conclude with this little note. I want to thank every member of this union here and those that can't be here.

I particularly want to thank Louis Stulberg for his fidelity and his dedication, his loyalty and his leadership.

Sitting there on the banks of the Perdenales, I am going to see how—how—he does in the years ahead because I know that he and you and I are going to do it.

I also need not tell you how much I owe to you or how long I have admired your union and your great leader and crusader, David Dubinsky.

In these days more than ever I can envy him. He has made me wish many, many times in the last few days that our Found-

ing Fathers had established another union—the AURP—The American Union for Retired Presidents.

If that had happened, then I could look forward to a retirement plan like David Dubinsky's.

How would you like the sound of "Honorary President, Lyndon Johnson"?

Talk about liberal, how about these fringe benefits:

"A weekend in Atlantic City or Chicago;" "Invitations to a dinner at the White House;"

"A warm place in the hearts of all of your people;"

And "a sure place in the spotlight of every convention?"

But a greater satisfaction and more fringe benefits than all of those can come to an Honorary President has come to your Honorary President because the man who picked up the leadership where he left off is carrying forward, onward to new and greater and far-reaching heights and benefits that will better humanity.

If I could have one hope today, it would be this: That whoever may be President, wherever he may reside, whatever party he may belong to, he will look at the social record of the last five years and say, "We have just begun."

As your union is dedicated to carrying forward on the slogan, "We have just begun," I hope our next President will have just begun and will continue as you have to build, to heal and to unite the greatest nation in all the world.

Destructive people, mischievous people, ambitious people, and folks who look to what we have and want to take, what we have got and envy the liberty and freedom that is ours can destroy this nation. But they will not.

The reason they will not is out there in front of me in the form of the constructive, dedicated members of this union, who are builders instead of wreckers.

If I don't get an invitation to your next

convention, I am going to reach back in that closet of mine where we pack our souvenirs and I am going to pull out an old badge that says, "Honorary President," and I am going to invite myself to come back here.

PUBLIC OPINION POLL OF ILLINOIS' 10TH DISTRICT

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including the results of the public opinion poll which I recently conducted in the congressional district which I have the honor of representing. This year's poll was the most successful of all those that I have conducted, as it brought over 25,000 responses.

While I am inserting this tabulation for the benefit of my constituents, I am confident that my colleagues will be interested in how the people who comprise the 10th Congressional District of Illinois feel about the issues of the day, such as the war in Southeast Asia, the fiscal situation, the credibility gap, the war on poverty, and legislation dealing with gun sales by mail.

Students of my poll will note that my constituents are, for the most part, against the administration's proposed income tax surcharge. The opposition to the surtax is considerably less when it is matched by spending cuts.

My constituents, who believe that

domestic spending should be reduced, are overwhelmingly opposed to the poverty program as it is now being conducted. Most of them feel that a percentage of the tax money collected by the National Government ought to be returned to the State and local governments to use as they see fit. A majority believes that the Federal Government should give tax credits to industries which install equipment that would reduce air and water pollution.

My poll, which contained several questions pertaining to the war in Vietnam, was conducted before the current peace negotiations were initiated. It has been brought to my attention by several of my constituents that the questionnaire did not provide an alternative to three approaches dealing with the actual military conduct of the war in Vietnam. In other words, we made no provision for those who feel that we should immediately withdraw our troops without reservation from Southeast Asia. While I presume that those who called for a bombing halt would certainly embrace this segment of my constituency, it should be pointed out that the question was directed to the actual military conduct of the war. At the same time, I cannot imagine any individual who is for withdrawal of all troops not responding in the affirmative to the question regarding the halt of U.S. bombing.

I know that the best wishes of the residents of my district go with our representatives in Paris as they prepare for formal peace talks. I am sure that they are joining their prayers with ours that the negotiations will lead to an honorable peace. The poll follows:

PUBLIC OPINION POLL, 1968, HAROLD R. COLLIER

Question	Responses	Percent	Question	Responses	Percent
1. Do you approve of the President's conduct of the Vietnam war?			7. Should the industries which install equipment to reduce air and water pollution be granted tax credits by the Federal Government to offset part of the expense involved?		
Yes.....	4,973	20	Yes.....	14,493	58
No.....	17,982	71	No.....	8,996	34
Undecided.....	2,446	9	Undecided.....	1,938	8
Total.....	25,410				
2. In North Vietnam, do you favor—			8. Do you favor returning a percentage of the tax money collected by the Federal Government to State and local governments to use as they see fit?		
(a) Intensified U.S. air attacks?.....	17,714	67	Yes.....	13,597	54
(b) A bombing halt?.....	3,868	18	No.....	8,769	34
(c) Maintaining air attacks at present level?.....	2,357	9	Undecided.....	3,052	12
Undecided.....	1,423	6			
Total.....	25,362		9. Do you believe a tax increase is necessary if accompanied by a dollar cut in spending for each dollar raised in taxes to meet the growing Treasury deficit?		
3. Should the United States continue to trade with nations that are aiding North Vietnam?			Yes.....	9,336	39
Yes.....	2,607	11	No.....	11,665	43
No.....	20,801	81	Undecided.....	4,425	18
Undecided.....	2,015	8	10. Do you favor the poverty program in its present form?		
4. Do you believe the American people are receiving sufficient information from the Government on vital issues to vote intelligently?			Yes.....	1,746	8
Yes.....	3,276	12	No.....	20,720	81
No.....	20,204	80	Undecided.....	2,943	11
Undecided.....	1,944	8	11. Should the Federal Government enact legislation to ban all mail-order sales of firearms?		
5. Do you support the administration's proposed increase in taxes?			Yes.....	19,123	75
Yes.....	4,777	20	No.....	4,880	19
No.....	18,689	72	Undecided.....	1,406	6
Undecided.....	1,945	8			
6. Do you believe that Federal spending on domestic programs should be reduced?					
Yes.....	16,614	63			
No.....	7,051	30			
Undecided.....	1,737	7			

JOSEPH W. MARTIN

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, although he had not sat beside us in this Chamber for nearly a year, we all felt as though

the death of Joseph Martin had taken him suddenly from our midst. Most of us had not seen him since his retirement at the close of the 89th Congress, but we had never ceased to feel his presence among us.

It takes more than longevity of service here to make a man such a part of the House of Representatives. It takes a very special man and qualities far above

the ordinary. It takes personal magnetism and skilled leadership. It requires firm principles and deep human understanding.

Such a man was Joe Martin. He was the kind of man whose service here is a credit to his own State, and to us all. For he represents the highest qualities we can wish for in our leaders and statesmen.

One of the greatest testimonials to this great man was, I think, given on the final day of his service here with us. The words were glowing, the emotions heartfelt, and the admiration genuine. But the real testimonial was in the very fact that nearly every Member of this House joined in—from both sides of the aisle, from all parts of both parties—new Congressmen who had known him only one term, the men and women who had been his colleagues for most of the many years of his public service. The speeches and personal greetings that day were not perfunctory or ceremonial ones. They came from the hearts of his friends—as many of them as there are Members of this House.

It is no wonder then that the presence of this great legislator was felt among us even after he had left us. It will, I know, be with us for many years to come.

A REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK: THE LARGER NATIONAL INTEREST

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, we will soon be moving into the homestretch of the 90th Congress, and Redwood National Park legislation, a conservation measure fought for by so many concerned citizens, remains an unfinished task.

The House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee recently concluded hearings on the legislation. I hope this will be followed shortly by a committee recommendation to the House for passage of the bill, for dally the virgin redwoods fall to the chainsaws. Unless we act soon, there will be no virgin timber left in sufficient quantity to warrant a park.

I recognize that we in the 90th Congress must realistically face the many demands on U.S. funds, only one of which is the responsibility to provide the money with which to purchase authorized park lands.

The Senate added a provision to its Redwood National Park bill which, in my opinion, realistically faces these responsibilities.

The Senate bill provides the Secretary of the Interior with power to negotiate an exchange of lands within the Northern Redwood Purchase Unit for private lands to be included in the Redwood National Park.

Under Forest Service management, some experimental research programs are conducted in the Northern Redwood Purchase Unit, but mostly the trees in the Unit are cut and sold to private lumber firms. The Unit is kept on a sustained yield basis and is managed well. Nevertheless, the area is logged in a similar way to what the private redwood companies are doing on their own lands.

To authorize an exchange of the lands in the Northern Redwood Purchase Unit would save several million dollars in cash outlay in the purchase of a Redwood Na-

tional Park, and appropriations could be kept at approximately \$60 to \$85 million.

In the national interest an exchange of these lands may clear the way for us to go ahead with the authorization and the establishment of a significant Redwood National Park wherein virgin timber would be safe from the threat of the destruction and generations to come could view the magnificent giants.

The Washington Post on May 24 correctly cites the need to look at the larger national interest on this issue and the need to establish a Redwood National Park of significant proportions.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD I wish to insert the editorial and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

REDWOOD COMPROMISE

There will be much sympathy with Secretary of Agriculture Freeman in his last-ditch stand against any exchange of Forest Service land for more scenic acreage to be included in a Redwood National Park. The Secretary fears that the proposed trade would create an unfortunate precedent and "imperil the integrity of the national forest system." When his argument has been fully and effectively made, however, it poses only a departmental view against the larger national interest.

It is clear from the hearings before a House Interior subcommittee that Mr. Freeman did not speak for the Administration. Secretary of the Interior Udall had previously indicated that "the Administration reluctantly would not object" if Congress should find it necessary to trade the 14,500-acre Redwood Purchase Unit for part of the designated park land. This is the more realistic view. In the shaping of national policy it is often necessary to forgo a worthy objective to achieve a greater one.

Even with the proposed exchange in the National Redwood Park bill, as passed by the Senate, the outlook is none too hopeful. Outdoor Recreation Director Edward C. Crafts told the subcommittee that the estimated cost of the 66,000-acre park approved by the Senate has increased from \$100 million last year to \$117 million this year. With Congress in an economy mood and with many pressing demands upon the budget, the only hope for acquisition of a Redwood National Park in the near future seems to hinge upon the proposed exchange. And if Congress does not act soon many of the majestic redwood groves owned by lumber companies will have been converted into siding and outdoor furniture.

Even Secretary Udall is talking about a two-unit redwood park no larger than the single unit formerly recommended by the Administration in the Mill Creek watershed. This would reduce the park to a pitiful skeleton unworthy of a great Nation conscious of its natural heritage. The Senate bill itself is a compromise between previously conflicting viewpoints. It is difficult to see how the House can do less than the Senate has done without gravely impairing one of the most important ventures in the history of our national park system.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE FOR SURTAX

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Chamber of Commerce of Jacksonville, Ill.,

went on record earlier this month for the surtax proposal in the following excellent resolution:

Be It Resolved, that the Board of Directors of the Jacksonville Area Chamber of Commerce, in regular meeting, and being cognizant of the threat to the economy of our country through uncontrolled inflation and lack of prudent fiscal policy, hereby go on record as favoring the proposed Income Tax Surcharge, coupled with a maximum reduction in unnecessary Federal spending, both at home and abroad.

Be It Further Resolved, that the effectiveness of this resolution will be multiplied many times if our citizenry can be awakened to the dangers resulting from a continuance by Congress of our present irresponsible fiscal policies, that this resolution be given the fullest possible publicity, with the aim that each and every voter, between this date and election, upon meeting a candidate, incumbent or hopeful, for the House of Representatives or the Senate, ask this question—"What have you done or what will you do to halt inflation and restore the purchasing power of our dollar?"

Further, that a copy of this resolution be mailed to each Chamber of Commerce in the State of Illinois, with the request that they in turn, pass a similar resolution, and that copies likewise be forwarded to the Illinois State Chamber, the United States Chamber and our Representatives and Senators in Congress.

THE PACIFIC COMMUNITY: POST VIETNAM

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, the February issue of Nation's Business included a thought-provoking article which deserves the attention of every Member of this House. It deals with the part of business in the future of Vietnam and, more broadly the Pacific Basin.

The article follows:

WHEN THE WAR ENDS: A WORLD OF OPPORTUNITIES

It is almost axiomatic in history that businessmen and traders follow behind the bayonets and bullets. Not to batten on misery, but to foster the civilized pursuits of industry and commerce.

The vast growth of American business in Europe followed World War II and the revival of a peaceful and prosperous continent.

Earlier, British businessmen poured into India, Africa and a hundred other places in the wake of British Tommies and the Royal Navy. Rome conquered most of the known world and Rome-directed commerce immediately sprang up behind the legions.

Certainly creation of trade and commerce has not been the motive of warfare, but the laying down of arms and the rebuilding and reappraisals that come with peace inevitably seed the fields for business opportunities.

Now, another such opportunity is near—a time when business will tap the rich expanses of Southeast Asia.

The best thinkers on the subject in business and government agree that magnificent business opportunities await in Viet Nam, Thailand, Laos, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. As the military situation in Viet Nam improves, they expect the flow of business to double, triple and quadruple.

There are dark spots and danger areas, of course, but nothing is foreseen that would

keep Southeast Asia from becoming an industrial-business outpost of the first war.

Danger areas are Cambodia, Burma and the Philippines where foreign investment—and oftentimes specifically American private enterprise—is either not encouraged or actively discouraged.

Dark spots include the lingering uncertainties of the Viet Nam war, difficulties of doing business in areas that Americans know little about, proximity of Red China and the necessity of dealing with foreign bureaucrats.

The Administration's actions to improve our balance of payments by restricting dollar-investments abroad were not to reduce investments in less developed areas.

The President's plan could even increase investments in Southeast Asia because they are curtailed in other developed areas.

Of great concern, now that investment and business opportunities appear on the rise, is how slowly Americans are moving. They might be beaten to the draw by Japanese and Taiwanese businessmen.

More Japanese and Taiwanese than Americans are looking for business, exploring trade outlets, seeking assembly sites, signing up Asian partners, plunking down money and pouring talent into investment opportunities.

Many well-known American businesses are in Southeast Asia, even in Viet Nam—Bank of America, and Chase Manhattan Bank, Foremost Dairies, Caltex, Esso, American Trading Company, Landis Brothers and Co., Inc., Brownell Lane Engineering Co., American Chemical and Drug Co., U.S. Summit Corp., Raymond International, Morrison-Knudsen, Brown and Root, J. A. Jones Construction Co., Getz Brothers and Co., Layne Wells International, Inc., National Cash Register Co., Pfizer, Sterling Drug International and American International Underwriters, to name a few.

But that's only a handful compared to the number that could be there. Agency for International Development people insist, especially in view of the protection provided for American investments and the concessions offered by Southeast Asian governments to get foreign business.

Herbert Salzman, a former business man who is now Assistant Administrator for Private Resources for AID, says: "Southeast Asia is a challenge to the U.S. government and an opportunity for U.S. private business. AID is making great efforts to use its people and money to help in the adjustment of the traditional societies to the pressures of the modern world. But government efforts can only lay the foundation.

"It's up to private organizations to build on that foundation.

"The U.S. government encourages business by eliminating some of the risks.

"Today we are seeing the development of multinational companies after we have already witnessed the development of the vertically integrated and the diversified companies.

"In Southeast Asia there is a tremendous surge in purchasing power as a direct and indirect effect of the U.S. presence.

"This creates markets and an effective demand for products, many of which could and should come from the United States.

"Yet Japanese investment is sharply increasing. Why shouldn't our business share in the profitable investment opportunities? Although American investors are increasing, many firms which should be sharing in these markets are holding back—afraid to do what they are in business to do, to take risks and earn profits."

The American businessman calling on AID or the Department of Commerce for information on doing business in Southeast Asia meets a snowstorm of facts, figures, reports

of feasibility studies, situation reports, estimates and suggestions.

EAGER FOR AMERICAN INVESTMENTS

Forming the backbone of the effort to get U.S. business into the area are investment protections offered by the federal government and inducements to invest offered by most Southeast Asian governments.

Viet Nam, for example, offers these various exemptions:

No taxes on profits or dividends for five years.

No tax on real estate, mines, quarries, land and royalties for three years.

No tax on rural property and loan contracts for two years.

There are no import duties planned on spare parts and equipment and there is a 25 per cent tax exemption on reserves built up from retained earnings if they are used for expansion.

The American businessman moving into the Viet Nam market is protected 100 per cent by the federal government against expropriation, inconvertibility of currency and war risk. He is protected up to 75 per cent of his debt capital on extended risk, including commercial risk, and 50 per cent of his equity investment.

Another incentive provided by the federal government allows a company to go into a high risk foreign country like Viet Nam on a management contract with little initial investment. It also provides the opportunity to buy into the foreign company later.

If he decides to make a prior survey of his business chances in Viet Nam and subsequently finds the market not worth the candle, AID pays half of his expenses. This includes costs the businessman incurred in sending representatives abroad, their hotel, food and incidental expenses.

The Rand Corp. has gone into the prospects of getting profits out of Viet Nam and says: "Many of the new industrial investment projects launched within the past five years experienced rates of return of the order of 20 to 40 per cent; and capital recovery in two or three years has not been unusual."

HEALTHY BUSINESS CLIMATE

In addition, the federal government is one of the major contributors to two projects which are expected to go a long way toward making Southeast Asia a healthy place for American business. They are the Asian Development Bank and the Mekong River Basin Development.

The Asian Bank is modeled after the World Bank. It makes loans with money supplied by contributing nations for a wide variety of betterment projects. The United States plays a large hand in control of the bank by virtue of being the major contributor, along with Japan, though the bank is run on a day-to-day basis by Asians.

The Mekong Basin plan is under way though the pace is slow.

The project is expected eventually to include 14 dams along the Mekong and its tributaries in Laos, nine in Cambodia and five each in Thailand and South Viet Nam.

Hydroelectric power and flood control would be provided for most of the 150 million people who live within 1,000 miles of Saigon. The new source of power would benefit both agriculture and business.

The war in Viet Nam is changing the country down to the grass roots. What the long range effects will be, no one can say. But it is already evident that there is a growing taste for western goods and facilities. American business methods are showing up in all-Viet companies. They have nearly completely replaced French and traditional Vietnamese methods.

American businesses being established in Viet Nam, through investments, acquisitions,

partnerships or subsidiaries, will find an expanding network of communications, highways, waterways, docks and airports, every one of which could be useful to industry or commerce.

In the past few years, six new deepwater ports have been built, eight shallow draft ports, eight jet air bases with 12 new 10,000-foot runways, 80 smaller fields, scores of bridges and hundreds of miles of roads, oil tanks and pipelines, storage and maintenance facilities and housing for 325,000 soldiers, much of it convertible into housing for industrial workers.

Each month thousands of Vietnamese receive industrial and business training, either elementary or advanced, and they go into a manpower pool which can be useful to American private business someday.

Fighting has not stopped a huge construction program of private and community facilities. These projects will be useful to businesses locating in the area when the fighting is finished.

Projects include water systems, road and canal extensions, schools, hospitals, warehouses and civil aviation.

The Rand Corp. goes so far as to say: "Looking at the general conduct of industrial activity in Viet Nam today, we do not get the impression that this activity is in fact directly hampered by the war. Industrial installations appear to operate without interruption and Viet Cong molestations are trivial. The problem of military insecurity appears to be much more psychological than an actual hurdle."

In the past 12 months there has been a big increase in the number of Vietnamese entrepreneurs who have money of their own and want to invest it, often in agricultural cooperatives.

What they want is to form partnerships, with the Americans supplying managerial and technical expertise.

The Governor of the Vietnamese National Bank said recently, "Don't send me your money, send me people who know how to do things."

Viet Nam is beyond doubt one of the prime investment points for American known-how in Southeast Asia. But there are others.

