A. Robert Oliver, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. L. T. Barringer & Co., 161 South Front Street, Memphis, Tenn.

A. Pacific Lighting Corp., 600 California Street, San Francisco, Calif.

A. Pennzoil Co., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.

A. Pennzoil United, Inc., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.

A. Fred B. Perry, 950 Stoddard Building, Lansing, Mich.

B. Consumers Power Co., 212 West Michigan Avenue, Jackson, Mich.

A. Publicom, Inc., 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Midwest Federal Savings & Loan Association, Minneapolis, Minn.

A. Recreational Vehicle Institute Inc., 62–A Keeler Building, Grand Rapids, Mich.

A. David W. Richmond and Barron K. Grier, partners in the law firm of Miller & Chevalier, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Pacific Lighting Corp., 600 California Street, San Francisco, Calif.

A. Carl Roberts, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Retired Teachers Association-American Association of Retired Persons, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

A. J. T. Rutherford & Associates, Inc., 1555 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Central Arizona Project Association, 111 West Monroe Street, Phoenix, Ariz.

A. Hilliard Schulberg, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Washington, D.C., Retail Liquor Dealers Association, Inc., 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. A. Z. Shows, 1612 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

Kenard D. Brown, 1227 South Willow Street, Casper, Wyo.

A. Sidley & Austin, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Electronic Industries Association, 2001 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. W. Byron Sorrell, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Recreational Vehicle Institute Inc., 62–A Keeler Building, Grand Rapids, Mich.

A. Roy H. Stanton, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Home Builders of the United States, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Eugene L. Stewart, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Trade Relations Council of the United States, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. William M. Stover, 1825 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Manufacturing Chemists' Association, Inc., 1825 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John R. Sweeney, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Bethlehem Steel Corp., 701 East Third Street, Bethlehem, Pa.

A. Trade Relations Council of the United States, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Joel B. True, 918 16th St. NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Manufacturers.

A. John A. Vance, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Pacific Gas & Electric Co., 245 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.

A. John Robert Vastine, Jr., 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Emergency Committee for American Trade, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Wald, Harkrader & Rockefeller, 1225 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Insurance Co. of North America, 1600 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. Reno F. Walker, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.

A. Washington Consulting Service, 1435 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Occupational Therapy Association, 251 Park Avenue South, New York.

A. Donald Dent Webster, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Committee of European Shipowners, 30–32 St. Mary Axe, London, England.

A. Robert L. Weneck, 9121 West 73d Street, Shawnee Mission, Kans.

B. Weneck International Marketers, Inc., 2 East Gregory, Kansas City, Mo.

A. John L. Wheeler, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Sears, Roebuck & Co., 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. J. Joseph Whelan, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Trade Relations Council of the United States, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. William E. Wickert, Jr., 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Bethlehem Steel Corp., 701 East Third Street, Bethlehem, Pa.

A. Leonard M. Wickliffe, 11th & L Building, Sacramento, Calif.

B. California Railroad Association, 11th & L Building, Sacramento, Calif.

A. Billy Glen Wiley, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Standard Oil Co. (Indiana), 910 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Iron & Steel Institute, 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. W. E. Wilson, 623 Ockley Drive, Shreveport, La.

B. Pennzoil Co., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.

A. W. E. Wilson, 623 Ockley Drive, Shreveport, La.

B. Pennzoil United, Inc., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.

A. R. J. Winchester, 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.

B. Pennzoil United, Inc., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.

A. Edward E. Wright, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. United States-Japan Trade Council, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John H. Yingling, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. First National City Bank, 399 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Lyndol L. Young, 612 South Flower Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

B. Mrs. Joan Orville Smith, Middlebury, Vt.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

PRIDE IN AMERICA COMMITTEE

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I want to call attention to the new Pride in America Committee which has just been organized and is headed by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, former President of the United States, as honorary national chairman. Mr. Fred L. Dixon is serving as national chairman. The mailing address of the headquarters is Post Office Box 1600, Washington, D.C.

The following news release ably describes the purpose of Pride in America, and I commend the formation of this committee because we should all have pride in America and display our flag proudly.

The formation of a nationwide "Pride in America" Committee to promote display of the flag and pride in country was announced today. Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower will serve as honorary national chairman of the committee.

The announcement of the establishment of the committee was made by Fred L. Dixon, a Washington, D.C., investment broker, who is serving as national chairman of the group. Dixon said a top-level board of directors made up of some of this Nation's most prominent citizens will be announced shortly.

"The Pride in America Committee was established," Dixon said, "to counterbalance the wave of lawlessness, violence, flag-burnings and similar activities which have been sweeping the country and to provide a rallying point for citizens who still have faith and pride in this Nation and its flag."

The first phase of the committee's plan to restore respect for the flag will come on June 14, which is Flag Day. On that day, and on subsequent national holidays, Americans across the country will be asked to clip small (4 by 6 inch) flags on their car radio antennas, to wear metal lapel flags on their suits or dresses, and display flags on their homes and places of business.

"What we're trying to revive with this committee," Dixon said, "is a spirit which has been too long dormant—namely, pride in country and respect for and display of the American flag. We are pleased that former President Eisenhower has enthusiastically agreed to serve as honorary chairman of this committee and we expect to announce shortly the membership of a board of directors composed of some of this Nation's leading citizens from all walks of life."

Dixon said the committee is a non-profit venture designed solely to promote pride in flag and country. He said there will be no dues or membership assessments. "We are promoting only pride in America," said Dixon, "and we invite all Americans to join us."

He said the committee plans no demonstrations, marches, parades or other group activity—only the individual participation of citizens displaying flags on their car antennas, on their clothing or their homes and places of business on occasions such as Flag Day, the Fourth of July and other holidays.

A CLOSE LOOK AT THE CIA

HON. CARL HAYDEN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an article entitled "A Close Look at the CIA", written by Mrs. Jeanette H. Sofokidis, and printed in the May issue of American Education, which is published by the U.S. Department of Education.

Mrs. Sofokidis is a former CIA employee and is now an assistant editor in the Office of Education. I found the article of even greater interest when it was called to my attention that the author had studied at Arizona State University and taught high school in my native city of Tempe.

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

A CLOSE LOOK AT THE CIA

In two and a half years of working with these men I have yet to meet a '007,' " said President Johnson in June 1966, referring to the personnel of the Central Intelligence Agency. "In a real sense they are America's professional students; they are unsung just as they are invaluable."

Appreciation from the White House. But sometimes a cooler reception from the college campuses which furnish much of the manpower the CIA needs. At Stanford University last November, for example, 10 students drew disciplinary action for their activities in trying to block Agency recruiters. At Northern Illinois University, 20 students marched for a short time in bitter February weather in a protest demonstration. A few other colleges have experienced similar disruptive efforts this year, sometimes tied in with general antiwar or "student power" manifestations.

The problem seems to be basically one of communication. CIA doesn't exactly advertise. "The CIA doesn't need defending," said Charles J. Minich, the recruiter who encountered problems at Northern Illinois. He pointed out that the CIA is not a secret organization and that libraries have many books about the Agency, citing as an example *The Real CIA* by Lyman Kirkpatrick, a professor of political science at Brown University who formerly held a high post at CIA. Still, many people think about the Central Intelligence Agency in terms of glamorous fiction characters, exotic foreign assignments, clandestine meetings, and secrets passed in the dark.

As support to national policy, prelude to decision, or guide to action, our Nation's top officials must know what other nations are doing. They need to know the accuracy and reliability of the ICBM's of the USSR and Red China. They must be aware of Soviet advances in radar, and they must know just how much the Soviets know about our own progress or there can be no rational planning of America's prodigiously costly defense effort.

CIA has the responsibility of reporting to the President, the Secretaries of State and Defense, and other senior national security advisors on events abroad. Its staff reads nearly everything that comes into official Washington and covers the American and foreign press. They distill information into brief, accurate reports, arrange it in context, and present it in concise nonbureaucratic English. Each top policy officer exercises a priority call on CIA's services, and each is entitled to have his particular interest satisfied in the terms most convenient to him.

Responsibility such as this places on CIA a burden for a high degree of quality as well as variety in its manpower. So CIA from its beginnings a quarter of a century ago developed close ties with the field of higher education. Colonel William J. Donovan, in designing the Office of Strategic Services as a national intelligence unit, turned first to the academic community for an organizational nucleus. He brought into the OSS such distinguished educators as Professors William Langer and Edward S. Mason of Harvard and Presidents James Phinney Baxter of Williams College and Walter McConaughy of Wesleyan University. Others from the field of education who served the Agency in its early days were Barnaby Keeney, now chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities; Presidential advisors Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Walt W. Rostow; and John W. Gardner, until recently Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and now chairman of the Urban Coalition.

Ford Foundation's McGeorge Bundy in his 1964 book, *The Dimensions of Diplomacy*, described the relationship between colleges and the CIA in these words: "It is a curious fact of academic history that the first great center of area studies in the United States was not located in any university, but in Washington, during the Second World War, in the Office of Strategic Services. In very large measure the area-study programs developed in American universities in the years after the war were manned, directed, or stimulated by graduates of the OSS.

"It is still true today, and I hope it always will be," Bundy continued, "that there is a high measure of interpenetration between universities with area programs and the information-gathering agencies of the Government of the United States."

Currently, about 18 percent of CIA's professional employees have had experience in education, and, according to a *New York Times* report, the Agency would be able to staff any college from among its corps of analysts, half of whom have advanced degrees, 30 percent the doctorate. CIA's debt to education is further shown in the fact that a majority of all the Agency's employees have earned baccalaureate degrees, 16 percent hold master's degrees, and five percent have attained Ph.D.'s. These academic degrees were awarded by nearly 700 colleges and universities in the United States and by 60 universities abroad. They comprise 281 major fields of specialization, the six most representative disciplines being history, political science, business administration, economics, English, and international relations.

Considering the years required for undergraduate and graduate study, the foreign experience amassed, and an average of 10 to 15 years of professional intelligence work on the part of its employees, CIA represents an unmatched reservoir of knowledge, competence, and skills at the service of the Nation's policymakers. Little wonder that it believes its missions are being accomplished not by flashy triumphs of espionage (it regards the occasional Colonel Penkovsky as a windfall), but by an enormous amount of painstaking work.

A prime need of the Central Intelligence Agency, its recruiters say, is young men and women with liberal arts training and a strong sense of history. They should be keenly aware of the forces of economics and politics and in substantial command of at least one foreign language. They must be intelligent and resourceful, personable and persuasive. They must be willing to work anonymously, and they must be willing to serve in far places as needs arise.

Research staffs of CIA require and work in an intellectual environment conducive to scholarly inquiry and contemplation. They are supported by a collection of source materials and library facilities that include 116,000 volumes; they have access to external consultants and a foreign documents division that supplies translations and editorial assistance.

CIA's responsibility for research, analysis, and reporting on, for example, a particular phase of economics may involve the measurement of the entire economic performance of a country, or it may demand a detailed study of a narrower segment of the subject—major industries, transportation, communications, agriculture, international trade, finances—over a much larger geographical area. These assignments require graduate skills in economics, economic history, economic geography, area studies, and international trade.

Other components of the Agency call for other skills. One office, for instance, requires sensitivity to developing trends and the ability to synthesize from political, economic, and military intelligence, support for judgments regarding the intentions and capabilities of foreign governments. Many specialities of scientists, engineers, and technicians are employed in the study of space technology and missile systems. The art and science of photogrammetry are called upon in the critical interpretation and analysis of aerial photographs, and, here, CIA makes use of geologists, geodesists, geographers, foresters, architectural engineers, civil engineers, and people talented in the graphic and illustrative arts. The electronic engineer may work on one of the communications media so vital to the continuity of the intelligence process. Physical and biological scientists may be members of the research staffs responsible for surveying foreign scientific literature.

Singularly active in the use of computers for management applications, scientific and engineering calculations, and information retrieval, CIA offers mathematicians, systems analysts, computer programers, and electronic engineers career opportunities in its unique and progressive data processing complex. With CIA initiative, a high-speed facsimile transmitter has been developed with which an untrained operator can encipher and transmit a document at more than six pages per minute. At that rate the entire Encyclopaedia Britannica could be transmitted in about 60 hours.

For its administrative support arm to keep all of its human and mechanical elements functioning efficiently and effectively, the Agency seeks out law graduates, business and public administration majors, medical officers and medical technicians, personnel management specialists, communications engineers, and technicians trained in wireless transmission, reception, and maintenance.

CIA celebrated its 20th birthday in 1967, so it can no longer be considered a newcomer to the national scene. Nearly half of its employees have now served more than 15 years, and about 75 percent of its professionals are over 35 years of age. This unusual depth of experience, however, might sink into institutional formalism were it not for a farsighted, orderly, career development process.

As a deterrent to professional obsolescence, each year several thousand CIA employees attend some type of non-Agency program in management, science and certain technical fields, language and area studies, and in liberal arts. In any one month employees spend thousands of man-days participating in training, on a full- or part-time basis, at a university, senior service school, commercial firm, military facility or another Government agency. In addition, two universities in the Washington area have established off-campus centers at the CIA headquarters building, where Agency students may enroll in courses for credit in their off-duty hours.

While national security interests impose some limitations on CIA employees, many write for publication, attend professional meetings, and take periodic leaves of absence to teach and renew their contacts with the academic world. Many take up or return to an academic career upon leaving the Agency.

In addition to its external education program, CIA operates a number of programs of internal instruction. Basic methods of acquiring information are taught selected field personnel early in their careers. They are also trained in such specialized skills as paramilitary techniques and their application in counterinsurgency situations such as Laos and Vietnam. But since these "tradecraft" subjects concern comparatively few CIA officers, perhaps the most comprehensive example of inhouse training is Agency instruction in foreign languages.

Overall, CIA employees are able to speak and read more than 100 separate languages and dialects, while nearly half of all Agency personnel possess foreign language skills in some degree. Thirty-eight percent of CIA's professional employees speak one foreign language, 18 percent have demonstrated capability in two languages, 14 percent in at least three, and about five percent have facility in six or more languages. One CIA officer, who must be unique in our Government, if not the world, possesses abilities in 51 foreign languages, many of which were acquired under CIA auspices.

Training in foreign languages is accomplished in a varied program that ranges from 12-month, intensive, comprehensive courses to part-time familiarization programs of only a few hours. It is also undertaken through tutorial training and programed assisted instruction. CIA's emphasis on spoken language skills originates from a major requirement for Agency employees who serve abroad—ability in oral communication. For these employees, the ability to read or write a language is secondary. On the other hand, intelligence production specialists more often need to read and evaluate foreign documents, frequently in a recondite field.

Language school instructors use techniques similar to those used in traditional academic courses, but the subject matter and the technical level of foreign language materials are quite different from those of most universities. The language school has therefore developed additional techniques, tailored to the Agency's interests. These include instructional tape recordings in 60 different languages, a large and modern language laboratory, and a library of 4,000 language and area books.

The language faculty is made up of staff employees, scientific linguists, and contract employees, many of whom are employed on a full-time basis. With this staff, CIA's language school can provide full-time instruction in 20 languages and less intensive instruction in 35 others. About 40 percent of the students are under full-time instruction.

Taken in all its aspects, CIA's language instruction program is believed to have few, if any, rivals in the Free World.

And it is the Free World that CIA, in concert with other departments of our Government, is working to keep free. Twentieth century technology—and ideology—have forced the American intelligence system to grow in size and importance; yet the end products of this system remain information and judgment. Thus, the ultimate success of American intelligence and, in turn, American foreign policy, depends to a large extent upon the educational excellence of its responsible officers. CIA's officials freely admit this. The stress, though, that the responsibility is a two-way street and that the lives and freedom of us all could depend on the degree to which the American academic community can continue to fill this demanding requirement.

GOVERNMENT PRINTERS HIT CRIME

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, crime in our Nation's Capital continues to soar unmolested.

Now the Typographical Union threatens to walk out because of lack of security and protection for their members—who fight poverty and pay taxes.

These working people do not blame the poor police—they know the cure has to be unleashed from the top down. Those in high places must take action against crime. Crime will not disappear by pretending it does not exist. Soon the U.S. Supreme Court may be shut down because of the fear of its staff and employees exposed to violence and denied protection because of wishy-washy decisions of the members of the Court.

In the meantime if the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD stops, you will know crime continues.

I include the report from the May 23 Evening Star:

GPO WORKERS HIT CRIME RATE, WEIGH WALKOUT

(By William Grigg)

Government Printing Office employes are talking about a wildcat strike to protest what they feel is a lack of police protection in GPO's section of the city, a Columbia Typographical Union official says.

Some of the night employes are already carrying guns for protection, while other employes are quitting, he said.

He said three men have been victims of armed holdups in the last few nights and a woman coming to a daytime retirement celebration for her husband was attacked and thrown to the ground, suffering a broken shoulder.

TELEGRAMS SENT

The employes' concern has produced telegrams to the White House, Mayor Walter E. Washington and members of Congress, as reported in the Federal Spotlight column in The Star yesterday.

If these wires don't produce more protection, some printers are talking about following the example of D.C. Transit bus drivers who have balked at night work because of crime here, Charles F. Hines, president of the union said. The bus drivers won't work as long as they have to carry cash.

Hines has been meeting with congressmen, including Sen. Daniel B. Brewster, D-Md., to discuss the problems. He told Brewster yesterday afternoon that if something isn't done, the men say they are going to "let the Congressional Record go to hell."

PRINTS DAILY RECORD

The GPO, at North Capitol and H Streets, prints the daily record of speeches and actions in the House and Senate.

Hines said he personally cannot support such an illegal work stoppage.

Hines said he felt most of his union also would support moving the GPO to the suburbs.

Brewster told Hines that the union has a right to petition Congress for help and that it should continue to do so until something is done about crime. He said he would push for more police protection.

The senator said the problem also would be eased if the GPO provided employe parking.

A LESSON FOR US

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Cheraw News, of Cheraw, S.C., published a very interesting editorial in the May 8, 1968, issue entitled "A Lesson for Us."

In this publication the article emphasized the warning of one of the Founding Fathers of our Nation. It stated that internal weaknesses were possibly a greater threat to the perpetuation of this Nation than any foreign military power.

One such case of internal collapse is illustrated by the breakdown of the British Empire, and the fate of that Empire has been covered by the world's press. What at one time seemed impossible for Hitler and his forces to accomplish has now happened. Britain is no longer the world power that she was 22 years ago. The misfortunes of that nation can be traced back to the actions of her socialist leaders.

The phrase "A Lesson for Us" may very well be termed a second warning to the United States, because even the strongest nation can be destroyed from within.

Mr. President, I wish to commend Mr. W. C. Gaddy, editor of the Cheraw News, for his enlightening article, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks in the RECORD.

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

A LESSON FOR US

One of the Founding Fathers of our country warned a long time ago that internal weaknesses might present a greater threat to the perpetuation of our country than foreign military aggression. We have now had a first-rate example of how internal weakness can wreck a nation. Within a space of 22 years following World War II, the British Empire disintegrated. The obituaries of Britain's decline have been documented in the world's press. What Hitler and his mighty air armada were unable to accomplish—the extinction of Britain as a world power—is now a fact of history. From all accounts, the demise of Britain is traceable largely to socialist leaders. The energy-sapping philosophy of the welfare state which they advocated apparently played an important part in the rapid decline of British fortunes. U.S. citizens should take note that even the mightiest nation can be brought down by its own weaknesses—just as was predicted nearly two centuries ago.

CONGRESSMAN TENZER ON SST

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. TENZER] has written a letter to the New York Times which was published on May 25, 1968. It concerns the supersonic transport and the still major unsolved problem of the sonic boom.

I concur in the sentiments expressed in Congressman TENZER's letter, and I note that he mentions one point not often appreciated by those concerned with our balance of payments. Congressman TENZER states:

The threat of competition from foreign producers of supersonic transports can be readily resolved by regulations to prevent the landing and takeoff of such aircraft from our airfields until all the answers to sonic boom have been obtained.

I would add three small points to his statements:

First, several European nations have already stated that they will ban SST overflights unless the sonic boom problem is solved, so the proposal should be a feasible one even from the public relations point of view;

Second, studies exist which suggest that, contrary to popular expectation, the balance-of-payments result from extensive development of the SST may not be in our favor—Institute for Defense Analysis;

Third, it has recently become clear, as many have been suggesting and questioning for some time, that major technical problems in development of the SST are not yet solved, and any discussion of production timetables is premature and may be unrealistic.

I commend Congressman TENZER's letter to the editor of the New York Times to the attention of my colleagues, as follows:

TO SHELVE SST

TO THE EDITOR:

I commend The New York Times for the May 16 editorial "Banning Sonic Booms."

When the appropriation bill for the design and development of the supersonic transport reached the House floor last year, I cast my vote against the project. My reasons for opposing this expenditure include my concern that the Congress has failed to establish realistic priorities in domestic spending as well as my findings that we know relatively little about the problem of controlling sonic booms.

When those who supported the SST appropriation sought to sooth our fears by stating that the transport would be used only over water, I asked the question, "What would happen if a sonic boom struck a ship at sea?" No one was able to provide a satisfactory answer to that question.

The SST if developed will serve less than 1 per cent of the population of the United States. It seems unrealistic to approve an expenditure for such a project which may total $5 billion when Congress has reduced appropriations for programs in education, housing, health and the war on poverty. If the SST, the space program and public works projects are to receive a higher priority than the crisis in our cities, we are heading down a road of disaster.

The supersonic transport project should be shelved until further study on controlling sonic boom has been completed and until we have assigned priorities for domestic programs to meet human needs.

The threat of competition from foreign producers of supersonic transports can be readily resolved by regulations to prevent the landing and takeoff of such aircraft from our airfields until all the answers to sonic boom have been obtained.

HERBERT TENZER,
Member of Congress,
Fifth District, New York.

WASHINGTON, *May 17, 1968.*

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN GRAIN PRODUCTION

HON. WALTER F. MONDALE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, recently Mr. Eugene B. Hayden, executive vice president of the Crop Quality Council, provided the American Railway Development Association with a comprehensive overview of new developments in grain production. In my judgment, his remarks bear further study and reading, and therefore, I ask unanimous consent that his statement be printed in the RECORD.

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

SIGNIFICANT AGRICULTURAL CHANGES AHEAD

(Address by Eugene B. Hayden, executive vice president, Crop Quality Council, Minneapolis, Minn., before the American Railway Development Association, Montreal, Canada, April 30, 1968)

It is a genuine pleasure to meet with you and attempt to place in perspective some key developments in the crop production field, which are likely to have major impact on North American grain production in the next 10 years.

I feel it a particular privilege to meet with this railroad group, because of the key role your industry originally played in opening up for agricultural development the vast land areas of the Great Plains of the United States and of the Canadian Prairie Provinces—an area which has contributed importantly to supplying grains to the world, and which is a major resource available to meet world grain and food needs in the decades ahead.

INCREASED WORLD WHEAT PRODUCTION CAPABILITIES EMERGING

Last year there was great optimism that the time had come to unleash North America's grain production capacity in order to meet world wheat needs. However, present large world wheat supplies, including record levels of food grain production in India (nearly 100 million metric tons), have been reflected in lower prices, a softening of export demands, and a build-up of wheat supplies in the United States and Canada. Favorable weather conditions in India have contributed greatly to her expected record harvest, in sharp contrast to 2 previous years of serious drought which resulted in U.S. food aid shipments of 264 million bushels of wheat, plus other grains, in a single year.

Of greater importance for the future is the rapid progress being made in increasing the wheat production capacity of India and Pakistan. This year more than 40% of the Pakistan wheat crop is being produced on only 20% of the total area seeded to wheat. In this important area, the high yielding, fertilizer-responsive Mexican semidwarf wheats have been combined with fertilizer and better soil and water handling practices to produce dramatic increases in per acre yields. *The successful introduction of this new wheat production technology into Pakistan means that Pakistan will achieve near, if not full, self-sufficiency in wheat production during the current harvest which is now underway.* This new technology can, according to Dr. Norman Borlaug of the Rockefeller Foundation, be rapidly extended to much larger areas of Pakistan and make continued self-sufficiency a reality.

Great progress is also being made in India, where about 6,000,000 acres are now seeded to the high yielding Mexican wheat varieties, and is likely in other countries where campaigns to increase wheat production are underway. There has been a large-scale movement of these broadly adapted Mexican seed wheats into India, Pakistan, Turkey and Afghanistan, and semidwarf breeding materials are being evaluated throughout North America, North Africa, and in many other parts of the world. The implications of Pakistan and India moving toward self-sufficiency in wheat production are very great, as these two countries have accounted for nearly ⅓ of total grain imports by the developing countries in recent years.

Significant efforts are also underway to increase wheat production in some of the traditional wheat exporting countries as well. Increasing acreage in Australia, and efforts in Argentina to increase both total acreage and per acre yields, can have important effects on world wheat supplies in the decade ahead.

INCREASING COMPETITION FOR MARKETS

The pattern of success in introducing a new wheat production technology into Pakistan and India, with dramatically increased per acre yields, has the potential for markedly changing world wheat production and distribution patterns. Similar changes are also being achieved in some Asian countries through the use of new short straw fertilizer-responsive varieties of rice. These wheat and rice varieties show major promise in helping to keep world food supplies and rapidly increasing population growth in balance in the years immediately ahead.