OTHER OPPORTUNITIES

Thailand—This is one of the most promising underdeveloped nations in the world. It should become increasingly so as the Viet Nam war draws toward a close. The government is dictatorial but it is effective and stable and so is the economy. GNP goes up 7.3 per cent yearly. The population of 31 million is leaping ahead.

Thais generally applaud U.S. military actions in Viet Nam—for obvious reasons. They would be the next likely target for communist aggression.

The country has a big windfall from U.S. military spending in both Viet Nam and Thailand. Foreign business is encouraged in a variety of ways by the royal Thai government. Among the best bets for success are businesses involving agriculture, fertilizers, cotton processing, manufacturing, zinc and tin mining, tourism.

On the other hand, insurgents are in the Northeast, Red China is close by and a shaky Laos is just next door.

Laos—This is a small country of three million people with limited market possibilities, but there is a need for nearly everything. The government is neutralist with a western slant. Its hold on the country is tenuous. However, it has survived many upheavals. North Vietnamese and Viet Cong invade Laos on the way to and from South Viet Nam but so far little has been done about it. The Vietnamese war could lap over someday.

The government actively seeks foreign business investment and offers many concessions. One American firm is looking into getting lumber out of Northeast Laos and shipping it to U.S. forces in Thailand.

Indonesia—This can be the great sleeper for U.S. business when the Vietnamese shooting dies down. Indonesia can also become the giant of Southeast Asia.

There are 160 million Indonesians, and after the debacle of the Sukarno years Indonesia, like Laos, needs everything. Banking institutions and creditor nations keep Indonesia afloat with renegotiated loans until wild inflation can be tamed. It is being tamed and this is necessary for business. In 1965, the year Sukarno and his communists were overthrown, inflation reached 2,000 per cent. In 1966 it was 650 per cent. Last year it was 75 per cent.

The military government of General Suharto seems set for a long run. Indonesia has rejoined the UN World Bank and Asian Development Bank. The people want nothing so much as time and peace to develop their fantastically fertile islands and get business started again on a profitable basis, usually privately oriented.

There is a good private investment law and it is to be improved this year. Many an American business expropriated by Sukarno is being restored. A half dozen of the largest U.S. chemical and mining companies are either setting up operations in Indonesia or completing feasibility studies which generally indicate the country is worthwhile as an investment site. Four American banks have recently moved in.

Best bets are in minerals, forest products, oil, tourism, manufacturing, agriculture and agri-business.

Malaysia and Singapore—These are two different countries, but they can be treated together because of their joint British heritage and because they occupy an Asian peninsula which American business is finding attractive.

Britain's victory over Malayan communists 20 years ago set the stage for an improving economy.

As the British pull out of their old possessions east of Suez, the Yanks move in. This includes business influence, especially in Singapore.

Furthermore, if Hong Kong slips in influence because of pressure from Red China, then Malaysia and Singapore will grow still more in importance.

Singapore, with a population of two million, is well governed and strictly western oriented. The people are literate; they have a growing money supply and desire for American products. A New York office has been opened to promote investments. Main objectives are to increase light manufacturing facilities, cut down on imports and reduce unemployment.

Malaysia is an excellent place for private investments. There is a good investment law and Malaysian money is strong. GNP goes up six per cent yearly. A large bond issue was recently floated on the New York market.

Several American companies have moved into a new industrial park near Kuala Lumpur. Three American banks have branches in the country along with American chemical companies, paper manufacturers and agri-business concerns.

Foreign investment protection is offered in several ways.

Taiwan—Business followed the bayonets during and after the Korean war 18 years ago. This was the making of Taiwan, home of the Republic of China, an island nation which American school kids were taught to call Formosa. The big island is getting another

economic shot in the arm because of Vietnamese fighting.

Taiwan already is heavily industrialized and getting more so as American businesses move in and as Chinese businesses increase and grow. GNP goes up a fast-paced 9.7 per cent yearly. In 1960, exports were \$164 million; in 1966, \$536 million. They should hit \$1 billion in less than 20 years.

The list of U.S. companies already on Taiwan and those coming to the island reads like a New York telephone book.

Taiwan has such U.S. investment potential that AID ended its programs there—Taiwan can take care of itself.

A WALK ON THAT SAME DIRTY BEACH

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, the last two Congresses have made dramatic inroads into the area of water pollution control. However, there is much work still to be done. The stigma of stench, filth, and death has been shown to us repeatedly. Firsthand accounts have always been important.

One continuing difficulty we have encountered is a general lack of public informedness about the extent and severity of the situation. It is therefore encouraging to hear of public recognition of this critical issue, particularly when it is our youth who see the problem so clearly.

It is said that the measure of concern for a problem is a willingness to work to reach a solution.

I have received a letter from a young constituent, Miss Peggyanne Nash, of Cliffwood Beach, who has seen the woe-filled condition of the Raritan Bay area. She does not simply give a sigh of resignation, as do many our older citizens. The spirit and energy of youth leads her to search actively for an answer; even to seek to do the work herself.

But the problem is too much for one young lady, or even a hundred young people to handle. The assistance of Federal and State governments is necessary to achieve any real solution.

With your permission, I wish to include her letter in the RECORD, so that my fellow Members and the general public may see, through the eyes of a schoolgirl, the staggering dimensions of the problem and the attitude necessary to overcome it. The letter follows:

CLIFFWOOD BEACH, N.J.,

May 15, 1968.

DEAR MR. HOWARD: Today, May 15, 1968, I took a walk. I was in a weird mood and I had a sudden urge to be on a beach somewhere. All I had to do was walk a half of a block, cross a street, and there I was. There I was alright, the same dirty beach which is here now, is in the same dirty condition it was in eight years ago when I first moved to Cliffwood Beach. The only difference is that the ground is almost level and the sand is half white instead of clay. United States Army Engineers recently rebuilt a sandy

beach for us, but what good is it we still can't go swimming. The water is polluted or so says the sign which the Board of Health erects every summer and places on the beach.

Mr. Howard, you may be wondering why I wrote of my experience to you, but I believe you have an interest in the youth of your state. I am inclined to believe this because last year in June of 1967, you sent congratulatory notes to the graduating seniors of Madison Township High School of which my sister was a member. I was very impressed with this because I think it expressed a sincere concern on your part for young people.

When I was down on the beach the idea of having a clean beach took complete possession of me. I wanted to do something to clean up my beach. I knew I couldn't do it alone, and even if I had two hundred other people with the same interest as mine I would still need someone in the government of New Jersey to aid me. So, although I couldn't remember your name, I remembered that you cared, and when I did get home I looked on the bulletin board in my room, which still has pinned to it the note you sent to my sister. I saw your name and that is how it all goes. I need and desperately want your help. Next Easter vacation I will be able to work, if I receive your permission or you can somehow get permission granted to me to clean the beaches of Lawrence Harbor, Cliffwood Beach and Knollcroft, I will gladly invest my first paycheck in an ad in the "Perth Amboy Evening News," for anyone (who are in grades 9 thru 12) who is interested, willing to organize with others, and also willing to sacrifice many Saturdays and Sundays and lots of their free time to the development of the beaches on the Raritan Bay Front and help better the township by it.

I would sincerely appreciate any help or information you or your office could render in this project.

Respectfully yours,

PEGGYANNE NASH.

NEW LONDON SUBMARINE BASE OBSERVES 100TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 3, 1968

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, this year marks the 100th anniversary of the U.S. naval submarine base at New London, Conn., which is located in my congressional district. As the largest submarine station in the country, it has rightfully earned the title of "The Nation's Submarine Capital." Besides its submarine operations, the base is the headquarters for the Deputy Commander, Submarine Forces Atlantic Fleet. The Navy's only submarine school is located there, as well as the Medical Research Laboratory, the Naval Underwater Sound Laboratory, the Supervisor of Shipbuilding, and other Navy units.

The history of this important naval installation goes back to the early 1860's when, at the direction of Congress, the Secretary of the Navy appointed a naval board to examine the area of Narragansett Bay and the harbor of New London and report back to the Congress on the location which would best serve the

public interest. A resolution appended to this survey stated:

Resolved, That the harbor of New London possesses greater advantages for a navy yard and naval depot than any other location examined by this board.

In 1867, convinced of the advantages of New London as a site for construction of a naval station, Congress passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Navy be, and he is hereby authorized to receive and accept a deed gift when offered by the State of Connecticut of a tract of land not less than one mile of shore front on the Thames River, near New London, Connecticut to be held by the United States for naval purposes.

In response to this action the State of Connecticut appropriated \$15,000 for the purchase of land. In addition, the city of New London was authorized to appropriate funds not to exceed \$75,000 for the purchase of real property to be deeded to the Federal Government for use as a naval facility, and joined with the State in the gift. The actual conveyance of 112 acres of land was made on the 11th day of April 1868, and the U.S. Government entered into possession and has used the site as a naval base continuously ever since.

The operation and development of the New London Naval Base may be inferred from the report of the Secretary of the Navy for the year 1899 which set forth the following information:

The expenses of the bureau at this station during the last fiscal year have been small, chiefly for coal, water, and ash lighters, New London being located near and inside of the outer defenses of the city of New York is a very important strategic point and affords a valuable harbor for torpedo boats and other small ships. It is also an important site for the storage of coal for war purposes. In accordance with the recommendation of the coal board, of which Rear Admiral Charles E. Belknap was president, buildings for the storage of 25,000 tons are now in process of construction.

In 1912, my distinguished predecessor Congressman Edwin W. Higgins, who represented the New London area which was then in the Third Congressional District of Connecticut, gave the following report concerning the naval base to the House of Representatives:

Only \$253,852.47 has been spent on this station, both in the equipment and its repair, during the past 44 years, and this money has been well spent. The buildings are reported by the Secretary of the Navy as being in good condition. A dock over 800 feet long faces a channel over 600 feet wide. The water is of sufficient depth to float the largest ships of the American Navy, and upon the authority of one of our most distinguished admirals, now deceased, I can state to this House that he said that there would not be the slightest difficulty in taking a ship of the type and tonnage of the "Connecticut" up to that station, docking her, and turning her around.

Representative Higgins then outlined the strategic advantages of a naval base located at New London, and specifically noted:

The eastern defenses of New York lie off New London Harbor. There is no coaling station east until you get to Narragansett.

There is no coaling station west until you get to Brooklyn. In the event of war any fleet protecting New York from the east would rendezvous at New London Harbor, which can float the navies of the world. These eastern forts are now supplied from New London. This station lies within sight of the harbor and but two miles from it. It does not require scientific knowledge to appreciate the strategic value of this station.

In view of a history of being somewhat underutilized it was almost accidental when, in October 1915, the monitor *Ozark*, acting as tender, arrived at New London with a division of submarines. However, other submarines and their tenders were also assigned there, and in 1916 the Navy Department formally designated the facility as a submarine base. Following the entry of the United States into World War I, the base was greatly expanded and during the war it qualified over 10,000 officers and men for submarine duty.

Between the two world wars the activity of the center was reduced, although it continued to train submariners and service the fleet's underwater craft. During this period the naval base distinguished itself in areas of research and development related to submarine operation. Two outstanding results of these efforts were the Momsen Lung, used for individual escape from a sunken submarine, and a new type of marker buoy designed to show the location of an incapacitated submarine lying on the ocean bottom. In addition, much pioneering work was done in the creation of rescue chambers for saving a number of seamen at the same time, escape locks, air purifiers, better communication facilities, and other subsidiary features.

The Second World War brought on vastly expanded activities in the recommissioning of old submarines, building new ones, servicing submarines returning from patrol, and training personnel. In the 5-year period from 1940 through 1945 the base grew from 112 acres to 497, and from 80 buildings to 270. This expansion provided additional barracks, bachelor officers' quarters, schools, hospital buildings, mess halls, storage facilities, repair shops, and piers.

With the initiation of the fleet ballistic missile submarine program, an additional \$60 million worth of facilities were constructed. These included new brick barracks, off-ship crew training accommodations and officers, a larger enlisted men's club, a major BOQ addition, and over a thousand units of family housing surrounding a large new chapel. A new mess hall and hospital will soon be added.

New London is not only the largest submarine station in the United States, but is also the largest such base in the world. The commanding officer Capt. Walter A. McGuinness is in charge of an operation consisting of over 300 buildings covering more than 547 acres of land. The station is charged with providing full logistic support including berthing, repair, supply, medical, dental and various personnel services for nearly 35,000 active, retired, and dependent personnel.

The senior officer present afloat is Rear Adm. Charles D. Nace, commander Sub-

marine Flotilla 2 and New London area coordinator. The flotilla consists of Submarine Squadrons 2, 8, 10, 14 and Development Group 2, a total of about 60 submarines. The major activities within the New London area naval complex are the submarine school, a Marine barracks, a commissary store, a Navy finance office, the industrial manager and supervisor of building conversion, and repair in Groton, the submarine medical center, submarine safety center, the Navy underwater sound laboratory, and the New London test and evaluation detachment.

When one considers that the submarine construction yards of the Electric Boat Division of General Dynamics Corp. are located in neighboring Groton, this area of my congressional district represents a potent factor in the defense establishment of our Nation. It is also an important element in the world balance of power, and a significant force for the establishment of permanent peace and security.

It is with pride and pleasure that I call to the attention of my colleagues the 100th anniversary of the New London Submarine Base, which in peace and in war has so nobly served our Nation in the highest traditions of the naval service. The Submarine Base Centennial Celebration is scheduled to take place during the Memorial Day weekend, May 30 through June 2, 1968. In addition to general visiting of the base and submarines and ships in port, plans include a historical skit, an athletic field day, a banquet for local dignitaries, and a concert by the submarine base band. I hope that some of our colleagues in Congress will be able to join in honoring this great naval establishment on its anniversary celebration.

CAMPUS OR BATTLEGROUND

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, 3 weeks ago today I addressed the House relative to the outrageous demonstrations at Columbia and Northwestern Universities and now wish to repeat one particular paragraph from my remarks on that occasion:

I believe it is time that the parents who are paying tuition, those donors who are paying for other costs, and those in charge of endowments, insist that the officials of our universities make clear that the schools are being run for purposes of education, not as field laboratories for revolution—domestic or imported.

This same point, along with several other thought-provoking observations and recommendations, appears in an excellent article from the May 20 issue of *Barron's* which was reproduced in the *New York Times*, May 24 and as a full-page advertisement in the *Wall Street Journal* of Monday, May 27, 1968. The article was written by Mr. Robert Hesen, a young instructor in Columbia University's Graduate School of Business

and a candidate for a doctorate in the department of history. I place the article at this point in the RECORD:

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

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 crawled across the embattled Columbia campus—"Lenin won, Castro won, and we will win, too!"

SDS's 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 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 recruits 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 precondition 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 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 benefits 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 word, 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 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."

(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 support 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 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 meddling 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.

BOOM IN SOUTH KOREA

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, in drawing attention to the article which follows these remarks it is our intention to emphasize in the minds of the Members of the House the importance of the American presence in Southeast Asia. None who know the history of the recent dramatic advance of the Korean economy and the growing strength of the democratic process within the country of Korea can fail to be impressed by the vigorous advances taken by the Koreans themselves by the environment of freedom. It should be equally apparent that none of these would be possible if it were not for the commitment America made to the Korean cause in the early 1950's.

It is the firm belief of many of us that though the scene has shifted the principles and the cause remains the same. The level of stability required for the advancement of free people is sustained now as it was in the early 1950's by the presence and the military commitment of the United States. We feel just as firmly that the future of Vietnam and her neighbors will as strongly attest to the wisdom of our action and of our commitment as has the already demonstrated advancement of the South Koreans. We hope that constructive and satisfying developments of the full flow of the history of the Far East will not be lost in the momentary frustrations of our enduring confrontations with the countervailing

force of the Communists. We think too few people give attention or credit to reports such as that reflected in the article immediately below.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place the editorial from the Washington Evening Star of May 25, 1968, in the RECORD, as follows:

BOOM IN SOUTH KOREA

Japan's Foreign Ministry has just completed a study whose main conclusion is "relatively optimistic" about the effects of a possible Vietnam peace on Asia's economic future. The study has involved the Philippines, Nationalist China, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, Thailand and South Korea. All these countries, according to the Japanese experts, should be able to get along quite well without the present "U.S. special procurement orders" connected with the war.

The outlook for South Korea is particularly encouraging. Second only to Japan itself, this determined anti-Communist ally—a country with 50,000 well-trained troops fighting on freedom's side in Vietnam—has been experiencing the fastest and greatest economic growth in Asia. A few statistics point up the story: National production for the first quarter of 1968 was 31 percent greater than in the corresponding 1967 period, exports were up 39 percent; in fact, they are expected to reach a total of \$500 million by the end of the year, as contrasted to only about \$30 million in 1960.

These figures speak for themselves. South Korea's boom continues to be phenomenal, and it seems to be solidly based on a program of sound internal economic development, and also on an enlightened program of social and educational advancement (the country's literacy rate has risen to 90 percent, one of the world's highest). As the Japanese study indicates, it all adds up to progress not likely to be set back by a Vietnamese peace settlement. When and if such a settlement comes, the free Koreans will still be able to look forward to a continuing growth of their economy.

All this is the more remarkable because Communist North Korea—with an ominous multiplication of murderous infiltration forays across the demilitarized zone—seems intent upon creating emergency conditions to put a blight on Seoul's success story. It is a story that makes Kim Il-Sung and his Red Pyongyang dictatorship look relatively incompetent.

MORE POWER FOR POLICE, LESS FOR CRIMINALS?

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. News & World Report issued today but dated June 3, 1968, carried an article entitled "More Power for Police, Less for Criminals?" This article summarizes the action taken and amendments voted by the U.S. Senate to the House-passed crime bill. I include its full text herewith and recommend it to the Members of the House. It is most timely reading in the further consideration of this legislation. The article follows:

MORE POWER FOR POLICE, LESS FOR CRIMINALS?

If the U.S. Senate has its way, police forces across the nation are going to start getting some breaks in their war on crime.

Tough anticrime bill strikes at court rulings that pamper outlaws and give police power to use wiretaps and "bugs."

The U.S. Senate has served notice that it thinks the Supreme Court has gone too far in protecting the legal rights of criminals.

A tough anticrime bill passed by the Senate May 23 would do these things:

Overturf several of the Supreme Court's most controversial rulings.

Authorize wiretapping and electronic "bugging" by police in criminal investigations—under court supervision.

Ban interstate mail-order sales of handguns and limit direct sales of such weapons to adult State residents.

Provide 400 million dollars for federal aid to strengthen local police.

The bill, which passed the Senate by an overwhelming vote of 72 to 4, still is subject to House acceptance.

HELP FOR POLICE

If finally enacted by Congress and accepted by President Johnson, the bill would give police more power—and more time—in their investigations of crimes and in their interrogations of suspects.

Under the sections aimed at reversing Supreme Court decisions, the following rules would apply in federal cases:

A confession—if it were voluntary—could not be barred from evidence simply because police had not followed all the technical rules laid down by the Supreme Court in recent years.

Police would have up to six hours to question a suspect before bringing him before a judge for arraignment.

The suspect's confession could not be barred from his trial on the sole ground that it was given during what a court might call an unreasonable delay between arrest and arraignment.

An eyewitness identification of a suspect in a police lineup could not be kept out of evidence merely because the suspect had no lawyer present at the police lineup.

TEST FOR CONFESSIONS

Effect of the legislation, its supporters say, would be to restore the basic test applied to confessions before the Supreme Court began changing the rules.

That test would be simply this: Was the confession made voluntarily, without coercion? If so, it would be admissible as evidence in federal trials.

Federal rules are recognized as having much effect on procedures followed in State courts.

The action taken in the Senate was not a complete defeat for the Supreme Court, however.

Rejected by the Senate were measures that would strip federal courts of power to review a defendant's claim that his constitutional rights had been violated by a State court.

This leaves the Supreme Court still in a position to rule on the constitutionality of the changes sought by the legislation that the Senate approved.

ROADBLOCKS AHEAD

There were indications that the Senate measures might not be accepted by the House, which has passed a different version of the anticrime bill.

Representative Emanuel Celler (Dem.), of New York, who will head the conference committee to reconcile the differing bills, says he is prepared to sacrifice the entire anticrime measure unless the Court provisions are removed.

President Johnson also is reported to dislike those provisions.

What the Senate did, however, was to show emphatically the lawmakers' concern about rising crime and the effects of Supreme Court rulings.

Time and again, during the debate, Senator John L. McClellan (Dem.), of Arkansas, pointed at big "crime clocks" which showed:

Six serious crimes committed in the U.S. each minute, a murder every 48 minutes, a

forcible rape every 21 minutes, an aggravated assault every 2 minutes, a robbery every 3.5 minutes and a burglary every 23 seconds.

Senator McClellan charged that one reason crime is rising is that the Supreme Court is "turning criminals loose on dubious technicalities that have nothing to do with guilt or innocence."

The Senate voted 51 to 31 against an amendment which would have deleted the entire section dealing with courts.

Then, by votes ranging as high as 63 to 21, the Senate approved one provision after another that was aimed directly at Supreme Court rulings.

One main target was the so-called "Miranda ruling" which held that a confession was inadmissible—even though voluntary—unless the suspect had been informed in advance of his rights to remain silent, to have a lawyer present at his questioning, and to be provided a lawyer if he could not afford one.

Another target was the "Wade ruling," barring use of an identification in a police lineup unless the defendant had been permitted a lawyer at the lineup.

Also attacked was the "Mallory rule," interpreted by courts as putting very short limits on time allowed for questioning before a suspect is arraigned.

The wiretapping and "bugging" authorization requires police to obtain advance approval by a court except for temporary surveillance—up to 48 hours—in an emergency or in cases involving national security.

Attorney General Ramsey Clark vainly opposed the "bugging" section. Attempts to weaken it met lopsided defeats.

Backers of the Senate bill charged repeatedly that Court rulings and present law-enforcement policies have been handcuffing police and helping criminals escape punishment.

Now the Senate has made plain that it wants more power for the police—and fewer loopholes for criminals.

THE MARCH BACK HOME

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, much attention has been directed by news stories and comment to current Poor People's Campaign in Washington.

The most intelligent comment on the problems of poor people and on the realistic solution to their problems was included in an editorial of the Huntsville, Ala., Times, May 22.

The editorial suggests that any campaign to help them must begin, not here but back home, by helping the poor take advantage of expanding opportunities within their individual communities.

So that my colleagues may appreciate the thoughts of this editorial, I include it as a part of my remarks at this point and invite their attention to it:

THE MARCH BACK HOME

What America's poor people need, their leaders have suggested, is money. Since poverty means having little or no money, isn't that an obvious truth? Not necessarily.

What hungry people need is food. What weary people need is rest. What thirsty people need is water. In all those cases, when the need is filled, the condition disappears.

But poverty and money are a different matter. Understandably, the poor all too often lack the prudence, the wisdom, to make the

best use of the money they do have to relieve their condition.

Given more money, can the uneducated poor person realistically be expected to apply it wisely to help cure his poverty? Will he use the additional cash to buy nutritional food for his family, clothes and books for his children so they can remain in school, better living-quarters, further education for himself? Or is he more likely to spend it, considering his circumstances, foolishly, on a color television set, a shiny new automobile, a fifth of whisky, or gamble it away, remaining poor?

Money alone, in the hands of the poor, will not cure poverty. Accompanying any outpouring of additional cash into the frayed purses of the poverty-stricken must be a concerted program of education, advice, example, exhortation—by social workers, employers, teachers, concerned laymen and by the ministers of the poor.

The Poor People's Campaign in Washington will eventually end, probably in dismal failure. Then its leaders would be wise to turn around and march back home, to the other side of the tracks, into the ghettos, into the slums and shantytowns, and begin a realistic campaign to help the poor take advantage of expanding opportunities for education, for job-training and upgrading, for monetary assistance to those who truly wish to build a better life for themselves and their children.

DYETT AGAINST TURNER: UTAH HIGH COURT TAKES ISSUE WITH SUPREME COURT OF UNITED STATES

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, in its efforts to make certain that accused person are adequately represented by counsel in criminal proceedings, the Supreme Court of the United States in recent times has laid down rules so far-reaching that, when applied in certain cases, they become absurd. A case in point is eloquently explored by Justice A. H. Ellett of the Utah Supreme Court in his opinion in Dyett against Turner which was handed down on March 22 of this year. The opinion says the U.S. Supreme Court has gone too far in its determination that the right to counsel in criminal prosecutions, as guaranteed by the sixth amendment, requires that the accused shall have counsel. I know that many of my colleagues, like myself, have been disturbed by the lack of restraint exercised by the Supreme Court in the past several years in this and related areas of the criminal law. Justice Ellett's opinion gives precise articulation to this dissenting point of view. I recommend it to my colleagues for their serious consideration:

[In the Supreme Court of the State of Utah—No. 11089—filed Mar. 22, 1968]

GERALD J. DYETT, PLAINTIFF, v. JOHN W. TURNER, WARDEN, UTAH STATE PRISON, DEFENDANT

Ellett, Justice:

The plaintiff, Mr. Dyett, is confined in the state prison of the State of Utah as a result of a plea of guilty entered to a charge of issuing a check against insufficient funds with intent to defraud. He filed a petition

for a writ of habeas corpus in the Federal District Court here, which was denied. Thereafter he filed an amended petition in the same court. At the time of denying this amended petition the judge wrote a memorandum decision in which he indicated a disposition to release the petitioner from prison but thought he could do so only after all state remedies had been exhausted. He said:

"Accordingly, the amended petition for a writ of habeas corpus must be and is hereby denied, without prejudice to the filing of a further petition at such time as plaintiff may have exhausted his state remedies upon the specific claim herein discussed. 28 U.S.C. § 2254."

He further said:

"It is clear from the foregoing authorities that plaintiff had a constitutional right to be represented by counsel before the state district court at the time of his plea of guilty and that the facts appearing of record do not establish waiver of that right as a matter of law. Whether an understanding, intelligent and voluntary waiver is shown by a preponderance of the evidence calls for a judgment on the facts on which there now is no record determination by state authority which is controlling upon this court under 28 U.S.C. § 2254 as amended by Pub. L. 89-711, 80 Stat. 1104."

We feel that our decision in this matter should not be subject to reversal by inferior courts of the federal system. However, it is rather obvious that such a proceeding is likely to occur unless we turn the prisoner loose upon society. While we deplore such a situation as is now foisted upon the states by various rulings of the United States Supreme Court and acts of Congress based upon such rulings, yet we want it understood that we do not think the particular Utah federal district judge is in any manner to blame. He acts under the direction of the Supreme Court of the United States and must faithfully carry out the law as he believes that court would have him to do. We personally know him to be one of the finest of men, an excellent lawyer, and a good judge. What we have to say hereafter is not meant as any reflection upon him in any manner whatsoever.

This situation presents an opportunity to review the constitutional provisions in order to determine if any rights of this defendant have been violated.

We first direct our attention to the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which so far as material provides:

"In all criminal prosecutions, *the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, . . . and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defense.*" [Emphasis added.]

It does not say he shall have counsel. It only says he shall have the right to have the assistance of counsel for his defense, and the right to have counsel does not justify a court in forcing a lawyer upon an accused who does not want one. See *State v. Penderville*, 2 Utah 2d 281, 272 P. 2d 196; Moore.

To understand this amendment, one must look to the situation which prevailed at the time of the adoption of the first ten amendments. In England a defendant in a misdemeanor case had the right to have counsel with him in court. A felony charge being initiated by the Crown was looked upon as a different matter, and one accused of felony was not permitted to contest with the Crown by means of a lawyer. In fact, it was not until 1836 that a defendant accused of a felony in England was permitted the right to have counsel in court. See 21 Am. Jur. 2d, Criminal Law § 309. It was the fear of the states that the newly created federal entity might attempt to follow the Crown in refusing a defendant the right to have counsel which caused this amendment to be written into the so-called Bill of Rights. This was simply a limitation upon the Federal Government and in nowise was supposed to be applicable to the states. In fact, the Tenth Amendment was adopted to make sure

that the federal entity did not take unto itself any powers not specifically granted to it. That amendment reads:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

For over 140 years more than 70 justices of the Supreme Court consistently held that the first ten amendments to the Constitution applied as a limitation to the Federal Government only and not in any manner to the states, and for 70 years following the so-called adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment some 35 justices from every corner of the Nation have held that the Fourteenth Amendment did not make the first ten amendments applicable to the states. Some of those justices had helped to frame the original Constitution and the first ten amendments and had worked to secure the adoption thereof. Others had participated in the war between the states and were acquainted at firsthand with the purposes intended to be accomplished by the Fourteenth Amendment. All of them interpreted the Constitution, including the amendments, with knowledge and wisdom born of intimacy with the problems which had called forth the documents in the first place.

The United States Supreme Court, as at present constituted, has departed from the Constitution as it has been interpreted from its inception and has followed the urgings of social reformers in foisting upon this Nation laws which even Congress could not constitutionally pass. It has amended the Constitution in a manner unknown to the document itself. While it takes three fourths of the states of the Union to change the Constitution legally, yet as few as five men who have never been elected to office can by judicial fiat accomplish a change just as radical as could three fourths of the states of this Nation. As a result of the recent holdings of that Court, the sovereignty of the states is practically abolished, and the erstwhile free and independent states are now in effect and purpose merely closely supervised units in the federal system.

We do not believe that justices of once free and independent states should surrender their constitutional powers without being heard from. We would betray the trust of our people if we sat supinely by and permitted the great bulk of our powers to be taken over by the federal courts without at least stating reasons why it should not be so. By attempting to save the dual relationship which has heretofore existed between state and federal authority and which is clearly set out in the Constitution, we think we act in the best interest of our country.

We feel like galley slaves chained to our oars by a power from which we cannot free ourselves, but like slaves of old we think we must cry out when we can see the boat heading into the maelstrom directly ahead of us; and by doing so, we hope the master of the craft will heed the call and avert the dangers which confront us all. But by raising our voices in protest we, like the galley slaves of old, expect to be lashed for doing so. We are confident that we will not be struck by 90 per cent of the people of this Nation who long for the return to the days when the Constitution was a document plain enough to be understood by all who read it, the meaning of which was set firmly like a jewel in the matrix of common sense and wise judicial decisions. We shall not complain if those who berate us belong to that small group who refuse to take an oath that they will not overthrow this government by force. When we bare our legal backs to receive the verbal lashes, we will try to be brave; and should the great court of these United States decide that in our thinking we have committed error, then we shall indeed feel honored, for we will then be placed on an equal footing with all those great justices who at this late

date are also said to have been in error for so many years.

In addition to what we have said about the meaning of the Federal Constitution, we are disturbed in the attitude of the criminal element in our society since the federal courts have arrogated unto themselves the powers and duties which rightfully belong to the state courts. It is a daily occurrence when some known burglar or thief flouts a police officer and threatens to "get his badge," and threatens the trial judge with having him taken before the judge of the federal court.

For many years Utah has been at the very head of our states in the Union in the matter of rehabilitation of prisoners. Our efforts have been directed toward teaching the way-faring man to cease to do evil and to learn to do good. We have 20 trial judges, and everyone of them utilizes probation personnel in trying to supervise defendants who are placed on probation. In all of our 29 counties, some of which are sparsely inhabited, we have the services of trained men who are instrumental in securing employment for the defendants and of giving them "on-the-job training."

The records of the Adult Probation and Parole Board show that some 63 per cent of all defendants who are either found guilty or who plead guilty are placed on probation, and of that number 75 percent are faithful to their probationary obligations. Those records further show that of those more hardened criminals who are first committed to prison and then placed on parole, over 62 percent keep faith with their trust. Always the welfare of the man is the principal objective in the attempt to make useful citizens out of prisoners. We have an accredited high school within the prison walls from which one may graduate and receive a high school diploma recognized by all colleges as a basis of entrance. Trades are taught in-mates, such, for example, as welding, painting, carpentry, upholstery, auto mechanics, boiler making, cooking, printing, etc.

The prime prerequisite toward a good relationship between a prisoner and his rehabilitation is his acknowledgment and acceptance of the fact that he has done wrong and a realization on his part that society is his benefactor trying to improve his lot, so that he can become a useful citizen. It is difficult to supervise a man who is looking for loopholes through which he may escape from the results of his criminal tendencies. Each time he is let out on a technicality, he believes the court is on his side, and so he does not have to conform to any standard except that which he sets for himself. A constant stream of writs of habeas corpus flows from the prison daily, complaining about the lack of beefsteak and pie and other frivolous matters. Suits are filed against judges who, in the performance of their duties, sentence criminals to prison, etc.

The Board of Pardons have been liberal in placing men on parole who give promise of reform, but they do this only because they let it be understood that misbehavior on the prisoner's part will result in termination of the trial parole. Holdings to the effect that parole cannot be revoked without a full hearing with state-appointed counsel will simply cause the board to be more reluctant to release a prisoner in the future. The decisions of the United States courts have in effect invited and caused prisoners to look for technicalities of how to "get out of it" or "to beat the rap."

The time was when a lawyer could counsel his client to plead guilty and receive supervision and training, so that he might be a better citizen when he has paid his debt to society. Such advice came from honest lawyers who thought more of the future of the defendant than they did of getting a guilty man off. No longer can an attorney safely do that, for to do so will likely result in a release of the prisoner on habeas corpus

upon the ground that the lawyer was incompetent and had not put the state to as much expense as possible.

It has been intimated that a rich man can hire a loophole lawyer, and it is, therefore, a denial of due process to fail to furnish a poor man a loophole lawyer also. The answer seems to be that courts should make an example of loophole lawyers wherever they may be found—if any there be. If courts would direct attention to seeing that innocent men are not found guilty or allowed to plead guilty rather than trying to find imaginary legal technicalities which allow the guilty to escape punishment, the stature of the courts and of lawyers would rise immensely in the eyes of the public.

In regard to the Fourteenth Amendment, which the present Supreme Court of the United States has by decision chosen as the basis for invading the rights and prerogatives of the sovereign states, it is appropriate to look at the means and methods by which that amendment was foisted upon the Nation in times of emotional stress. We have no desire at this time to have the Fourteenth Amendment declared unconstitutional. In fact, we are not asked to do that. We merely want to show what type of a horse that Court has to ride in order to justify its usurpation of the prerogatives of the states.

It is common knowledge that any assumption of power will always attract a certain following, and if no resistance is offered to this show of strength, then the asserted powers are accepted without question. It is therefore our purpose to try to give a ray of hope to all those who believe that the states are capable of deciding for themselves whether prayer shall be permitted in schools, whether their bicameral legislatures may be composed of members elected pursuant to their own state constitutional standards, yes, and even whether a prisoner who says he does not want counsel shall be turned loose because the court did not tell him that he could have one for free.

The method of amending the Federal Constitution is provided for in Article V of the original document. No other method will accomplish this purpose. That article provides as follows:

"The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of the Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; . . ."

The Civil War had to be fought to determine whether the Union was indissoluble and whether any state could secede or withdraw therefrom. The issue was settled first on the field of battle by force of arms, and second by the pronouncement of the highest court of the land. In the case of *Texas v. White*, 7 Wall. 700, it was claimed that Texas having seceded from the Union and severed her relationship with a majority of the states of the Union, and having by her ordinance of secession attempted to throw off her allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, had thus disabled herself from prosecuting a suit in the federal courts. In speaking on this point the Court at page 726 held:

"When, therefore, Texas became one of the United States, she entered into an indissoluble relation. All the obligations of perpetual union, and all the guaranties of republican government in the Union, attached at once to the State. The act which consummated her admission into the Union was something more than a compact; it was the incorpora-

tion of a new member into the political body. And it was final. The union between Texas and the other States was as complete, as perpetual, and as indissoluble as the union between the original States. There was no place for reconsideration, or revocation, except through revolution, or through consent of the States.

"Considered therefore as transactions under the Constitution, the ordinance of secession, adopted by the convention and ratified by a majority of the citizens of Texas, and all the acts of her legislature intended to give effect to that ordinance, were absolutely null. They were utterly without operation in law. The obligations of the State, as a member of the Union, and of every citizen of the State, as a citizen of the United States, remained perfect and unimpaired. It certainly follows that the State did not cease to be a State, nor her citizens to be citizens, of the Union. If this were otherwise, the State must have become foreign, and her citizens foreigners. The war must have ceased to be a war for the suppression of rebellion, and must have become a war for conquest of subjugation.

"Our conclusion therefore is, that Texas continued to be a State, and a State of the Union, notwithstanding the transactions to which we have referred. And this conclusion, in our judgment, is not in conflict with any act or declaration of any department of the National government, but entirely in accordance with the whole series of such acts and declarations since the first outbreak of the rebellion."

It is necessary to review the historical background to understand how the Fourteenth Amendment came to be a part of our Federal Constitution.

General Lee had surrendered his army on April 9, 1865, and General Johnston surrendered his 17 days later. Within a period of less than six weeks thereafter, not one Confederate soldier was bearing arms. By June 30, 1865, the Confederate states were all restored by presidential proclamation to their proper positions as states in an indissoluble union,¹ and practically all citizens thereof² had been granted amnesty. Immediately thereafter each of the seceding states functioned as regular states in the Union with both state and federal courts in full operation.

President Lincoln had declared the freedom of the slaves as a war measure, but when the war ended, the effect of the proclamation was ended, and so it was necessary to propose and to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment in order to insure the freedom of the slaves.

The 11 southern states having taken their rightful and necessary place in the indestructible Union proceeded to determine whether to ratify or reject the proposed Thirteenth Amendment. In order to become a part of the Constitution, it was necessary that the proposed amendment be ratified by 27 of the 36 states. Among those 27 states ratifying the Thirteenth Amendment were 10 from the South, to wit, Louisiana, Tennessee, Arkansas, South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, and Texas.

When the 39th Congress assembled on December 5, 1865, the senators and representatives from the 25 northern states voted to deny seats in both houses of Congress to anyone elected from the 11 southern states. The full complement of senators from the 36 states of the Union was 72, and the full membership in the House was 240. Since it requires only a majority vote (Article 1, Section 5, Constitution of the United States) to refuse a seat in Congress, only the 50 senators and 182 congressmen from the North were seated. All of the 22 senators and 58 representatives from the southern states were denied seats.

Footnotes at end of article.

Joint Resolution No. 48 proposing the Fourteenth Amendment was a matter of great concern to the Congress and to the people of the Nation. In order to have this proposed amendment submitted to the 36 states for ratification, it was necessary that two thirds of each house concur. A count of noses showed that only 33 senators were favorable to the measure, and 33 was a far cry from two thirds of 72 and lacked one of being two thirds of the 50 seated senators.

While it requires only a majority of votes to refuse a seat to a senator, it requires a two thirds majority to unseat a member once he is seated. (Article 1, Section 5, Constitution of the United States) One John P. Stockton was seated on December 5, 1865, as one of the senators from New Jersey. He was outspoken in his opposition to Joint Resolution No. 48 proposing the Fourteenth Amendment. The leadership in the Senate not having control of two thirds of the seated senators voted to refuse to seat Mr. Stockton upon the ground that he had received only a plurality and not a majority of the votes of the New Jersey legislature. It was the law of New Jersey and several other states that a plurality vote was sufficient for election. Besides, the Senator had already been seated. Nevertheless, his seat was refused, and the 33 favorable votes thus became the required two thirds of the 49 members of the Senate.