These recent developments suggest the following to me:

1. Current world wheat production prospects, and the potential likely in the next several years, clearly indicate there will be increasing competition for access to commercial grain markets. The ability to supply wheats with desired milling and baking qualities will continue to be vital in marketing.

2. Continued efforts by the railroad industry to provide more efficient and economical transportation for grains will be of increasing importance, as North American wheat enters a decade of greater competition.

3. New research developments, such as attempts to develop higher yielding hybrid wheat varieties, have the potential for increasing wheat production efficiency in North America, thus helping to meet increasing world-wide competition.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTES TO AGRICULTURE

There has been growing investment and involvement of private industry in agricultural research and development.

The chemical and fertilizer industries are making an increasingly important contribution to agricultural productivity through the development and efficient merchandising of fertilizer and disease, insect, and weed control chemicals.

The commercial seed industry continues to play a vital role in the development of superior corn hybrids through research. The rise of hybrid grain sorghum to a major commercial crop was greatly speeded through research investments by the seed trade, and the recent development of forage hybrids (crosses between Sudangrass and sorghum), which hold substantial future promise, has come from seed industry research which now approximates $10,000,000 annually.

The farm implement industry invests between 200 and 300 million dollars in research and engineering costs each year to develop machinery, which permits more timely and efficient land preparation, seeding and harvesting operations.

Substantial investments in improved equipment by the railroad industry have speeded the distribution of agricultural products at reduced cost. A revolution in the development and use of equipment by railroads serving the Upper Midwest has already occurred. During 1966 four lines serving this grain producing area took delivery or placed orders for 2,600 high capacity covered hopper cars. Each car cost an average of $18,000 for a total investment of 47 million dollars. The unit train, an entire train transporting a single commodity, is now providing more rapid service at substantially reduced cost. Single cars formerly took up to 20 days for the round trip from the Head of the Lakes to easern destinations—until trains complete the round trip in about 7 days.

Canadian railroads can take pride in their record of moving more than 800,000,000 bushels of grain during a recent crop year, despite a shortage of diesel locomotives which forced leasing of some units from the United States, and during the most severe winter on record.

A NEW RESOURCE BEING COMMITTED TO WHEAT IMPROVEMENT—THE COMMERCIAL SEED INDUSTRY

Hybrid wheat has received a great deal of publicity during the past several years. Although production of hybrid wheat on any substantial commercial acreage is still about 4 to 5 years away, the genetic discovery which permitted scientists to begin efforts to develop hybrid wheat varieties has several important aspects. The development of economically useful hybrids would increase wheat yields at least 25–30% per acre. Farmers would need to purchase hybrid seed each spring, as is now true in the case of corn and sorghum. It could also mean greatly increased economic activity in the production, marketing and distribution of hybrid seed for a potential market of 80–100 million acres seeded to wheat in the United States and Canada.

The potential of a market of this size has been a great stimulus, causing a substantial number of seed companies to begin wheat research activities for the first time. Currently DeKalb, Funk Bros., Rudy-Patrick Seed Division of W. R. Grace & Company, Northup, King & Co., and others have hybrid wheat research programs underway, as do universities and agricultural experiment stations in the United States and Canada. Only recently Cargill, Inc., one of the world's major grain trading companies, has initiated a hybrid wheat research effort.

A substantial wheat research effort by the seed industry is new and desirable. The hybrid mechanism provides a means by which research investments by industry can be recovered through seed sales. The successful development of commercial hybrids, not yet achieved, will make continuing investments in wheat research attractive to industry.

The Crop Quality Council has had a long history of encouraging additional investment of state and federal funds in wheat research so we look upon the participation of private industry as a desirable addition to the effort. We have encouraged seed industry participation in wheat research by sponsoring the first Hybrid Wheat Seminar in 1964 to encourage communication and cooperation among industry, state and federal wheat scientists throughout North America. Our sponsorship last January of a working conference, "Wheat Development Opportunities in the Decade Ahead" is part of this continuing effort.

COUNCIL EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE CROP PRODUCTION

The Crop Quality Council looks at grain and wheat production from both a short and long-run viewpoint. Our extensive crop survey trips, from Texas northward to North Dakota and across the Canadian Prairie Provinces, generate current information on grain crop potentials. This timely information, supplemented by continuing contact with key grain research programs throughout North America, provides a long-range view of research or crop protection areas which require strengthening.

Many in this group will recall the devastating reductions in wheat production caused by stem rust attacks in the Upper Midwest and Canada during the early 1950's. Heavy losses in income were sustained by crop producers, grain loadings were reduced, and implement sales declined.

Out of the need to quickly develop new rust resistant wheat varieties evolved the Council-sponsored winter seed increase program in Mexico. This provides U.S. and Canadian scientists with an opportunity to reduce the 12–15 years required to develop a new spring wheat, durum, barley or oat variety. It extends the hands of the plant scientists by permitting a second crop of their breeding materials to be grown in Mexico each winter, thus speeding the release of new varieties. Within the last 10 days breeding lines from the Mexican harvest were returned to scientists at Upper Midwest and Canada experiment stations. This cooperative international program has played an important role in speeding development and release of an impressive number of new grain varieties.

Another important step in strengthening stem rust control efforts will be taken when construction of a new $650,000 research facility for the Cooperative Rust Laboratory gets underway later this year on the St. Paul Campus of the University of Minnesota. This national research group has responsibility for detecting and identifying dangerous new races of both wheat and oat stem rust, so that plant breeding programs can develop varieties with resistance to them.

The cereal leaf beetle, a destructive foreign insect pest, was first found in North America in 1962 in southern Michigan and northern Indiana. The Council has maintained close association with cereal leaf beetle control efforts because of the potential for heavy damage which this insect could cause to spring seeded wheat, oats and barley in major producing areas of the United States and Canada. Extensive efforts have been made by pest control officials to prevent the westward spread of this pest into principal small grain producing regions and to provide time for scientists to develop insect resistant varieties. Nearly 2 million acres were sprayed during 1966 and 1967 as part of this effort, and 420,000 acres will be treated in eastern Illinois this spring.

It is appropriate to mention that continuing efforts are being made by the Council to have plant quarantine activities strengthened to prevent the introduction of other destructive foreign pests. Opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1959 exposed major North American crop producing areas, and concentrated grain storage facilities, to the threat of dangerous foreign pests when more than 1,000 ships entered the Seaway from 43 foreign countries. The substantial expenditures required to prevent the introduction of a new pest are sound investments when viewed against resulting reductions in crop production and eventual control costs.

The job of maintaining North America's agricultural productive capacity is of vital importance to producers, industry and the general economy. It is for this reason that the Crop Quality Council works to strengthen crop research and pest control programs.

CAMPUS DISSENTERS: PRINCETON MEN LAUNCH PROBUSINESS MONTHLY

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the popular sport on college campuses is to attack, mock, and disrupt the great American institution known as business, it is indeed refreshing to learn that a group of "squares" at Princeton University has taken on the challenge of setting their student brethren straight on the fascinating world of business.

We all hear about the bearded, beaded, shoeless and posie-picking student hippies. Their "bag" is overthrowing campus administrations, halting troop trains, and boycotting companies that produce weapons for the Vietnam war efforts. These campus revolutionaries now are being confronted with what politicians might call a "backlash." For at Princeton, a new student publication has been born, entitled "Business Today." Its purpose is to wash away student hostilities and indifference toward American business. This new slick magazine and the daring young collegians who started it are described in a Wall Street Journal article, which I insert in the RECORD so all of our colleagues may benefit from it, as follows:

CAMPUS DISSENTERS: PRINCETON MEN LAUNCH PROBUSINESS MONTHLY—STUDENT GROUP SEEKS TO SELL SLICK MAGAZINE NATIONALLY—PRO-DOW AND ANTI-MCCARTHY

(By Frederick C. Klein)

PRINCETON, N.J.—What's that you say, Mr. Executive? The colleges are stuffed with alienated hippies who would rather shave than consider a business career? You're having a tough time with your recruiting?

Well, take heart. A group of four-square Princeton University underclassmen are going to bat for you. They've come out with a quarterly magazine called Business Today. Its declared purpose is to wash away student hostility and indifference toward business by presenting it as the "fascinating, many-angled world" they say it really is.

Business Today is no ordinary student publication. It aspires to a national circulation. Its first edition—50,000 copies of which were mailed last week to college students around the country and officers of the 2,000 largest U.S. corporations (the editors bought the company list from Dun & Bradstreet)—is slick-papered, 68 pages in length and typographically handsome. An editor is Malcolm S. Forbes Jr., 20-year-old son of the president of Forbes, a twice-monthly business magazine. The advertising manager is Edward Scudder III, 18, whose father is the president of the Newark News.

IN DEFENSE OF DOW

The appearance and demeanor of Business Today's editors seem guaranteed to reassure corporate advertisers and recruiters; none are bearded and all address their elders as "sir." Likewise soothing are the magazine's contents. The featured article: "Defense of Saran Wrap; The Real Side of Dow." In this article, Dow Chemical Co. President Herbert Doan tells in an interview about the "99.5%" of the concern that is not engaged in the manufacture of napalm, an activity that has brought Dow under widespread student attack.

The magazine is the idea of Jonathan Perel, an 18-year-old freshman from Richmond, Va. Young Mr. Perel, blond and pleasant, says he likes to have a nonacademic side project—while a pupil at Collegiate Prep in Richmond, he wrote a 234-page history of the school. He also says that a few weeks at Princeton convinced him that the good name of business was in some need of protection on the campus.

"Kids are down on business because the publications they see usually just present the unfavorable side," he asserts. "When business tries to defend itself, students tend to shrug it off as self-serving propaganda. We figured that students will listen to other students—that a student-run business magazine would get a better hearing."

Whether this will be the case isn't clear yet. The magazine to date has no paid subscribers—its first edition was mailed free to corporations and to university departments of commerce and economics for distribution to their students. Business Today's newsstand price of $2 (subscribers will get discounts) might be a bit steep for some, even though the editors point out that Harvard Business Review also sells for $2 a copy.

CHEERS FOR THE COPS

It's questionable, too, whether great numbers of students will cheer Business Today's editorial policies. One of the magazine's initial editorials applauds Columbia University President Grayson Kirk for his "firm" stand against student demonstrators ("We found it a refreshing sight to see the cops, their clubs a swingin', disrupt a band of willful ruffians disrupting an entire university."); another editorial expresses dismay at Sen. Eugene McCarthy's appeal to collegians. The Senator, according to Business Today, is a "sleeping pill" who substitutes "petulance" for wit.

Business Today, however, already shows promise of being a hit with advertisers. The first edition carried 21 full-page ads, including ones from IBM, U.S. Steel and Chrysler. Most were recruiting appeals, and a few were couched in terms students are supposed to respond to. Chrysler, for instance, advertised that engineering—not selling cars—is "our bag."

Despite their magazine's pro-business orientation, Business Today's editors say they aren't in it for the money. Indeed, the magazine is run on the nonprofit basis under Princeton's auspices. It's not that they are against profits, the editors hasten to assert; it's just that nonprofit status brings them low postal rates, and university affiliation means free office space, legal advice and computer time.

Aided by those savings, Business Today should "just about" break even on its first edition, says editor-in-chief Perel. Nonprofit status helped in another way, too, he adds: "It got us some top contributing writers for nothing."

Featured in the initial Business Today were reprinted political columns by James Reston, William F. Buckley Jr. and David Lawrence. Nine of the 10 major articles (the exception was the interview with Mr. Doan of Dow) were donated by contributors, among them Willis J. Winn, head of the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, Fritz Machlup, a Princeton economics professor, and Rawleigh Warner Jr., president of Mobile Oil Corp.

The editors, however, did contribute a few comments on the featured articles, and it's doubtful that the contributors took offense at them. Fletcher Jones, the president of a nine-year-old computer firm, wrote an article on the use of computers; he was introduced by Business Today as living proof that "making a million" as an entrepreneur" may not be so far-fetched."

William T. Kelly, president of Abex Corp., a New York maker of industrial equipment, wrote an article on corporate diversification and added separately a brief recollection of his own choice of a career. To wit: "When I was in college and trying to decide where I would like to spend the rest of my life, it never occurerd to me to consider any career other than business."

Commented Business Today's editors: "We found Mr. Kelly's thoughts on a business career frank and refreshing."

FRANK QUINN OF THE MONTANA STANDARD—BUTTE'S BIOGRAPHER

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, for 43 years Frank Quinn has written for the Montana Standard about Butte and its people. Montanans called him "Butte's biographer."

Recently, Mr. Quinn was given the Butte Rotary Club Service Above Self Award. I also wish to invite attention to the many years Mr. Quinn has faithfully served the people of Montana.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excellent article entitled "Day Care Fills Community Needs," written by Mr. Quinn.

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

[From the Montana Standard, Mar. 3, 1968]

DAY CARE FILLS COMMUNITY NEED

(By Frank Quinn)

Working mothers need a hand, particularly those from low income families or families on welfare.

Most important, however, is the need for proper care for such children, commonly known as day care. Primary function of day care is to give attention and supervision to children, particularly those of pre-school age.

There are two types of day care services available in Butte. The day care home offers individual attention to the very young, the infant, the toddler or the child under three. A family home receives from three to five children for care during the day, or part of the day.

The day care center offers group care to the young child of three to five and group activity for the older child after school hours or during vacation.

Under state law, a day care center must receive seven or more children for care five or more hours a day for five or more consecutive weeks. Day care homes are limited to five children.

It is not generally known, but there are 12 day care homes and one day care center, the Soroptimist Club Children's Home, in Butte. In all of these, the working mother can expect good care for her child, for all have been licensed under law passed in the 1965 State Legislature which set minimum standards for the care, health and safety of children. The State Welfare Department has the responsibility of licensing these facilities.

Social workers involved in the day care and day care center program in Butte are Mrs. Mary Ann Baumgardner of Helene, day care licensing assistant, and Mrs. Jacqueling Lane, Butte, child welfare district worker.

Mrs. Baumgardner, R.N., has the duty of studying day care homes and centers in the Butte-Helena area. She then recommends to the state child welfare director the licensing of those facilities meeting state standards.

Mrs. Lane is a day care consultant and coordinator in the Butte area and is in charge of communicating to the public the availability of such homes and their uses.

The legal requirements family day care homes must meet are relatively simple. They include that the day care mother have a special interest in and love of children; that the operator not care for more than six children under 12 years, two of these children may be two years or younger; that the home has public liability and fire insurance; that the home has a first aid kit; that the operator be free from communicable diseases and that the home will provide a balanced meal at noon, plus morning and afternoon snacks, and has play equipment.

Day care centers may include facilities known as child care centers, nursery schools, day nurseries and centers for the mentally retarded.

Mrs. Baumgardner said, "The need for day care homes and centers has tripled within the last six years, and the growth is attributed to the fact that more women have found it necessary to work or have found it desirable to enter training programs to make them eligible for trained employment."

Mrs. Lane commented: "Mothers not able to be at home during the day to care for their children should assure themselves of the best care for their children. It is best to select a licensed home or center. The license assures that the facility has been inspected and meets health and safety conditions and that there is no overcrowding. The license protects both the parent, the child and the operator."

Both Mrs. Baumgardner and Mrs. Lane advised parents to use a day care facility near their homes. That will save travel time, will be less tiring on the child and it is better for children to be in their own neighborhoods among people and locations they know, they say.

Although the facilities are important, the social workers stress they are not as important as the day care mothers and try to answer for themselves whether such mothers like children, are the type of persons who would be kind to children, have a sense of humor, are calm, firm but still gentle, neat and interested in making children happy.

Relative to facilities the workers advise checking play space in the home, outside play areas, and presence of toys and books.

They advise mothers to visit the day care facility a time or two before leaving children for extended periods.

The facilities in Butte are available to all regardless of income level, but are particularly beneficial to mothers who work full or parttime, are ill or otherwise incapacitated; and fathers who are caring for children alone.

It is a valuable community resource for those of lower income brackets, for mothers who must work to help family finances.

One such mother works as a housekeeper to help out with the family income. Last year the total income for husband and wife was $4,300 for eight persons, including three children who use day care homes and three older brothers and a sister. Baby sitting for three was too costly. A day care home provided reduced rates and welfare aid was available.

For those unable to meet part or all of the day care costs, help can be secured by contacting Veronica Smith of the Silver Bow County child welfare department in the courthouse, or by calling 792-2351.

There are federal funds that may be used to pay for day care of children whose parents' salaries fall below a certain income level. Similar aid is available for day care for children whose mothers are training for work under the Title V program.

Mrs. Baumgardner and Mrs. Lane, discussing Butte facilities, said, "We've had good cooperation from all operators in Butte. We encourage persons of low income to discuss and to try to come up with answers for day care for children. Perhaps some low income persons could qualify to operate day care homes. This would provide a service to others, and give them additional income."

RIOTS AND RIGHTS

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, with all the talk about "rights" and the current rash of "riots," it is interesting to read about a refreshing point of view.

Jack McDonald, chairman of the Young Republican National Federation, made a report in the May issue of Young Republican News, relating to a young Negro friend. The report follows:

On a recent afternoon as the April Nashville riots began to simmer down and the pace of racial violence abated across America, I got a phone call from a young Negro who wanted to see me. I've known him for a period of years. He's about sixteen or seventeen, and he's a young man that studies hard for the good grades he gets in school. He's not a top athlete, but he's as highly regarded on the playing field as he is in the classroom. On the weekends and in the summer he works hard to contribute to his family's modest income.

When he first sat down in my office, I could see his nervousness and his pleading eyes, and I could sense his feeling of helplessness.

"Im not one to be asking for help," he said, "but I and a lot of other young Negroes in America need somebody to speak up for them. You have friends in Washington—you know some Congressmen, Senators and Governors—can't you get them to stop this rioting, this looting and this burning? A few years from now I'll be going in to ask for a job in some company and I can see the man behind that desk asking himself—'Was that one of those kids I saw walking out of a looted store with a couple of TV sets in hand while the police stood by with orders not to stop them?' We're sick and tired of men like Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown burning our homes and wrecking our communities. Won't somebody please have the guts to lock these men up and throw away the key before they destroy what friendship still exists between your people and mine and before they ruin the future I and others have worked to build for a hundred years?"

After he left I thought about all the reams of editorial copy that have been written on Negro rights, the volumes of the Kerner report, the succession of Civil Rights Acts—all of which were supposedly designed to help the Negro; but not one word has been offered to help this young man. No one is trying to protect his rights—his right to feel confident his home isn't going to be burned down in the middle of the night; his right to make something of his own life with his own effort; his right to raise his children in an atmosphere of respect for law and order.

The white American must not forget that those weren't our homes that were destroyed; it wasn't us who went to sleep with the stench of burning buildings in our lungs; it wasn't us who looked out our windows and saw our streets filled with soldiers with fixed bayonets; it wasn't our neighbors that were killed by snipers' bullets.

Maybe from this young Negro we can all learn something. Maybe we can realize that the time has come for majority rule rather than minority licence—and I mean a majority of blacks as well as whites, because the real majority is made up of all Americans who know that no civilization can long endure when mob rule takes the place of law and order. Mob rule can destroy this nation whether it be a mob of black revolutionaries in Washington or a mob of hooded Klansmen in Mississippi. Maybe from this young Negro we can learn that the greatest thing America can give him—and what he wants most—is the heritage of this great civilization which we hold so tenuously in our hands, because without that civilization words like "freedom," "better education," "jobs," "equal opportunities," are simply empty phrases with no relevance.

What this nation needs is someone in the White House with the courage to stand up and say, "No—We will not have a revolution in America," and have the courage to back up that statement. Such courage cannot come from Bobby Kennedy who insults the intelligence of all Americans when he says there is "no point in telling Negroes to obey the law" or from Hubert Humphrey who brags that he "could lead a pretty good riot" himself.

Will we, as Republicans, display the courage and leadership to answer the plea of this young Negro? Will we protect his rights?

Mr. Speaker, I commend Mr. McDonald for sharing this information with us.

RESOLUTION OF VIRGINIA RETAIL MERCHANTS ASSOCIATION

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks a resolution adopted by the Virginia Retail Merchants Association with regard to individual rights and its support of vigorous enforcement of existing laws.

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

Whereas, the Virginia Retail Merchants Association supports equality of opportunity for all our citizens, regardless of race, religion, sex or national origin, and likewise encourages retailers and other segments of the business community to join with government, labor, religious, educational and civil rights groups to initiate voluntary, cooperative plans of action to deal with the urgent problems of all those who live in poverty, the under-educated and the hard-core unemployed; and

Whereas, the Virginia Retail Merchants Association, believing that individual rights cannot long exist in a chaotic and disorderly society, views with deep concern the riots, violence and disorders in many of the cities of our nation that have already impeded efforts to provide additional opportunities and assistance for the disadvantaged; now therefore be it

Resolved that the Virginia Retail Merchants Association hereby calls on public officials and law enforcement agencies at all levels of government to provide sufficient funds and personnel to take prompt, effective and non-discriminatory action to enforce laws protecting the lives and property of all our citizens at all times and especially against riots, criminal insurrections and violent disorders; and be it further

Resolved that the Virginia Retail Merchants Association urges the American Retail Federation, the National Retail Merchants Association and other associations of like purpose to take the lead in reaffirming the basic principle of American democracy that liberty, justice and individual rights for all can only be guaranteed by a lawful and orderly society and in supporting vigorous enforcement of existing laws.

TOWARD PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, last week former Vice President Richard M. Nixon issued a statement for Near East Report on the critical problems which still exist nearly 1 year after the armed conflict between Arabs and Israelis. Mr. Nixon's statement contains a three-point policy for the United States to follow in the Middle East, including efforts to prevent a balance of power shift in favor of the militant Arab States bent on a new war, direct dealings with Soviet Russia, and American leadership in forging an acceptable settlement.

I am proud to insert this excellent statement in the RECORD:

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE RICHARD M. NIXON FOR NEAR EAST REPORT

The Middle East today stands closer to the threshold of armed conflict than at any period since the June war. Outside of the cauldron of the Middle East itself, this new danger to regional and global peace can be traced directly to Soviet policy in the area—and indirectly to the absence of an effective American counter-policy.

There is no question but that the Soviets were the losers in the six-day conflict itself. The belligerent Arab states to which they were allied suffered a stunning defeat; a Soviet-trained and -equipped army was humiliated on the field of battle and a multi-billion dollar investment in arms and equipment had to be written off.

But if the Soviets were the losers in the six-day conflict, they are the principal beneficiaries of the uneasy post-war truce; and United States interests have suffered to the same extensive degree that Soviets interests have advanced.

Their naval manpower in the Mediterranean has been augmented five-fold since the war. Their client states have been re-armed and equipped with some of the most modern of weaponry in the Soviet inventory. Their influence has grown in the entire Arab and Near Eastern world—from Morocco to Iran—as they have stiffened the spine of the militants with encouragement and arms, established naval bases on the south shore of the Mediterranean, and assumed the leadership of the anti-Israel league in the United Nations. For the first time in history they are in the Mediterranean in power, and solidly entrenched on the World Bridge.

Confronted with this diplomatic and military policy of expansionism and adventurism on the part of the Soviets, the American response has been halting and lame and ineffectual. Indeed, there seems to be no American policy at all in a region of the world where a single chance spark could ignite a local conflict that could bring the great powers hurtling together in a major confrontation.

What should American policy be in the area, now that we have paid so dearly for the absence of an effective past policy?

The first urgency is for America not to allow the balance of power to shift in favor of the militant Arab states bent on a new war. To this end, the United States must see to it that Israel's military strength is never at a level vis-a-vis the Arab militants that will invite a war of revenge, the consequences of which we could not possibly foresee and which at all costs we must avoid.

Second, the United States must deal directly with the Soviets and impress upon them both the urgency of keeping their client states in check, and the dangers inherent to the peace in any renewal of the kind of wholesale Soviet irresponsibility evident just prior to the recent conflict.

Third, the United States must take the diplomatic lead in forging an acceptable settlement. Included in the terms of that settlement should be solid guarantees that the currently occupied territories will never again be used as bases of aggression or sanctuaries for terrorism. Access for the ships of all nations through the re-opened Suez Canal and the Straits of Tiran should be guaranteed. It should include recognition of Israeli sovereignty, its right to exist in peace, and an end to the state of belligerency.

With regard to the occupied territories, it is not realistic to expect Israel to surrender these vital bargaining counters in the absence of a genuine peace and effective guarantee. However, it is also my view that for Israel to take formal and final possession of these occupied areas would be a grave mistake.

It is my belief from my own visits to Israel and my own talks with her leaders that the one thing that Israel values more highly than the peace she desperately seeks is her freedom and national independence.

If the United States is to help secure this for the future, then we must strengthen our ties with America's friends in the Arab world. The channels of communication that have broken down must be repaired and the United States must re-establish its position on the side of all of those, Arab and Jew, who are appalled at the prospect of wasting their precious resources on another war.

To find a just peace in an area of the world that has known only armed truces and three major and bitter wars in a generation is not an easy task. But the United States is not without diplomatic and economic resources, and its private and public men are not without cogent ideas to get directly at the underlying problems of refugees and water. And I think that we cannot wait longer to make the effort.

MINNESOTA MINING & MANUFACTURING CO. TO ENLARGE WEST VIRGINIA PLANT—SENATOR RANDOLPH PRAISES CREATIVE LEADERSHIP OF THIS ORGANIZATION

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, West Virginia Printing Products Plant, a division of Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co., located in Middleway, W. Va., has announced plans to enlarge the facility by 85,000 square feet.

Approximately 300 persons are employed at the Jefferson County plant, which was first opened in 1961.

It was my privilege, on April 24 of this year, to address the sales forces of the Reflective Products Division of the 3M Co. in St. Paul, during the global sales meeting. I was again impressed by the creative leadership of the company and by the dynamic sales program being administered by capable personnel.

This vast 3M organization now operates in 34 countries, manufacturing more than 38,000 products. Harry Heltzer, the progressive president of the 3M Co., directs the nearly 54,000 workers of this team.

The expansion of the West Virginia plant will be economically beneficial to the eastern panhandle of West Virginia. The plant is expected to hire additional personnel.

I ask unanimous consent that the press release issued by the company on the addition in West Virginia be printed in the RECORD.

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

MIDDLEWAY, W. VA.—Plans to add 85,000 square feet to the 3M Company's printing products plant here were announced today by the plant manager, Vern Herum.

Construction will begin as soon as possible with completion of one phase expected by April, 1969, and the balance by the end of next year.

About 11,000 square feet will be devoted to production space, 10,000 square feet to office space and the balance for warehousing. Plans and specifications are being prepared by 3M's engineering department.

"The added facilities are needed to meet the needs of our printing industry customers," Herum said.

This is the second expansion at the Middleway plant which was opened in 1961. The first addition was finished in 1965 and brought the plant size to around 200,000 square feet.

Printing products is one of 20 domestic product divisions in 3M which has its world headquarters in St. Paul, Minn.

This division also has manufacturing facilities at Cottage Grove, Minn., and last November started construction on a plant at Weatherford, Okla.

The product line includes presensitized photo offset plates, an automatic system for imaging and developing offset plates, proofing materials, dampening sleeves and offset blankets.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE KANSAS BANKERS ASSOCIATION

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, many bankers in Kansas have been writing to me urging early action on legislation which would reduce Federal spending by at least $6 to $8 billion and increase income taxes at least as much as 10 percent and to make a concerted effort to balance the budget.

The following resolution was adopted unanimously on May 16, 1968, by the Kansas Bankers Association in annual convention at Kansas City, Kans., and I recommend it to the attention of our membership in this House:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, recent events have illuminated a worldwide diminution of confidence in the dollar as an exchange currency; and such a lack of confidence imperils the stability of the international monetary system; and

Whereas, speculative attacks on the Free World's gold supply have necessitated establishment of a two-price market for gold which will function as a temporarily effective deterrent to dangerous speculation; and

Whereas, we agree with the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System that the Free World is confronted with a financial crisis unless this nation takes prompt and effective steps to cut back the huge federal deficit and to increase taxes;

Now therefore, be it resolved, that members of the Kansas Bankers Association, both individually and in concert, do call upon the President and the Congress of the United States to take immediate action to reduce the federal budget by at least $6 to $8 billion and increase income taxes at least as much as the 10 per cent surcharge requested by the President; and to make a concerted effort to balance the budget.

And be it further resolved, that officers of this Association to be directed to communicate this policy to the President and the Congress; and that all members of this Association, in their individual capacities, are urged to do the same.

Attest:

CARL A. BOWMAN,
Executive Secretary,
Kansas Bankers Association.

RIOTS AND RESERVES

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the May 23, 1968, edition of the State Newspaper, Columbia, S.C., carries an article entitled, "Riots and Reserves." This editorial points out the extensive training program now being given to 200,000 Army reservists who will be able to assist 300,000 National Guardsmen in controlling future civil disturbances.

The editor concludes that this training should have been given to the Army reservists earlier, but expresses certain relief over the knowledge that this additional force will be available in the event of renewed rioting this summer. He further indicates that this increase in training manpower forecasts a new firmness and a new determination on the part of our Government to control civil disturbance in the future.

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

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

RIOTS AND RESERVES

In the lexicon of the United States government, the word "riot" has lost favor. The new euphemism is "civil disturbance," which has a softer, less abrasive sound and presumably excites fewer citizens and offends fewer rioters.

Newspapers, which prefer to call a spade a spade, are not likely to go along. (Try getting "civil disturbance" in a short headline.)

But the term is not totally inappropriate.

When the government gets around to initializing it (and knowing the government that won't be long), it will be stuck with "CD," a territory already staked out by Civil Defense.

And who would deny that "civil disturbance" control is civil defense in the truest sense of the word.

Recently Washington announced that 200,000 Army Reservists would receive training by June 16 in the newest techniques of quelling civil disturbances. If we read that message accurately, it was addressed, not so much to Reservists, who must cram 33 hours of training into the next month, but to those members of the so-called Poor People's Army assembling in Washington, and to any others who have plans to ransack the cities of America during the summer.

The timing of the order, coming as the weather heats up, the end of school nears, and a form of insanity rocks the campuses, indicates the federal government's increasing, and perhaps belated, concern with the attitude of irresponsibility and disorder that is sweeping America.

The 200,000 Reservists, added to the 300,000 National Guardsmen already trained, will give the nation a half-million trained citizen-soldiers to help cope with situations that might develop.

The prime responsibility will still lie with the National Guard, which is under state control. But it will be recalled that elements of the active army were rushed into service when matters got out of hand in Detroit last summer.

Now, portions of the 82nd airborne division, which served in Detroit, and other units from the active Army continental force are serving in Vietnam and elsewhere overseas. Reservists, therefore, might be needed to replace active Army units dispatched for riot control duty, or to augment Army forces in the streets. As federal troops, they can be called up only by the President.

Why Reservists weren't given this intensive training earlier, we don't know. Perhaps the psychological impact of last week's announcement was a factor.

New training and equipment, both for police and soldiers, is designed to achieve results with a minimum loss of life.

America does not want to gun down any of its citizens, even looters and arsonists, unless absolutely necessary. But the government's latest action in increasing its trained manpower does show, at least we hope it does, a new firmness and a new determination to see that civil disturbances are quickly dampened and don't flare into first-class riots or insurrections.

CARL MARTY TALKS BUSINESS

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an article from the Milwaukee Sentinel of Monday, May 27.

This article contains statements of the greatest recreational and wildlife protector in the Western Hemisphere, Carl Marty of Three Lakes, Wis.

His advice and recommendations pertain to promotion of the recreational and wildlife facilities of our Nation and are most timely and appropriate.

With the turmoil we have in this world, it would do well for all citizens of the world to go to Three Lakes, Wis., to see how Carl Marty has been able to make wild animals accept each other and live together to a degree which makes humans envious.

I would like the members of the United Nations to spend 1 week at the Northernaire, Three Lakes, Wis., so Carl Marty could show the members of this international body how every wild animal can be made to accept each other and live together which seemingly we have not been able to accomplish with human beings.

Mr. Speaker, I include with these remarks the article which appeared in the Milwaukee Sentinel:

TOURISM IN STATE NEEDS BOOST

(By Mervin C. Nelson)

THREE LAKES, WIS.—Tourism may be the state's third largest industry, but it's not getting the recognition an industry its size should.

That's what Carl Marty, a northwoods businessman for 29 years, and Arthur Huebner, president of the newly formed Wisconsin Recreation Industries, Inc., believe.

Marty, owner of the Northernaire hotel on a chain of lakes here, began business in 1940—with just a golf course and a nightclub.

Today, the Northernaire is one of a few deluxe resorts in the northwoods offering a year round recreation program including lodging, dining, fishing, golf, horseback riding, boat trips through rustic portions of the chain of lakes, nature trails, boating, skiing, swimming and floor shows in the resort's Showboat nightclub nearly six months a year.

JUST TWO CENTS

State officials estimate tourism is a billion dollar a year business in Wisconsin, but, Marty pointed out, Wisconsin still gets only 2c out of every dollar spent by tourists in the United States.

Wisconsin has the potential to get much more than 2c, he believes, and it could be capitalizing on what he considers a most valuable natural resource—the wild animals of the northwoods.

Resorts get but 20% of the tourist dollar in the state, Marty said, "But it has fallen upon their shoulders to finance the greater part of the promotional program."

It is the other businesses, which pick up 80% of the tourist dollar, that have been benefiting by tourism but not helping to build it, according to Marty and Huebner.

It is through Wisconsin Recreation Industries, an outgrowth of the former state resort association, that "we hope to establish a larger umbrella under which the nonresort businesses will want to unite" in the promotion of tourism, Huebner said.

FEW LIKE IT

Marty is convinced that there are few industries that spend a larger percentage of gross revenue on promotion than the resort people.

He used the Northernaire as an example. "We spend a minimum of 5% for advertising and publicity," Marty said, "and never less than $20,000—although some years we do under $500,000 gross."

The promotion problem is even more acute for the small resort owner, the one with 5 to 10 cottages, he said, because this man may spend 10% or more of his gross on promotion.

When Marty talks of the resort business, he talks of the entire northwoods area—not just the Three Lakes community—for the problems in each area are similar.

A real problem facing the resort business, he said, is that the small resorts have not kept pace with the changing desires of the tourists.

RESORTS LEFT BEHIND

Marty is quick to point out that resorts like his and the nearby Chanticleer Inn, run by John Alward and located farther up the lake chain, are exceptions in the business.

Ninety per cent of the 6,000 Wisconsin resorts, he said, are "ma and pa" operations, often run by a couple in semiretirement.

It is these resorts which are being left behind, but with a chance to catch up with the demands of the tourists if given some help, according to Marty.

Most of the "ma and pa" resorts were built either during World War I, or just after World War II, when families frequently came north by train to spend from two weeks to a month.

"But now people are vacationing on wheels and few make reservations in advance," Marty observed. "They pull into a northwoods town in the evening, get a motel room, check with the tourist information office the next morning and then go looking for a resort.

RATES OUT OF LINE

"Some resorters don't like to take 2 or 3 day business, but they're going to have to or be out of business.

"The days that I book reservations from Saturday to Saturday are gone."

Huebner noted that the traveler to the northwoods may believe he wants to rough it, but usually "he wants to rough it deluxe."

Marty feels the "ma and pa" resorts could have had the revenue to keep their places in step with the changing demands of the tourists, had they kept their rates in line with rising wage rates.

"Who else is supposed to provide housing for a family of six for $50 a week?" Marty asked and that includes bedding and the boat. That same family, Marty and Huebner observed, may spend $20 to $25 per night at a motel while driving to the northwoods resort.

FINANCING CITED

"If the resort owner was to increase his rates 50% in July and August, he would still fill up," Marty said. "But he's afraid to do it."

"You can ask any resort owner and he will tell you that his most deluxe and expensive unit rents first," Huebner said. "But many 'ma and pa' owners shudder when someone suggests that they ask $75 rather than $50 a week for a cottage."

Marty is convinced the small resort owner can get financing, from normal local lending sources, to bring his resort up to what the tourists expect.

"We've got resort owners who can get this money, if they try," Marty declared. Too often, he said, they don't approach the bank right, they don't know the true equity they have in their property and they are depressed after the first bank tells them "no."

This all points to the lack of businessmen in the resort industry, and to the need for the state to give aid to the resort owner, similar to that which the university extension has given to the farmer, Marty said.

"You aren't going to help them with government aid, with 20, 30 or 40 year loans," he declared. Rather, he said, the small resort owner needs help in planning the updating of his resort, establishing the true equity in his property and preparing his application for a loan.

One thing going for the small resort owner, when it comes to financing improvements, has been the appreciation in land value. In the Three Lakes chain, this has been "quite sensational," Marty said.

Here, sound lakefront footage held at $10 per foot for many years. Now, $50 is low for sound footage and some has been sold for $75 or higher.

With this increment in land value, and with the hesitation or fear to refinance to improve, the small resort owner is faced with the alternative of "subdividing or upgrading," Marty said.

PACKAGE PROFIT

He told of one resort in the Three Lakes area which had no inside plumbing. It was on the market for $25,000 for two years. When the owner found no takers, he subdivided, kept the best cabin for himself and came out with $32,500—$7,500 more than he asked for the resort as a single package.

Marty is not concerned that the subdividing of resorts will curtail the business, even though this means the cabins become individually owned and are occupied for but a few weeks each season. "These resorts (those subdivided) are the types tourists don't want."

Too many resort owners, Marty said, "operate thinking that, when we get the people, we will give them something. . . . You've got to have something to get the people."

Marty disagrees with the northwoods businessmen who are critical of the camping boom.

"Some families pay more for a camper (in rental) than they would pay for a good cottage. They are good for the economy."

He is critical of the resorts which put out brochures with photos of beaches, the rooms and the bar—but not a single photo of the wild animals of the northwoods which he believes are the "greatest asset" of the area.

ANIMALS CARED FOR

"Why has the conservation department, in its management of wildlife, given primary consideration to the gun carrying conservationist?" Marty asked. "It's a throwback to the turn of the century, and leaves the department almost totally dependent on license income."

Marty is disturbed that "there is not in the state of Wisconsin today a single natural refuge where wildlife can be predictably seen in their natural state. This could be made available to the state on privately owned land at practically no expense."

"I'm not opposed to hunting," he declared, "but we don't need 100% of the land for hunting."

U.S. FOREIGN AND EXPORT POLICIES FOR THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR—ADDRESS BY MICHEL FRIBOURG

HON. WALTER F. MONDALE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, last week at the World Trade Conference in Minneapolis, Minn., Mr. Michel Fribourg gave a definitive statement on the ramifications of U.S. foreign and export policies for the agricultural sector. Mr. Fribourg is president and chairman of the board of Continental Grain Co.; therefore, his views have special importance for all of us interested in the future of agricultural exports.

I ask unanimous consent that his speech be printed in the RECORD.

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

CAN U.S. AGRICULTURE MAINTAIN ITS DOMINANT POSITION IN WORLD TRADE?

(By Michel Fribourg, president and chairman of the board of Continental Grain Co., at the World Trade Conference, Minneapolis, Minn., May 21, 1968)

Gentlemen, I appreciate the privilege and honor of participating in this Conference on Foreign Trade Policy.

Today, we are faced with a situation that causes real concern for all of us involved in foreign trade policy matters. The Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, William Martin, said recently that "We are in the midst of the worst financial crisis we have had since 1931." And yet the nation's business is in the eighth year of its longest uptrend in history. American production has never been higher than right now. Is this a contradiction? Is Mr. Martin exaggerating? I believe not. Mr. Martin himself adds, "It is not a business crisis, but a financial crisis." For the past two years a booming economy, combined with a lack of proper financial restraint on the part of our Government, has created an increasing inflation. In addition, a 10 year balance of payments deficit has reduced our gold stocks to a point where international confidence in the U.S. dollar has been badly shaken. In the month of March, for the first time in many years, our balance of trade was unfavorable.

My purpose is not to dwell on these serious and general problems but to relate them to the area of my business activities—the agricultural trade. Exports of agricultural products, particularly those handled by my company: grains, oilseeds and their by-products, are major contributors both to our balance of trade and our foreign aid programs. U.S. commercial agricultural exports amounted to 5.2 billion dollars in 1967, representing 19% of the total U.S. commercial exports of 27 billion dollars. They exceeded any other major category of U.S. commercial exports.

The importance of agricultural exports in terms of what they mean to the national economy is generally not fully understood or appreciated. This is because we tend to think of agriculture in terms of farms and farmers. But today agriculture is industrialized. It should be viewed as a converter of the products of industry into food and fiber; in other words, as agribusiness.

The value of purchased inputs in agribusiness is surprisingly large. Among America's 12 largest industries, agriculture comes first in spending for equipment. Farming alone uses the output of 20% of our petroleum and rubber industries, 15% of our motor vehicle industry, and 10% of our chemical industry. Agricultural products provide a major source of revenue for our different types of transportation. Agribusiness, directly or indirectly, provides 3 out of every 10 jobs in the U.S. Now, when you consider that we export the output of one out of every four acres of grain under production, you can understand the importance of agricultural exports to our basic industries. When we export grain, we are also exporting the output of a broad segment of our economy.

Continental, as a major grain company, favors an aggressive policy of trade liberalization. We also firmly believe that it is in the best interest of all major industries to take a similar stand, though certain special interests can be hurt in doing so. The U.S. will have to make certain concessions to gain liberalization. But the alternative of returning to a policy of protectionism, which is advocated by a few powerful groups, would be disastrous to our overall economy. We have supported such efforts as the GATT negotiations inasmuch as they would achieve freer trade. But we have objected to restrictive aspects of the proposed International Grains Arrangement which, in my view, threatens the ability of the U.S. to compete freely for world markets.

I have wholeheartedly endorsed the creation of free trade areas of economic units such as the European Economic Community and the Latin American Free Trade Agreement, even though these entities make it tougher every day for our agricultural commodities to enter these sectors. There is no doubt that the European Common Market, while it has succeeded in eliminating tariffs amongst its members, has erected barriers against third countries such as the U.S. Particularly in the agricultural field. Europe is striving, through high internal support prices, to become more and more self-sufficient. In South America, the Latin American Common Market, still in its infancy, has established certain advantageous tariffs for its members. Argentine wheat is already displacing U.S. wheat in some Latin grain importing countries. We can visualize that, one day, the Far East may form another economic group, which would favor Australia, the major grain exporter in that part of the world. This would be to the detriment of the U.S. who is a prime exporter to the Far East. It would appear, therefore, that U.S. agriculture is becoming increasingly isolated.

There is no question in my mind that our agricultural exports face a growing challenge. But I believe we can pursue a program which will create a dynamic expansion in our farm exports. At all times, we should follow a policy of fully competitive international grain prices. Further, we should exhort all countries, especially the grain importing ones, to lower their interior prices, thereby contributing to an increasing standard of living worldwide.

It seems evident to me that the efforts of economic blocs, to become more nearly self-sufficient in agriculture, when they do not have a comparative advantage to do so, are doomed eventually to failure, for it inhibits economic growth in several ways. First, excessive use of labor and capital in agriculture limits their utilization in those non-farm industries which can produce goods efficiently. This has been specially true in the EEC where serious nonfarm labor shortages have caused a substantial inflation the last few years. But perhaps more important, grain prices have been kept artificially high to promote self-sufficiency, thereby creating high food costs. Consumers then spend a large percentage of their income on food and less on other consumer goods and services. Lower food costs would have the opposite effect. The standard of living rises as a larger share of personal income becomes available for non-food consumer goods. Increased demand in these industries expands employment and creates more disposable income. In effect, a reduction in food costs will stimulate economic growth, as would a reduction in taxes.

I favor the principle that each country, or economic bloc, should produce goods for which it has the greatest advantage, and be willing to import what can be produced by others more economically. This, of course, requires major adjustments; but why could they not be achieved? The European Common Market, though it has not applied this policy towards the outside world, has done so internally. The GATT agreement can also be considered as a first step toward the long range economic goal of an Atlantic Community. This trade liberalization would considerably benefit our agriculture, which is the most efficient in the world today.

There are a number of actions the United States can take unilaterally to expand commercial exports of agricultural products. We must first recognize that we cannot dissociate our domestic from our international policies. Our exports of grains and oilseeds have expanded much more rapidly than our domestic usage. We cannot have a rapidly expanding and prosperous agriculture without a growth in exports.

Our agricultural policy has been domestically, rather than internationally, oriented. We have pursued a policy based on short run expediency rather than a policy designed to utilize the potential of our agricultural resources for increasing the nation's economic strength and the quality of its society. Our primary objective of improving farmers' income has been achieved by maintaining high domestic prices and restricting production instead of expanding sales in open competition in world markets.

Withdrawal of agricultural resources is

best illustrated by our land use policies. In 1968, about one-fourth of the total acreage normally used for cereal grains and soybeans, will be kept idle. Prospects are that wheat acreage for 1969 will be less than two-thirds as large as in the early fifties when government controls were first instituted.

Contrast this performance with other major wheat exporting countries. In the past decade Canada expanded its wheat acreage more than one-third and Australia doubled its wheat acreage. During that time, we have also witnessed the European Common Market shift from a net importer to a net exporter of wheat. The same is true of such countries as Mexico, Greece and Spain. Furthermore, their exports are on commercial terms whereas about ½ of U.S. sales are on non-commercial terms.

It is logical to question why some countries have successfully pursued an expansionist policy while the U.S. has followed a policy of retrenchment. To put it another way, our policy of high prices and restrained output has encouraged production in those countries to the long run detriment of the U.S. and U.S. agriculture. Although we cannot dictate the internal policies of other countries, we can discourage increased production by high cost producers either through trade liberalization negotiations or through free and open price competition for available markets.

The U.S. official endorsement of the International Grains Arrangement a year ago, providing for a 20 cents per bushel increase over the minimum price of the previous International Wheat Agreement, may have seemed logical at the time. The final stage of the negotiations occurred in a period when the U.S. and world wheat stocks appeared to be quite low. This apparent shortage, however, proved to be temporary. Currently, world wheat production is considerably in excess of consumption. World prices have been declining and are now about ten percent under the minimum prescribed in the Grains Arrangement Treaty the Senate has been asked to ratify. This is another example of having applied a long range policy to a short term problem. The annual report of the Council of Economic Advisers sent this February to Congress stated, "Primary producers sometimes attempt, through commodity agreements, to raise prices above the long term equilibrium level. They rarely succeed. Maintenance of a price above long term cost requires restrictions on supply; the necessary export quotas are extremely hard to negotiate and to enforce." In my view, this is sound advice from an informed body. It should be followed.

Another reason our commercial exports have failed to expand is due to the fact that we have been unable to compete on equal terms with the other major exporters, chiefly Canada, Australia and France. I am alluding to the very substantial commercial agricultural trade that has developed over the last five years with the Eastern countries. The U.S. participation has been minor. In part, this is due to government prohibition of all trade with Mainland China; in part, it is due to restrictive regulations with respect to most countries in the Soviet Bloc. These include the requirement that one-half the quantity of grain exported be shipped on American flag vessels, if available.

Even if we assume that our policy toward Communist China is correct, I fail to see what we have achieved by restricting commercial trade in non-strategic goods, mostly agricultural products, with such countries as the Soviet Union and some of its Eastern European partners. Other exporters, such as Canada and France, have derived great benefits from these trades. We have not prevented the East from meeting its needs. Actually, we have only denied ourselves an important source of dollar earnings, so vital to our balance of payments.

As stated by the U.S. Council of the International Chamber of Commerce, "Trade by definition does not take place unless benefits accrue to both parties. If one nation refused to participate, insofar as the second party can find another trading partner, the loss is entirely sustained by the country refusing to do business."

Two other important advantages have been given by some of the large grain exporting nations and have not been available to U.S. exporters: government-backed credit insurance programs and bilateral agreements—though I know the latter are against basic U.S. trade principles.

Government policy has been more progressive in promoting commercial exports of feed grains than of wheat. The soundness of a market oriented price support loan and direct income payments to cooperating farmers has enabled us generally to compete with other exporting countries without the benefit or necessity of export subsidies. Of course, our position is aided by the following factors: the U.S. produces about 50% of the world's major feed crop, corn; and has supplied over 50% of the feed grains traded in the world market. Also, feed grains are consumed mostly in the advanced industrial nations, where consumption of meat and poultry has developed substantially on account of the steady increase in their standard of living. Production of feed grains outside the U.S. has and will continue to increase. Nevertheless, I believe that, if we pursue a policy of reasonable prices, we can maintain our preponderant position in feed grains for many years.

U.S. soybeans are another story. Our production and exports have seen tremendous growth since the end of World War II due to a heavy demand for soybeans and its byproducts, and limited competition. No acreage restrictions were placed, and prices have been governed more by international values than by our domestic pricing policy.

Currently, however, U.S. soybeans are overpriced at the support level of $2.50 per bushel. Exports have slowed down and most soybean oil exports are under concessional terms. The commercial export market has gone by default to competing products, mainly Russian sunflower oil. Under the circumstances, a reduction in the support price of this commodity is warranted.

I would like to make a few remarks concerning non-commercial exports.

Agricultural exports on concessional terms, mostly PL 480 sales for foreign non-convertible currencies or long term credit, are useful as a tool of foreign policy, humanitarian goals, and surplus removal. They have also contributed to commercial market development, since some of our best customers for dollars, Japan and Spain, for example, were once recipients of PL 480 aid. But, as now executed, most PL 480 sales to the developing countries fail to make much contribution to our balance of payments.

In my view more can be done to increase food shipments to the hungry nations of the world without increasing costs to our government. In fact, such shipments can and should make a contribution to our economy. It will not be easy but important problems seldom have simple answers.

Some concessions will be required on our part. For instance, we should consider giving special market access to the goods, mostly those using labor intensively, of the developing countries.

It will take ingenuity to facilitate exchange of our current and potential agricultural surpluses for the goods and services of the hungry. But it can be done; it must be done.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I would like now to summarize the few proposals I have made to achieve an expansion of our agricultural trade—so vital to help prevent a severe financial crisis.

The first step is to adopt a positive internationally oriented rather than a restrictive domestically oriented agricultural policy. Our long range thinking should be an expansion of demand rather than a reduction of supply.