In the House of Representatives it would require 122 votes to be two thirds of the 182 members seated. Only 120 voted for the proposed amendment, but because there were 30 abstentions it was declared to have been passed by a two thirds vote of the House.

Whether it requires two-thirds of the full membership of both houses to propose an amendment to the Constitution or only two-thirds of those seated or two-thirds of those voting is a question which it would seem could only be determined by the United States Supreme Court. However, it is perhaps not so important for the reason that the amendment is only proposed by Congress. It must be ratified by three-fourths of the states in the Union before it becomes a part of the Constitution. The method of securing the passage through Congress is set out above, as it throws some light on the means used to obtain ratification by the states thereafter.

Nebraska had been admitted to the Union, and so the Secretary of State in transmitting the proposed amendment announced that ratification by 28 states would be needed before the amendment would become part of the Constitution, since there were at the time 37 states in the Union. A rejection by 10 states would thus defeat the proposal.

By March 17, 1867, the proposed amendment had been ratified 17 states and rejected by 10, with California voting to take no action thereon, which was equivalent to rejection. Thus the proposal was defeated.

One of the ratifying states, Oregon, had ratified by a membership wherein two legislators were subsequently held not to be duly elected, and after the contest the duly elected members of the legislature of Oregon rejected the proposed amendment. However, this rejection came after the amendment was declared passed.

Despite the fact that the southern states had been functioning peacefully for two years and had been counted to secure ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, Congress passed the Reconstruction Act, which provided for the military occupation of 10 of the 11 southern states. It excluded Tennessee from military occupation, and one must suspect it was because Tennessee had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment on July 7, 1866. The Act further disfranchised practically all white voters and provided that no senator or congressman from the occupied states could be seated in Congress until a new constitution was adopted by each state which would be approved by Congress, and further provided that each of the 10 states must ratify the

proposed Fourteenth Amendment, and the Fourteenth Amendment must become a part of the Constitution of the United States before the military occupancy would cease and the states be allowed to have seats in Congress.

By the time the Reconstruction Act had been declared to be the law, three more states had ratified the proposed Fourteenth Amendment, and two—Louisiana and Delaware—had rejected it. Then Maryland withdrew its prior ratification and rejected the proposed Fourteenth Amendment. Ohio followed suit and withdrew its prior ratification, as also did New Jersey. California, which earlier had voted not to pass upon the proposal, now voted to reject the amendment. Thus 16 of the 37 states had rejected the proposed amendment.

By spurious, nonrepresentative governments seven of the southern states which had theretofore rejected this proposed amendment under the duress of military occupation and of being denied representation in Congress did attempt to ratify the proposed Fourteenth Amendment. The Secretary of State on July 20, 1868, issued his proclamation wherein he stated that it was his duty under the law to cause amendments to be published and certified as a part of the Constitution when he received official notice that they had been adopted pursuant to the Constitution. Thereafter his certificate contained the following language:

"And whereas neither the act just quoted from, nor any other law, expressly or by conclusive implication, authorizes the Secretary of State to determine and decide doubtful questions as to the authenticity of the organization of State legislatures, or as to the power of any State legislature to recall a previous act or resolution of ratification of any amendment proposed to the Constitution;

"And whereas it appears from official documents on file in this Department that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, proposed as aforesaid, has been ratified by the legislatures of the States [naming 23, including New Jersey, Ohio, and Oregon];

"And whereas it further appears from documents on file in this Department that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, proposed as aforesaid, has also been ratified by newly constituted and newly established bodies avowing themselves to be and acting as the legislatures, respectively, of the States of Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Alabama;

"And whereas it further appears from official documents on file in this Department that the legislatures of two of the States first above enumerated, to wit, Ohio and New Jersey, have since passed resolutions respectively withdrawing the consent of each of said States to the aforesaid amendment; and whereas it is deemed a matter of doubt and uncertainty whether such resolutions are not irregular, invalid, and therefore ineffectual for withdrawing the consent of the said two States, or of either of them, to the aforesaid amendment;

"And whereas the whole number of States in the United States is thirty-seven, to wit: [naming them];

"And whereas the twenty-three States first hereinbefore named, whose legislatures have ratified the said proposed amendment, and the six States next thereafter named, as having ratified the said proposed amendment by newly constituted and established legislative bodies, together constitute three fourths of the whole number of States in the United States;

"Now, therefore, be it known that I, William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of the second section of the act of Congress, approved the twentieth of April, eighteen hundred and eighteen, hereinbefore cited,

do hereby certify that if the resolutions of the legislatures of Ohio and New Jersey ratifying the aforesaid amendment are to be deemed as remaining of full force and effect, notwithstanding the subsequent resolutions of the legislatures of those States, which purport to withdraw the consent of said States from such ratification, then the aforesaid amendment has been ratified in the manner hereinbefore mentioned, and so has become valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the Constitution of the United States."²

Congress was not satisfied with the proclamation as issued and on the next day passed a concurrent resolution wherein it was resolved "That said fourteenth article is hereby declared to be a part of the Constitution of the United States, and it shall be duly promulgated as such by the Secretary of State."³ Thereupon, William H. Seward, the Secretary of State, after setting forth the concurrent resolution of both houses of Congress, then certified that the "amendment has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States."⁴

The Constitution of the United States is silent as to who should decide whether a proposed amendment has or has not been passed according to formal provisions of Article V of the Constitution. The Supreme Court of the United States is the ultimate authority on the meaning of the Constitution and has never hesitated in a proper case to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional—except when the act purported to amend the Constitution.⁵ The duty of the Secretary of State was ministerial, to wit, to count and determine when three fourths of the states had ratified the proposed amendment. He could not determine that a state once having rejected a proposed amendment could thereafter approve it, nor could he determine that a state once having ratified that proposal could thereafter reject it. The court and not Congress should determine such matters. Consistency would seem to require that a vote once cast would be final or would not be final, whether the first vote was for ratification or rejection.

In order to have 27 states ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, it was necessary to count those states which had first rejected and then under the duress of military occupation had ratified, and then also to count those states which initially ratified but subsequently rejected the proposal.

To leave such dishonest counting to a fractional part of Congress is dangerous in the extreme. What is to prevent any political party having control of both houses of Congress from refusing to seat the opposition and then without more passing a joint resolution to the effect that the Constitution is amended and that it is the duty of the Administrator of the General Services Administration⁷ to proclaim the adoption? Would the Supreme Court of the United States still say the problem was political and refuse to determine whether constitutional standards had been met?

How can it be conceived in the minds of anyone that a combination of powerful states can by force of arms deny another state a right to have representation in Congress until it has ratified an amendment which its people oppose? The Fourteenth Amendment was adopted by means almost as bad as that suggested above.⁸

We have spoken in the hope that the Supreme Court of the United States may retreat from some of its recent decisions affecting the rights of a sovereign state to determine for itself what is proper procedure in its own courts as it affects its own citizens. However, we realize that because of that Court's superior power, we must pay homage to it even though we disagree with it; and so we now

Footnotes at end of article.

discuss the merits of this case just the same as though the sword of Damocles did not hang over our heads.

We have only one question to decide: Did the defendant below (the plaintiff in this petition) knowingly, intelligently, and voluntarily waive counsel? Let us look at the record of what he said at the time he waived counsel.

"The COURT. Do you understand that this charge carries with it a penalty of imprisonment in the Utah State Prison?"

"Defendant DYETT. Yes, sir.

"The COURT. Do you have a prior record?"

"Defendant DYETT. No, sir.

"The COURT. Do you have an attorney?"

"Defendant DYETT. No, sir.

"The COURT. Do you desire to be represented by counsel?"

"Defendant DYETT. No, sir.

"The COURT. Do you understand that you are entitled to be represented by counsel?"

"Defendant DYETT. Yes.

"The COURT. Is it your desire to waive counsel?"

"Defendant DYETT. Yes, sir.

"The COURT. Are you free on bail?"

"Defendant DYETT. Yes.

"The COURT. The record may show that the defendant has waived his right to counsel.

"The Statute allows you additional time before you are required to enter a plea, or you may waive that time and enter a plea at this time. What is your desire?"

"Defendant DYETT. I will waive.

"The COURT. You waive your time?"

"Defendant DYETT. Yes.

"The COURT. And enter a plea now?"

"Defendant DYETT. Yes.

"The COURT. To the charge of issuing a check against insufficient funds, how do you plead, guilty or not guilty?"

"Defendant DYETT. I plead guilty, and request a probationary—"

"The COURT. Have you conferred with an attorney?"

"Defendant DYETT. No.

"The COURT. Why do you think you are entitled to probation?"

"Defendant DYETT. Well, I don't know why. It's just my wishes, probationary."

At the time of arraignment the Court asked the defendant why he wrote the check, and the defendant answered, "Well, just didn't have any money, and I wrote it. That's all there is to it." He also said he had written other checks which had not been paid for. The prosecuting attorney had six of the worthless checks which had been turned over to the sheriff by merchants who had been defrauded.

The defendant was not shown to be illiterate or feeble minded. He was guilty and knew it and also knew that the State could prove it. He did not want either a trial or a lawyer. One would have to stretch his imagination to find that this defendant did want a lawyer. So much notoriety has been given to the right to counsel on the part of defendants charged with criminal acts that it is difficult to believe any grown man who is smart enough to defraud seven merchants into cashing worthless checks would not know about it.

In the case of Johnson v. Zerbst, 304 U.S. 458, 58 S.Ct. 1019, 82 L.Ed. 1461, 146 A.L.R. 357, it was said:

"It must be remembered, however, that a judgment cannot be lightly set aside by collateral attack, even on *habeas corpus*. When collaterally attacked, the judgment of a court carries with it a presumption of regularity. Where a defendant, without counsel, acquiesces in a trial resulting in his conviction and later seeks release by the extraordinary remedy of *habeas corpus*, the burden of proof rests upon him to establish that he did not competently and intelligently waive his constitutional right to assistance of counsel."

In the case of Cost v. Boles, 272 F. Supp. 39, the prisoner had been convicted in a state court and brought *habeas corpus* in a federal court. He testified that the trial court asked him if he wanted counsel but he did not understand this to mean that if he could not afford an attorney, one would be appointed for him. In dismissing the prisoner's petition the court at page 43 said:

"... the Court feels that the question of whether a defendant 'wants' counsel 'fairly implies the availability of the assistance of the court in obtaining counsel if he wished it.' Starks v. United States, 264 F. 2d 797, 800 (4 Cir. 1959). And see Post v. Boles, 332 F. 2d 738, 740 (4 Cir. 1964). Thus, the Court feels that the State has borne its initial burden of proving Cost's 'affirmative acquiescence' in proceeding without counsel."

The case of State v. Gilbert (N. Mex.), 432 P. 2d 402 (1967), involved an attempt by a prisoner to get out of prison on a writ of *habeas corpus* on the ground that he did not understandingly and intelligently waive his right to counsel. The Supreme Court of New Mexico held that proceedings under the post-conviction remedies were civil in nature and, therefore, governed by the Rules of Civil Procedure. The court said:

"Thus the burden of proof at the Rule 93 hearing rested on defendant to establish that he did not competently and intelligently waive his right to counsel, and this burden required him to so convince the court by a preponderance of the evidence. [Citations omitted.] He failed to meet this burden, and we are of the opinion that the evidence substantially supports the findings of the trial court."

The case of Nielsen v. Turner, — Utah 2d —, 435 P. 2d 921, is on all fours with the instant case, and in that case relief was denied to the petitioner.

We can see no reason to start talking about who is going to pay a lawyer until somebody wants one. In fact, it should be remembered that all the court can do is to appoint a lawyer to work for the client. It is not the province of the judge to make him do it for free. That could be taking property without due process of law. The defendant who commits a crime is entitled to have counsel, but he is not entitled to a free ride at the expense of the public upon whom he has just been preying. The widow and the orphan whose breadwinner has been murdered in cold blood should not be taxed to help the guilty defendant escape the consequences of his evil deed. He at least should pay the lawyer for the services rendered if he ever becomes able to do so. The lawyer under his oath will perform just as faithfully on credit as he will for cash. For a court to say that a lawyer will not be faithful to his client who has not paid the fee in advance is but a reflection upon the standard of ethics of that particular court. It would not say that when a doctor operates on a patient who cannot pay, the patient will not receive the best the doctor can give, and it ill becomes a judge—who theoretically is an ex-lawyer—to say that the lawyer is not as loyal to his client as the surgeon is to his patient. We are not acquainted with any lawyer who would not put forth his best efforts in behalf of his client simply because he had not been paid for his services.

This plaintiff (defendant below) is guilty and admits it. He said he did not want a lawyer, and we should respect his wish.

By bringing the instant writ of *habeas corpus* before this court, the petitioner has elected to rely upon the record, since evidence cannot be presented in testimonial form before this court. It seems clear to us that he knowingly and intelligently waived counsel, and we, therefore, deny his petition.

Callister, J., concurs in the result.

Herold, J., concurs in the result and reasoning.

Crockett, Chief Justice: (Concurring in the result)

I concur in the order denying the petitioner's release on the ground that in lawful and orderly proceedings he stands convicted and sentenced of the crime for which he is imprisoned; and as is stated near the conclusion of Justice Ellett's opinion this case "is on all fours" with the case of Nielsen v. Turner, — Utah 2d —, 435 P. 2d 921. See also Syddall v. Turner, — Utah 2d —, 437 P.2d 194, and State v. Workman, — Utah 2d —, 435 P.2d 919, recently decided by this court.

Tuckett, J., concurs in the concurring opinion of Chief Justice Crockett.

FOOTNOTES

¹ 13 Stat. 760, 763, 764, 765, 767, 768, 769, 771 (1865).

² 13 Stat. 758 (1865). A few citizens were excepted from the amnesty proclamation, such, for example, as civil or diplomatic officers of the late confederate government and all of the seceding states; United States judges, members of Congress and commissioned officers of the United States Army and Navy who left their posts to aid the rebellion; officers in the Confederate military forces above the rank of colonel in the Army and lieutenant in the Navy; all who resigned commissions in the Army or Navy of the United States to assist the rebellion; and all officers of the military forces of the Confederacy who had been educated at the military or naval academy of the United States, etc., etc.

³ 15 Stat. 707 (1868).

⁴ Resolution set forth in proclamation of Secretary of State, 15 Stat. 709 (1868). See also U.S.C.A., Amend. 1 to 5, Constitution, p. 11.

⁵ 15 Stat. 708 (1868).

⁶ In the case of Lesser v. Garnett, 258 U.S. 130, 66 L. Ed. 505, the question was before the Supreme Court as to whether or not the Nineteenth Amendment had been ratified pursuant to the Constitution. In the last paragraph of the decision the Supreme Court said: "... As the legislatures of Tennessee and of West Virginia had power to adopt the resolutions of ratification, official notice to the Secretary, duly authenticated that they had done so, was conclusive upon him and, being certified to by his proclamation, is conclusive upon the courts. . . ."

⁷ 65 Stat. 710, § 106(b) (1951), designates the Administrator of General Services Administration as the one whose duty it is to certify that an amendment has been ratified.

⁸ For a more detailed account of how the Fourteenth Amendment was forced upon the Nation, see articles in 11 S.C.L.Q. 484 and 28 Tul. L. Rev. 22.

LT. COMDR. MARCUS A. ARNHEITER

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, during the course of the recent ad hoc hearings into the case involving Lt. Comdr. Marcus A. Arnheiter, USN, some shocking testimony was elicited from a young seaman who served as a member of the crew of the U.S.S. Vance.

Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter was removed from command of the Vance just 99 days after assuming command of the picket ship. The seaman, John M. Cicerich, of Mission, Tex., described conditions as "a living hell" for him and

other crewmen after Arnheiter was removed.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Cicerich's statement speaks for itself, therefore, I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

STATEMENT FOR LEGAL USE—JOHN M. CICERICH, JR.

I, John M. Cicerich, Jr. [REDACTED], Seaman, U.S. Navy, aware of my rights under Article 31, Uniform Code of Military Justice, of my own free will and accord, desire to make the following voluntary statement:

I am presently stationed at Navinshopstracen Mare Island, Vallejo, California. I commenced active naval service on 7 April 1966. I am now training to go back to Vietnam, this time in the River Patrol Force. I volunteered for this duty. My last permanent duty station was USS Vance (DER 387).

I first reported aboard USS Vance in July 1966, and stayed until 18 January 1968. I was very much astonished that the Navy could be run the way as it seemed the USS Vance was run. I could not believe that the rest of the Navy is run the way the Vance was run when I was on board. Let me explain examples:

When I first came out of boot camp I had pride in the Navy. I was proud to serve in the Navy. The pride I had in the Navy soon vanished after I reported to the Vance, about July 10th, 1966. I was assigned to the deck force. It was a living hell on the Vance. There was absolutely no military discipline there. If there was any authority shown, it was by the toughest people in the division. And they weren't petty officers. For instance, "Moose" Waldner, Dykes, Merchant, Constable, H. P. Terry (Bosn' Mate Second Class). From personal experience I found some of the most unbelievable examples of man's inhumanity to man that directly involved the men listed above. Fox Division had a bit of this kind of thing but not as much as First Division. Some of the first experiences I had was when I was trying to do an assigned task that I had never done before. I was called stupid and degraded verbally. There was no instruction given by the petty officers. Leading seamen ran the work gangs and the petty officers drank coffee in the bosons' locker or stayed remote from the places where the work was being done. The leading seamen didn't know enough to run the work gangs.

I saw cases where guys were purposely burned with cigarettes by some of these animalistic people in the division who would purposely apply the lighted ends of their cigarettes to the flesh of the bodies of other sailors of the USS Vance. This would be done while the victims were sleeping, and also while they were awake. "Oh, did you get burned?" they would be asked right after the red-hot cigarette had burned a hole in the flesh. I myself was burned three times in this manner. Once while I was sleeping it happened, and twice while I was awake. Just about everybody either got burned at one time or another by these men, and I am sure the officers of the ship knew it was going on. Ensign McWhirter surely knew. I know I complained to him, for one, but there was never any corrective action. One of the people doing this (the burning) was Moose Waldner. He also got burned himself by a tougher person who burned holes all over Waldner's body. This man's arms were definitely disfigured by cigarette burns. His back also. You wouldn't believe it about his arms even when you could see the dark blotches, old burns, and new ones. Up and down his arms. It was terrifying, but even the word terrifying can't describe the hopelessness about it all, that you just couldn't go to the petty officers and officers and get anything done about it. When the ship was in port, some of these people would come in drunk and demand the guys asleep get up and take showers. This was done up to

three times a night. It did no good to resist. Mornings, I personally was awakened by being hit in the stomach with enough force to knock the wind out of me. It hurt physically, but mentally, the experience was weird to say the least.

It was more or less like living in a prison with convicted toughs only prison would be expected to be a punishment of some sort while being in the Navy is considered a respected occupation. At least, I would have imagined, that this would be so.

Dykes, Third Class Bosn's Mate, but then a seaman, would beat people up on board ship while smiling. He enjoyed it. He acted for the apparent purpose of inflicting pain only. I have never seen anyone like that before or since.

I personally reported Dykes' behavior to the leading petty officer of 1st Division, Newman, BM1. "What do you expect me to do about it?" was his reply. "You should try to get along with these people," he said.

The people getting mistreated felt an utter hopelessness about going through the chain of command, because everyone in that chain, including the officers, knew exactly what was happening. Jones, SN, got tired of being beaten up and wrote to his Congressman from the state of Oklahoma. There might be a mistake about where the member of Congress was from, but he wrote. Lt. Meisner the Weapons Officer investigated. Witnesses or potential witnesses were intimidated even as they went in to the interview. The result of this investigation was a lecture to the entire 1st division about how we should have gone to our petty officers and officers to correct the situation instead of it having to come from an outside source, the congressman, thus "putting a black mark" on the entire ship. He was worried about what he called the "image" of the ship. The "image" worried him more than what the ship was really like did.