We should increase the shift in emphasis for supporting farm income from one of high price supports to one of market oriented price supports, where, as recommended by the President's Food and Fiber Commission, "Price supports be set modestly below a moving average of world market prices." Direct income payments should be paid to farmers to allow them a decent income.

We should advocate the concept that production of agricultural products on a worldwide basis should fall into the hands of the most efficient farmers. The marginal agricultural producers should be gradually shifted into more productive non-agricultural pursuits. If we wish to export, we should be willing to import goods, even agricultural goods, produced at a cheaper price than others.

Steps should be taken to facilitate and expand commercial trade in farm products with Eastern countries. Trade is the best medium to build understanding and peace with the East.

The huge populations of the developing countries constitute the largest potential demand for our farm products. We must continue our aid programs for humanitarian reasons. But we must also aid these countries to become commercial customers. In order to do so, we will have to lower our own protective barriers. They must have access to our markets.

In the final analysis, the best way to expand sales is to provide a consistently reliable supply of a good product at a reasonable price. Our agricultural policies should be directed to these ends.

The nation has huge underutilized agricultural resources. Conditions require that we direct these resources and our best efforts into effective assets which will contribute to the nation's economic strength and the vitality of its citizenry.

THE FORGOTTEN MAN IN THE MIDDLE: THE NEED FOR TOTAL JOB ESCALATION

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker. I submit for the RECORD my remarks to the 66th annual meeting of the National Forest Products Association:

It is a great pleasure to appear before this group as a participant on the panel today with Senator Smathers and Mr. Sam Shaffer of Newsweek magazine to discuss the topic "Do We Have A New Forgotten Man?—The American in the Middle". This is a most timely subject, and it embodies several key issues which must be faced. I would like to briefly sketch some basic themes which are pertinent to this topic which perhaps can be developed more fully in our ensuing discussion, as set forth in the paper I prepared for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Symposium in December 1966, entitled "The Guaranteed Opportunity to Earn An Annual Income".

My first theme, which permeates the others that follow, is that we must return to accentuating the positive aspects and values of our society. Too many Americans in high places today are emphasizing the negative. They are viewing our society through the anxious eyes of a hypochondriac, which aggravates our ills, and blocks efforts to correct them. Attention and study should be given instead to our successes, not to ignore the failures, but rather that from our successes we can see what it is we are doing right and apply that knowledge to eliminating our shortcomings.

My second theme then is to locate and call attention to the keystones of our success as a dynamic society. Certainly one of them is the ability and spirit of the average American working men and women. Their ability to accept challenges and opportunities and keep pace with changes and advances, as well as create them, are worldwide symbols of the success of the United States as a society. Our topic the "forgotten man"—is most fitting. The forgotten man is the blue and white collar working man in America who has made it by his own skill and industry.

Another keystone to our success has been the ingenuity of our people to develop technological improvements; and the foresight of others to come forward with capital and means to apply these new ideas.

Thirdly, linking the first two themes, what can we learn from an analysis of our success which can be extended to solving our shortcomings? Many allege that very little can be gained from continuing the practices that have brought us so far. They argue that "automation", one of our successes has destroyed jobs and replaced our working men by machines; that automation has rendered certain people economically useless. Their solution is massive programs for the so-called "hard core unemployed", such as a guaranteed annual income, negative income tax, or the like, a separation of work from earnings.

My response is that this type of thinking is a result of the myopia which comes from staring too long at our failures. Automation creates more jobs than it destroys. However, the new jobs created are often in a new geographical area, and most often require a new skill. Also the new job is not yet attached to a human being, whereas the rendered obsolete one is. The new job is probably outside of the existing jurisdictions of labor unions, while the old job is entrenched in the union movement and is considered to be "vested". In short, those who argue that automation has brought us to the end of our successful road have simply not looked far enough; and their programs, although well intended, reflect this shortsightedness.

The terms "automation," cybernetics, or what have you, relate to nothing new under the sun. The process of human invention and engineering to exploit new inventions is the story of mankind's material progress from the time he invented his first tool and became man, not beast. The most that can be said for coining a new term to describe the inventing and engineering process during our own times is that its rate has increased and continues to accelerate. This rate of innovation is creating new problems because innovation is moving much faster compared to the human life span. Until the present, innovation, although rapid, did not disrupt en masse the life of individual human beings, even though it did affect generations and so the history of nations. For example, in 1900 a young man entering the labor force could probably assume that the skill he had learned or was about to learn would be in demand for his entire working life. Today with rapid innovation, the skill learned as a youth may become obsolete and unusable within ten or fifteen years.

If we join our successes—the innovative pace of our economy and the ability of our working men and women to adopt—we can find our solution. There needs to be continuous job escalation. Everyone across the entire industrial landscape should be continually preparing himself for a new and better job.

We are no longer dealing with jobs which remain the same. We are confronted with a ladder of skills which is continuously escalating. Continuous retraining is then necessary just to stay employed today. Furthermore, the man who refuses to retrain hurts not only himself, but he hurts the man below him who could be retraining to move into his job. To achieve further success our attention must be focused on our present success—the forgotten man in the middle who has a job, is educating his children and is paying taxes. It is he who must lead the way in this job escalation process. Too many of our present federal manpower programs have ignored the working man with a job today, and have concentrated instead on the "hard core" unemployed, trying to train him for a job where there is no demand, or leap frog him far up the job skills ladder with very unsatisfactory results.

Furthermore, in this job escalation process, no one need be left out—not even the handicapped. I would observe that we face a problem which has never been presented to us before so clearly. With the continued emphasis on skills and with greater emphasis on brain instead of brawn, those who were born with very limited talents would be phased out of the labor market only to society's overall economic detriment. Throughout history the person with deficient brawn tended to be an economic drone. A similar situation may be developing today with those with very limited mental capacities. However, I believe that by a system of proper job analysis we can find a sufficient number of economically sound jobs which persons of limited IQ can perform. Even many of those we presently institutionalize can perform useful tasks. After all, a human brain with an IQ of 60 is still a much more versatile and usable thinking apparatus than the computer. Industry should undertake this positive task, working with rehabilitation people to learn from their decades of experience in dealing with the physically handicapped, to get those who are limited physically or mentally into the labor force and headed toward useful lives. This can be done on a sound economic basis and very few need to be welfare cases except for short interim periods. They can have the pride of knowing that they are economically useful.

My fourth and final theme is that job escalation is most properly undertaken in the private sector of our economy; but government can help—mainly by stopping impeding programs. Government can help by amending the laws, particularly the tax laws, so as to treat private training and retraining—and all forms of education—as capital expenditures. We have been unnecessarily slow in recognizing that upgrading the skills of our working people is an investment which pays rich dividends not only to them but to the entire society. The knowledge and skills of a people are the larger part of a nation's wealth, not its physical assets.

I have advocated upgrading the ladder of job skills and amending our tax laws to conform with it for many years. This theme, set forth in a book I wrote in 1962, "87 Million Jobs", chips from the workshop which produced the Manpower Development and Training Act of the same year. Since then I have urged that we move further in this area, and proposed the Human Investment Act in 1966, which provides a tax credit of 10% for expenses borne by industry for job training programs, the Employment Equalization Act, H.R. 13777, and recently the Veterans Placement Act, H.R. 16984. I have proposed a corresponding tax credit for the expenses borne by the individual for his training, and a substantial graduated tax credit for elementary and higher educational expenses. We ought to stop inhibiting through our tax laws private capital expenditures for all forms of education and job training.

Our military manpower procurement policies can also be vastly improved if we focus on the types of skills in demand by a modern army. In my studies of the draft system, I have found that there is approximately a 90% correlation between the skills needed by the military and the comparative skills available in the civilian economy. A modern army needs technicians, not bodies. I have proposed that this high ratio of comparative skills be utilized and that our draft system be replaced by a volunteer system in which specific skills are recruited at the going civilian wage. It is within our means to have a volunteer career armed service. Indeed, when considering the expenses saved in training and retraining, reduced turnover, abolition of the costly draft apparatus, and higher performance of personnel, we will be saving money with such a system which focuses on job skills.

Government must do its job by collecting the data and information necessary to make any manpower training program work. Such data as can be assembled in monthly Job Vacancy Statistics on both a national and regional breakdown level. A loose leaf Dictionary of Occupational Titles, the common nomenclature of jobs existing in the society—those phasing out and those coming in—is essential. The Johnson Administration, though required by law to do this, has not done it.

Government must maximize the ability of our dynamic innovative economy, and the energy of our working people—by providing the proper climate—providing the equal opportunity of all to develop their God-given talents to the fullest.

WHAT PRICE SURVIVAL?

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the May 26, 1968, edition of the State Newspaper, Columbia, S.C., carries an interesting editorial on the anti-ballistic-missile system entitled "What Price Survival." This editorial discusses the pros and cons of the so-called "thin" ABM system—named the Sentinel—with the more comprehensive ABM system recommended by the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The editor quotes Air Force Secretary Harold Brown on the subject of building superhard silos for Minute Man III missiles. These silos would be capable of standing pressures of up to 2,500 pounds per square inch, and the related control areas would have a hardness of about 7,000 pounds per square inch. Dr. Brown believes that these superhard silos reduce the requirement for ABM defense.

Nevertheless, Editor W. D. Workman, Jr., brings up the important question, "Will the superhard silos work?" He further adds the observation that we must spend whatever is necessary to insure the defense of the Nation.

Mr. President, I concur with Bill Workman's arguments and commend this editorial to the attention of my colleagues. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks in the RECORD.

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

WHAT PRICE SURVIVAL?

Ever since the American public first began demanding an anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system for the United States, the word has come from the top civilian levels of the Pentagon that the costs would be too great.

Even when the chief foot-dragger, former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, authorized a limited ABM system (to be tailored against Red China, not Red Russia) he stated that the cost of a full-fledged ABM effort would be prohibitive.

The Russians, it will be recalled, were not deterred by any such considerations of expense. They kept right on adding to their own ABM system while Americans wrangled over whether a costly ABM umbrella would be warranted so long as we maintained an overwhelming capacity to retaliate.

The argument had good points and bad. It was true, for example, that building an adequate ABM system would cost lots of money. It was likewise true that the enemy might find some way to penetrate our defensive shield. On the other hand, the Russians regarded defensive missiles as a wise investment, and—to make matters even worse—there was some doubt as to the ability of U.S. missile sites to withstand nuclear attack.

It goes without saying that if our missile sites are destroyed, the nation's retaliatory potential evaporates. This is especially true since the decision was made to phase out the Strategic Air Command, which once kept a fearsome second-strike force constantly aloft and thus largely impregnable.

One answer to this seeming dilemma may lie in the recent testimony of Air Force Secretary Harold Brown before the Senate Appropriations Committee. Dr. Brown revealed there for the first time an Air Force plan to build "highly survivable superhard silos" for America's Minuteman III missiles, the latest weapon in our defensive arsenal.

These silos would be capable of withstanding pressures of up to 2,500 pounds a square inch, which is roughly 10 times the hardness of existing silos. Related control areas would have a hardness approaching 7,000 pounds a square inch. This means, in terms of survival, that an attacker would have to deliver four times the megatonnage now required to destroy the U.S. missile force—a requirement far beyond Russian capability in the foreseeable future.

As Dr. Brown explained, such a system of superhard silos, is, in effect, an ABM defense. Only the most foolhardy belligerent would attack the United States in the knowledge that this country's retaliatory power could not be seriously diminished. The question is, will superhard silos work?

It is a good question, and—if answers can be found—they should be studied carefully before this country launches another multi-billion-dollar defense program.

But when all is reduced to basic essentials, the hard fact remains that we must spend whatever is necessary to insure the defense of the nation. Survival cannot be measured in terms of dollars and cents.

PAPER SILVER

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, Harry Magnuson of Golconda Mining Corp. possesses one of the keenest minds in the silver mining industry. I have talked with him on many occasions about the problems that beset his troubled industry and I never cease to be impressed by the depth of his knowledge.

Mr. Magnuson goes beyond the mere mastery of silver economics. Rather, he is what might be called a student of silver psychology, for he often knows what policies the Government will adopt long before Treasury officials themselves know.

Last week, Mr. Magnuson addressed the Commodity Club of San Francisco and in the process coined a new phrase, "paper silver." If time bears out his contentions, we will soon be hearing this phrase about as frequently as we do its counterpart, "paper gold." His speech follows:

PAPER SILVER: A REVIEW OF THE SILVER SITUATION

(By H. F. Magnuson, vice president, Golconda Mining Corp., Wallace, Idaho, presented before the Commodity Club of San Francisco, Fairmont Hotel, San Francisco, Calif., May 22, 1968)

In your minds, SDR means paper gold.

The initials stand for Special Drawing Rights, a new kind of credit being set up by the International Monetary Fund.

But, SDR also could mean "paper silver." In that case, the initials would stand for "Silver Diluted Reserves."

About 57 million ounces of the silver the Treasury lists among its reserves exist, for all practical purposes, on paper alone.

The "paper silver" consists of 36 million ounces of silver mixed with gold that is being refined and made usable at the rate of only two million ounces a year; 10 million ounces that is mostly .300 fine; and nearly 11 million ounces of .400 fine silver set aside for making clad fifty-cent pieces.

In addition, a considerable portion of the silver that is earmarked for the strategic stockpile will exist only on paper until September, at the earliest.

And furthermore, a question has arisen about 13 million ounces of silver ordered by industry on the day the Treasury stopped sales of silver at $1.29 an ounce—last July 14. The Coinage Commission will meet again to discuss this problem and, if it agrees that these purchasers should be sold this metal, then scratch another 13 million ounces of the metal off the current reserves held by the Treasury.

To be fair, I am not including these last two items—the stockpile silver or the 13 million ounces that may be considered sold—among the "paper silver."

But, after making allowance for the 57 million ounces of "paper silver," and the 165 million ounce strategic stockpile, we find only 39 million ounces of immediately usable silver bullion on hand in the Treasury on May 1.

Compare that with the average monthly withdrawal of 21.5 million ounces of silver in the first four months of this year.

And then consider that the withdrawal this month and next month should be at a higher rate because of the acceleration in redemption of silver certificates before the deadline on June 24.

First, let me explain "paper silver."

On March 5, 1968, Eva Adams, Director of the Mint, stated in a letter to Congressman James A. McClure of Idaho that the Treasury on January 31, 1968, had silver bullion reserves of 328 million ounces. Of this total, she said, 177 million ounces was of .999 fine silver bullion, 88 million ounces of .996 to .998 fine bullion, and 63 million ounces were other silver bullion."

This "other silver bullion" is most interesting.

Upon examination, we learn that 56.7 million ounces of this "other silver bullion" is either not usable in its present form or is not immediately available for sale.

The Bureau of the Mint says 36 million ounces is unrefined silver in gold deposits. This is gold held by the Mint in New York, Philadelphia, Denver and San Francisco waiting to be put through refineries. Only about two million ounces is refined each year, so it will be more than 15 years before all this silver becomes available, at the present refining rate.

Incidentally, and this should be of interest to Dr. McLaughlin, this bullion contains gold valued at just under one billion dollars, and I presume this gold is carried with the official gold reserves.

Miss Adams said another 10 million ounces of silver in the "other silver bullion" category is low grade silver bullion free of gold.

The Bureau of the Mint says this is silver, mostly .300 fine, that has been stored in West Point for 30 years, and there is no current plan for disposing of it. During coinage operations, a lot of scrap metal falls onto the floor and is swept up as it accumulates and is melted down into bars.

Another 10.7 million ounces of silver in the "other silver bullion" category refers to .400 fine silver in process for making clad fifty-cent pieces, and so is not available for sale. This reserve amounted to 13 million ounces on January 31, and 10.7 million ounces early in May.

I should mention here that Miss Adams' figures in her letter of March 5 differ slightly from the report of silver bullion prepared by the Bureau of the Mint on March 31, which accompanies the printed version of this speech that will be made available to you this afternoon. The reason is in the different dates. Miss Adams used January 31 figures and the Mint report is of March 31.

The remaining 3.782 million ounces of silver in the "other silver bullion" category is high grade silver bullion free from gold. It is silver that has been in the Treasury at least 30 years and is .992 fine. At one time industrial users considered .992 acceptable. They then raised their standards, but now with the shortage of silver, they are purchasing .897 and .900 fine silver.

The silver bullion mixed with gold, the .300 fine silver and the silver set aside for making clad fifty-cent pieces represent, then, the "paper silver."

But in addition, the Treasury's silver bullion reserves also include almost 65 million ounces of .999 fine silver that has been held by the Atomic Energy Commission since 1956. The Treasury intends to transfer this silver to the strategic stockpile.

Congressman McClure has been told that the A.E.C. began returning this silver in January, and intends to make the transfer in approximately equal monthly shipments that will be completed in September.

However, we learn from the Mint report of March 31 that up to that date only three million ounces actually had been transferred.

And even if the shipments are completed in September on schedule, this means that at the best the silver bullion reserves actually in the Treasury on June 24 must be reduced by another 21 million ounces from the amount the Daily Treasury Statement shows. Nine equal shipments of 65 million ounces means about seven million ounces a month, and three shipments will remain to be made after June 24 if the schedule is maintained. So after deducting the "paper silver," we find that on May 1 the Treasury had 39 million ounces of .999, .998, .996 and .992 silver immediately usable and uncommitted reserves.

To this must be added the .897 and .900 fine silver that is being obtained by melting down old silver coins. On May 1, this grade of silver totaled about 3.5 million ounces, and it is being increased at the rate of one million ounces a week. The melting rate could be stepped up to two million ounces a week.

However, beginning in May, the Treasury is offering one million ounces of this silver for auction each week, plus one million ounces of higher grade silver

The weekly auctions will reduce the current silver bullion in the Treasury by another seven million ounces by June 24, when the Treasury stops redeeming silver certificates for silver. This would leave 32 million ounces of silver—apart from the paper silver—available for redemption of silver certificates.

During the first four months of this year redemption of silver certificates amounted to 27 million ounces.

However, as the deadline for redemption of silver certificates nears, the rate of redemption is expected to accelerate. To what degree, no one can say at this time.

However, Congressman McClure reports he has been told by members of the Banking and Currency Committee that they believe many people are holding silver certificates for redemption at the last minute because it is cheaper to warehouse certificates than bars of silver.

Redemption of silver certificates has been increasing each month this year. In January, $4.4 million worth of certificates were redeemed, in February, $6.1 million, in March, $11.3 million and in April, $13.5 million. By comparison, redemptions in all of last year amounted to $43.2 million.

As of May 1, $286.1 million worth of silver certificates still were outstanding, after deducting the $200 million that were written off by the Treasury last year and this year.

There is one big imponderable in the silver supply picture.

This is the amount of silver the Treasury will be able to recover by melting down coins.

The Treasury told Congressman McClure it had 260 million ounces of silver in such coins on hand early in May, and expects to have another five million ounces by June for a total of 265 million ounces. This will produce .897 and .900 fine silver.

By early this month, however, only 40 million ounces had been counted by separating silver coins from clad coins being held by the Treasury and Federal Reserve Banks.

These are the only statistics and estimates available on the coin silver situation.

And we must keep in mind that it is this silver that will enable the Treasury to continue weekly silver sales after June 24.

The Treasury expects to continue to recover silver coins "over the foreseeable future," Assistant Secretary of Treasury Robert A. Wallace said in a speech earlier this month.

"The ultimate potential recovery can be measured by the approximately 1.3 billion ounces of silver in the dimes and quarters minted during the past 25 years," he said.

On the other hand, it should be pointed out that this 1.3 billion ounces amounts to only 6.5 ounces per person in the United States today, and that this 6.5 ounces has a face value in dimes and quarters of just under $9.

I wonder how many of you in this audience have $9 worth of silver dimes and quarters squirreled away.

The Treasury does admit that the public is hoarding silver coins in large quantities, and it is making every effort to discourage this.

For example:

On May 4 Assistant Secretary of Treasury Wallace addressed the Metropolitan New York Numismatic Convention—a group that obviouly is interested in collecting and holding coins.

Mr. Wallace said, in part:

"Among many members of Congress, members of the Coinage Commission and Treasury officials, there is a distinct lack of sympathy for those who engage in hoarding and speculation in silver coins. Their activities severely handicapped our action to deal with past coinage shortage. The possibility of ever permitting them to reap windfall profits of millions of dollars at the expense of taxpayers will, to say the least, not be very popular."

It can be argued, however, that these coins are the private property of their owners; that there probably are more people who hold such coins than those who don't; the fact that many of these coins are being held in numismatic collections and that they grow more valuable each year because such coins are no longer being minted; and that many other such coins are being held as souvenirs to be handed down to children and grandchildren because they are the last of their kind.

We do have figures to indicate the general public is holding silver coins. These figures are set out in detail in tables accompanying this paper.

They show that between June 30, 1967, and March 31, 1968, the amount of subsidiary coins held by the general public (excluding silver dollars) increased by $407.8 million. During the same period, the amount of such coins held by the Treasury and Federal Reserve Banks decreased by $22 million.

During this period, the Mint produced $385.7 million worth of subsidiary coins.

Now it is hard to conceive of the public hoarding clad, non-silver coins.

And because the Treasury said last July it had completed the transition from silver to non-silver coins, it is difficult to explain the increase of $407.8 million of coins in circulation, which includes hoarded coins, except on the basis that silver coins are being put away in piggy banks.

So to recapitulate on the silver supply situation:

Secretary Wallace said on May 4 "it still seems to be a pretty safe guess that we ought to be able to continue our GSA sales another three years at least, and depending on our silver coin recoveries, perhaps considerably longer."

I submit that because of the "paper silver" that exists in the Treasury reserves, virtually the only silver the Treasury will have for sale after June 24 is the metal it obtains from melting down coins, which will be .897 and .900 fine, and that these sales will depend upon whether the Treasury can melt down two million ounces a week and the quantity of silver coins it has on hand.

The ability of the Treasury to maintain these sales will be the major factor in determining the price of silver in the future.

The Treasury insists it must sell 100 million ounces of silver a year to make up the deficit that exists between supply and demand in the United States.

Actually, this deficit was 114 million ounces last year, and it has been growing steadily each year. It was 107 million ounces in 1966 and 96.7 million ounces in 1965. The annual deficit since 1960 has increased by 59 million ounces. If the situation progresses at the same rate for another eight years, the deficit by 1975 will be more than 170 million ounces.

But it is not fair to look at just this narrow part of the picture.

We must examine the entire Free World supply-demand situation, for Treasury silver goes to all parts of the Free World, as we shall see.

Only if the government intends to embargo exports of silver can we look simply at the domestic picture.

In the four-year period 1964–1967, Free World consumption of silver amounted to 1,570,300,000 ounces and Free World production totaled 866,500,000 ounces. Other Free World supplies of silver, not including Treasury silver, amounted to 364.7 million ounces, leaving a gap of 339.1 million ounces.

In that four-year period, withdrawals of silver from the Treasury, not including silver used for U.S. coinage, totaled 569.1 million ounces. The excess, or 230 million ounces, went into inventories or hoarding.

The point is, had Treasury silver not been available in those four years, Free World silver consumption would have exceeded total supplies by 339.1 million ounces, or almost 85 million ounces a year.

This gap has been growing. In 1963, the Treasury had to supply only 23 million ounces to make up the Free World deficit. In 1967, the Treasury supplied 195.2 million ounces of the other supplies. Of this amount, 120 million ounces went into hoarding and inventories.

The fact is that, despite the domestic gap between production and consumption, this nation in the past four years has been a net exporter of silver. In that period, we have exported 238.5 million ounces of silver and we have imported 183.8 million ounces, creating a total net export balance of 77.8 million ounces.

Despite the nation-wide copper strike that began last July 15 and continued through the first quarter of this year, our net exports of silver in the first three months of this year have been running at a near record rate.

In these three months our exports of silver have exceeded our imports by 10,041,505 ounces. In those three months we exported 3,008,945 ounces of silver in ore and base bullion and 23,039,694 ounces of silver in refined bullion, for a total of 26,048,639 ounces. In that same period, we imported 3,818,983 ounces in ore and base bullion and 12,188,151 ounces in refined bullion for a total of 16,-007,134 ounces.

Even more significant is the fact that in December, January, February and March our exports of refined silver bullion exceeded imports of this kind of metal by 11,077,940 ounces.

Exports of refined bullion in February amounted to 12,599,958 ounces, the largest monthly export since June, 1966, when the total was 13,503,050.

A review of silver import-export figures indicates that when runs develop on Treasury silver reserves, a large amount of American silver ends up overseas.

In 1964, for instance, withdrawals of silver from the Treasury, excluding silver used for domestic coinage, amounted to 151 million ounces. In that year, exports of refined bullion silver exceeded imports of that quality metal by 100,218,000 ounces. In that year we exported 108,746,000 ounces and imported only 8,528,000.

Last year Treasury silver withdrawals, not including silver used for coinage, totaled 195.2 million ounces. Despite the nation-wide copper strike in the last half of that year, which reduced production from 43.7 million ounces in 1966 to 31 million ounces in 1967, our exports of refined bullion silver exceeded imports by 38,556,273 ounces. We exported 68,403,924 ounces and imported 29,-847,651.

This occurred despite the fact that since last July 14, the Treasury sales of silver have been limited to bona fide, domestic, industrial consumers.

The silver that has been going overseas since that time, quite obviously, has come either from silver obtained by redemption of silver certificates, or silver that had been purchased previous to July 14. That would mean a reduction in the silver reserves being held by speculators in the United States.

This makes two recent developments significant.

One is the fact that the Coinage Commission may recommend at its July meeting that the Treasury offer its silver at its weekly auctions to foreign buyers. The Commission came close to making such a recommendation at its March meeting.

The second is the remark made by Mr. Wallace in his May 4 address in New York.

Let me quote from that speech. He said:

"I would point out here one fact about silver certificate redemptions that often seems to be overlooked, and that is that every ounce of silver exchanged for them represents a sale of Treasury silver into the private market and is available for industrial or investor use just as is any other silver. If silver certificate redemptions rise in May and June, this means an equivalent increase in total Treasury silver sales and a concurrent need for the market somehow to absorb this increased supply of silver."

I believe these import-export figures indicate the market has no difficulty in "absorbing" this silver.

These figures indicate to me that much of this silver, as well as other silver previously stored in the United States, is flowing overseas, and there much of it will be held until speculators find that the price is right for them to sell.

This is obvious to me from the fact that although domestic silver production was virtually nil in January and February, our exports of refined silver bullion in those two months exceeded imports by 11,189,248 ounces.

Now, admittedly these speculative holdings of silver do overhang the market, and if they were excessive would act as a deterrent to any wide price increase.

But at the end of 1967, according to Handy & Harman, these speculative holdings totaled only 195 million ounces—just half the Free World consumption of silver in 1967.

Handy & Harman reports previous speculative holdings were liquidated in 1962 and 1963. In 1964, it estimates 70 million ounces were added to these holdings, in 1965, 35 million ounces of these holdings were liquidated, and in 1966 these speculative holdings were increased by 40 million ounces and in 1967 by 120 million ounces.

Against this, we must balance the fact that after June, 1968, the Treasury will be making only 100 million ounces of silver available annually—and that amount for only a limited time—as compared with 195 million ounces in 1967, 142 million ounces in 1966, 80 million ounces in 1965 (when 35 million ounces of speculative holdings were liquidated) and 151 million ounces in 1964.

And so we come down to one simple fact.

In the future, with the Treasury's vast holdings of silver—which totaled more than 1.7 billion ounces in 1961—exhausted, and the demand for silver increasing each year, the deficit between supply and demand must be made up from hoarded supplies of silver.

This includes the relatively small amount of silver bullion held by speculators, the silver coins held by the Treasury and individuals and the five billion ounces or so of silver held in India, plus additional silver in Red China and Russia.

Russia has sold a total of 27 million ounces in the past three years and Red China has not sold any silver to the Free World since 1962. In 1961 and 1962 she sold a total of 80 million ounces.

India does not permit the export of bar silver, but in 1966 and 1967 between 25 and 35 million ounces of the metal have been smuggled out of that country annually.

Much of this silver is sold in France and Italy, and information I have indicates that the French do not believe there will be any substantial increase in this trade.

French sources say much of the silver in India is in the hands of very small hoarders who would not be able to sell enough silver to purchase gold in exchange—and they will not exchange silver for paper money.

But of course everything has a price—even silver. But I don't believe that price has been reached yet.

Now let us turn to the domestic supply-demand picture.

The gap between consumption and production in the United States has been rising in almost an uninterrupted straight line. In 1960, for example, American industry used 55.5 million ounces of silver more than was mined; in 1967, the spread was 106.7 million ounces, almost double that of eight years ago.

In three of those years, 1964, 1965 and 1966, the annual increase in industrial consumption in the United States just about equalled the entire output of the mines in the Coeur d'Alene Mining District in Idaho—and we produce half the silver mined in the United States.

At present prices for silver, it is unlikely that domestic production will gain on industrial consumption.

Because the price of silver has almost doubled in the past year, a casual observer might believe that this would lead to vastly increased production.

The fact is, however, that costs have increased substantially over the past twenty years, and that the big shallow bonanza deposits of silver have been exhausted.

At no time in our history has domestic production of silver come close to matching the industrial consumption of today.

The greatest production came in the period 1901–1925, when output averaged 61.4 million ounces a year. In the period 1874–1900, when the then fabulous Comstock Lode in Nevada was most productive, the annual mine output averaged 47.7 million ounces a year.

Normal domestic production now is in the vicinity of 45 million ounces a year.

Higher production was possible in earlier periods of our history because the deposits of silver ore being mined then were shallow. But most of these shallow deposits have been worked out, or are now marginal.

Much of the production today in the United States, outside the Coeur d'Alene Mining District, is a by-product of other ores and in these cases production of silver depends to a large extent upon the prices for these other metals.

As I mentioned, about half the newly mined silver in the United States comes from mines in the Coeur d'Alene Mining District. The only deep-seated silver ore bodies in the world are found in this district.

All the major silver ore bodies in the Coeur d'Alene Mining District are found below sea level, and the richest mine of all, the Sunshine, now is developing mining levels 2500 feet below sea level, at a depth of 5200 feet.

The Sunshine Mine is the largest silver producer in the United States, followed by the Galena and the Lucky Friday. All three are located in the Coeur d'Alene Mining District.

The higher price for silver has stimulated the greatest exploration for ore bodies in the 84-year history of the Coeur d'Alene Mining District.

American Smelting and Refining Company is just completing the first stage of its $5 million Coeur Project, which includes sinking a 4400-foot shaft; Sunshine is developing a number of neighboring properties at depth; Hecla and Asarco are consolidating a number of Silver Belt properties and plan to explore and develop them at depth; and Hecla plans development of properties adjacent to its Lucky Friday Mine.

These projects, and others on the drawing board in our district, could add significantly to the silver production in the United States.

However, I must point out to you that there is a "time lag" of between four and five years between the time such a project is started and when production is begun—provided an ore body is discovered. It takes time to sink deep shafts and explore for and develop ore bodies.

That is the reason I have consistently recommended that the Treasury phase out the sale of its remaining silver, thereby permitting the price of silver to gradually rise to a level that will stimulate exploration for silver.

You do not begin a $5 million project until you are fairly certain that the price you will obtain for your metal will make the project profitable.

So to sum up:

The gap between consumption of silver and production of silver continues to widen.

Over the longer term, this means a dramatic development must occur in the silver situation . . . either a sharp price increase or an equally sharp decrease in consumption. After the Treasury is no longer a dominant factor in the silver market, the price must ultimately rise to a level that will bring the supply and demand for silver into balance. This will require a price that will result in new production, and will encourage the flow of silver produced over the centuries, and now in hoarding, back into the market. There is nothing in past history to indicate a letup in the demand for silver.

The short term picture is clouded by the uncertainty as to whether and how long the Treasury will be able to make up the deficit between supply and demand.

But this picture is coming into focus.

By June 24 we will know for certain how much usable silver bullion the Treasury has on hand for sale, and how much it will be able to supply from its melted down coins.

In other words, on that date we will be able to separate the "paper silver" from the metallic silver.

FRACTIONAL COIN, EXCLUDING SILVER DOLLARS—INCREASES (DECREASES) FROM PRECEDING PERIODS

	Outstanding	In circulation	Held by Treasury and Federal Reserve banks
1st quarter, 1967	$254,002,300	$37,791,362	$216,210,938
2d quarter, 1967	240,091,400	123,400,557	116,690,843
3d quarter, 1967	197,620,000	110,221,710	87,398,290
4th quarter, 1967	94,977,700	166,224,079	(71,246,379)
1st quarter, 1968	93,071,100	131,309,451	(38,238,351)

	Outstanding	In circulation	Held by Treasury and Federal Reserve banks
Net increase, Dec. 31, 1966 to Mar. 31, 1968	$879,762,500	$568,947,159	$310,815,341
Net increase (decrease), June 30, 1967, to Mar. 31, 1968	385,668,800	407,755,240	(22,086,440)
Net increase (decrease) Aug. 31, 1967, to Mar. 31, 1968	248,686,100	328,854,141	(80,168,041)

BREAKDOWN OF SILVER BULLION

[Fine ounces, Mar. 31, 1968. Revised preliminary]

		Fineness						
	Total	999+	999	996-998	900-995	400 [1]	Unrefined [2]	Other
New York	29,658,453.19	8,033,231.96	1,039,898.54	896,484.86	0	0	19,688,837.83	0
West Point	68,728,832.55	217,116.71	6,220,423.91	48,180,643.38	3,713,953.32	0	0	[5] 10,396,695.23
Philadelphia	599,611.46	0	449,082.20	74,50.18	29,772.12	58.80	46,198.16	0
San Francisco	105,191,057.73	9,477,594.50	81,997,695.40	4,224,231.15	75.47	632,548.17	8,698,957.39	[4] 159,955.65
Denver	31,382,551.37	578,815.85	2,268,026.26	0	4,105.02	[3] 20,835,377.53	7,452,456,15	[4] 243,770.56
In hands of contractors, Denver	11,042,549.94	0	0	0	0	11,042,549.94	0	0
In silver clad makeup, Denver	400,721.42	0	0	0	0	400,721.42	0	0
Mint holdings	247,003,777.66	18,306,759.02	91,975,126.31	53,375,859.57	3,747,905.93	32,911,255.86	35,886,449.53	10,800,421.44
Held by AEC	[6] 64,751,316.12	0	64,751,316.12	0	0	0	0	0
Total	311,755,093.78	18,306,759.02	[7] 156,726,442.43	[7] 53,375,859.67	3,747,905.93	32,911,255.86	35,886,449.53	10,800,421.44
Percent	100.0	5.9	50.3	17.1	1.2	10.5	11.5	3.5

[1] Includes 999 fine silver in process for coinage.
[2] Silver mixed with gold.
[3] Low fineness silver free of gold.
[4] Coin silver.
[5] Includes 1,150,008.82 999 fine silver (M. & R. Supt. Accts).
[6] Includes 3,040,388.64 ounces not taken up in New York's account as of Mar. 31, 1968.
[7] As of Mar. 31, 1968 the totals do not reflect reductions amounting to 400,000 fine ounces of 999 fine silver and 4,100,000 fine ounces of 996-998 fine ounces of silver resulting from GSA silver sales for which payment had not been received. Effectively these commitments reduce the balances shown accordingly.

THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN: AN OPPORTUNITY FOR ACTION

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, I have been distressed at the remarks made almost daily in the RECORD concerning the Poor People's Campaign. We have heard cries of alarm that the poor are the tools of revolutionary demagogs. We have heard accusations of some nefarious collaboration between the march leaders, who are dedicated to the nonviolent philosophy, and militant advocates of violence. We have heard vicious attacks on leaders of the campaign—and even attacks on the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. We have heard charges that the campaign has a goal of anarchy and disruption.

We have listened to all of these harangues and charges; and yet, the events of the past weeks have not borne out the fears of these Members. The poor people have suffered in their simple shanties, throughout the cold and rainy welcome that our local weather provided, just as so many of them suffer in their own homes. And yet, they have conducted themselves with proud and sublime restraint.

Here is a situation in which several thousand people, all with legitimate complaints against their Government, have congregated together in the seat of that Government, and this fact alone makes their dedication to the principles of nonviolence all the more remarkable. If the Members of Congress who have been so critical and so fearful would talk to the leaders and participants in the campaign, perhaps these Members would reevaluate their positions.

These gentlemen and others have pointed to the Poor People's Campaign as evidence of a breakdown of "law and order," a phrase which, in the highly emotionalized campaigns of this election year, has become a euphemism for retrogression and nonthinking. Some Members are speaking of "law and order" as if it were an end unto itself, rather than our accepted means of assuring equal justice for all. There cannot be viable law and order without justice, and we can ill afford to sacrifice justice to a "law and order" imposed by repression and reaction.

What is needed most in this crucial hour is a program that offers realistic promise of swift advance toward a society of true equal opportunity. The dimensions of that program are clearly set forth in the recommendations of the Kerner Commission report. What we are missing is a long-term commitment by the Congress to make the sacrifices necessary to assure good schools, jobs, and housing for all Americans.

This, then, must be our goal. And those who are concerned with the overtures that militant radicals are making to the poor might well remember Disraeli's statement, that the way to make a man conservative is to give him something to conserve.

The Poor People's Campaign must, however, be regarded as something more than simply a collection of just demands of people who are starving throughout the world's richest nation. The campaign is also noteworthy because it is a nonviolent protest. In the past few years, we have become quite used to nonviolent protests, but this may well be the last one we shall ever see.

We are being reminded constantly that nonviolence is only one school of social action. The militants are constantly telling the poor people in our rural slums and urban ghettos that nonviolence is ineffective. The poor, despite their frustrations and agony, have so far given little head to the extremists' cries. If we in the Congress turn a deaf ear to the pleas of the poor, we will be confirming the charges of the militants, and giving aid and comfort to those who say that rebellion is the "only answer."

I am certain that my colleagues will agree that the democratic process is preferable to violence and destruction as a means of petition. I submit, therefore, that it is we who have the greatest stake in the success of this campaign. When we act on the demands of this campaign, we will decide more than the issue of "poverty versus opportunity" for the poor. For these poor people are protestors who have chosen to "play within the system." When Martin Luther King planned this campaign, he placed his faith in our American legislative process, and his followers have done likewise. They have a right to expect results.

If the Poor People's Campaign is successful, it will be because we, the Congress, showed all Americans that we are responsive to their problems, and responsible in trying to solve them. By the same token, the defeat of this campaign will mean more than simply the failure of nonviolence as an effective means of social protest. For if the poor people leave Washington just as they came—with no real prospects for a better life—we will have demonstrated the total inability of this body to deal with a deplorable human plight which we allowed to go unchecked.

In effect, then, the Poor People's Campaign is putting Congress on trial; the American people are our jury, and history will ultimately be our judge. The Congress is the keystone of our democratic process, and the Poor People's Campaign is a very real test of that process. We must not let it fail.

THE ROBERT P. CONNELLY MEDAL

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, each year the Kiwanis International organization presents the Robert P. Connelly Medal for Service Beyond the Call of Duty in memory of the late Robert P. Connelly, a 32-year-old Kiwanian from Illinois who gave his life in a vain attempt to rescue a crippled woman from the path of an onrushing railroad train. Both of them were killed.

This medal and award acknowledge heroism and a deep sense of personal responsibility. It gives me great pleasure to announce that this year's medal has gone to a young Floridian, Walter Stormant, of Wiersdale, Fla. He risked his own life to save the lives of six persons. He was driving home from school when he spotted flames coming from the roof of a friend's home. He entered the burning building notifying its residents and helping people to safety. At one time, he had to crawl through flames and go to the second story to reach a member of the family.

This young man has always exhibited a deep sense of responsibility. He is a former Key Clubber of Lake Weir High School and a former lieutenant governor of Key Club Division 18 of the Florida district. He commutes 50 miles to school each day and helps his parents run their country grocery store.

I would like to add my congratulations to all the others he has received and ask that he be recognized in this RECORD for outstanding heroism and service to his fellow man.

THE REAL THREAT OF GEORGE WALLACE

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, the Minneapolis Tribune, in an editorial of May 20, entitled, "The Real Threat of George Wallace," points out a situation which could precipitate an alarming constitutional crisis next January.

Unfortunately, the editorial is correct in stating:

It would be all but impossible to change this obsolete procedure (electoral college) before the 1968 election.

I have repeatedly urged congressional action to change the archaic electoral college system. My only hope now is that the concern of the Minneapolis Tribune, expressed in the following editorial, does not become a reality next year.

The editorial follows:

THE REAL THREAT OF GEORGE WALLACE

The prospect of a Republican or Democratic candidate having to make a "deal" with George Wallace to gain the presidency is enough to make many Americans shudder.

What would be the price? The appointment of Wallace as secretary of health, education and welfare? Or a pledge to ease up on enforcement of the voting rights law? Or perhaps withdrawal of the FBI from its infiltration of the Ku Klux Klan?

Can this be possible in 1968 America? It is, although estimates vary on whether it will happen. The fear is that Wallace will get enough votes in the South to prevent either major-party candidate from gaining the required number of Electoral College votes to win the presidency. Then Wallace could bargain and throw his votes to the candidate who responded most favorably—to him.

If that failed, the election would have to be decided in the House of Representatives, with each state delegation having one vote. That would give Alaska's one representative the same voice as New York's 41. Twenty-six small states could elect the president.

The House did elect the president twice. Thomas Jefferson was the first, in 1801. John Quincy Adams was the second, in 1824, and in that case, negotiations over a three-month period allegedly involved a deal that put Clay in as secretary of state.

The system that produced those results remains today. It means that the candidate who carries a state, regardless of how tiny his margin, gets all the electoral votes for that state. This makes it possible for a nominee to win a majority of the electoral votes and thus be elected president even though he had less than a majority of the total popular vote.

It would be all but impossible to change this obsolete procedure before the 1968 election, but the Wallace threat shows the need to change soon. Rep. Clark MacGregor has proposed a constitutional amendment that would provide for election of the president by direct popular vote. That would be a gain for democracy, and it ought to be adopted.

UTT SAYS REPUBLIC IS IN DANGER

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, one of our distinguished colleagues, JAMES B. UTT, of my home State of California, recently wrote his constituents about the "unthinkable" but possible consequence facing our great Republic if racial and civil disorders continue in this country. His analysis is a thought-provoking one and should be of interest to all of us. I include in the RECORD an editorial from the San Diego Union which comments on Congressman UTT's statement.

The editorial follows:

THINKING THE UNTHINKABLE: REPUBLIC IN DANGER, SAYS UTT

Only a short time ago, so-called "liberals" were busy, as they expressed it, "thinking the unthinkable." By that they meant weighing what we should do, and what would result, in case of a nuclear war.

Now, on the other hand, a conservative is "thinking the unthinkable" regarding what is happening and what can happen on the home front.

He is Rep. James B. Utt, a Republican.

In a news letter he has told his constituents that "fantastic though it may seem, this great Republic is threatened with anarchy. In fact, the threat has grown so far that the only salvation may be a military dictatorship."

For Congressman Utt, a mild and freedom-loving individual, this is strong medicine. And he knows it. He warns that anarchy and dictatorship represents two opposite extremes; the first, a complete absence of government; the second, a totality of government.

"These two extremes have faced many civilizations over the past 4000 years," he says. And he raises the point that we, too, may be facing a choice.

When the "liberals" were "thinking the unthinkable" they were mostly concerned with bringing an end to the Cold War. Many of them were willing to accept unilateral disarmament on the part of the United States.

Their real aim was to jar us into fear of the consequences of continuing on the course which this country was taking.

Rep. Utt's warnings may have the same effect—and maybe that is what he is after.

A hard look at the consequences of continuing racial and civic disorder perhaps could raise the fear of anarchy, or the counter to anarchy, dictatorship, and shake the country into reason.

Though the situation may not have deteriorated to the degree described by Rep. Utt, he is right in his reading of the straws in the wind.

Over the last 35 years, he says, there has been a steady downgrading of the concept of a government of balanced powers, and the dignity of the individual has tended to become submerged in a collectivism.

We are sinking into a self-criticism. Nobody seems to have much good to say about the country—and this includes some of our so-called political leaders.

Let this go on long enough, and let the rioting run, and let each person decide what law he will or will not obey, and history may make Congressman Utt look like a prophet.

We are sure, however, that the good sense of the people will prevail, and that they are eager to call a halt to an era of reforms that went wrong.

It is time to take stock of where we have been and where we are going. It is time to think out the thinkable.

OPPRESSION BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I received a letter from Mark P. Mensheha, assistant professor in geography at Wisconsin State University, Superior, Wis., which I think is the most timely evaluation of our troubles at home and the oppression behind the Iron Curtain.

The Soviet Union is making great capital of our riots and civil disorders at home and gloating over these conditions.

In spite of our faults, there is not a human being in the world who would not rather live in America than in the Soviet Union where oppression is still the order of the day.

I include this letter and paper from Professor Mensheha for my fellow Members of Congress to read. I feel that these show more clearly than anything that has ever been stated how fortunate we are in America as compared to living behind the Iron Curtain:

WISCONSIN STATE UNIVERSITY,
Superior, Wis., May 27, 1968.

Hon. ALVIN O'KONSKI,
Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. O'KONSKI: The Russian daily newspapers, which I have read systematically, are filled with the description of "police brutality" on American campuses and streets of Washington, Milwaukee, and other cities. The pictures of peace and civil rights fighters, stricken down and dragged by police, are illustrated in Russian papers. In addition to this the United States is depicted as an "imperialistic" country, suppressing the movements for national liberation and self-determination everywhere in the world.

While blaming the United States for "imperialism", "neo-colonialism", and racial injustice, the Soviet government exposed itself as a champion of liberation, self-determination, and independence of each nation beyond the Soviet borders.

It is worth knowing how "polite" the Soviet authorities are in handling their own dissentient intellectuals and how "respectful" they are of the rights of non-Russian nationals: Jews, Tartars, Caucasians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Ukrainians, and others inside the Soviet Union.

Some brief information about the secret trial of dissentient intellectuals in Moscow was published in the Western World. Little is known about more trials in Kiev, Lviv, Odessa, and other Ukrainian cities. Many protests, petitions, and letters of jailed intellectuals are clandestinely copied and circulated among the Soviet students, professors, writers, and scientists. Some of them reached the Western World and were translated and published.

The most illustrative of the question of national policy of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union is Mr. Y Karavansky's petition to the Soviet Parliament. The author, a Soviet Ukrainian poet and literary worker, was jailed for 25 years for his protest against the severe Russification of non-Russian nations. His petition was written in jail. I recommend this document for reading by my students in the class of Geography of the U.S.S.R. I think that the reading of this document is helpful for the understanding of the extreme sensitivity of the Moscow rulers to the liberal movements spread over the Eastern Satellites, especially in Czechoslovakia (including the Cz-Sl. Comm. Party). For this reason I submit respectfully the copy of this document for your attention.

Sincerely yours,

MARK P. MENSHEHA,
Asst. Prof. in Geog.

G-356, GEOGRAPHY OF THE U.S.S.R. NATIONAL POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY TOWARD THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONALITIES: A PETITION *

(The following petition, addressed to the President of the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, was written by a Soviet Ukrainian writer, Svyatoslav Yosypovich Karavansky. Dated April 10, 1966, it was composed after Karavansky had been imprisoned without trial and sent to a labor camp in the Potma area of Movdovskaya ASSR. The petition urges the elimination of the widespread discrimination still practiced against national minorities in the USSR. It was circulated underground before reaching the west and is published here for the first time in English.)

TO THE COUNCIL OF NATIONALITIES OF THE U.S.S.R.

(By Svyatoslav Y Karavansky)

Over the last 30 years, the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has investigated very few of the pressing problems that should be of primary concern to it. Obviously, one can neither criticize nor condemn the Council's activities up to 1953, for like all Soviet state organs, it was represented by Stalin personally. During this period it existed formally, but did not in fact perform any official business. Unfortunately, inertia still characterizes the Council, although it is high time that it undertook the correction of a long list of abuses resulting from the Stalinist cult of personality—abuses which even today restrict and undermine friendly relations between the nations of the USSR.

Such friendship will develop successfully and increase in strength only when all the nations of the Soviet Union are accorded equal rights in every branch of social and political life. This is a truth that is self-evident. It is the principle that has compelled me to address the Council of Nationalities, and to petition it for the implementation of measures to remove the vestiges of discrimination against nationalities in our society.

To begin with, I call your attention to *the discrimination against* the Jewish population. I state this problem first because the attitude of a society toward its Jewish population is the litmus paper indicating that society's level of international consciousness. The closing down of Jewish cultural institutions (newspapers, schools, theaters, publishing houses); the execution of Jewish cultural workers; discrimination in admitting Jews to institutions of higher and secondary learning—these are all practices that flourished in the era of the personality cult. It would seem that the condemnation of the cult should have also put an end to these flagrant injustices, yet this did not occur. To appease public opinion abroad, Nikita Khrushchev (who paid little attention to public opinion in the Soviet Union itself) was forced to "rehabilitate" the innocent Jewish cultural leaders executed under Stalin. But he went no further.

Where are the Jewish theaters now, the newspapers and publishing houses, the Schools? In Odessa, there are approximately 150,000 Jews, but not one Jewish school. And what about admission to institutions of higher learning? Again in Odessa, where 25 per cent of the population is Jewish, Jews make up only 3–5 per cent of the student body at those institutions. That is the *unofficial quota* maintained in processing admissions. Yet Jewish students applying to institutions of higher learning in other cities are told: "You have a school in Odessa—go to your 'own' school." Students from the Urals, Siberia, Moscow, Tula, Saratov (all with their own large, well-established universities) are permitted to study in Odessa, where they are provided with specially constructed dormitories, while local Jewish students (as well as the local Ukrainians and Moldavians) are severely restricted in their right to a higher education.

Practices such as these can only lead the Jews to an awareness of the fact that in the Soviet Union they belong to an inferior and unequal national group, and so drive them to Zionism. One must admit that never before has Zionism been as popular among the Jewish population as it is today, and this is a direct result of discriminatory practices against the Jewish minority.