There was no disciplinary action ever taken against the people who did these things. In the case involving Jones, the men who assaulted him were restricted for only one day.

Everyone used to wonder why the Executive Officer didn't do something about all this. The Exec was an officer called Lt. Ray S. Hardy, Jr., USN.

Ens. McWhirter always had an unkempt appearance. While he might from time to time say someone in his division needed a haircut or shave, he generally needed a shave or haircut himself. It was obvious he did not take any pride in the uniform he wore, or the service he was in.

Ens Black was very much liked by the crew. He and about six enlisted men were drinking beer together at a hole in the wall in Kachlung near the dock (we were on a working party waiting for the stuff to pick up) when the conversation came around to Marcus Aurelius Arnheiter, former Commanding Officer. Ens Black said the Captain tried to kill him or get rid of him by leaving him in a small boat while the ship went out from a harbor to chase some junks. The crewmen listening to him laughed at what he had to say. The impression Ens Black gave to the enlisted men was that the former skipper must have been a crazy, dangerous man.

I was told with scorn that when Lcdr Arnheiter was C.O., he had rifle racks placed in the compartments where the men lived. After he left and when I was on board, these were removed and the rifles were placed in lockers access to which would have exposed the men to danger in an emergency and would have prevented the men getting small arms quickly in an emergency.

Lt. Generous had a habit of using the 1JV sound-powered telephone circuit when he was OOD, to ask questions on history, music, literature, plays, etc. etc., of all the enlisted men wearing the phones. Naturally, most of the time no one knew the answers, so Generous would then savor the oppor-

tunity to "enlighten" them with his great knowledge. Mr. Generous was not widely liked by the crew. He was almost unpopular. Scratch that. He WAS unpopular.

Lt. Generous was very loud about knocking the Navy down. He used to knock the Navy all the time. He would say how much an officer made in a year and then say he couldn't be paid enough to stay in the Navy. He seemed unhappy with the Navy. He used to mention the old Captain's name, calling him only "Marcus," and then purposely mis-pronouncing that name for derogatory effect. The enlisted men on watch most of the time just listened and let him talk.

One of the rumors circulated on the ship was that Lcdr Arnheiter had forced the officers to wear full-dress uniforms on the ship, to meals on board.

Chaplain George W. Dando, Lt. USNR, deserves special commentary. During the two years I was on board USS Vance I observed him and talked to him. Crew members who had any reason to contact this man wondered what function he was performing. Supposedly, when a man goes to see a chaplain he goes to get some sort of advice or help. Dando never delivered. It appeared his main function was to take a pleasure cruise on the ship and not help in any way the men presumably entrusted to his spiritual care/welfare. This man is supposedly a man of God, but he never got that point across. Probably because all he did was eat, eat, eat and watch movies and go to the next ship for a vacation. Or so it seemed. Until this date, when I read the National Review Magazine article by James Kilpatrick, about the Vance and LCDR Arnheiter, I had not known of Chaplain Dando's role in getting the C.O. relieved of his command. One time, I had a personal problem I took to Chaplain Dando. It involved my 78 year old father and my mother who has cancer. I was very upset at that time and sought some kind of help. Dando definitely showed disinterest.

Several crew-members, for instance Alan Obergon, SN, and others, also got fed up with him. He just ate, ate, ate. His appearance certainly attests to the fact that he does like to eat.

From the way stories about Lcdr Arnheiter were circulated on the ship, when I was there, Marcus Aurelius Arnheiter was removed just last week, the impressions of his command were strong. He had made himself felt. The good is often left out by detractors and bad parts magnified, like every rumor ever brought up about him. Some of the senior crewmembers who had served under Lcdr Arnheiter, like Robert L. Howey, SK2, told it like it was, though. Howey and men like him talk favorably about Mr. Arnheiter. The "All Hands" gatherings developed "To-getherness" amongst the crew and esprit de corps in their minds. But nowadays, esprit de corps is lacking. They say esprit de corps got killed when the junior officers got the captain removed.

PERUVIANS ANGRY OVER U.S. AID BAN

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, when Congress adopted the Long-Conte amendments to the fiscal 1968 foreign aid appropriations bill last year, its purpose was to stop the State Department from financing arms races among nations friendly to this country, and to keep American funds from rushing in

to fill the gap left when poor nations spend their funds on the purchase of the latest military weapons instead of on improving the lives of their people.

In effect, Congress told underdeveloped nations that they were, of course, free to waste their own money on whatever they chose, but not American money.

The first nation whose economic aid was reduced as a consequence of congressional intent as expressed in the Long-Conte amendments was Peru, which purchased Mirage supersonic jets from France.

Now the New York Times reports that Peru is furious at the United States for tightening its pursestrings, and that some Peruvians are even threatening expropriation of private American foreign investments.

This confirms my own long-held suspicions—and those of many other Congressmen and Senators—that underdeveloped nations believe that they are entitled to receive American foreign aid, regardless of what they do with the money, and regardless of whether they are sincerely and effectively trying to develop their economy and raise the living standards of their people.

The country's budget deficit is about \$70 million.

Reports the Times, yet it is prepared to spend "well above \$50 million" to modernize its Armed Forces.

Peru's defense expenditure, I would like to point out, has little to do with countering the subversion of Communist guerrillas. Peru needs the weapons—as Peruvian generals told me when I was in Lima, and as they are quoted asserting again to the Times' reporter—to be prepared to fight Chile, a country that happens to be an ally of the United States and also a recipient of considerable American foreign aid.

Many observers believe that the possession of a jet air force is important to Peru more for reasons of national pride than military necessity.

Reports the Times. Were it not for the Long-Conte amendments, American money would still be nourishing the self-esteem of Peruvian generals. One is entitled to ask how that would help the millions of hungry Peruvian children and adults, many of them living in the Andes at standards no better than they were when Columbus discovered America. For that matter, how would it help the millions of hungry children and adults in our own country, who should certainly have priority over Peruvian generals in their call on U.S. funds? Yet our own State Department has chafed at the reins imposed on its spending proclivities by the Long-Conte amendments, and wants them eliminated.

I propose that the Long-Conte amendments be strengthened this year, and that Congress exercise an even tighter scrutiny over their enforcement by an obviously reluctant State Department, which is using every possible loophole to avoid applying them to other countries.

India buys submarines, jet fighter-bombers and sophisticated tanks from the Soviets; Italy gets U.S. approval to

sell American tanks to Pakistan; Morocco and Ethiopia are scheduled for more U.S. arms soon; Brazil is preparing to buy French Mirage jets—and all the while American aid keeps flowing. The time for those spigots to be shut is long overdue.

I insert in the RECORD for the information of my colleague, the New York Times article about Peruvian reaction to the aid cutback:

PERUVIANS ANGRY OVER U.S. AID BAN—DECISION TO BUY JETS FROM FRANCE WIDELY DEFENDED

(By Malcolm W. Browne)

LIMA, PERU, May 23.—Virtually every political faction in Peru has publicly denounced American policy in the wake of reports last week that the United States had suspended development loans because of Peru's decision to buy supersonic jet fighters from France.

Peruvian conservatives, ultra leftists, military officers and high Government officials have criticized Washington. Rarely in her history have Peru's political groups shown such unity.

The reaction was prompted by an announcement last Wednesday by Representative Clarence D. Long, a Maryland Democrat. He said that loans to Peru had been suspended because American money intended for the economic development was being spent on defense.

American policy is seeking to discourage excessive military expenditures by underdeveloped Latin-American nations, on the ground that such expenditures waste money desperately needed to improve standards of living.

EMBASSY ISSUES STATEMENT

The angry reaction here was not diminished by a United States Embassy statement that said an Agency for International Development loan of \$7.5-million was approved April 25 for the Peruvian packaging and processing industry, and that the Inter-American Development Bank in Bogotá, Colombia, approved on April 21 a loan, primarily involving American money, of \$15.1-million to Peru. [In Washington it was explained that the \$7.5-million loan came from fiscal 1967 funds, and the \$15.1-million loan did not involve Agency for International Development funds.]

In the Peruvian Senate, Héctor Cornejo Chavez, president of the leftist Christian Democratic party, offered a motion to expropriate American private investment in Peru if American aid was cut.

He also proposed the cancellation of Peruvian debts to the United States, the appropriation of American mining concessions and the nationalization of companies owned by American interests.

The motion was rejected by the Senate as too extreme, but criticism persisted.

PREMIER IS CAUSTIC

Speaking caustically in an interview this week, Raúl Ferrero Rebagliati, Premier and Foreign Minister in the Cabinet of President Fernando Belaúnde Terry, said the United States would never be able to dictate policy to Peru.

It would be as foolish for the United States to try to do so, he said, as it would be for Peru to suggest to the States that the American expenditures in Vietnam could be better spent improving the lot of the Asian people or of the impoverished people of the United States itself.

Peruvian officials say that Lima has not modernized the armed forces in five years and that money budgeted for the purpose has been accumulating during this time.

Maj. Gen. José Gagliardi Schiaffino, commander of the air force, said that Peruvian fighters had become so old that accidents

were becoming frequent and that it was essential to buy modern jets, "even aircraft made behind the Iron Curtain if necessary."

He confirmed that Peru was buying 16 Mirage jet fighters from France at a cost of about \$1.2-million each. The first four will arrive before July 23, he said.

Unconfirmed reports from travelers arriving in Lima indicate that some of the jets may already have arrived at a provincial airfield.

Besides the Mirage Jets, Peru is buying about 50 light tanks from France to replace outmoded American-made tanks. The total expenditures for the modernization of Peru's armed forces are expected to be well above \$50-million. The country's budget deficit is about \$70-million.

Even Peru's fragmented Communist groups, which in the past have called for more emphasis by the Government on raising the rural standard of living, are lauding the purchase of the French jets.

The current issue of the ultraleftist weekly Clarín describes American efforts to discourage the jet sale as "Yankees gangsterism in the pattern of Al Capone."

While Peru has not fought a war in many years, some of her military officers feel that neighboring Chile is a potential threat.

They say privately that the uncertain political conditions in Chile may some day result in a Communist government in Santiago that could begin military adventures against neighboring countries. Chilean officials have angrily denied any such possibility.

Peru has about 50 jet fighters, about 10 more than the Chilean Air Force.

Many observers believe that the possession of a jet air force is important to Peru more for reasons of national pride than military necessity.

Peru first sought to buy Northrup F-5 fighters from the United States, but was told the jet would not be available at least until 1970.

ONE TO REMEMBER

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, next November 11 will mark the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Armistice in France at the end of World War I.

This is an important occasion for a good many of our citizens—indeed, it properly is one of importance to all of our citizens.

We have commemorative postage stamps to mark many important events in our history.

Certainly the anniversary of the Armistice of 1918 should rank at the top level of consideration for a special stamp issue.

I have asked the chairman of the Citizens' Stamp Advisory Committee, Mr. David Lidman, to give this suggestion most serious study and attention.

I concur wholeheartedly with the text of an editorial in the May 20 edition of the New York, N.Y., Daily News, which follows:

ONE TO REMEMBER

The Post Office Department is playing ring-around-the-rosy with a proposal to commemorate a great event—the 50th anniversary, come Nov. 11, of the armistice that ended World War I.

For more than a year, the Veterans of

World War I of the U.S.A., Inc., has been pleading that a stamp be issued to honor the occasion. The organization has gotten the brush-off.

It is true, as postal officials argue, that they have many requests for commemorative stamps.

Still, it seems unthinkable that the government would suffer such a milestone in ours and the world's history to pass without official remembrance. Indeed, it is a disgrace that it must be prodded from outside to take such action.

AHEPA URGES UNITED STATES CONTINUE MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID AND ASSISTANCE TO GREECE

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Andrew Fasseas, President of the Order of AHEPA, American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, today issued on behalf of his organization, a very firm and determined statement that this outstanding organization of Americans urges the United States continue its military and economic assistance to the people of Greece.

Mr. Fasseas, who is a highly respected citizen in Chicago and who serves as the supreme president of the Order of AHEPA, along with the entire board of this inspiring organization, has carefully polled his entire membership and the statement issued by this group reflects the thinking of one of the most highly respected segments of our American community.

Mr. Fasseas met with the supreme lodge, which is the highest institution of AHEPA. He met with past supreme presidents, and with other leaders all over the United States and in their good, sound judgment the decision was unanimous that the United States should continue its military assistance to Greece, not only because it strengthens the NATO community, but because it strengthens the American position in Europe and the Mediterranean.

The statement drafted by AHEPA which I am including in the RECORD today was adopted unanimously by these leading Americans of Greek descent who find expression through the Order of AHEPA. The position I am outlining today was hammered out by AHEPA after 3 days of careful deliberations.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to place this statement in the RECORD because it fortifies my own position. I have little patience with those who cannot see the rising threat of communism in the whole of the Middle East, and today are unable to recognize the fact that a strong Greece is one of our best guarantees against the expansion of Soviet colonialism in the Mediterranean.

The Greek people today stand as a brave bastion against Communist expansion and I believe it is in the interest of the United States to do everything possible to help the Greek people and their present Government to meet the challenge of our times.

I visited Greece and talked to those who are today responsible for the destiny of that country. They are mindful of the harsh measures that they had to impose in order to save the cradle of democracy from the ravages of those who hold no value for freedom or human dignity.

We all know the chaos that existed in Greece prior to April 21, 1967, and we also know the kind of stability and growth that the present Government of Greece has brought to that nation during its first year in office.

I am convinced that the AHEPA position enunciated in the statement which I shall include in the RECORD today properly reflects a wise and determined position for the United States to follow.

There isn't a single son of AHEPA who does not want the Greek people to see their nation restored to constitutional rule just as quickly as possible. I don't know of a single Ahepan who is not doing everything in his power to see to it that the people of Greece will again enjoy parliamentary government and full protection under a constitution.

It is obvious, however, that members of AHEPA realize the immediate threat to Greece from Soviet expansion, and for this reason they insist that the United States continue to help Greece defend herself by providing Greece the arms she needs. At the same time, all of us are working earnestly to see to it that the present regime in Greece will proceed to free elections as quickly as possible.

I have noted before on the floor of this House the timetable which the Government of Greece has announced for a referendum on the new Constitution and for the free election of a government once the Constitution has been ratified by the people.

I hope the administration in Washington will not be deterred in its present course of working with the Government of Greece and continue giving Greece military assistance simply because a handful of people in this country criticize such action. We here in the United States respect the right to dissent, and while we are willing to listen to those who argue against helping the present Government of Greece, I believe the overwhelming majority of sound-thinking Americans realize that Greece today constitutes one of our most reliable allies in the Mediterranean and she must be helped maintain her own strength.

It is for this reason that I am very pleased to call the attention of my colleagues to this excellent statement issued by the Order of AHEPA in October of last year, and now again reaffirmed on May 21.

Mr. Fasseas quite properly states that the policy being enunciated by AHEPA is "in the best interest of the United States and NATO."

The statement issued by Mr. Fasseas follows:

AHEPA URGES THE UNITED STATES CONTINUE MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID AND ASSISTANCE TO GREECE

CHICAGO, ILL.—Andrew Fasseas of Chicago, Ill., Supreme President of the Order of Ahepa (American Hellenic Educational Progressive

Association) today issued the following statement:

"The Order of AHEPA is composed, in great part, of Americans of Greek descent. It is non-sectarian in religion and non-partisan in politics.

"Ahepa's members are proud and happy that our country and Greece always have been allies and friends. As an historic fact, there were many Americans, including Samuel Gridley Howe, George Jarvis, and many others who fought in the Greek War of Independence of 1821. The United States, by Presidential action and Congressional Resolution, wholeheartedly supported the people of Greece in that great struggle.

"During World War I, the United States and Greece fought side by side.

"In World War II, Greece was again a valued and fruitful ally of our country. In that war its small but brave little army won the first victories against the Axis powers.

"After World War II, while other peoples and nations were busy rebuilding and recovering from war's devastation, the Greek people were called upon to fight yet another enemy—Communism.

"With American help, under the great Truman Doctrine, the people of Greece were the first nation that stopped the communist aggression. It is noteworthy that not a single American soldier shed his blood or lost his life in that great struggle of the Greek people.

"Since World War II, Greece has been a faithful ally of the United States. She is a valued and loyal member of NATO. Greece supplies the bases in the Middle East for the United States 6th Fleet and other American forces required in that part of the world in order to contain Communism.

"The best interests of our country require that Greece become and remain economically sound, and militarily strong.

"In the recent Israel-Arab war, Turkey, the other leg of the eastern anchor of NATO, declared that she would not allow the United States to use the NATO bases in Turkey. That left Greece as the only base of the United States in the Eastern Mediterranean. That proved once more that Greece is, as she has always been, a loyal and reliable friend and ally of our country.

"The Order of Ahepa therefore urges that the United States continue its military and economic aid and assistance to Greece.

"Many of our officers and members have recently visited Greece. They have found that law and order prevail and that conditions for visitors and tourists are most pleasant.

"If a European came to the United States and told the American people what type of government we should have, or whom to elect as our President, we would rightfully reject it as an unwarranted interference with our internal politics.

"The members of the Order of Ahepa feel that the type of government in Greece is a matter that concerns the Greek people only.

"As Americans, our only concern is that whatever Greek government Greece has should keep Greece as a member of NATO and a faithful ally of the United States."

STEEL AND IRON ORE QUOTAS

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a speech made by a distinguished American and a great

leader of the American labor movement, Mr. Walter J. Burke, secretary-treasurer of the United Steelworkers of America.

Walter Burke has served the labor movement well and faithfully and has achieved a record of accomplishment in the tradition of the great Sam Gompers and others who have done much to make the labor movement of this Nation great.

The speech follows:

STATEMENT OF WALTER J. BURKE ON STEEL AND IRON ORE QUOTAS, BEFORE MARYLAND, WEST VIRGINIA, AND MICHIGAN CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION, MAY 7, 1968, WASHINGTON, D.C.

On behalf of the United Steelworkers of America I wish to express our appreciation of your attendance at this joint dinner sponsored by the Union and the industry.

Our main purpose is to acquaint you with an import problem in the steel industry, which we think is reaching a proportion which will have an adverse impact upon the workers in this industry.

My comments must also be taken within the context of our union's support for an expansionary trade policy. Our union has traditionally fought for the concept of wider trade relationships with other countries because of political and economic advantages. The international political aspects of freer trade are readily recognized. We have, on balance, equated our national interest with the advancing of international cooperation.

Our foreign economic policy is also predicated on the basis that a fuller international trade relationship will redound to our own national economic welfare. We are, therefore, convinced that an isolationist economy policy is outdated in a world of interdependence. It was probably one of the achievements of the New Deal era that the philosophical position of "Fortress America"—at least as far as trade is concerned—was demolished.

I make mention of these comments precisely because the problems of the past and their solutions are not necessarily the problems facing international trade today. Unfortunately, there are too many who apply in a doctrinaire manner the public policy decisions of the past and criticize any contemporary evaluation of present day problems as an attempt to return to the day of the Smoot-Hawley Act.

Our past trade policy grew out of an economic atmosphere of scarcity. At that time, artificial trade barriers, which further restricted our limited productive facilities, had condemned the various national economies to dependency upon each country's weaknesses. Within an economy of scarcity, there was little room for improvement.

However, today as the evolution of our domestic public policy is faced with problems arising from an economy of affluence, so also our foreign trade policy must grapple with the same source of international economic concern. Although these complexities arise from an affluent economy, they are no less real or no less critical than those arising from a depression economy.