An equally glaring example of national discrimination was *the mass deportation of the Crimean Tartars* and the Germans from their own territories and *confiscation* of their statehood. The expulsion of the Tartars from Crimea was an act of open injustice that no argument can excuse. How, in the 20th century, could a society that wants to create the most just order on earth deport a nation of 900,000 from its historic land for "treason against the motherland" committed by a few of its people? Who has the right in this century to delve into the archives of an imperialism long past to come up with an argument that "historically" this land belonged not to the Tartars but to the Russians? If one followed this line of reasoning then Khabarovsky Kray, Prymorsky Kray, and the Amursk Oblast should all be immediately returned to the Chinese Republic because the imperialistic Tsars of Russia forcefully seized these lands from the Chinese rulers. Can friendship among the Soviet nations possibly be encouraged by depriving the Crimean Tartars of statehood, by scattering them throughout the expanses of Kazakhstan and Siberia, by depriving them of their schools, newspapers, and theaters?

And how are the Germans of the Volga Region responsible to society for Hitler's crimes? Does Marxism solve complex problems by judging people on the basis of their nationality rather than their social contribution? Does not the slogan "Workers of the world, unite!" apply to the Jews, the Crimean Tartars, and the Germans of the Volga Region? We have no bourgeois Jews, no capitalist Tartars, no German landowners in the Soviet Union. We have only workers.

How can our young people be educated in the spirit of internationalism when they see entire nations deprived of their right to national autonomy and of their right to an education in both their native and foreign languages? What friendship can there be between the man who has been exiled from his own home, from his native land, and the man who has taken over this home and this land?

To the injustices above one must also add the errors committed in the restoration of national statehood to the Chechens, Ingush, Kalmyks, Karachais, and a number of other nationalities. This seemingly just act toward the smaller national groups was not accomplished without blunders, making it obvious to these nationalities that they are still less than equal. According to the established procedure, the families of these unjustly exiled national groups are not given back their immovable property—their buildings and their homes; if they wish to return to their ancestral lands, they must buy back their homes from the local state authorities, or else build new ones. Having given them the right to return, the decree of the Supreme Soviet did not secure for them the means to realize this return. It is the same as presenting someone with an expensive cake, after first eating the chocolate icing and filling. Can such a gift be considered a gift?

During the era of the personality cult many injustices were likewise perpetrated against the Baltic nations. *The Estonian population occupying regions near the Soviet-Estonian border was deported en masse to Siberia*—although the only crime of these people was that they happened to live near the border. They could at least have been resettled in another part of the Estonian Republic; but, no, the entire population of the town of Silamaye was transported to Siberia.

As everyone knows, in 1940 the Latvian Republic joined the Soviet Union of its own accord. Therefore, no repressive measures should have been taken against the military personnel of the Latvian Army. Strangely enough, however, *officers of the Latvian Army were invited in 1941 to military maneuvers from which they have never returned; they were interned, and their fate is unknown. Not one of these officers ever came home.* This is true, too, of *the thousands of Lithuanians who were unjustly repressed and deported in 1940–41.* The suspicion arises that under Beria's arbitrary rule, these Soviet citizens may have been liquidated in one way or another in the concentration camps. This is in itself a crime against humanity and can hardly strengthen friendship among nations. To prevent similar occurrences in the future, it is time to investigate and, if necessary, perform the appropriate excavations and exhumations of bodies in order to prosecute those criminally responsible for murdering thousands of Lithuanian and Latvian citizens of the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, inordinate damage to the friendship of nations has been and is being done by the distorted national policies applied in one of the largest republics of the USSR, the Ukraine. The *Russification* of Ukrainian institutions of higher learning introduced after 1937 has been condemned and partially corrected in the Western Ukraine, but in the Eastern Ukraine, these institutions remain completely Russified. This discriminatory policy is explained by the supposed difference between the two regions; but if this is the case, why did the Ukrainian nation unite into one Ukrainian Soviet state in the first place? Obviously, so that the entire Ukrainian nation, previously deprived of statehood, could develop into one national organism. Now, in the field of education the united republic is divided into two parts. Practices of this kind not only discourage friendship; they even divide one nation into two.

It is no secret that the unjust acts against the Ukrainian nation—the execution of leaders such as Chubar, Kosior, Zatonsky, and Luibchenko; the execution of writers such as Mykytenko, Vlyzko, Falkivsky, and dozens of others; the groundless exclusion of the Communist party of the Western Ukraine from the Comintern; the liquidation and deportation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of Lvov between 1939–53; *the compulsory mass deportations of Ukrainians to Siberia;*

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* Copied from the New Leader, January 15, 1968.

the forced Russification of the Ukrainian population in Kukan, Bilohorod, Stavrodub—that all these acts could not fail to provoke the national outrage which developed into a national revolt between 1943-49. The majority of the participants in this revolt and even more witnesses (there are more of these) are still living beyond the borders of their own republic.

These victims of the personality cult should be returned to their native homes. A true friendship among the Soviet nations requires a wide and general amnesty for all those prisoners who (after 15, 18, or 20 years) are wasting away in prisons and concentration camps for their active opposition to the personality cult and to Beria's terror. If there is really to be friendship among the nations of the USSR, then it must be based on humane relations, and not on national hatreds and fratricide.

The fact that there has been no amnesty for participants in the 1943-49 national uprisings against Stalin's personality cult and Beria's terror in the Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia does great harm to the ideal of friendship among Soviet nations. *Today in Komi ASSR (Vorkuta, Inta, Pechora), in Siberia (Irkutsk Oblast, Kemerovo Oblast, Krasnoyarsk Kray), in Kazakhstan, and in Kolyma, there are large numbers of Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians who were deported on the suspicion of opposing the personality cult between 1943-49.*

One can only presume that it is precisely because it intends to prevent the release of these persons that the USSR continues to maintain its *barbaric 25-year prison term. For at this time 25-year sentences are being served primarily by Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians, and Moldavians. Why is there no pardon for them? We have generously pardoned those who contributed to the mass extermination of Soviet citizens in 1937-39,* excusing them on the ground that they were not responsible for the conditions of those times and were only obeying orders.

Why is there no similar pardon for such Ukrainian women as Kateryna Zarytska, Halyna Didyk, and Odarka Husiak, each sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment? Should it be permissible to hold women in the Volodymyr Prison for 18-20 years: Kateryna Zarytska since 1947, and Halyna Didyk and Odarka Husiak since 1950? At one time Khrushchev condemned inhuman execution of a pregnant woman-revolutionary in Albania; bearing this condemnation in mind, can one condone the imprisonment of women so many years in a stone grave?

The practice of settling the cities of the national republics with Russians further contradicts true friendship among the Soviet nations. In the UkrSSR the Russian population systematically increases while the Ukrainian population decreases. Similar migrations are still taking place in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Moldavia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, and elsewhere. *The colonization of the Ukraine with a large number or Russians (retired officers, retired KGB officials, and other privileged categories of citizens) who settle in the cities and get all the comfortable jobs and professional positions, has forced the native Ukrainian population into low-salaried jobs as unskilled laborers, ambulance drivers, caretakers, stevedores, construction and farm workers.* Such arbitrary settlement of prehistoric Ukrainian lands produces nothing but national enmity. Let us remember the bloodshed among nations between 1917-1920 in the Caucasus and in the Middle East.

In 1958, when the Chechens and the Ingush finally returned to their native lands, they were greeted by the Russian population of Grozny with banners reading, "Chechens and Ingush, get out of the Caucasus?" and "Long live Stalin's national policies!" Is this not typical of the colonizer's attitude toward age-old inhabitants in any given locality, toward the legal owners of the land? Is this not a shameful expression of international enmity? Is it not clear proof of the fact that the policy of colonization of the national republics has led not to friendship among nations and at the same time support the policy of arbitrarily and deliberately intermingling nationalities and dividing among them the social functions of work and leadership. From the point of view of a true friendship between the Soviet nations, it is necessary to re-examine this discriminatory policy of deporting national minorities to Siberia and of settling the national republics with foreign, usually Russian or Russified groups.

An equally pernicious vestige of the personality cult is the so-called system of passport registration that exists in the Soviet Union. According to this law, a person may live only where the militia allows him to live; he does not have the right to move about freely in the country—or more precisely, he has the right to move to Siberia, to the Urals, to Kazakhstan, but he does not have the right to live in the so-called "regime" cities. Thus an inhabitant of the Ukraine is not free to settle in Kiev, Odessa, or Lvov; an inhabitant of Lithuania, in Vilna or Kaunas; an inhabitant of Latvia, in Riga. Why? How could the fact that Ukrainians live in Kiev threaten the safety of the Communist society there?

In 1948, the Soviet Union signed the International Convention on Human Rights, which contains a paragraph concerning the right of people to move about freely within a given country. But this freedom does not exist in the Soviet Union, where the inhabitants of a national republic do not have the right even to settle in the cities of their own republic. The discriminatory system of registration presently in force makes it possible only for foreigners, usually Russians, to settle in these cities. Inevitably, such a practice evokes antagonism that is felt today in all the national republics.

Discrimination against certain nationalities is further manifest in the "errors" made in designating the borders of the national republics. Large regions settled by Byelorussians in the Smolensk and the Bryansky Oblasts, for instance, were not included in the Byelorussian SSR; Krasnodarksy Kray, parts of Voronezh, Bilhorod, and the Tahanroha Rayon of the Rostov Oblast were not included in the UkrSSR; regions settled by Moldavians in the Odessa Oblast were excluded from the Moldavian SSR; the Horno-Badakhshanska Autonomous Oblast was excluded from the Armenian SSR.

In the case of the autonomous republics, the division of lands might have been carried out by the lion in Aesop's fable. A part of the Penza Oblast and the city of Penza, settled by Moldavinians, were excluded from the Mordovian ASSR. Large territories of the Ulyanovsk and Orenburg Oblasts, settled by Tartars, were excluded from the Tartar ASSR. The homeland of Musa Dzalil was left in the Orenburg Oblast. Part of the Kirov Oblast, settled by Udmurts, was excluded from the Udmurt ASSR. And what conceivably could have been the reason for excluding Vyborg from the Karelian ASSR, or for artificially dividing the Komi nation into two republics—the Komi ASSR and the Komi-Permyak National Okrug? Similarly, the Ossetians were divided into the North and the South Ossetian ASSR, while the Buryat-Mongols were divided into the Buryat-Mongol ASSR, the Ust-Orda Buryat National Okrug, and the Aginsky National Okrug.

Such arbitrary dissection of nationality serves only to create hostility. The true development and strengthening of friendship among the nations of the USSR demand that these problems be investigated and rectified within the briefest possible period. I therefore propose that the following measure be quickly adopted and implemented:

1. Cessation of all forms of discrimination against the Jewish population.
2. Return of statehood to the Crimean Tartars and the Germans of the Volga Region.
3. Return of all immovable property to the families of unjustly deported and repatriated national groups.
4. Permission for the members of the Baltic nations, the Western Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Moldavia who were unjustly deported to Siberia to return to their homelands.
5. Investigation of the disappearance of the Latvian Army officers.
6. Proclamation of a general amnesty encompassing all victims of Stalin's personality cult.
7. Release of women-martyrs: Kateryna Zarayrska, Odarka Husiak, and Halyna Didyk.
8. Investigation of the question of discriminatory practices toward Ukrainians living in Kuban, Bilhorod, and Starodub and appropriate action to abolish such discrimination.
9. Removal of all forms of discrimination in education against nationalities in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia, and other republics.
10. Condemnation of the deportation of peoples from their national republics to Siberia, and of the settlement of these republics with Russians.
11. Review of the system of passport restrictions, and condemnation of passport discrimination that is in contradiction to the International Convention on Human Rights.
12. Review of the borders of national republics so that they may conform more closely to ethnographic settlements.
13. Wide discussion in the press of all questions broached in this petition.

UNITED STATES ON A WAR ECONOMY, NOT A PEACE ECONOMY

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the United States is currently on a war economy, and the so-called boom we are experiencing is based on the risked lives of American soldiers overseas. If it were not for the war, the United States would currently have a relatively high unemployment rate and would probably be experiencing a recession.

Two recent articles point this up. The May 14, 1968, issue of the Wall Street Journal contained a short paragraph on the front page in the column entitled "Labor Letter." The paragraph states:

> Federal spending, mostly for defense, provided a majority of the new jobs in the private economy last year, the Labor Department says. The outlay generated 800,000 new industry jobs, or about three-fifths of the 1967 non-farm employment gain. In 1966, Federal outlays, produced about 300,000 such jobs.

The Defense Department created three-fifths—60 percent—of new jobs in the private sector last year.

The May 13, 1968, issue of the Journal of Commerce backs up this point in an article "Labor Shortages Prodding Inflation." The article states that the

United States is presently in an inflationary wage-price spiral based on the demands of a war economy. The war has put an additional three-quarters of a million men in the Armed Forces, requires another million workers to directly supply goods for the war, and the extra spending created by the war-caused inflation has probably created 1 or 2 million more jobs. Thus, from 2¾ to 3¾ million jobs have been created by this war. Taking a conservative figure of 2 million jobs created by the war—if the war had not created these jobs the unemployment rate in the United States would be around 6 percent.

There is not a sound economy in the United States today and what seeming prosperity there is is based on war. The two articles follow:

Federal spending, mostly for defense, provided a majority of the new jobs in the private economy last year, the Labor Department says. The outlays generated 800,000 new industry jobs, or about three-fifths of the 1967 nonfarm employment gain. In 1966, Federal outlays produced about 300,000 such jobs.

PRODUCTION COSTS RISE: LABOR SHORTAGES PRODDING INFLATION

(By Sidney Fish)

Labor shortages are causing employers to offer high wages for unskilled and semiskilled workers in many parts of the country. Skilled workers, too, are in extremely short supply, and labor unions representing these workers are taking advantage of this situation to boost their demands in collective bargaining.

In many areas, employers are bidding against each other to obtain workers needed to build or man new plants or service operations.

JOB TURNOVER

Some companies say they have not witnessed such severe labor shortages since World War II. Moonlighting is widely prevalent, job turnover has risen, and absenteeism, too, is at a high level. These factors add to production costs and intensify inflationary trends.

Government figures show that the total number of unemployed last month was only 2,491,000, or 3.5 per cent of the labor force. This is the first time that the number of unemployed has been under 2.5 million since 1953, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Most of the unemployed are of the hard core type and require careful training and rehabilitation. Employers have already taken on many workers in this category and have absorbed higher costs, as a result.

The labor shortage situation thus has contributed to relieving some of the hard core unemployment among Negroes and other minority slum-dwellers. But the labor shortages have made it difficult to conduct efficient operations in new plants.

Breaking-in costs have soared on new equipment. Many employers have commented on the unusually high starting-up costs during the first quarter of this year.

"I don't know whether inflation is causing labor shortages or labor shortages are causing inflation," one employer said. "But this much is plain—if it weren't for the war in Vietnam we wouldn't be having any of the problems that we are finding in this highly inflationary economy.

"The war has meant a buildup of three-quarters of a million men in the armed forces to about 3.5 million. In addition, another million workers are engaged in production of equipment and supplies needed for the war. And the extra spending generated by war-caused inflation has probably created another million or two million jobs."

Building contractors are being hit by man power shortages in two ways. They are receiving extremely high demands from labor unions, calling for wage rises of 30 per cent for a three-year contract.

In addition, they are being forced to bid against other employers by guaranteeing overtime pay in order to get a supply of workers.

An illustration of what happens under these conditions is provided by the shortage of skilled plumbers and steamfitters in Westchester County in New York State.

Consolidated Edison Co. is building a $108 million nuclear generator at Indian Point, N.Y., to get the job done in time, and to meet demands for electric power, the contractors and subcontractors on this job are offering overtime work with premium rates. This tends to attract pipe fitters and other building trade skills from home construction and other building jobs.

Including overtime, building trade skilled workers are able to earn over $400 a week, not only at Indian Point, but at many other large industrial construction jobs throughthe country. Some home builders feel they cannot afford to offer such high pay. Hence, completion of many home projects is being retarded, and some homes are not being started, because builders fear that they will run into labor shortages.

Help wanted ads throughout the country reveal shortages of skilled and unskilled workers. Unskilled factory workers are getting $100 a week in many northern cities. Porters, who often are among the lowest paid, are getting $90 a week or more. Young high school graduates who are draft-exempt can make $120 a week in Chicago and San Francisco. Only a few years ago, starting pay for such workers would be $60 a week, or less.

The shortages of workers, and the rapid upward movement of pay among unskilled and inexperienced workers has made it harder for employers to bargain with unions. The latter feel that in view of the sharp rise in minimum pay scales, under the Fair Labor Standards Act, that wage differentials should be reestablished by raising the pay of skilled workers proportionately. Under job evaluation programs, such increases are periodically necessary after unions have had flat increases of so many cents per hour for several years.

IN SHORT SUPPLY

Last year, the auto industry and other industries had to agree to special pay increases for carpenters and other craftsmen, over and above the increases granted to semi-skilled or assembly line workers.

White collar workers are also in short supply in many cities. This includes clerical workers, stenographers and many others. Reflecting these shortages, salaries have risen sharply in some cities.

Some industrialists think this situation will end with a cease-fire order in Vietnam. The return of the troops and the reduction in war output should make the labor market easier. But others feel that early relief is not in sight.

Even if the shooting war ends, defense spending will remain at a high level. As tension eases in the Far East, it may build up in the Middle East or in Western Europe.

The performance of the Johnson administration, in reducing income tax rates in 1964 and 1965, and in cutting excise taxes in 1965 despite the war buildup will provide a pattern for other presidents who may want to provide job opportunities by stimulating the economy "full employment" may not end with the coming of peace.

DECISION IN NATIONAL SECURITY: PATCHWORK OR POLICY?

HON. JOHN G. TOWER

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. TOWER. Mr President the task force on national security of the Republican coordinating committee has just published an important study entitled "Decisions in National Security: Patchwork or Policy?"

As a member of the task force, I am deeply convinced that the decisionmaking process in the Department of Defense and elsewhere among our national agencies involved with security is badly in need of review and improvement if we are to assure the Nation's future safety.

In order that Senators and other concerned Americans may have the benefit of the task force's views, I ask unanimous consent that the full report and the supporting appendixes be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

DECISIONS IN NATIONAL SECURITY: PATCHWORK OR POLICY?

"Good national security policy requires both good policymakers and good policy machinery. One cannot be divided from the other."—U.S. Senate Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery; Committee on Government Operations, 1961.

War and the threat of war continue to add an ominous dimension to our search for peace. In an international environment where true peace continues to elude us, we must maintain the highest priority on efforts to ensure our nation's security.

Providing for our security absorbs more of our human and material resources than any other single function of government. Fortunately, our nation is endowed with these great resources. However, wise policies and efficient organization and management are as essential as the resources themselves.

Our review concludes that the effectiveness of our security structure has declined, due to indecisive policies—faulty policy-making machinery—over-centralization in the Department of Defense—over-management of our security structure—over-reliance on cost accounting procedures and computer techniques—and a downgrading of seasoned human judgment.

We are concerned with the self-imposed isolation of top civilians in the Pentagon who have too often dismissed or altered solid recommendations of the service Secretaries or the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and distorted the authority of unified and field commanders.

The technological explosion has forced new political—military relationships. The civilian administrator must understand the soldier and the scientist. The soldier must understand the civilian administrator and the scientist. This new relationship has fared poorly in recent years, to the detriment of our policies and policy making machinery. We see the result in dealing with crucial international events, years of indecisiveness over Vietnam, in our failure to develop new advanced weapons systems, and in the erosion of America's prestige throughout the world.

History sternly warns that weakness invites aggression. The weakness may be in armaments. But even with ample superior armaments, a nation can invite aggression by a lack of will and determination. Such a condition is often revealed by a hesitancy or inability to reach timely and forthright decisions.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

Within policies and requirements specified by Congress, the President determines and directs our national security efforts. By constitutional provision and historical precedent, he is responsible for the conduct of foreign relations. He is Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. He directs all departments and agencies in the Executive Branch.

National security policy formulation and implementation processes have become interdepartmental. Not only the Department of Defense, but also State, Treasury, Commerce, Interior and Agriculture, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Export-Import Bank, the Development Loan Fund and a score of other agencies are involved. Almost every major element of the Federal Government is involved to some extent in national security policy.

National security planning and execution cut across agency and departmental lines, and make the President's administrative task difficult and complex. The effective management of this responsibility, however, remains critical for the American people.

NATIONAL SECURITY POLICYMAKING MACHINERY

In 1961, the National Security Council, its Planning Board and Operations Coordinating Board, were inherited from the Eisenhower Administration, as organized, functioning and prestigious policy-making instruments. Immediately, and without careful consideration of possibly fateful consequences, both Boards were abolished. The effectiveness of the National Security Council was compromised.

The National Security Council,[1] created by the National Security Act of 1947, is charged with advising the President:

"With respect to the integration of domestic, foreign and military policy relating to the national security so as to enable the military services and the other departments and agencies to cooperate more effectively in matters involving national security."

The National Security Council was to be the keystone of our nation's security structure. It was established not to restrict but to advise a President, by assuring thoughtful analysis and careful coordination of every significant aspect of national security policy. It assumed competent management of current problems and contingency planning for the future. It was to be insurance against hasty action—a device to ensure that every factor bearing on vital security policies and programs would be presented to the President for action.

During the Eisenhower Administration, the National Security Council—meeting frequently and formally throughout the eight years—proved its indispensability to the nation.

Its procedures and deliberations were not flawless, but over this span of time it was invaluable in assuring comprehensive analyses, in producing timely recommendations in critical security issues, and in coordinating activities of the members of the Council.

Since then, the entire supporting structure has so changed, or even disappeared, as to now produce little more than mechanical compliance with the law. The procedures for integrating military, political and economic considerations often have given way to informal and impromptu consultations with staff assistants and other individuals or *ad hoc* groups. The results have been harmful to our country.

National security policies have become unclear and indecisive. Others urgently needed have been left unmade. Reaction to crisis—not avoidance of crisis—has been the inescapable result.

Continuous review and planning has been substantially eliminated, in the downgrading of formal policy planning. Thus, when an immediate crisis looms, there is hope that crash handling will avoid a fundamental compromise of our national security. A solid and effective structure can permit the development of a policy which can be appropriately carried out at the tactical level.

OVERCENTRALIZATION IN THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The progression toward a centrally-directed defense establishment began long before the 1960's. The National Security Act of 1947, and the 1949 and 1958 amendments to the Act, progressively strengthened the role of the Secretary of Defense as the principal advisor to the President on national security matters.[2] In 1961, however, centralization became not policy but dogma, and the Secretary became "first among equals" as advisor to the President.

Ultimate responsibility for the defense establishment must be exercised by the Secretary of Defense under Presidential direction and within the statutory guidelines set by Congress. The function assumes highest-level policy guidance and the resolution of policy differences—such policies, for example, as the formulation of national security operations, criteria for organizing forces, and the development of the defense budget. In these activities, the civilian authorities are responsible to the President, the Congress and the electorate.

Under civilian control and within civilian established guidelines, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the uniformed services must direct the planning and management of all military forces. In force planning and operations, the military leadership must be responsive through the Secretary of Defense to the President.

A careful delineation of these roles of civilian policy-makers and military managers is absolutely essential for a secure and balanced national security posture.

IMPLEMENTING POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

Civilian operational planning and control

Major organizational changes and new procedures have created a serious over-centralization of civilian management at the top of the defense establishment. The practice of lower-level civilians in the OSD superimposing themselves in originating and developing analyses for the Secretary does injustice to the competence of the military services. The most current and disturbing example of the reduced role of the military in strategic and tactical decisions is Vietnam. A policy of gradualism[3] largely dictated by civilians has been imposed, which has prolonged the war, increased the casualties and costs and divided the American people.

Civilian control over the details of the air war has been particularly questionable. Testimony before the Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee last August disclosed that tactical decisions were frequently being made by civilians in Washington. Military witnesses stated that many target recommendations approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff were being denied and others delayed, thus impairing the war effort. The Subcommittee was also advised that operational decisions were at times being made without the involvement of responsible military professionals on the scene.

It is axiomatic that when a tactical commander is given a mission, once a policy has been approved, he must also be given latitude and control over intelligence and military capability to accomplish the mission. Continuing support within the defense establishment and the Administration is necessary for the commanders as they carry out assigned tasks.

Civilians in the Office of the Secretary of Defense have assumed greater control of contingency planning and military preparedness, and often have abandoned or ignored contingency plans in favor of rapidly conceived *ad hoc* decisions. Military operations, directed principally by civilians, have occurred, and illustrate suppression of the proper command and military role in our defense structure.

Research, development, and procurement practices

Civilian authority has been administered to over-control research, development and procurement. Under present procedures, new weapons systems will not be approved unless they are justified as a response to a visible new threat. Nor can a new system be approved until all technology and cost data are "in hand." Thus, research and development[4] policies threaten to deprive our nation of the military superiority sufficient to maintain our security.

Military judgment—in a number of cases the considered judgment of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—has not been followed in weapons selection and procurement. Many urgently-needed weapons systems have fallen victim to a misapplication of the cost effectiveness process, or become lost in a morass of civilian boards or working groups increasingly capable of vetoing proposals.

The weapons systems evaluation capability of the Department of Defense is experienced and comprehensive. The individual services and the OSD Weapons Systems Evaluation Group prepare extensive evaluations of proposed new weapons systems. Frequently this process has been compromised, bypassed or ignored, the findings obscured. Civilian leaders have substituted judgments based on "other reasons."

A notable example is the TFX contract award. The contractor unanimously recommended by both the military analysts and the Weapons Systems Evaluation Group was rejected. Recently, the commonality feature of the aircraft imposed by the Office of the Secretary of Defense upon the Navy was rejected—six years and many millions of dollars later. The development of a new aircraft for the Navy now will cost considerably more in new expenditure and lost time, while leaving the service arm with a present complement and types of planes it feels is inadequate.

A similar incident was the X–22 VSTOL aircraft contract award. The Senate Preparedness Subcommittee found that both civilian and military evaluators were over-ridden. The Subcommittee concluded that the final decision was made in 30 minutes by a Deputy Secretary of Defense with a handful of civilian advisors, discarding analyses of 75 Navy experts who had spent 4,000 man hours assessing competing designs.

As a result of frequent OSD rejections and cutbacks, the services have gravitated toward a policy of "half a loaf," which is simply acquiescence in inadequacy. This approach is unsound and cannot be condoned.

THE COST EFFECTIVENESS HURDLE

Proposed weapons systems for the military services must pass, under current OSD procedures, a cost of effectiveness test—an analysis requiring precise cost data, application

[1] See Appendix I

[2] Largely reflecting the recommendations of The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government on National Security Organization (Hoover Report).

[3] See Republican Coordinating Committee report "Gradualism—Fuel of Wars" March 1968.

[4] See Republican Coordinating Committee report "Research and Development: Our Neglected Weapon" May 1968.

definitions and a demonstration of utility against a specific military threat. Over-reliance on a theoretical and mechanical cost effectiveness procedure has distorted the national security decision-making process.

Decisions on weapons systems, strategy and tactics demand the additional input of practical, professional knowledge. Intuition and other human factors must be introduced into decision-making. War and defense preparations, with all of their unpredictabilities, are matters of judgment. Innovation cannot be predicted or quantified. Defense is an inexact science.

A former top civilian official of the Administration recently wrote on the organizational and procedural changes of the past 7 years;

"The second reason for (organizational) changes made it essential for political leader ship of the country to consider the implications of any military move no matter how minor. If war has already become too important to leave to the generals, the selection and deployment of weapons and forces to deter war were now at least equally important.

"The need for more active political management could not have been made if the tools had not been available, and the tools might not have been picked up without the need to find and use them." [5]

The "tool" is primarily the cost effectiveness study. Many witnesses before Congressional committees have testified that the cost effectiveness study has often been used to cloud issues or to legitimize previously determined positions.

Appropriate applications of the cost effectiveness technique are necessary and important in the vast Defense Department structure. Indeed, in response to Hoover Commission recommendations, then Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal introduced financial management procedures into the Department. Thereafter the system was continuously and properly expanded.

Such procedures are vital from a position of fiscal responsibility and orderliness. However, weaponry cost estimates cannot be allowed to remain as virtually the sole determinant on which national security decisions are based. Our nation's security demands a flexible assessment system for determining threats and the most effective response to them.

Misapplications of the cost effectiveness process can create critical conditions, some of which became evident in the Administration's FY 1969 budget. Items previously reduced or rejected by the Secretary of Defense were suddenly requested. For example, several thousand additional helicopters, long before requested by the Army, were provided for, in addition to several billion dollars for aircraft spare parts for all services. Since national security rests in part upon adequate "lead time" for the procurement of weapons and supporting materials, deliveries in the two categories above in 1969 or later may well render a part of our military establishment vulnerable or incapable of performing at an effective level.

Under this procedure, rejections or reduction in military requests are most frequently reported only verbally. Back-up material is not made available. Committees of the Congress are generally unable to examine cost effectiveness studies supporting a given decision. The Chairman of the National Security and International Operations Subcommittee, Senate Government Operations Committee, concluded after a hearing in 1967 that the analysis process has been so used that it may well be damaging to our nation's security.

EFFECTS OF OVERCENTRALIZATION

Over-centralization ensures greater control. It also can produce delays, depress creativity and initiative, and can prevent the emergence of new ideas from lower echelons—the most fertile source. The Administration's zeal for over-centralization appears to stem from a desire to control policy, people and events. It has resulted in numerous instances of control of news, public information and intelligence.

An example is the TFX program. A policy memorandum was issued directing that all news releases on the program would uphold the validity of the decisions of the Secretary of Defense. Such is the internal power of an over-centralized, publicly unresponsive structure. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the Administration's credibility has come under severe and sustained criticism.

The problem reaches into Congress, where defense committees expect to receive a free exchange of views on critical aspects of our national security. However, in observance of Administration and Defense Department restrictions, witnesses testify under a directive stating that they must express the views of the Administration unless "pressed." When "pressed," before stating his own views, the witness must first reiterate the views of the Administration.

On completion of Congressional hearings, testimony is examined by Defense Department officials for the purpose of deleting information the release of which might harm the nation's security. Frequently, however, deletions have been made not for security reasons but for political reasons. Examples of this practice are numerous, and are a matter of public record.

The August, 1967, report by the Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee reflects the lack of candor between Defense Department civilians and the Congress. The subject was the war in Vietnam. The bipartisan Subcommittee arrived at such conclusions as these:

It was clearly implied by the Defense officials that few, if any, important military targets remained unstruck. The great weight of the military testimony was to the contrary.

The Defense official said that North Vietnam could sustain its required import rate by way of land, rail and water from Red China. This position contrasts sharply with the views of military experts.

The Administration has asserted for years that the Defense Department cost reduction program has been highly effective. A report by the House Armed Services Committee and the General Accounting Office, on analysis of such claims, concluded that not more than 50 percent of the alleged savings were valid. Nor does this figure take into account that Congressional budget cuts, if adhered to by the DOD, were considered "cost savings."

From the management standpoint, over-centralization of authority inevitably will produce increased costs and gross inefficiencies in an organization as large as the Department of Defense. Decisions on routine matters are postponed, and major decisions must also be delayed or too hastily reached. In many decisions, particularly those related to combat in Southeast Asia, the time factor is such that when the decisions are finally made and communicated, circumstances may have changed, opportunities lost, the decisions no longer applicable.

In research and development, where timing is critical, delays of decision have caused paralysis. Defense industry spokesmen have indicated that in the past, some four to six months would be required in the Pentagon between the time proposals were submitted and final approval. Today, it averages twelve months. Some take two years. This must be added to the extremely long lead-time of 5 to 10 years common to weapons research projects.

In the current research and development cycle, too many individuals can say "no" and very few can say "yes." Confusion has resulted from the separation of responsibility and authority. While a measure of review is necessary and advisable, a current typical review of a major new weapons system will be made by 17 different staff agencies and over 700 people before receiving final approval.

As reported in official organization charts,[6] the recent rapid increase of personnel in the Office of the Secretary of Defense has brought into serious imbalance the process required for sound assessment and implementation of national security policies. This is another illustration of the structural dislocations which have come to frustrate comprehensive policy analysis.

EFFECT ON MORALE

The effects of over-centralization on the morale of both military and civilian personnel are grave. Responsibility without commensurate authority is frustrating and demoralizing. The exercise of authority, so necessary to the experience of a military professional seeking a career, is difficult under current conditions. It is a capability on which this nation must rely in time of emergencies and conflicts. Further, the initiative necessary for both military and technical civilian personnel is an imperative for a responsive national security structure. The cumulative effect of the current policies, procedures and organization is to weaken this vital ingredient.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The principle of civilian control over our national security structure requires that authority reside in the President. The two major counselors to him must be the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of State. Focus at this level should primarily assume a broad policy-making and enforcing function.

In view of the threatening international environment, the collapse of time, and our exceedingly complex governmental structure, adherence to a formal decision-making process such as the National Security Council is a necessary prerequisite for effectively providing for the nation's security.

We must have a more articulate definition of our national interests and the steps required to promote them. Upon such determinations a clear policy must be set.

A crucial point in the national security process is placing the most capable people in key positions. Good national security policy requires good policy makers as well as good policy machinery.

The policy decision-making process must be planned and organized, and must make use of the talents of responsible individuals within the structure. Timely and regular meetings must be held. A coordination function must be established to ensure prompt and effective implementation. Follow-through and analysis of the effect of promulgated policies must be reinstituted, with reports from all involved sectors.

Detailed implementation of both planning and operations should be delegated to lower echelons, which must have both the necessary authority and responsibility to carry out assignments.

There must be reaffirmation of the responsibility to better inform both Congress and the electorate on issues affecting our national security, within appropriate safeguards.

Budgetary policy guidelines to the services must be clarified. There should be greater emphasis on the reestablishment of the priority budget concept utilizing to the extent practicable the "mission" basis.

The role of the Joint Chiefs of Staff should be reaffirmed, ensuring their direct and active participation in the development of policy, weapons system and force planning.

Advanced management techniques should be utilized in their proper role as tools, not as ends in themselves.

[5] See *Atlantic Monthly*, September 1967.

[6] See Appendix II.

CONCLUSION

The extreme over-centralization and over-management of our national security structure on the one hand, and the extensive *ad hoc* policy deliberations on the other, developed in the past seven years, have weakened our national security position and created increased risks. It has brought into question this nation's ability to respond in a timely and effective manner to crises which threaten America's vital interests.

Regarding overcentralization, in 1949 Ferdinand Eberstadt, one of the foremost students of defense organization, testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee, stating

"From shattered illusions that mere passage of a unification act would produce a military utopia, there has sprung an equally illusory belief that present shortcomings will immediately disappear if only more and more authority is conferred in the Secretary of Defense and more and more people added to his staff . . . I suggest that great care be exercised lest the Office of the Secretary of Defense, instead of being a small and efficient unit which determines the policies of the military establishment and controls and directs the departments, feeding on its own growth, becomes a separate empire."

Today the separate empire exists. Balance must be restored, to ensure our nation's security, and to reinforce our ability to respond quickly to challenge.

Equally important are policies and an organization structure that will at all times conform to our representative form of government, with its system of checks and balances.

APPENDIX I

TITLE 50—UNITED STATES CODE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SEC. 402. (a) Establishment; presiding officer; functions; composition.

There is established a council to be known as the National Security Council (hereinafter in this section referred to as the "Council").

The President of the United States shall preside over meetings of the Council: *Provided*, That in his absence he may designate a member of the Council to preside in his place.

The function of the Council shall be to advise the President with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to the national security so as to enable the military services and the other departments and agencies of the Government to cooperate more effectively in matters involving the national security.

The Council shall be composed of—

(1) the President;

(2) the Vice President;

(3) the Secretary of State;

(4) the Secretary of Defense;

(5) the Director for Mutual Security;

(6) the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board; and

(7) the Secretaries and Under Secretaries of other executive departments, the Chairman of the Munitions Board, and the Chairman of the Research and Development Board, when appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to serve at his pleasure.

(b) Additional functions.—

In addition to performing such other functions as the President may direct, for the purpose of more effectively coordinating the policies and functions of the departments and agencies of the Government relating to the national security, it shall, subject to the direction of the President, be the duty of the Council—

(1) to assess and appraise the objectives, commitments, and risks of the United States in relation to our actual and potential military power, in the interest of national security, for the purpose of making recommendations to the President in connection therewith; and

(2) to consider policies on matters of common interest to the departments and agencies of the Government concerned with the national security, and to make recommendations to the President in connection therewith.

(c) Executive secretary; appointment and compensation; staff employees.

The Council shall have a staff to be headed by a civilian executive secretary who shall be appointed by the President. The executive secretary, subject to the direction of the Council, is authorized, subject to the civil-service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as may be necessary to perform such duties as may be prescribed by the Council in connection with the performance of its functions.

(d) Recommendations and reports.

The Council shall, from time to time, make such recommendations, and such other reports to the President as it deems appropriate or as the President may require. (July 26, 1947, ch. 343, title I, Section 101, 61 Stat. 497; Aug. 10, 1949, ch. 412, Section 3, 63 Stat. 579; Oct. 28, 1949, ch. 782, title XI, Section 1106(a), 63 Stat. 972; Oct. 10, 1951, ch. 479, title V, Section 501(e) (1), 65 Stat. 378.)

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE PERSONNEL (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Office of the Secretary of Defense	136
Secretary of Defense	7
Deputy Secretary of Defense	4
Office of Administrative Secretary	25
Administrative Office of the Secretary	100
Director of Defense Research and Engineering	265
Office of the Director	234
Weapons Systems Evaluation Group	31
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller)	170
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Health and Medical)	11
Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs)	212
Office of Assistant Secretary	185
Defense Representative, NA and MA and U.S. Rep. USRO	27
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower, Personnel, and Reserve)	86
Office of Assistant Secretary	82
Reserve Forces Policy Board	4
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations)	57
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs)	74
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Supply and Logistics)	166
General Counsel	56
Assistant to the Secretary (Atomic Energy)	12
Assistant to the Secretary (Legislative Affairs)	7
Assistant to the Secretary (Special Operations)	17
Special programs	15
Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff	302
Office of the Chairman	10
Joint Staff	187
Other Joint Chiefs of Staff activities	105
Other activities	223
Advanced Research Projects Agency	80
Standing Group—NATO	41
U.S. Court of Military Appeals	38
Interdepartmental activities	5
Defense Communications Agency	59
Total employees (47 W.O.C.)	[1] 1,809

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Office of the Secretary of Defense	2,124
Secretary of Defense	4
Deputy Secretary of Defense	5
Director of Defense Research and Engineering, Office of the Director	212
Advanced Research Projects Agency	138
Weapons Systems Evaluation Group	36

See footnotes at end of table.

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE PERSONNEL (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Assistant Secretary of Defense (Administration)	226
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller)	325
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logistics)	282
Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs)	233
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower)	250
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs)	87
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Systems Analysis)	142
General Counsel	54
Miscellaneous activities	40
Special staff assistants	46
USRO	32
NATO force planning	11
Special project	1
Joint Chiefs of Staff organization	467
Office of the Chairman	14
Joint staff	225
Other Joint Chiefs of Staff activities	228
Other Defense activities	73,265
Armed Forces information education	403
Defense Contract Audit Agency	3,745
Defense Atomic Support Agency	2,198
Defense Communications Agency	1,235
Classified activities	3,328
Defense Supply Agency	62,356
Interdepartmental activities	37
International military activities	59
Total employees (35 w.o.c.)	[2] 75,952
Office of the Secretary (including other Defense activities)	75,952
Department of the Army	455,523
Department of the Navy	376,879
Department of the Air Force	321,425
Total, DOD (43 w.o.c.)	[3] 1,229,779

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Secretary of Defense area	41
Office of the Director of Armed Forces Information and Education	39
Office of Industrial Personnel Access Authorization Review	2
Secretary of Army area	671
Office of the Secretary and the Under Secretary of the Army	38
Office, Assistant Secretary of the Army (MP and RF)	26
Office, Assistant Secretary of the Army (FM)	22
Office, Assistant Secretary of the Army (Logistics)	28
Office, Director of Research and Development	8
Office, Administrative Assistant to Secretary of the Army	8
Office, Chief of Public Information	5
Office, Chief of Legislative Liaison	48
Office of General Counsel	19
Administrative Support Group	35
Armed Services Board of Contract Appeals	16
Armed Services Explosive Safety Board	11
Army Board for Correction of Military Records	20
Army Civilian Lawyer Career Committee	3
Army Council of Review Boards	14
Grievance and Employment Policy Board	7
Defense Supply Service	177
Defense Telephone Service	103
Employment Coordination Office	6
Management Office	9
Office Personnel Manager	15
Office of Management Analysis	5
National Board for Promotion of Rifle Practice	20
Security Review and Security Screening Boards	3
Space Management Service	4
Per Diem Travel and Transportation Allowance committee	21
Army Staff (departmental and field)	[4] 18,717
Office, Chief of Staff	128
General Staff Committee on National Guard and Review Policy	2
Comptroller of the Army	260
Army Audit Agency	1,312
Chief of Information	112
Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel	477
Assistant Chief of Staff Intelligence	948
Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations	337
Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics	524
Chief of Finance	4,186
Industrial College of the Armed Forces	104
Office of the Inspector General	48
Office of the Chief of Military History	63
The Judge Advocate General	218

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Armed Forces Information and Education, DOD	385
National War College	88
National Guard Bureau	189
Office of the Chief, Army Reserve and ROTC Affairs	40
Office of the Chief of Civil Affairs	37
Assistant Chief of Staff for Reserve Components	20
U.S. Military Academy	1,934
The Adjutant General	4,010
Chief of Chaplains	57
Provost Marshal General	156
Chief of Research and Development	175
Army Physical Review Council	7
Military Communications and Electronics Board	2
Army special and joint activities	2,898
Miscellaneous area activities	4
Army Air Defense Command	117
Civil functions, Corps of Engineers	27,268
Technical Services	208,147
Chief Chemical Officer	8,698
Chief of Ordnance	95,447
Quartermaster General	29,364
Chief Signal Office	24,585
Surgeon General	8,449
Chief of Transportation	14,630
Chief of Engineers, Military Functions	26,974
Continental Army Command	67,445
U.S. Continental Army Command	948
First U.S. Army	8,271
Second U.S. Army	10,443
Third U.S. Army	15,336
Fourth U.S. Army	10,710
Fifth U.S. Army	10,543
Sixth U.S. Army	9,269
Military District of Washington, U.S. Army	1,925
Alaska	[5] 2,793
Hawaii	[5] 5,032
Total continental United States	330,225
Total outside continental United States	50,439
Total employees (7 w.o.c.)	[6] 380,674

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Secretary of the Army Area (departmental and field)	1,101
Office of the Secretary and the Under Secretary of the Army	45
Office, Assistant Secretary of the Army (FM)	17
Office, Assistant Secretary of the Army (I. & L.)	56
Office, Assistant Secretary of the Army (R. & D.)	14
Office, Administrative Assistant to Secretary of the Army	9
Office, Chief of Public Information	6
Office, Chief of Legislative Liaison	69
Office of General Counsel	21
Administrative support group	35
Army Board for Correction of Military Records	22
Army Council of Review Boards	11
Grievance and Employment Policy Board	13
Employment Coordination Service	7
Management Office	16
Office, Personnel Manager	15
National Board for Promotion of Rifle Practice	21
Space Management Service	4
Office of Civil Defense	720
Army staff area (departmental and field)	45,451
Office, Chief of Staff	350
General Staff Committee on National Guard and Review Policy	2
Special Assistant for Army Information and Data Systems	332
Comptroller of the Army	285
Army Audit Agency	741
Chief of Information	126
Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel	510
Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence	887
Assistant Chief of Staff for Force Development	333
Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations	258
Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics	649
Chief of Finance	4,659
Office of the Inspector General	44
Office of the Chief of Military History	74
The Judge Advocate General	235
National Guard Bureau	118
Office of the Chief, Army Reserve	51
Office of the Chief, Reserve Components	51
Office of Personnel Operations	1,122
Office of the President	4
U.S. Military Academy	2,271
The Adjutant General	4,467
Chief of Chaplains	33
Provost Marshal General	53
Chief of Research and Development	559
Chief of Engineers, military functions	12,699
Chief of Communications, electronics	360
Chief of Support Services	1,059

See footnotes at end of table.

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Surgeon General	10,564
U.S. Army Recruiting Command	2,557
DOD and joint activities	1,322
Joint Brazil-United States Defense Commission	1
Joint Mexican-United States Defense Commission	1
Office, Industrial Personnel Access Authorization Review	6
Industrial College of the Armed Forces	92
National War College	69
SHAPE Liaison	2
Armed Services Explosive Safety Board	12
Defense Supply Service	199
Defense Telephone Service	95
Per Diem Travel and Transportation Allowance Committee	23
Defense Language Institute	779
Defense Information School	43
Army Security Agency	1,077
Army Air Defense Command	295
Combat Developments Command	1,022
Army Materiel Command	161,007
Headquarters, AMC	2,601
U.S. Army Tank Automatic Center	6,846
U.S. Army Aviation Materiel Command	3,879
U.S. Army Electronics Command	11,338
U.S. Army Missile Command	9,851
U.S. Army Mobility Command	4,580
U.S. Army Munitions Command	26,522
U.S. Army Test and Evaluation Command	12,975
U.S. Army Supply and Maintenance	63,075
U.S. Army Weapons Command	12,635
Other activities	9,705
Continental Army Command	107,154
U.S. Continental Army Command	1,133
1st U.S. Army	31,117
3d U.S. Army	27,278
4th U.S. Army	19,310
5th U.S. Army	14,763
6th U.S. Army	11,139
Military District of Washington, U.S. Army	2,417
Military Traffic Management Service	6,212
Intelligence Corps Command	911
Army Strategic Communications Command	2,681
Civil functions, Corps of Engineers	30,701
Miscellaneous	7
Alaska	2,987
Hawaii	5,899
Total United States	361,941
Total outside United States	84,696
Total employees (4 W.O.C.)	455,523

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Executive Office of the Secretary	2,144
Office of Secretary of the Navy	25
Office of Under Secretary of the Navy	4
Office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Material)	16
Office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Research and Development)	5
Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Personnel and Reserve Forces)	8
Office of Administrative Assistant to Secretary of Navy	7
Office of Analysis and Review	23
Administrative Office	785
Office of the Comptroller	346
Office of the General Counsel	26
Office of Industrial Relations	133
Office of Information	13
Navy Management Office	66
Office of Naval Material	191
Office of Naval Petroleum Reserves	4
Office of Naval Research	400
Board for Correction of Naval Records	12
Naval Physical Disability Review Board	16
Naval Physical Review Council	5
Special Assignments and Details to Other Agencies	2
Electronics Production Resources Agency	21
Office of Industrial Personnel Access Authorization Review	3
Office of Legislative Affairs	20
Savings Bonds Office	1
Navy Panel, Armed Services Board of Contract Appeals	12
Office of the Judge Advocate General	97
Office of Chief of Naval Operations	1,044
Office of the Chief of Naval Operations	3

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Staff offices	26
Assistant Vice Chief of Naval Operations/Director of Naval Administration	240
Assistant Chief of Naval Operations (Intelligence)	357
Assistant Chief of Naval Operations (Communications)	76
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Personnel and and Naval Reserve)	14
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Fleet Operations and Readiness)	35
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Logistics)	107
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Air)	95
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Plans and policy)	29
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Development)	64
Bureau of Medicine and Surgery	375
Office of the Chief	12
Assistant Chief for Personnel and Professional Operations	157
Assistant Chief for Planning and Logistics	165
Assistant Chief for Aviation Medicine	9
Assistant Chief for Dentistry	12
Assistant Chief for Research and Military Medical Specialties	20
Bureau of Naval Personnel	1,699
Office of the Chief	12
Administrative and Management Division	113
Inspector General	1
Special Assistant to the Chief for Leadership	5
Personnel Research Division	23
Office of Liaison and Technical Information	5
Manpower Information Division	220
Assistant Chief for Plans	61
Assistant Chief for Personnel Control	442
Assistant Chief for Education and Training	135
Assistant Chief for Naval Reserve and Naval District Affairs	8
Assistant Chief for Records	473
Assistant Chief for Performance	39
Assistant Chief for Morale Services	68
Assistant Chief for Finance	73
Chief of Chaplains	10
Assistant Chief for Property Management	11
Bureau of Naval Weapons	3,318
Office of the Chief and Deputy Chief	8
Assistant Chief for Program Management	256
Inspector General and Assistant Chief for Administration	478
Assistant Chief for Fleet Readiness	426
Office of Counsel	46
Office of the Comptroller	155
Assistant Chief for Contracts	361
Assistant Chief for Production and Quality Control	290
Assistant Chief for Research, Development, Test, and Evaluation	943
Assistant Chief for Field Support	108
Special Projects Office	247
Bureau of Ships	3,083
Office of the Chief	40
Assistant Chief for Plans and Administration, and Inspector General	475
Assistant Chief for Research and Development	91
Assistant Chief for Design, Shipbuilding, and Fleet Maintenance	601
Assistant Chief for Technical Logistics	1,279
Assistant Chief for Field Activities	172
Assistant Chief for Nuclear Propulsion	67
Contract Division	214
Comptroller Division	144
Bureau of Supplies and Accounts	754
Office of the Chief	89
Director of Planning	41
Director of Management Engineering	69
Director of Industrial Relations	35
Director of Naval Personnel	26
Comptroller of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts	183
Assistant Chief of Supply Management	111
Assistant Chief for Transportation	112
Director of Mutual Security Programs	34
Assistant Chief for Purchases	33
Assistant Chief for Research and Development	21
Bureau of Yards and Docks	841
Office of the Chief	33
Assistant Chief for Administration and Comptroller	272
Assistant Chief for Planning and Design	228
Assistant Chief for Construction	109
Assistant Chief for Maintenance and Materiel	113
Assistant Chief for Real Estate	40
Assistant Chief of Housing	46
Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps	1,083
Office of the Commandant	6
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-1	20

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3	20
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-4	16
Personnel Department	311
Division of Aviation	18
Administrative Division	86
Supply Department	434
Inspection Division	4
Division of Information	5
Fiscal Division	47
Division of Reserve	10
Marine Corps Boards	4
Data Processing Division	102
Total departmental	14,440
Continental United States	320,925
Overseas	[7]—22,054
Total all areas (1 w.o.c.)	[8] 342,979

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Executive Office of the Secretary	116
Office of the Secretary of the Navy	38
Office of Under Secretary of the Navy	9
Office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Installations and Logistics)	42
Office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Research and Development)	11
Office of Assistant Secretary of the Havy (Financial Management)	5
Office of the Special Assistant to Secretary of the Navy	4
Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of the Navy (Manpower)	7
Department of the Navy Staff Offices	1,318
Office of Program Appraisal	14
Administrative Office	226
Office of the Comptroller	237
Office of the General Counsel	21
Office of Civilian Manpower Management	235
Office of Information	39
Office of Management Information	41
Office of Petroleum Reserves	6
Office of Naval Research	400
Board for Correction of Naval Records	14
Navy Council of Personnel Boards	16
Physical Review Council	6
Office of Legislative Affairs	28
Armed Services Board of Contract Appeals	35
Office of the Judge Advocate General	79
Office of Chief of Naval Operations	990
Staff Offices	14
Assistant Vice Chief of Naval Operations/Director of Naval Administration	255
Navy Program Planning Office	66
Assistant Chief of Naval Operations (Intelligence)	150
Assistant Chief of Naval Operations (Communications)	60
Office of Anti-Submarine Warfare Programs	10
Office of Naval Inspector General	24
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Manpower and Naval Reserve)	39
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Fleet Operations and Readiness)	64
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Logistics)	110
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Air)	94
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Plans and Policy)	33
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Development)	71
Bureau of Medicine and Surgery	327
Office of the Chief	10
Assistant Chief for Personnel and Professional Operations	151
Assistant Chief for Planned and Logistics	126
Assistant Chief for Aviation Medicine	9
Assistant Chief for Dentistry	12
Assistant Chief for Research and Military Medical Specialties	19
Bureau of Naval Personnel	1,771
Office of the Chief	10
Administrative and Management Division	115
Office of Inspector General	1
Office of Liaison and Technical Information	5
Manpower Information Division	248
Assistant Chief for Plans	78
Assistant Chief for Personnel Control	451
Assistant Chief for Education and Training	157
Assistant Chief for Naval Reserve and Naval District Affairs	7
Assistant Chief for Records	465
Assistant Chief for Performance	41

See footnotes at end of table.