We are, therefore, appealing to you to view our trade problems within this context. What I am saying is that we must have a *balanced* trade relationship within an expansionary trade policy.

As far as the domestic steel industry is concerned, we are experiencing a rapid and accelerated percentage penetration of the market by foreign producers. Within the last five years steel imports have risen from 3 per cent of domestic demand to almost 15 per cent if current imports for 1968 are projected on an annual basis.

We have been a deficit nation in the value of direct steel trade since 1962. The current deficit amounts to about \$900 million. But more than that, we are still a deficit nation even when we take into consideration indirect steel trade, that is, trade in which steel is

used in manufactured products. In 1966 our total balance was in a deficit position by almost \$500 million. This of course, causes a drain on our balance of payments. But it also refutes the contention that American exported steel in manufactured forms compensate for any deficit in raw (direct) exports.

We are convinced that the pressure behind these foreign imports is basically one of affluence—in other words, it results from excessive overcapacity. The Senate Finance Committee last December released a report indicating that surplus capacity had already reached a level of 50 million tons. Each year, steel capacity grows at a rate of 33 million tons. It is the continued investment in over capacity-facilities which must be moderated in order to bring about a balanced trade relationship.

Our support of the Vanik bill is predicated, therefore, upon a two-fold objective. First, it will determine that, as a matter of public policy, a 10 per cent penetration of our market is a balanced one. Maybe Congress might suggest another figure. But set a level it must, in our judgment.

The second objective will be found in the fact that the bill will serve as a guideline for foreign steel industries to moderate its investment in facilities producing steel well beyond its own domestic consumption and a reasonable share of our market.

It would be disastrous for Japan, for instance, to be led to assume it has an unlimited access to the U.S. steel market. Then, at a later date, with its investments already made and its manpower committed, if Japan is curtailed in its access, severe political and economic consequences could ensue. Now is the time to declare whether there is a limit. And this is a responsibility for the Congress.

This, then, is the sole purpose of our support of a flexible quota bill. We have arrived at this position at a time when our own industry is also accelerating investment in new plant and equipment to modernize obsolete facilities. There has been severe criticism levied at the industry for allowing its facilities to become outdated. There may be some justification to the charge. But the industry is now correcting this problem. If we do not retain a fixed share of increased domestic demand, then there will be a job loss since the new facilities will be able to produce more steel with less workers. Furthermore, if the increased domestic market is lost to our own producers, I am afraid that the necessary continued movement to modernize will be suspended.

Another point I wish to make before I finish concerns the argument about massive foreign retaliation. First of all, the policy of international trade relationship is an accepted one. I doubt very much that our trade partners would engage in an economic trade war which would destroy that policy. Furthermore, there is no attempt by the bill to reverse the current share of our market which has already been achieved by foreign producers. Rather the foreign producers are welcome to participate in our continued growth at the present percentage share.

It is unrealistic, therefore, to think in terms of retaliation. As a matter of fact, there is a need to provide leadership in this area. The Senate Finance Committee's report urges that "A world conference may eventually restore prosperity to the world steel industry and thereby solve the problems that now concern the domestic industry. The U.S. Government should participate in such a conference with a full understanding of all the implications of the somewhat ominous trends that imperil the U.S. steel industry's future."

The steel and iron ore quota bill is the vehicle for bringing about not only the conference but the resolution of this problem.

Hence, I urge each of you to introduce a bill similar to the Vanik bill and, furthermore, request the Ways and Means Committee to conduct hearings on it.

BUSINESS EXECUTIVES FOR PEACE

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace held an outstanding conference in Washington on May 22 titled "Economic and Social Consequences of the War and our National Goals."

The conference adopted the following resolutions:

I. ON VIETNAM PEACE

The war in Vietnam challenges the conscience and the self-interest of every American.

Millions of innocent people who have no concern with political power have been killed, wounded, made homeless, or their possessions and croplands destroyed, as a mighty power seeks to impose its will upon Vietnam.

More than 20,000 young Americans have been killed, and hundreds of thousands ordered from their homes, schools, trades, and careers to serve in the Armed Forces, because of this war.

The constitutional authority of the Congress to declare war has been subverted.

The American society and its economy have been militarized to an alarming extent.

Our citizens are burdened by debt, taxes and inflation, and the fiscal stability of the United States is sorely menaced.

What must be one of the most shameful consequences of this unhappy war is the neglect of our poor, who each day grow in number and distress. They cry out for understanding and help, and are treated to rhetoric.

In every field in which we pride ourselves—education, housing, justice, medical attention, representation—the poor are treated to a substandard diet. They are promised in words and starved in deeds.

II. ON TAXES

The Administration has called for a tax increase and a reduction of federal and domestic spending. BEM is opposed to this position because the tax increase is to pay for the war which should be ended and the proposed spending reduction will destroy vital social programs particularly those called for by the Kerner Commission report. BEM calls for a reduction of overall military expenditures without cutting vital domestic appropriations and without a tax increase.

III. ON BOMBING

The Administration has thus far refused to cease all bombing of North Vietnam. BEM is opposed to this position and calls for the cessation of all bombing North of the D.M.Z. so that actual peace talks can begin. If the talks fail, we oppose escalation.

IV. ON FOREIGN POLICYMAKING

The Administration has called for a change in the direction of its Vietnam policy, but has not called for a change of those responsible for, and committed to the bankrupt policy of the past. BEM is opposed to this position and calls for the replacement of Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and Presidential Assistant Walt Rostow by new men with fresh perspectives.

The Administration's foreign policy, with its obsessive fear of Communism, led to Vietnam and will lead to more Vietnams unless its direction changes.

BEM calls for a complete reorientation in American foreign policy. A recognition that we are not the self-appointed policemen of the world—a recognition that the wave of emerging nationalism is not necessarily evil,

and that our country should always be motivated by the desire for social justice.

The conference program follows:

BUSINESS EXECUTIVES MOVE FOR VIETNAM PEACE—CONFERENCE ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR AND OUR NATIONAL GOALS, WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 22, 1968

MORNING SESSION

Registration: 9:00 a.m.

Introduction: 9:45 a.m.

Speeches on "The Economic Consequences of the War" Congressman Henry S. Reuss, Democrat, Wisconsin, Member of the Joint Economic Committee and the House Committees on Banking and Currency and on Government Operations; "International Financial Consequences of the War," Frederick Heldring, Senior Vice-President, Philadelphia National Bank, Philadelphia, Pa.

Panel on economic consequences and goals: Moderator, Joseph E. McDowell, President, Servomation Corp., New York, N.Y.; Edward Lamb, Chairman and President, Lamb Enterprises, Inc., Toledo, Ohio; Max Polevsky, President, Scientific Data Systems, Santa Monica, Calif.; Erwin A. Salk, President, Salk, Ward & Salk, Inc., Chicago, Illinois; Lee B. Thomas, Jr., President, Vermont American Corp., Louisville, Ky.

Discussion from the floor.

Luncheon: 12:15 p.m.

"The Domestic Impact of the War," Senator Joseph D. Tydings, Democrat, Maryland.

AFTERNOON SESSION

"Some Human Problems": 1:45 P.M.

L. R. Mobley, Staff Associate in Public Affairs, Executive Development Department, International Business Machines Corporation, Port Washington, N.Y.

Panel on social consequences and goals: 2:00 P.M.

The relationship of the Vietnam War, social progress and the Poor People's Campaign will be discussed among other things: Reverend Marion C. Bascom, Past President, Interdenominational Ministers Alliance, Baltimore, Md., Dr. Timothy W. Costello, Deputy Mayor, City Administrator, New York City; Congressman F. Bradford Morse, Republican, Massachusetts, Member of Foreign Affairs Committee; William R. Rutherford, Executive Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Georgia; Robert D. Stern, Executive Vice-President, U.S. Shoe Corporation, Cincinnati, Ohio.

BEM's national and chapter activities: 4:00 P.M.

Adjournment: 5:00 P.M.

(Affiliations are given for identification only.)

PURPOSES OF THE CONFERENCE

The purposes of the conference are:

1. To consider what the Vietnamese War is costing economically and socially.
2. To help clarify national priorities.
3. To impress upon Congress and the Administration our business views of the war.
4. To enlighten the public through publicity and publications.
5. To influence uncommitted business executives to think and act in regard to the war.
6. To increase BEM's membership and impact.

SCOPE OF THE CONFERENCE

The Conference will cover a broad range of questions from the point of view of business executives who are realistically concerned (1) that our money be sound, (2) that our taxes should not be increased to support a war which we believe is not in our national or world interest, (3) that the buying power of all our people be adequate (which would make them good customers), and (4) that social stability be promoted to give the best opportunities for consistent and wide-spread economic and social progress.

The speakers and panelists will cover some of the questions given below but there will not be time to cover all of them. The ques-

tions are given here because the Conference will be considerably enriched if members who attend will consider them in advance, especially as some of them may relate to the experience of their own companies.

Economic questions and topics

What have been the hidden costs of the war in terms of inflation, high interest rates, tight credit, and wage-price guidelines?

How has the cost of the war been distributed?

Who has borne the burden economically? The surtax.

How much de-escalation of the costs of the war would equal the expected returns from the surtax?

The monetary crisis, gold, the balance of payments deficit.

Reduced research and development expenditures.

Is the war necessary for sustained economic growth and employment?

Is the tendency toward higher U.S. tariffs likely to shut us out of potentially large world markets?

Have military opportunities and training helped many persons of low economic status? How much of this is offset by the loss of productive years of those killed or maimed, physically or emotionally?

Social questions and topics

The war and its effect on housing, education, and jobs.

What socially desirable programs have been started but perhaps fatally curtailed by the war? What has been possible despite the war?

Social disorders, frustration and lack of hope among many citizens.

Riots and violence.

Tendencies towards law-breaking

Tendencies towards suppression of dissent.

The Credibility Gap—Its extent and consequences in Government and in business relationships.

The effect of social instability on business profits and development.

MENTAL EFFECTS OF MALNUTRITION

HON. CHARLES E. GODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. GODELL. Mr. Speaker, evidence continues to emerge in the House Education and Labor Committee—which is seeking to establish an American Commission on Hunger—which suggests that early malnutrition can permanently retard the mental abilities of children. It is clear, however, that to date no studies have unequivocally documented these causal factors but do indicate that these conditions do exist. The implications of these factors on our society are staggering when one considers how important mental capacity is to an individual to enable him to take his place as a productive member of society. Further, the cost to America in terms of wasted manpower, educational costs, institutional costs and increased welfare illustrate the dire need to find answers to these problems now.

The following article entitled "Mental Effects of Malnutrition," by Peter Gwynne, published in the Technology Review of May 1967, documents some of the evidence which suggests that malnourished children are being denied the

hope of reaching their ultimate human potential:

MENTAL EFFECTS OF MALNUTRITION

(By Peter Gwynne)

It is a paradoxical fact that the great improvements in medical science and the control of disease during recent years have given rise to two of the most intractable problems that the world faces today—the population explosion and the shortage of food. The birth rate in underdeveloped countries has always been high, but traditionally the equally high death rate has ensured relatively stable numbers among the populations. The impact of modern medicine and public health has greatly increased life expectancy. So far, however, the social and political conditions to impel a similar decrease in the birth rate have not arisen. As a result the number of people in the world is increasing far faster than food supplies, particularly in the underdeveloped areas, and the majority of children born in these regions come into a physical and social environment that is totally unable to feed them adequately.

The physical effects of this early departure from the equality of all men are disturbingly obvious. In general, children in underprivileged populations are smaller than their well-fed counterparts, quite regardless of genetic considerations such as the height of their parents. Nutritional diseases such as kwashiorkor and marasmus take a heavy toll of these children, and even today's medicine must fight hard to hold down the death rate among malnourished young children to between 10 and 30 times that among the well nourished.

Recently, evidence has been accumulating from laboratory studies with animals and from field studies among underprivileged societies to suggest that the effects of early malnutrition extend beyond children's physical development. Increasingly it appears that lack of sufficient calories and protein can permanently retard the mental abilities of children. If this is indeed true, over 300 million children under the age of six have already lost the opportunity of realizing their full human potential.

These implications of malnutrition for those who survive it have only begun to emerge over the last 10 years. Previously, workers in the field had to devote their time and effort to seeking the causes and prevention of the appalling death rate from malnutrition among children. Only now can they begin to turn their attention to those who stay alive.

The picture built up by the few studies already under way is in many ways just as disturbing as the high death rate. In order to review the present evidence for the connection between malnutrition and behavior, and to design new methods of studying the link, experts from over 30 nations gathered recently at M.I.T. for an international conference under the title "Malnutrition, Learning and Behavior."

THE BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

The conference's first two papers, by Dr. Angus Thomson, of the Princess Mary Maternity Hospital, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, and Dr. Moises Béhar, Director of the Institute of Nutrition of Central America and Panama (INCAP), pointed out the consistent pattern of life among young children in any underprivileged population.

Children are breast fed well into their second year of life. Weaning begins at about six months with small amounts of food regarded as acceptable and safe for infants, such as thin gruel or rice. By the time a child reaches one year of age he is receiving most of the food the adults and older children eat—but with some notable exceptions. Certain items in the adults' diet, particularly meat and vegetables which are important sources of protein, are denied to the small children because they are regarded as unsuitable for them.

The reasons for withholding these foods from the infants are many and complex; religious and cultural taboos combine with unwillingness to use frequently contaminated food and plain ignorance of nutritional factors to deny the children a properly balanced diet from the scanty amounts of food available. The Muslim religion, for example, forbids its followers to eat pork; orthodox Hindus are forbidden beef; and certain Christians must not eat goat. In most impoverished societies, the father traditionally receives the best food, while the rest of the household must be content with the remainder. And certain sources of protein, notably cows' milk, are so germ-ridden that they would represent definite risks to infants who have lost the placental immunity they gained in the womb and have not yet built up their own natural defenses to diseases.

For these reasons, and because of lowered resistance to infection caused by malnutrition, children fall foul of case-books of debilitating diseases as soon as weaning starts. Measles and whooping cough—diseases which urbanized children do not encounter until their school days, when they are far better equipped to combat them—abound among one- and two-year-olds in underdeveloped societies. Even more serious are the diarrheal diseases that the unsanitary environment makes a natural hazard of life.

To add to their troubles, the young children simply receive insufficient quantities of food. The purpose of giving infants adult food is to allow them to develop the taste for it rather than to provide nutritive value. And as the children get older their mother's milk becomes increasingly inadequate in proteins and calories. Thus, at a time when they are going through the traumatic process of weaning, and first coming up against disease, the underprivileged children are made nutritionally backward.

The synergistic effort of malnutrition and disease is reflected in the growth patterns of children in different underprivileged societies with alarming consistency. For the first six months of their lives, when breast milk supplies all their nutritional needs, the children thrive; in fact they gain weight and height as fast as, or even faster than, groups of well-fed urban children. But as soon as they face the twin impact of weaning and disease their growth rate takes a downward turn compared with the well fed. Not until the age of four years does their rate of growth catch up with that of urban children, and they never make up the physical development lost in these early years.

Dr. Behar gave vivid illustration that the pattern of feeding and growth crosses cultural and racial boundaries. Studies among underprivileged groups in Guatemala, South India, Uganda, Mexico, Thailand, New Guinea, and China show the same principles of infant feeding—prolonged breast feeding, supplementary solid preparations introduced late, in small quantities and poorly selected—and the same depressing fall in growth rate at six months.

There is some evidence to suggest that, among malnutrition and disease, the former is the predominant partner in its effect on physical development. Dr. W. R. F. Collis, of the University of Lagos, reported a study among children in two groups of Nigerian villages; one group of children had enough to eat, but the other did not.

The growth curves for both groups remained well below those of a control group of urban children between six months and three years, when the effects of disease were at their worst. But by four and a half years the adequately fed children had begun to catch up with the growth of the controls, and by 10 years they had reached virtually the same average heights. In contrast, the malnourished children fell further behind the growth of the controls as they became

older. Thus, it appears that, while disease slows up physical development temporarily, malnutrition slows it down permanently.

MALNUTRITION IN THE LABORATORY

The connection between lack of food in early life and physical retardation is perhaps not surprising. But why should malnutrition in early years also be suspected of having an effect on the brain? One very strong reason for investigating a connection is that by three years of age a child's brain has reached 80 per cent of its full size, though the child has only grown to about 20 per cent of his full height. In animals the proportion between growth rates of the brain and body is similar, but of course they attain this amount of development far faster; rats, for example, achieve 80 per cent of their brain growth by four weeks and pigs by eight to 10 weeks.

Because their brain growth is so rapid, animals have been used in the laboratory to provide much of the evidence that suggests a link between malnutrition and behavior. In addition experimenters in the laboratory can remove, or compensate for, the many environmental factors that inevitably influence field studies on human populations, and can look specifically at extremes of undernourishment. But scientists must exercise great caution in extending the results of animal studies to humans.

In setting out to study animals, the question arises of whether it is possible to measure quantitatively any damage that malnutrition causes to the brain. The effects of malnutrition on animals' behavior has been demonstrated clearly enough, but can we relate the behavioral changes to physical parameters in the developing brain?

The actual weight of the brain is a notoriously poor index of its state of development, but the concentration of various brain constituents—lipids—may give a more helpful indication of the brain's physical state, according to work on undernourished pigs reported by Dr. John Dobbing, of the Institute of Child Health at the University of London. He found strong evidence that the concentrations of certain lipids fall below their normal values under early malnutrition and do not improve even when the pigs are put back onto a normal diet.

Similar studies on rats suggested strongly that undernutrition in the period when the brain is growing at its fastest rate restricts its growth seriously and permanently. Dr. Dobbing's team separated rats into two groups of litters at birth; the privileged litters contained three rats apiece and so each had ample access to the mother's milk; the underprivileged litters of 15 to 20 were inadequately nursed. At weaning, when they were three weeks old, all the rats had access to unlimited food until they were 28 weeks old; then they were killed and examined. The underprivileged rats had a definite deficit of certain brain lipids. Prolonging the malnutrition beyond the weaning period appeared to have no greater effect on the concentrations of these lipids.

These studies are significant because rats' brains grow fastest during their first three weeks of life. The equivalent vulnerable period in human babies comes in the last few weeks in the womb and the first few months after birth. If there is any true analogy, therefore, the so-called dysmature babies—who are born at full term, but have the size and development of premature babies—would appear to have suffered some permanent mental damage at birth.

A slightly different approach to measuring brain damage was highlighted by R. J. C. Stewart, of the National Institute for Medical Research in London. In collaboration with Professor B. S. Platt he has carried out studies on malnutrition in pigs and dogs, examining brain cells, electroencephalograms and the state of the spinal cords for evidence of damage to the central nervous system.

Definite physical damage occurred in pigs fed upon diets low in calories and proteins; further, the extent of damage and behavioral disorders became more severe the earlier the animals were put onto the diet.

The work on dogs was designed to take malnutrition back into intra-uterine life. Puppies from underfed mothers were divided into two groups on weaning, one given a diet of low-protein value and the other a high-protein diet. Two groups of puppies from normal mothers were put onto the same diets, as controls.

The puppies from the malnourished mothers were small at birth and classed as dysmature. At weaning they weighed far less than the normal puppies, walked with stiff-legged gaits, and showed head tremors. The group of these puppies who then received the high-protein diet at weaning gradually lost their nervous characteristics and began to catch up in development with the group well nourished throughout.

Puppies born of normal mothers who first received a deficient diet at weaning gradually developed stiff hind legs and head tremors and tended to become convulsive. After four or five months this behavior was reduced but it never disappeared entirely.

More dramatic changes occurred in the puppies subject to a continuously deficient diet. They became hyperirritable and lacked interest in the outside world. When they could be induced to move they did so with a kangaroo-like hop, as all four legs were stiff. They commonly suffered convulsions, and some of the dogs died in the midst of them. At about 12 weeks the dogs' condition generally improved, but their recovery was never complete. Although the ratio of brain weight to body weight hardly differed from that in normal animals, changes in the chemical composition, appearance and electrical activity of the brain, and in the spinal cord, gave ample evidence of irreversible damage brought about by malnutrition.

STUDIES AMONG DEPRIVED POPULATIONS

Even when one is dealing with animals it is extremely difficult to isolate the effects due directly to malnutrition from those brought about by social factors. When we turn to humans, the problem becomes immensely more difficult. Malnourished people do not exist randomly among better-fed neighbors: they are gathered together in groups which are at the mercy of interwoven social, cultural, political, and economic deprivations, as well as nutritional ones. It is little cause for wonder, therefore, that few studies have yet emerged of the relationship between malnutrition and human learning and behavior.

The difficulties of measuring the mental effects of undernourishment in animals pale into insignificance when compared with the problems of measuring any meaningful effect, physical or mental, in human populations. Even the universally small size of people in malnourished societies might be basically a genetic effect—their adaptation through many generations to the shortage of food. And might not urbanized, privileged babies in fact be overfed?

At some point, obviously, researchers must stop speculating and start measuring something. Apart from I.Q. tests, whose results can be rather equivocal indicators of mental development, a useful index of brain growth and development likely to be influenced by nutritional factors is the circumference of a child's head. (I must stress, however, that this is meaningful only when one is comparing average values for groups of privileged and underprivileged. Experts hasten to deny that the fact that women generally have smaller head circumferences than men means that they are any less intelligent. But the large differences in average head circumference between groups of privileged and underprivileged are very likely associated with differences in intelligence.)

One of the most dramatic pieces of evidence to relate malnutrition with retardation of brain growth has come from a South African study based on measurements of head circumference, among others. Drs. P. M. Smythe and Mavis Stoch, of the Red Cross Hospital in Cape Town, South Africa, have been observing two groups of Cape Colored children since 1955. As the malnourished group they selected the 20 most grossly undernourished children they could find; they also selected a control group matched with these children for sex and age. During the period of observation the average head circumference of the malnourished children has remained consistently one inch smaller than the average for the controls. In addition, the electroencephalograms of the undernourished group have shown more abnormalities which can be related to behavioral disorders; the children in this group have advanced less in school than the controls, and they have performed poorly on intelligence tests.

When Drs. Smythe and Stoch published a preliminary account of their work in 1963, their conclusion that malnutrition was indeed the cause of the mental retardation evoked widespread doubt, because of the complicating social factors involved. Alcoholism, illegitimacy, and broken homes abounded among the undernourished group, while the controls came from reasonably stable homes. However, Dr. Stoch reported that the living conditions of two thirds of the undernourished group have steadily improved over the years, without obvious effect on their mental development. Thus she reiterated her belief that early malnutrition was the prime cause of the children's defective intellectual development.

Dr. Joaquin Cravioto, now of the Hospital Infantil de Mexico in Mexico City, who is one of the pioneers in field studies of malnutrition, used psychological tests to measure intellectual abilities in a study among children of school age in a rural Guatemalan village, in a project under the auspices of INCAP. In these tests the children were asked to replace differently shaped wooden blocks in corresponding holes, and to indicate whether a hand moving behind a screen traced out the same shape as the object in front of them, and whether a block they could feel behind a screen was the same as one they could see.

Dr. Cravioto's team selected the children in the village according to their weight or height (for age), and chose to observe the relative performances of the upper and lower quartiles of weight or height. The children's heights appeared to have no relationship with those of their parents, and the team therefore assumed that the smaller children were undernourished. As control groups, the team observed two similar sets of upperclass urban children; the heights of these children did depend on their parents' heights, and presumably reflected genetic factors.

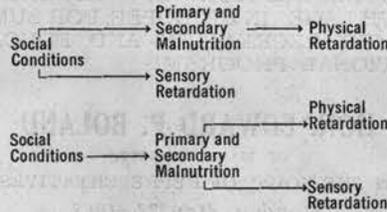
The children in the urban groups performed consistently better on the psychological tests than those in the rural groups at all ages, and the two urban groups showed no difference in performance. However, the taller children in the rural group scored consistently higher than their shorter contemporaries, again suggesting the influence of malnutrition on mental abilities.

THE NEED FOR FIELD STUDIES

Such evidence, convincing as it may appear, in no way proves the primary connection between malnutrition and behavior. The studies completed so far are but small drops in a very large ocean, most of which has yet to be navigated.

Dr. Cravioto, in common with other speakers, at pains to stress the complicated pattern of cause and effect between cultural and nutritional factors and behavior. Put at its simplest level, the conference was aiming

to decide the relative applicability of two models for the cause of retarded learning behavior, which are best expressed in diagrammatic form:



But of course such simplified portrayals bear little relationship with reality, and the evidence is too scanty to provoke decisions on any model of the relative effects of social and nutritional factors. In view of the vital implications of the subject, it is essential now to set up field studies in many underprivileged areas, and the final day of the three-day conference was devoted to discussions of the nature of future field studies.

Dr. Cipriano A. Canosa, of INCAP, set out the basic framework for any field study:

The team must take a longitudinal approach, following a group of children through their early years until they have reached six or seven.

A preliminary phase is vitally important in any study. During this period the team has the opportunity to study its target population and work out their basic methods.

The team must evolve suitable methods of measuring the state of nutrition, mental development, and sociocultural patterns of population groups and individuals.

Studies must involve scientists from a variety of diverse disciplines, to integrate the biological and sociological aspects of the study harmoniously into a single working unit, as well as to add credibility to the results.

One such study, in its third year, is being run by a team under Dr. Cravioto's direction, in a village in northern Mexico. Although the inhabitants form a homogeneous community, there is sufficient variation in socio-economic conditions to give the team confidence that differences in nutritional status will be measurable.

Then years of cross-sectional studies laid the ground for the effort, and the first year of the seven-year study proper formed the preliminary phase. During the second year, which ended last January 31, the team selected 300 children born during the year. For the remaining five years of the study they will keep detailed records of every aspect of the lives of these children and their families—records of disease in the families, of the relationships between mothers and children, of psychological tests, of family diets, and of every factor which shapes the total environment of the children in any way.

AVOIDING THE CLASH OF CULTURES

Away from the scene of the action it is easy to talk analytically of underprivileged, malnourished populations, but the worker in the field must eventually face the problem of scientific detachment versus human involvement. Can one dispassionately compile statistics of human suffering without lending a hand?

In a way the solution is an easy one: the food is not available to give. The study groups can only offer advice on how to eke out the food available more profitably. The attitude of Dr. Cravioto's team is probably typical. They will willingly offer advice to anyone who asks them for it; such advice consists of planning a suitable diet for all the family on the basis of the family's budget. Already they have found that it is only the most forward-looking members of the community—the innovators—who come to them. The remainder appear to be unaware of their

need—or perhaps insist on waiting for proof that the advice will produce results.

This observation poses another problem. How far should scientists impose their own scientific ideas, derived from alien cultures, on communities which have adapted to near-starvation and treat it as a basic fact of life? In introducing undernourished populations to such Western foods as dried milk powder we may be putting at risk the whole ecology of their existence. Dr. Thomson referred to a village in West Africa where dried milk is known as "the stuff which causes diarrhea"—it does just this because it is administered in unsanitary, filthy conditions.

However, the general picture is more encouraging than this example suggests. New high-protein foods, based on oilseeds such as soybean, peanuts, and cottonseed are proving readily acceptable among undernourished populations. Fish protein concentrate will soon be available. Genetically improved varieties of corn and rice are now available, and work is in progress to improve sorghum and wheat as well. Single-cell protein, produced from petroleum and natural gas as energy sources, is in prospect, and many synthetic nutrients are available.

The problem of world food shortage is, of course, far from solved. But the fact that scientists can now turn their attention to the health of the survivors of early malnutrition rather than spend their time predominantly in merely ensuring survival suggests that progress is being made. The field studies now under way should provide valuable understanding of the effects of malnutrition on learning and behavior. Hopefully, the application of science and technology to the solution of the world's food shortages will in time remove the problem altogether.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, for those who are interested in honest reporting, I would like to call to the attention of the House a very forthright commentary by Mr. Dean Livingston, editor of the Orangeburg, S.C., Times and Democrat, who is a man of the highest integrity.

James Hoagland, a reporter for the Washington Post, had a very distorted story which may be attributed to the fact that he was hit over the head by one of the demonstrators which required a number of stitches, and his article was written prior to his recovery from this most unfortunate accident. At any rate, I assume that this is the case, because it is inconceivable that anyone would give such a biased and completely fictional report on the situation in Orangeburg.

Mr. Speaker, I include as a part of my remarks a story which appeared in a number of newspapers concerning a speech by Mr. Livingston, as follows:

METROPOLITAN NEWSPAPERS CHARGED WITH MALICIOUS DISTORTION OF FACTS

LOS ANGELES.—A scorching criticism of some of the nation's larger newspapers was delivered here Friday by a South Carolina newsmen who charged his city was "defamed" by news coverage of a race riot that occurred there.

Speaking before the annual convention of the National Newspaper Association, Dean B. Livingston, publisher and editor of the Orangeburg, S.C., Times and Democrat aimed charges of "malicious distortion of facts" at metropolitan newspapers such as the Atlanta Journal, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times.

Livingston spoke on the February racial incident in Orangeburg, a South Carolina city of some 15,000 persons, in which three Negro students were killed in a confrontation with state troopers on the college campus.

"The facts on what happened in Orangeburg were so twisted by much of the nation's press," Livingston declared, that the newsmen who were eyewitnesses to the shooting were embarrassed to be identified in the same ranks with the writers of fiction who came to the city under the guise of reporting.

Livingston was one of the newsmen who eyewitnessed the shooting. He said "apparently the truth no longer counts with the larger newspapers. They're looking for sensationalism with a total disregard for facts."

The South Carolina editor said one of the primary reasons for "the unfactual reporting out of Orangeburg during the crisis" was because many of the newspapers sent inexperienced reporters into the city who were "more interested in seeing the glorification of their bylines than they were in writing about what actually happened."

He accused the Los Angeles Times of "falling back into the throes of 'yellow journalism' which prevailed in New York City near the turn of the century.

"Looking over this great city of Los Angeles," Livingston said, "it's hard for me to believe that the Los Angeles Times is so hard up for money that it has to print intentional lies in order to sell newspapers.

"It seems to me that there should be enough to write truth about here rather than send a reporter some 3,000 miles away to write fiction."

Livingston's criticism of the Atlanta Journal was linked to the Los Angeles Times also.

"The Atlanta paper," he said, "based its editorial comments on what it called 'an exhaustive study of what happened in Orangeburg' by Jack Nelson of Los Angeles."

Nelson's report on Orangeburg, Livingston continued was so "ridiculous and so false that I'm sure even many of the students who were involved in the riot had a ball laughing over it."

Someday, Livingston added, "the FBI will reveal exactly what happened in Orangeburg on the night of the shooting and upon learning the truth the editors in Atlanta and Los Angeles will hold their heads down in shame."

The Washington Post came under fire from the South Carolina newsman for printing what he charged was "two-bit journalism."

The Post, he said, was the victim of "inferior newspapering" on the part of one of its reporters. Livingston said the reporter dispatched to cover the story for the Post "simply had a great imagination."

The reporter, Livingston continued, "didn't have enough knowledge of and experience in reporting to know how to distinguish fact from fiction.

"The young man, a native of South Carolina, evidently found the story too big to handle so rather than bother with the facts he decided to write his own version. He took the easy way out. Fiction is always easier to write than truth."

Livingston appealed to the editors and publishers attending the convention to use their more able and experienced reporters in the coverage of racial incidents. There is a great difference between writing the details of a crisis than that of writing up a Little League baseball game, he added.

FRIENDS OF THE RETARDED CHILDREN, WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS CIVIC-MINDED GROUP, SPONSORS CONSTRUCTION OF "SUNSHINE VILLAGE" IN CHICOPEE, FOR SUMMER RECREATION AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Friends of Retarded Children of Western Massachusetts are making an invaluable contribution to enrich the lives of these exceptional children by sponsoring construction of Sunshine Village in Chicopee, Mass., a \$250,000 nursery and camp facility which will provide summer recreation programs for 15,000 retarded children.

As the former chairman of the annual fundraising drive for the Hampden County Association for Retarded Children, and recipient of the association's 1958 merit award for my "efforts in the Congress on behalf of retarded children," I had the privilege of speaking at the groundbreaking ceremony on Saturday, April 27, 1968.

Mr. P. Joseph Casey of Chicopee was chairman of the successful fundraising drive for the Friends of the Retarded Children. The buildings at Sunshine Village will be completed next month and will accommodate retarded children from communities in Hampden County and the towns of South Hadley and Granby during the coming summer months.

Mr. Speaker, I include with my remarks a most interesting story on the groundbreaking ceremony and description of Sunshine Village, written by Miss Carol Smiegel for the Springfield Sunday Republican, of April 28, 1968:

GROUND BROKEN FOR \$250,000 CENTER IN CHICOPEE FOR RETARDED CHILDREN

(By Carol Smiegel)

Area dignitaries and officials of the Friends of the Retarded Children of Western Massachusetts Saturday attended groundbreaking ceremonies for a new \$250,000 nursery and summer camp for retarded children in Chicopee.

The new center, the first of its kind in the area, is located on a 10-acre site, next to Burnett Road School.

WILL SERVE 15,000

"Sunshine Village" the name which it has been given, is the product of a civic-minded group of individuals, Friends of the Retarded Children, formed to provide a summer recreation residence, nursery and sheltered workshop for the 15,000 retarded children of Hampden County, South Hadley and Granby.

The program, part of which was held indoors at Burnett School, was attended by more than 200 interested residents and many of the business and professional leaders of the Pioneer Valley communities.

The program began with songs by the Chicopee Schools Choral Group and the Westover Theater Guild Chorus.

Next, the invocation was read by the Rev. Dr. Frederick F. Driftmier, pastor of South Congregational Church, Springfield, followed by messages from Dr. George E. Membrino, executive vice-president of F.O.R.C. and superintendent of Chicopee Schools; Dr. Burton Blatt, assistant commissioner for mental retardation; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph C. Fenton,

pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Chicopee; and the Rev. Edward J. Kroyak, director of Cathedral High School who offered a prayer for the blessing of the land.

BOLAND IS SPEAKER

U.S. Rep. Edward P. Boland, D-Springfield, addressed the group and took part in groundbreaking ceremonies.

Each speaker talked of the association, its attempts to acknowledge the needs of retarded youngsters, and noted some of the center's outstanding facilities.

The buildings, scheduled for completion in June, will include a day nursery, to give preschool assistance to prepare the child for further education in regular school systems; and a training class, in which volunteers will work with youngsters in the classes assisting them in the use of various visual and hearing aids.

FOR RECREATION

Another section will be designed as a recreation room for the entertainment of children who enjoy many of the programs of normal youngsters. Dancing, all types of games, and apparatus to assist them in physical developments will be offered.

Other areas include a kitchen and snack bar, a first aid room, laboratories and directors conference rooms.

While the center will provide much-needed summer recreation facilities, it will also provide a year-round nursery, sheltered workshop activities and recreation and training. It also may be expanded to include a 50-bed dormitory.

At the conclusion of the speeches, participants in the groundbreaking exercises filed out to the site of the center.

Those taking part in traditional ceremonies were Mayor Richard H. Demers, mayor of Chicopee; George O. Fontaine, building supervisor; Mrs. Joseph Cote, secretary of F.O.R.C.; Congressman Boland; Dr. Membrino; John Giokas, president of F.O.R.C. and Jay Mercer, president of the Chicopee Jaycees

Gold-plated shovels in hand, each official broke ground, in turn starting construction on one of the area's most needed facilities.

THE UPRISING OF THE WARSAW GHETTO: THE LEGEND OF YESTERDAY AND THE REALITY OF TODAY

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently Dr. Joseph L. Lichten, director of the Department of Intercultural Affairs, Anti-Defamation League, delivered an excellent address to the Association of Polish-American Journalists, in conjunction with the Overseas Press Club.

Dr. Lichten has placed the uprising of the Warsaw ghetto in proper perspective, and I recommend his remarks to the attention of my colleagues.

Dr. Lichten's address follows:

THE UPRISING OF THE WARSAW GHETTO: THE LEGEND OF YESTERDAY AND THE REALITY OF TODAY

(An address by Dr. Joseph L. Lichten, director, Department of Intercultural Affairs, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, at the Overseas Press Club, New York, April 18, 1968)

We have assembled together to remember and honor the heroic fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, on the twenty-fifth anni-

versary of their brave deed. Since that embattled April of 1943, we have met thus every year, to grieve for them; and their epic act has become a legend of courage and a legacy of valor, so much so that it has been incorporated into the Jewish liturgy for the Passover holiday.

Yet, we do not feel as though we are attending an observance of an event which belongs to the past, a segment of history gone from our day-to-day lives. It is too early for that. The Warsaw Ghetto uprising is too close, too deeply engraved in the hearts and minds of the contemporary generations, for us to regard that superhuman struggle dispassionately, or to restrict commemoration of it to stone memorials or metal plaques or even poetic valedictories. Perhaps the famous Polish poet Cyprian Kamil Norwid was right when he said that the past is nothing undefined and unknown, where we have never been before; the past also it is rather the present, only a little farther from us.

But the vividness of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising has another reason, an unusual—indeed, extraordinary—reason that is almost without precedent. It is that the revolt is again being given broad press coverage today, in April of 1968, both overseas and here in the United States. We would be gladdened by this widespread evocation of the uprising were the recounting of the Nazi occupation period not replete with cruel distortions, which are twisting the historic record unbelievably for propaganda purposes. The "big lie," so characteristic among those who readily substitute party line for fact, is now being superimposed on the tragic conditions under which the Jews lived, fought, and died during the Nazi ascendancy.

But let us start from the beginning.

The naked facts of the uprising are well known to you. While research on the revolt has by no means ended, and not all the records are available, much information has been provided by reports of the underground and transcriptions of individual testimony, memoirs and diaries, prose literature and poetry and essays. It is not my intention to unroll before you a description of the ingenious preparations for resistance, the countless heroic actions of the besieged fighters, the brutal and genocidal conclusion. Suffice it to recall here that the Warsaw Ghetto revolt stood alone of all resistance activities in occupied Europe as having no possibility of retreat, no place for the fighters to hide, no chance of survival. The residents knew full well that their numbers and means were too limited for a Pyrrhic victory. They knew, therefore, that their deed could have no other aim than the vindication of human dignity.

It is accepted that the dates of April 19 and May 15, 1943, mark the opening and the end of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Actually, it began on August 20, 1942, when the resistance initially took organized action against the enemy. In January, 1943, the Germans retreated for the first time from the defenders, and this setback was the beginning of the end. Heinrich Himmler ordered the ghetto to be destroyed, "because Warsaw will never quiet down and its criminal deeds will never end as long as the ghetto stands. It is necessary that the dwelling space for 500,000 subhumans . . . should completely disappear."¹

On April 19, 1943, the Germans entered the ghetto to carry out Himmler's order against the handful of Jews left in the city; ninety percent of their number had been deported. Although the battle was not to end until well into June, on May 15 Major General Jürgen Stroop issued the triumphal and black-letter pronouncement: "There are no longer any Jewish habitations in Warsaw."² This was a flat misrepresentation of the facts and a total misunderstanding of the ghetto fighters' invincible tenacity.

It is impossible to treat the ghetto revolt in separation from the whole period of the catastrophe, from the Nazi occupation of Poland and much of the rest of Europe, and even from the situation in the free world. In this large context, it becomes clear that the Warsaw Ghetto uprising carries potent historical implications in world affairs for all of time beyond its occurrence.

At the outset, let me stress here that I have not come before you to accuse, to throw stones, to denounce. Obviously, the major guilt of commission rests and will always remain with the major culprit: the Nazi. Untiring exposure of this monster is obviously necessary. A full and balanced analysis of the catastrophe, however, also requires us to examine the dreadful question: how could it have happened?

Even voicing the question makes one tremble. This is not only because of the dimensions of the tragedy, but because the questioner experiences a strange and very uncomfortable feeling that he is conducting a scrutiny of human souls, and yet that he is simultaneously in the role of being examined. This is what makes the exploration seem like a Greek drama: that at the same time, all of us are questioning and being questioned.

We have said that the direct and inhuman guilt for the enormity of the holocaust is borne by the Nazis. However, we are forced to recognize that there was not only the guilt of commission; there was also a guilt of omission, and this must be attributed to most other men then alive, not only in occupied Europe but also in the free world.

If this seems an exaggeration, let us examine a few points of record. It is a disturbing fact that while the Jews during World War II fought valiantly in the Allied military services, participated in underground actions against the Axis, and died—to the extent that one-third of their world population perished—as front-line victims of the common enemy, the major Allied governments focused so intensely on the "war effort" as to lose sight of the immediate peril to the whole of the Jewish people under the Nazi occupation. Although an impressive number of lives were saved—and in this achievement the United States undeniably holds a first place—nevertheless, current historical research does not exonerate the free world to the degree that we would have wished. We recall that very early in the drama, the League of Nations' first High Commissioner for Refugees, James G. McDonald, resigned on December 27, 1935, after two years of unsuccessful efforts to relieve the growing oppression of the Jews. We know that the Evian Conference on Refugees in July, 1938, produced a week of speeches, but no action. We remember that the next international meeting on the problem, the Bermuda Conference, which opened precisely on the April day when the Germans opened fire on the Warsaw Ghetto, provoked the observation from Congressman Emanuel Celler that it was "a diplomatic mockery of compassionate sentiments and a betrayal of human interests and ideals."³ We find much official documentation stressing the Allies' resolve to punish war criminals *when the war was won*, to bring the "Nazi leadership" to justice *in the future*—but very little discussion, or even mention, occurred concerning the frantic plight of the Jews actually being exterminated.

Against this multifaceted background, relations between the Poles and the Jews appear in a clearer and more correct light. I have expressed myself on this subject many times. My intention has always been to present the truth, to stand above personal sorrow, to examine the question thoroughly from all aspects. And I have persistently maintained the opinion that it is not enough to ask why so many could be neutral in the face of the unprecedented tragedy of the Jews in Poland, even aside

from the criminal elements which actively persecuted the Jews; we must also ask how so many found the courage to extend assistance to them, despite the indescribable subhuman atmosphere that hovered in the air like poison gas.

Yet the fact remains that such noble deeds represented the rare exception rather than the rule; that while thousands may have aided their Jewish neighbors, millions stood aloof. Going through the vast sources for the subject, written by both Gentiles and Jews, one becomes conscious that the physical ghetto walls were mirrored in the spirits of the majority by an estrangement between those on either side of the wall. In so many instances, the Gentiles in Warsaw, for example, seemed to pay little attention to the fact that a few yards away from their daily courses, some half-million fellow citizens were starving; and the Jewish accounts most often refer to the Aryans (what a terrible expression) as though they were a remote and unrelated people living hundreds of miles away. The sense of community solidarity was stronger and more vital in the early days of the occupation. As time wore on, it slowly diminished. And as fear of the death penalty for aiding a Jew drove the separating wedge deeper, it became easier, far easier, for the latent inhumanity which exists in all men to emerge in some.

The issue of Polish-Jewish relations during World War II has become clouded and entangled in recent months owing to the extraordinary developments which have been taking place in Poland. In essence, what seems to be happening is that the Communist totalitarians are clothing themselves in the toga of patriotism, and an ultra-chauvinist brand of patriotism at that, despite their avowed opposition to any such posture.

Polish officialdom, followed by the press, has appointed itself censor of every written work or speech in the free world regarding the Holocaust in Poland. Whatever the genre of the material, however trustworthy and authoritative, it is roundly scored and rejected if it dares to mention a single, isolated example of a lack of sympathy on the part of a Pole toward a Jew during World War II. This frenzied flag-waving might be, if not easier to accept, at least easier to understand if the leaders of Gomulka's and Moczar's party had ever displayed an equal interest in the fate of three and a half million Jews.

While any impartial observer must view these reactions as preposterous, he must likewise reject the extremism and over-generalization of other writings which paint wartime Poland's treatment of the Jews with a pitch-black brush. Parenthetically, when one is tempted to criticize such works, the troubling thought comes to mind that the expression of an unfavorable opinion may tend to flatter and give support to the Communo-chauvinists.

The controversy over Polish-Jewish cooperation, or the lack of it, is still based on painful emotions and bitter memories. It can never be resolved in the climate being generated by Poland's propaganda machinery today. We are restricted, at least temporarily, to a sober attempt to contribute only some elements and analysis of the past.

Nevertheless, I cannot neglect to mention an important and constructive book by Wladyslaw Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewinówna, published recently in Poland under the roughly translated title *He Is from My Country*.⁴ It is a fascinating document, consisting of a large study accompanied by 185 personal accounts, from Jews and non-Jews in all walks of life, that testifies to the aid extended to Jews by Poles individually and through the Council for Assistance to the Jews. The book is a record which helps us retain faith in the humanness of human beings, and which demonstrates that every generalization is wrong.

Still, a reflection follows on the first im-

Footnotes at end of article.

pression. Yes, indeed, 185 accounts, a description of one organization to aid the Jews outside the ghetto; this is one side of the scale. But on the other are three and a half million who perished.

Then also, as an extenuation of the bleak balance, we know what the Nazi attitude was toward the Poles. They were the earliest and among the most viciously suppressed peoples. The German Governor General of Poland, Hans Frank, declared: "This land will forever be an annex of the German empire."⁵ And the German Minister of Justice asserted, "This is our experimental ground for the rule of the world."⁶

But Bartoszewski cautiously states himself: "One cannot, however, deny or remain silent about the harm committed against the Jews during the years of occupation by Poles who found themselves on the margins of their own community, and who collaborated with the occupier against both the Jews and those Christians who were helping them."⁷

This pro-and-con disputation could probably be continued endlessly, without any satisfactory conclusion. I wonder, however, whether perhaps a resolution might not be approached through the old Talmudic saying, "He who saves one life saves the world." These words are engraved on the medal which Yad Washem in Israel presents to the individuals who saved Jewish lives, individuals who, in mankind's darkest hour, rose to new heights of humanity.

On the square in Warsaw's former Jewish quarter stands a monument, devoted to the memory of the ghetto uprising and its heroes. Since this monument was unveiled, Polish-Jewish relations have traveled full circle. Only with great reluctance and sadness do I interfere with the solemn reflections on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the gallant Jewish revolt to present related issues of today. But I know that these matters must be confronted, despite my hesitancy, because it is imperative to evaluate the latest developments in Poland, so widely discussed in the mass media.

It is indeed a difficult and confusing situation to examine. I must admit that the game being played by Poland's Communist Party constitutes a devilishly clever maneuver. The moves are shrewdly calculated in terms of short-range plans, but in the long run they will severely damage the image of the nation these men are attempting to represent.

In sum, we are witnessing a simple revival of tried and practiced Stalinists methods. The tired old epithets of "Zionists," "cosmopolites," "revisionists," "ringleaders of unrest" are circulating once more. One can almost expect revelations about a plot of Jewish doctors against somebody's life. Actually, this might not be a bad turn of events; if it followed its precedent, it would at least signal the beginning of a new era.

What we are dealing with here is not so much the Polish regime's support of the Arab states in the conflict with Israel, as might first seem, although this issue itself has been challenged by one Polish writer with the pertinent question: "If we have to have a dual allegiance, why should one of them be Egypt?" The issue lies rather in how this support has been rationalized to the people.

Israel, goes the argument, is working closely with a fascist Germany and an imperialist United States; it is therefore a Nazi state in the Near East, and Moshe Dayan is a new Hitler who is using Nazi methods of warfare, Nazi methods of exterminating the enemy. Furthermore, Zionism is a crystal-clear ideology of racism. As Hitlerism claimed that the Germans were supermen, so Zionism allegedly claims the Jews are. The accusation is even being raised that Jewish youth is changing the words of the Polish national anthem. You remember the verse:

"We will cross the Vistula, cross the Varta;
We will remain Poles.
We have learned from Bonaparte
How we should be victorious."

The version allegedly created by Jewish young people is:

"We will cross Sinai, cross Gaza;
We will remain Jews.
We have learned from Moshe Dayan
How we should be victorious."

It would be malignant enough if the anti-Jewish fulminations stopped at detractions against modern-day Jews. But that, apparently, is not sufficient. With a weary sense of familiarity, we see the detractors also twist history to fit their current objectives.

In the Communist interpretation, then, it is clear why the Israelis, who are also Jews, behave like Hitlerites: it is because they have a tradition of collaboration with the Nazis. As mentioned, when there is so much as a hint that Poles ignored or even abetted the Jewish tragedy, the reaction is that there might have been a few very rare and very unusual cases. But when it is a matter of the Jews, the Polish spokesmen and press offhandedly accuse all the Judenrats, or Jewish Councils, along with the whole of the Jewish police, of active cooperation with the enemy. Moreover, according to this rewriting of history, all Jews in Poland except for a handful, numbering perhaps one thousand in the Warsaw Ghetto, weakly submitted to the sentence of annihilation.

Under no circumstances can we permit this manipulation of history, which would transform the victims of persecution into criminals or cowards arraigned in a kangaroo court. We cannot stand mute while they are summoned from beyond the grave to defend themselves against the arrogant charges that, in the face of mortal danger, they allegedly did not behave according to the bogus moral standards of those who know the Holocaust only from hearsay or groundless inventions.

The moral responsibility for the Jewish catastrophe rests, not with the victims, but with the victimizers and their accessories. Let every nation and every individual search his own heart to see whether he is blameless. Those who today shout their indignation are not necessarily themselves unimplicated. Shakespeare had a telling word to say about excessive protests of innocence.

There is no way of countering the calumnies raised against the Jews under the occupation except to painfully reiterate the truth. It is a matter of incontrovertible record that the very concept of a Judenrat originated with the Germans; that the Jewish communities had no choice but to follow this dictate of the Nazis; and that the Councils, hoping against hope, attempted every means at their disposal to save Jewish lives, whether through delaying tactics, strategic maneuvering, or even bribery. In many cases, one of these methods did indeed ensure the temporary survival of members of the community. But ultimately, as the Nazis' own documents reveal, Judenrat representatives perished with their communities. One wonders why, if the Councils and the Jewish police collaborated with the enemy as is now being asserted, they too went to their deaths at the hand of the Nazis, to whom they supposedly gave useful service.

Concerning the allegation that the Jews as a whole mounted no defense of their very lives, the answer is that there was massive Jewish resistance, but in a form and according to a tradition which until quite recently was little known and even less appreciated in the West. Their defense was nonviolent. We know full well, of course, that Jews did take up arms against the oppressors all during the war and all over Europe. Jewish partisans fought with the underground in every country under the Nazi heel; there were ghetto uprisings not only in Warsaw—where, incidentally, the number of fighters was forty thousand, not one thousand—but

also in Wilno, Bialystok, and elsewhere; and there were revolts in concentration camps like Sobibor, Treblinka, and Auschwitz. However, the traditional resistance among Jews through history has been unarmed and nonmilitary, a moral opposition stemming from the religious belief that injustice will be overcome "not by force but by the strength of the spirit."

To Westerners, this concept is almost totally foreign. Most nations and peoples equate strength with material strength, power with military power, and hence courage with physical might. To them, there is no victory without external conquest, wrought by human hands; this is the meaning behind the saying, "God is with the big battalions"—an epithet that can be found in some form in probably all European languages.

There is a wartime anecdote which illustrates these different orientations. It pictures Winston Churchill consulting a miracle-working Hasidic rabbi about how to defeat the Nazis. "There are two possible ways," the rabbi tells him, "a natural way and a supernatural. The natural way is that a million angels, armed with flaming swords, can fall upon Germany and destroy it. The supernatural way would be for a million British soldiers to descend on Germany and destroy it."

Yet another spiritual force grew among the Jews caught in the machinery of slaughter: a will simply to survive, the same instinct that impels all humans but developed to an exceptional degree of intensity. Again and again in the literature of the Holocaust, we find the assertion that hope dies last—in the face of merciless tortures, in the face of imminent death.

A Polish Gentile internee, looking through the window of a hospital at Auschwitz, summoned a Jewish doctor to come and see what he felt was a strange sight: a Jew being escorted to join that day's selection of human victims for the crematorium was carrying a cardboard box containing personal belongings—a pair of leather boots, a pencil, some fruit. The Pole exclaimed, "He knows perfectly well—an old timer like him—that within an hour or two he will go to the gas chamber, naked, without his shirt, and without his package. What an extraordinary attachment to the last bit of property!" But the Jewish doctor replied, "You think so, yes? . . . I don't know. I don't know what I would do if I were going to the gas chamber. I might also want to take along my package. . . . I think that even if I was being led to the oven, I would still believe that something would surely happen along the way. Holding a package would be a little like holding somebody's hand, you see."⁸

These are but a few facets of the highly complex subject of Polish-Jewish relations which is today being so abused and misrepresented in the Polish press. It is a blessing that much careful investigation and evaluation had been made public previously, for the current polemics corrupt the record supplied heretofore in scholarly journals and books. Indeed, as a deplorable sidenote to the events, well-known students of the subject in Poland—I will not mention their names in order not to render their situation more difficult—have been forced to restate authenticated facts and to reshape their own past analyses to conform with the policy now being dictated. Further exploration and analysis are being taken away from those qualified to pursue such research and are being given over to the authority of purely political organizations.

This morning the press brought additional information about the current anti-Semitic campaign. An unscrupulous attack was this time directed against the Yiddish Theater and Henryk Grynberg, former member of the Jewish troupe who recently defected to the United States. Grynberg is particularly attacked for a book he wrote some years

ago which, according to yesterday's Polish press, threw "dirt on Poland and the nation." Before publication in book form, the work had appeared in installments in a literary quarterly. All of this was, unquestionably, done with the permission of the state censor. At the time, the book was highly praised and hailed in the press and compared with the great epics of modern times. Obviously, the censors had approved the reviews also. Today, all of Grynberg's colleagues are assailed for not attacking his writings. Can you find a better illustration of twisting the facts in order to make them suitable for the current irresponsible anti-Semitic assaults.

The obvious purpose of these manipulations is to arouse the mass of the population against the remnants of the once-large Jewish community, within as well as outside of Poland. To cover this motive, the finger is again being pointed at the Jews, in the best czarist fashion. The Jews are guilty of all crimes, and must be punished. And they are being punished, by expulsion from their professional positions, by attacks from official sources, by scapegoating in the press. I am the last one to shed tears over the fate of Communist office-holders, even if they are Jewish. But I, together with many others, must raise my voice when they are made the butt of a brutal and unvarnished anti-Semitic campaign.

The anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising provides a direct contradiction to the slander being thrown at the fighters and the Jewish community at large. The revolt will remain for all time an unparalleled act of heroism by a small group of men and women who gave their lives in the highest

cause—integrity and honor, not only for themselves but for the whole Jewish people.

Tomorrow, we understand, the Polish regime will also observe the anniversary of the uprising, probably in ceremonies before the monument in Warsaw. Whose memory will they be honoring, we wonder? And what will they commemorate? The memory of collaborators and passive, sheep-like victims of the Nazis? Acts of criminality and of cowardice? How do they have the gall to hold such an observance in the midst of attacks on Israel, on so-called Zionists—for which we must always read "Jews," of course—whom they simultaneously brand as disloyal citizens of Poland, the country of their birth, as organizers of mass demonstrations against the Communist regime? It will be a farce, but a tragic farce.

This is not the first time in our universal history that the Jewish people have had to live through a period as scapegoats of political machinations. But we know, as the ghetto fighters knew, that we will emerge from tribulation heart-strong and honor-bright. These recurrent conditions of our lives are beautifully expressed in a poem by Pauline Braun, from an anthology of poetry written about the Jews under the Nazis:

"Tell me, Mother, what the word 'Jew' means.
Tell me, Mother, why people scoff at him.
Tell me, are the Jews really people who are
not good?
Tell me, haven't they ever done things that
are constructive?
Tell me, dear Mother, should I be ashamed
That I am a small Jewish boy?"

"A Jew, dear child, means suffering;
A Jew, dear child, means a difficult fate;
A Jew, dear child, means harassment.
A Jew has to endure every blow;
A Jew has faith in the future, in better days;
A Jew never in life loses his good spirit;
He laughs though often the heart in him
trembles.
A Jew—wait, I know what to tell you. . . .
A Jew is probably the only human being
Who knows truly bitter tears."¹

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Document NO-2514, Nuremberg trials, and prosecution exhibit 274, Eichmann trial; quoted in Gideon Hausner, *Justice in Jerusalem*, New York, Harper & Row, 1966, p. 222.
- ² Document 1061-PS, Nuremberg trials, and prosecution exhibit 274, Eichmann trial; quoted in *ibid.*, p. 224.
- ³ Emanuel Celler, in *Free World*, July, 1943; quoted in Hausner, *op. cit.*, p. 238.
- ⁴ Wladyslaw Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewinówna, ——— (He Is from My Country), Krakow, Znaki, 1966.
- ⁵ *Diaries of Hans Frank* (in German and Polish), Warsaw, 1957; quoted in Hausner, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
- ⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 178.
- ⁷ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
- ⁸ Tadeusz Borowski, *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Other Stories*, ed. and tr. from the Polish by Barbara Vedder, New York, Viking Press, 1967, p. 130.
- ⁹ Pauline Braun, "A Jew," in Michal M. Borwicz, ed., *Piesn Ujdzie Calo* (The Song Will Remain Intact), Wawsaw, Central Jewish Historical Commission, 1947, p. 229.

SENATE—Tuesday, May 28, 1968

(Legislative day of Monday, May 27, 1968)

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

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

Gracious God, our Father, whose still, small voice invites us to turn aside from the feverish ways of the world, and whose tender love bids us find our strength in Thee: We are conscious as we bow at this altar of Thy grace that if we live a life of prayer Thou art present everywhere.

Amid the duties of these demanding days, by the spiritual resources that are found in Thee alone, may our spirits be refreshed and our souls restored.

With minds burdened for the Nation and for the world, we turn to Thee in this baffling hour knowing that what supremely counts has nothing to do with the appraisals of men or with honors for which men contend, but has to do with what causes use us. Deliver us from political policies which are symptoms of spiritual disease. O make our hearts Thy dwelling place, and worthier Thee.

We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, May 27, 1968, be approved.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 3497) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. TOWER obtained the floor.
Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I might yield to the distinguished Senator from Montana, without losing my right to the floor, and with the time not being charged to either side.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Business and Commerce of the Committee on the District of Columbia, the Committee on Commerce, the Subcommittee on Oil and Water Pollution of the Committee on Public Works, and the

Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Operations of the Committee on Government Operations be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider a nomination on the Executive Calendar.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION

The bill clerk read the nomination of Roy T. Sessums, of Louisiana, to be a member of the Mississippi River Commission.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of the nomination.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.