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Assistant Chief for Morale Services	66
Assistant Chief for Finance	89
Chief of Chaplains	10
Assistant Chief for Property Management	12
Special Assistant to Chief for Retention Task Force	3
Navy Department Board of Decorations and Medals	7
Board for Correction of Records	1
Outside Bureau Details	5
Office of Naval Material	460
Office of the Chief	12
Deputy Chief of Naval Material for Program and Financial Management	98
Deputy Chief of Naval Material for Procurement	106
Deputy Chief of Naval Material for Development	95
Deputy Chief of Naval Material for Logistic Support	84
Deputy Chief of Naval Material for Management and Organization	65
Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps	1,244
Office of the Commandant	42
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-1	22
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3	17
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-4	40
Personnel Department	342
Administrative Division	151
Supply Department	309
Inspection Department	3
Division of Information	8
Fiscal Division	158
Division of Reserve	10
Marine Corps Boards	4
Data Processing Division	138
Military Sea Transportation Service	292
Total departmental service	6,597
Total United States	344,648
Total outside U.S.	32,231
Total a llareas (1 w.o.c.)	376,879

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Office of the Secretary	307
Secretary of the Air Force	6
Under Secretary of the Air Force	6
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Materiel)	27
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Financial Management)	12
Special Assistant to the Secretary (Manpower, Personnel and Reserve Forces)	9
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Research and Development)	9
Special Assistant for Installations	7
Administrative assistant	61
General Counsel	32
Office of Legislative Liaison	84
Office of Information Services	38
Secretary of the Air Force Personnel Council	10
Office, Missile and Satellite Systems	6
Headquarters, U.S. Air Force	4,446
Chief of Staff	9
Vice Chief of Staff	18
Scientific Advisory Board	68
Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence	122
Assistant Chief of Staff for Reserve Forces	9
The Inspector General	34
The Surgeon General	193
The Judge Advocate General	90
Secretary of the Air Staff	277
Directorate of Administrative Services	499
Comptroller of the Air Force	641
Deputy Chief of Staff, Development	122
Deputy Chief of Staff, Operations	646
Deputy Chief of Staff, Plans and Programs	152
Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel	605
Deputy Chief of Staff, Materiel	321
Central control group	528
Mutual defense aid program	112
Air Materiel Command	151,013
Headquarters and subsidiary units	17,090
Aeronautical Systems Center	1,372
Ballistic Missiles Center	669
Central contract management region	3,177
Eastern contract management region	3,576
Electronic systems center	371
Western contract management region	3,476
Middletown, Pa., Air Materiel Area	10,544
Mobile, Ala., Air Materiel Area	15,001
Ogden, Utah, Air Materiel Area	11,327
Oklahoma City, Okla., Air Materiel Area	18,601
Rome, N.Y., Air Materiel Area	7,682
San Antonio Tex., Air Materiel Area	19,596

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Sacramento, Calif., Air Materiel Area	13,602
San Bernardino, Calif., Ail Materiel Area	9,906
Warner-Robins, Georgia Air Materiel Area	15,023
Strategic Air Command	18,065
Headquarters and subsidiary units	1,767
2d Air Force	6,187
8th Air Force	4,528
15th Air Force	5,583
Tactical Air Command	6,649
Headquarters and subsidiary units	1,254
9th Air Force	1,194
12th Air Force	4,196
19th Air Force	5
Aeronautical Chart and Information Center	3,261
Air Defense Command	9,831
Air Force Accounting and Finance Center	1,732
Air Research and Development Command	22,956
Air Training Command	23,909
Air University	2,361
Continental Air Command	9,761
Headquarters Command, USAF	6,017
Military Air Transport Service	10,111
U.S. Air Force Academy	1,739
USAF Security Service	875
Total, continental U.S.	273,033
Total, overseas	[9] 33,538
Total employees (46 w.o.c.)	[10] 306,571

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Office of the Secretary	347
Secretary of the Air Force	6
Under Secretary of the Air Force	3
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Installations and Logistics)	28
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Financial Management)	17
Special Assistant to the Secretary for Manpower	14
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Research and Development)	18
Deputy Undersecretary (International Affairs)	3
Air Force Board for the Correction of Military Records	12
Administrative assistant	78
General Counsel	33
Office of Legislative Liason	83
Office of Information	40
Secretary of the Air Force Personnel Council	12
Headquarters, U.S. Air Force	2,983
Chief of Staff	8
Vice Chief of Staff	14
Scientific Advisory Board	8
Director, Secretariat	11
Director of Administrative Services	147
Secretary of the Air Staff	141
Assistant Chief of Staff for Reserve Forces	5
Chief, Operations Analysis	41
Chief of Chaplains	12
The Inspector General	26
The Judge Advocate General	61
The Surgeon General	146
Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence	112
Comptroller of the Air Force	419
Deputy Chief of Staff, Programs and Resources	476
Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel	295
Deputy Chief of Staff, Research and Development	173
Deputy Chief of Staff, Systems and Logistics	418
Deputy Chief of Staff, Plans and Operations	204
Central Control Group	167
Military assistance program	99
Air Force Logistics Command	131,336
Headquarters and subsidiary units	16,522
Middletown Air Materiel Area	2,427
Mobile Air Materiel Area	6,842
Oklahoma City Air Materiel Area	23,191
Ogden Air Materiel Area	17,371
Rome Air Materiel Area	3,072
San Antonio Air Materiel Area	23,334
Sacramento Air Materiel Area	19,689
Warner Robins Air Materiel Area	18,888
Air Force Systems Command	32,238
Headquarters and Subsidiary Units	1,148
Arnold Engineering Development Center	145
Air Force Flight Test Center	2,074
Aeronautical Systems Division	3,364
Ballistic Systems Division	740
Electronic Systems Division	2,277
Air Force Missile Development Center	1,637
Space Systems Division	1,114

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1967—Continued

Research and Technology Division	6,260
Air Proving Ground Center	2,649
Air Force Special Weapons Center	1,263
Aerospace Medical Division	1,782
Foreign Technology Division	895
National Range Division	3,071
Air Force Contract Management Division	3,819
Strategic Air Command	20,648
Headquarters and Subsidiary Units	1,689
2d Air Force	5,802
8th Air Force	5,456
15th Air Force	6,461
1st Strategic Aerospace Division	1,240
Tactical Air Command	111,292
Headquarters and subsidiary units	1,468
9th Air Force	3,499
12th Air Force	5,586
19th Air Force	
USAF, Special Air Warfare Center	676
USAF, Tactical Air Warfare Center	32
USAF, Tactical Air Reconnaissance Center	25
Aeronautical Chart and Information Center	3,728
Air Defense Command	12,511
Air Force Accounting and Finance Center	1,793
Air Force Communications Service	4,292
Air Training Command	21,860
Air University	2,521
Continental Air Command	8,938
Headquarters Command, USAF	6,726
Military Air Transport Service	15,236
Office of Aerospace Research	1,388
U.S. Air Force Academy	1,898
U.S. Air Force Security Service	1,202
Alaskan Air Command in Alaska	2,422
Pacific Air Forces in Hawaii	2,365
Total, United States	285,724
Total, outside U.S.	[11]35,701
Total, employees (4 w.o.c.)	[12]321,425

[1] Includes 40 part time and w.a.e., and 38 overseas employees.

[2] Includes 3,450 part time and w.a.e. employees, and 913 employees outside United States, of which 415 are American citizens.

[3] Includes a total of 20,588 w.a.e. employees, and 153,541 employees outside United States, of whom 35,266 are American citizens, and 118,275 nationals of other countries.

[4] Excludes 5,053 technical staff personnel (departmental) included with technical services.

[5] Data shown for Alaska and Hawaii are by geographical area, not by command.

[6] Includes 1,298 part time and w.a.e. employees and 50,419 overseas employees, of which 13,616 are American citizens and 16,823 are nationals of other countries.

[7] Includes 6,778 American citizens and 15,876 nationals of other countries.

[8] Includes 934 part time and w.a.e. employees.

[9] Includes 14,179 American citizens and 19,389 nationals of other countries.

[10] Includes 755 w.a.e. employees.

[11] Includes 9,621 American citizens and 26,080 nationals of other countries.

[12] Includes 4,523 w.a.e. employees.

Source: Organization of Federal Executive Departments and Agencies, U.S. Senate Committee on Government Operations.

EDUCATED VIOLENCE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the pacifist "students" of Paris have become a violent mob.

In Paris alone—one death and 1,000 injuries.

And in Lyon, the police commissioner, murdered by "students."

Makes one wonder what is the definition of a student? When does a student stop being a student and become an unruly mobster, criminal, revolutionist, or murderer?

Can it be that these "students" who talk peace are against the Paris peace talks on Vietnam? Could it be their comrades, the Vietcong are regarded as "students"?

Or was France selected because De Gaulle refused to cooperate in turning over France's gold to the control scheme of the International Monetary Fund? If so, the "students" then become but the foot soldiers for the U.N.

Is the word "student" manipulated to become a mental bloc justification of riots and violence by the instigation of international gangsters and their dupes?

If so, notice how many of the "poor people's" leaders and backers in the District of Columbia are under 30 years of age? Students? Poor people or a play in group mental-therapy? Can Washington, D.C., be turned into another Paris—by "student"?

Mr. Speaker, I place the May 26 Evening Star account of the threatened student takeover of France and related articles in the RECORD at this point:

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

FRANCE BANS DEMONSTRATIONS—THREAT OF CIVIL WAR IS CITED—POMPIDOU MEETS WITH UNION CHIEFS

(By Smith Hempstone)

PARIS.—The government of Charles de Gaulle, moving to quell what it has described as the threat of "civil war," yesterday suspended the right of assembly, banned further demonstrations in the largely student-occupied Latin Quarter and met with union leaders.

Student and teacher organizations announced they would hold no demonstrations until tomorrow.

But while Paris remained calm, fighting broke out in the provincial capitals of Bordeaux and Lyon.

In Lyon, where the police commissioner was killed Friday night, a policeman was reported in serious condition after having been shot twice last night.

POLICE AND YOUTH FIGHT

Police and youths fought in the streets of Bordeaux and several injuries were reported.

The government is deeply alarmed over the pitch of the violence here Friday night and its spread to provincial cities.

In his speech to the National Assembly Wednesday night, just before his government defeated a censure motion by 11 votes, Premier Georges Pompidou said there was a line beyond which strike action could not go without becoming "unacceptable."

It is clear this line was reached, if not crossed, by the Friday night disorders that in Paris alone resulted in one death, about 1,000 injured (including 131 police) and 795 arrests.

POMPIDOU'S ORDERS

Yesterday, in the wake of all-night riots that raged from the Latin Quarter virtually to the gates of Elysee Palace, Pompidou instructed security forces to crush further demonstrations relentlessly and immediately.

His instructions to police to use "the greatest energy" in smashing any new disorders amount to a virtual license to kill.

Police relations with both the government and the demonstrators already are near the breaking-point. The 60,000 riot police guarding Paris have been working up to 18 hours a day for more than two weeks.

Like their fellow workers on strike, they claim they are underpaid and overworked. But they are not permitted by law to strike.

STATEMENT BY POLICE

Only Thursday, police union leaders in a formal statement issued what amounted to sharp criticism of Pompidou's handling of the crisis, claiming they had been thrown into action May 11 before all other ways of calming the situation had been explored.

If the students defy what amounts to a virtual ban on demonstrations, Pompidou's new instructions to the police mean more hard fighting for them.

The fact that one of the two men killed Friday was Lyon Police Commissioner Rene Lacroix has both enraged the riot police against the demonstrators and underlined their bitterness toward the government for what they regard as its unfair and unwise use of them.

But in his strong statement yesterday, Pompidou showed that, if police cannot or will not restore order in France, he will call upon the army to move "without delay to end the subversive agitation." Such a move could have extremely serious consequences for the future of Gaullism, and would not be taken except as a last resort.

One bright spot for the government in the whole gloomy situation is the fact that Waldeck Rochet's Communist party and the big, Communist-led General Labor Confederation, having used Sorbonne disorders as a springboard from which to launch their own demands, apparently are prepared to abandon the students to whatever fate the government may mete out.

Although the sit-ins that have led to the occupation of hundreds of factories and put 10 million Frenchmen on strike originally had the appearance of spontaniety, union leaders since appear to have re-established discipline, if ever in fact they had lost it.

The marches by 100,000 workers Friday were in strong contrast to those of students. The workers paraded quietly for a couple of hours, then retired to their homes to watch De Gaulle's speech on television.

In the seven hours that the students battled with police back and forth from the Right Bank to the Left, the "Red belt" where industrial workers live was as quiet as the mice scavenging among the city's mounds of seven-day-old rotting garbage.

Pompidou's meeting with leaders of labor and industry was the first formal attempt to end the week-long wildcat general strike which has brought French economic life to a standstill.

After listening for nearly two hours to the listing of the workers' demands, he asked for a "period of reflection" before he replied.

CGT, the Catholic-oriented Democratic Labor Confederation (CFDT) and the Socialist-led Workers' Force (FO) are united in their basic demand that 3 million non-agricultural workers who now receive a poverty-line wage of $80 a month be hiked to $120.

They also want to be paid for days during which they have occupied plants, a gradual reduction of the work-week from 48 to 40 hours without loss of pay, retirement at 60 rather than 65, more say in plant management and cancellation of unpopular increases in workers' contributions to social security programs.

It is difficult to calculate how much all this would cost, but some economists say it would soon come to more than $4 billion annually.

WOULD BE INFLATIONARY

Such action would be highly inflationary, would reduce the competitiveness of French goods a little more than a month before all Common Market trade barriers are due to come down, would cause balance of payments difficulties that would eat into France's gold reserves and might well result in devaluation of the franc.

This would do the currently uncertain world financial situation no good.

It is clear then that neither the government nor industry can afford to meet what the workers say are their "minimum" demands. The financial weakness of the unions means that compromise must be found.

On the other hand, the workers sense that perhaps never again will they have De Gaulle over such a convenient political barrel. The government needs a settlement at least as much as the unions do.

Yet the capacity of French workers to stay off the job for long is limited. There is no such thing in France as strike pay. The ability of the workers to hang on depends largely on the willingness of petit bourgeois butchers and grocers to extend credit.

Even if the strike should be quickly settled, great economic damages have been done, not only to France, but to her major trading partners, many of whom (such as Britain) are facing economic troubles just as serious if less dramatic than that which is bringing France to its knees.

CRITICISM MOUNTING

Meanwhile, criticism of De Gaulle's handling of the current crisis is mounting among Frenchmen who, if not ardent Gaullists, normally agree with most of his policies.

Such criticism, which also implies doubt as to the General's ability to lead the country in the future, centers on some or all of these four points:

1. De Gaulle should not have left the country during the early days of the crisis, as he did when he flew to Romania for a state visit May 4, only two days after the riots at the Sorbonne.

2. Having gone, he should have returned more quickly, rather than just trimming 10 hours off his stay.

3. Having come back early, he should have seized the initiative by addressing the nation immediately. Instead, he waited five days while France slowly came apart.

4. When he did speak, he should have done so with more confidence and vigor, setting forth his plans in detail, rather than just making his customary threat to resign if the country does not accept a vaguely worded referendum proposal on academic and industrial reform next month.

DE GAULLE'S PORTRAYAL

De Gaulle's portrayal of himself in the speech as the one man who can prevent France from being taken over by "certain people" (read Communists) may work for him again, as it has in the past, despite the fact that both the Communist party and the CGT have acted with as much if not more restraint during the crisis as anybody else.

De Gaulle won the 1965 presidential runoff with 55 percent of the vote. It is extremely difficult to see how he could get that high a vote in next month's referendum, despite the fact that people will be faced with a situation, more or less, of voting for or against motherhood.

On the other hand, many voters—like De Gaulle himself—clearly will view the referendum as having more to do with expressing an opinion on the quality of De Gaulle's leadership than on educational and labor reform.

Even those willing to accept the referendum at its face rather than its real or symbolic value may be excused if they do not feel that the 77-year-old general is the man to lead the "renovation" of which he spoke Friday night.

Labor leaders and educational reformers have, after all, been seeking change for a number of years. For 10 of those years, De Gaulle has been sitting in the Elysee Palace exhibiting more interest in foreign policy matters than in his people's domestic problems.

De Gaulle may, in fact, have made a fatal miscalculation: He could lose the referendum, in which case he is publicly committed to resigning.

It would be premature to imply that De Gaulle's 10-year-old Fifth Republic is on the verge of collapse. But even the most sanguine of observers would agree that never has it been in greater peril.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 24, 1968]

FIVE THOUSAND STUDENTS ARE EXPECTED TO JOIN CAMPAIGN OF POOR

Up to 5,000 college students reportedly are expected to take part, starting Wednesday, in a planned Poor People's University, in connection with the Poor People's Campaign.

Ross Connelly, staff member working on the project, said today there still was no offer of dormitory space to house the visiting students at area campuses. He said cooperating churches were expected to house some of the students.

At Georgetown University, officials were expected to meet later today with a group of students who staged a sit-in to press their demand that Georgetown make campus facilities available for the Poor People's University.

Georgetown had joined in a Consortium of Universities statement that on-campus facilities could not be provided for the Poor People's University. American University, a consortium member, has offered downtown classroom and office space for the project, however.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 24, 1968]

MARCHER, 18, GETS 1 YEAR IN GUN CASE

An 18-year-old youth from Atlanta, Ga., in Washington for the Poor People's Campaign, yesterday was sentenced to a year in prison and fined $250 for carrying a pistol.

Judge Alfred Burka in the Court of General Sessions imposed the sentence on Arthur L. Copeland, who arrived at Resurrection City on Monday. The judge said failure to pay the fine would mean an additional 30 days in jail.

However, he indicated that if the court could be assured that Copeland will be placed on a bus and sent home, he might reconsider the sentence.

Burka said he was disturbed by the case and added that it seemed "to indicate to me that loopholes exist in controls at Resurrection City."

He asked the court's probation department to try contacting someone at Resurrection City who would be willing to assume responsibility for the youth.

Copeland said before sentencing that "the only thing I want to do is to get out of here and go back home to Atlanta where I come from."

He told the court he had joined the campaign in Atlanta, got into a fight with another member in North Carolina and was stabbed in the arm, then was sent home by the group's leader.

However, Copeland said, he hitchhiked to Washington on his own, arriving Monday, and went to Resurrection City, where he reregistered. He was not assigned a tent but moved in with a friend.

He told Burka he bought the .22-caliber pistol at a truckstop "somewhere in Virginia" because "I got stabbed one time and I wasn't takin' no chances."

He was arrested Tuesday in the 1200 block of Washington Drive after he took the pistol from a holster in a quick-draw maneuver, police said. They said they recovered six bullets, all of which had had the heads shaved off of them, turning them into dum-dum bullets.

The youth said he had been on probation for assault on a counselor in 1963 and at present was taking a course in crime prevention offered by the Atlanta police.

[From Tactics, Apr. 20, 1968]

GOVERNMENT AID—FOR REVOLT

The greatest psychological advantage that the enemy has in its gradualist strategy for turning prosperous American communities into hellholes of barbarism, terrorism and guerrilla warfare, as has happened in such cities as Algiers and Saigon, is the disbelief of almost all Americans, white and black, that it could possibly happen.

This red psychological advantage is increased by the even greater inability of most Americans, white and black, to imagine that the guerrilla warfare inflicted on such backward areas as China's Hunan Province and the Congo's Katanga could be duplicated in our advanced United States.

Enemy strategy benefits even more from a material advantage. This is the tolerance and even assistance bestowed on it, either directly or indirectly, by the government itself. Inconceivable as it sounds, only this help from inside government has made possible the step by step progress made by the Fabian socialist-Marxist-communist complex in its conspiracy to create a war front on United States soil. The proper term for this sector in the war is "peace" front. Its strategy is coordinated with that of the military front in Viet Nam. The communists are likely, too, to call it a "people's" front, their word, people, being synonymous with communists. Perhaps the most descriptive term is civilian front.

"CHEERED" BY WHITE HOUSE COFFEE

Signals and symbolism constitute the warp and the woof of propaganda warfare. The White House is more than the President's convenient lodging house for a limited number of years; it is one of our greatest symbols. Only the Supreme Court and the Congress equal it, and of these, only the Congress can be said to surpass it, as the symbol of the people's sovereignty. The White House of late has been seeking to become the paramount symbol, through such subtle devices as postage stamps, and to a degree has been successful. So anything the White House says or does has practically unsurpassable impact on minds.

Early in the Kennedy administration, the first large, so-called "peace" demonstration focussed on the national capital. The line then was against testing in space of our nuclear potential, and for withdrawal from our missile bases. Demonstrators shivered as they marched up and down in front of the White House in opposition to our defense posture and our military preparedness program.

The weather was biting cold. As reported by the Washington Star on Feb. 17, 1962: "In freezing weather yesterday, an estimated 1,500 pickets took part in demonstrations at the White House. They were cheered by hot coffee sent out by President Kennedy."

On Feb. 18, 1962, a Washington Post editorial, "Cold War and Hot Coffee," said that the picketing and demonstrations by college students was "a healthy sign." The Chief Executive seemed to agree, for he "made it plain" he did not consider this opposition "represented a personal affront or a challenge to government stability. He sent out some piping hot coffee to warm the marchers and designated three of his key advisers to meet with a student delegation." The N.Y. Times, for its part, enthused over this, declaring there was "a new political ferment on the campus," and: "It is good to find students debating what kind of policies are most promising for the nation and the world . . . There is no indication that they are becoming doctrinaire in the process . . ." The editorial concluded that the picketing of the White House showed that higher education was "making headway" toward its goal of fostering "critical thinking."

Publicized throughout the nation, the sending of refreshments from the White House to those engaged in picketing against its policies could only have been heady wine for the misled and agitators alike. The reds, of course, have only contempt for this, that they call "bourgeois sentimentalism," and regard as a welcome sign of weakness, that can be exploited for a renewed assault. So it happened, of course.

Especially were the knowledgeable conspirators and the naive encouraged to engage in further and more drastic measures by sympathetic members of the White House staff. These unelected, government functionaries declared, as reported in the press, that if they had not been working in the White House, they would be out on the pavement with the demonstrators, picketing the White House.

As was also reported by the Washington Post of Feb. 18, 1962, "the Washington project of the 'Turn Toward Peace Council' was the biggest picketing demonstration seen here in about a decade." It added:

"The leaders of 'Project Washington' were happy at day's end. Todd Gitlin of Harvard said he thought the long line looked good from White House windows. The trip had also been an education for the students, he said." Some years later, he visited Red Cuba, and wrote glowingly about it.

Imagine what the innocent students, taken along as bodies, were able to tell their fellows when they returned to their classes, and what the red agents were able to report to their superiors! The latter were able to translate the doubletalk into party language, and it could mean only one thing. This was that they had overt collaboration in the highest places in government. This, too, is how "psywar" is conducted.

A delegation from Young Americans for Freedom counterpicketed, under Fulton Lewis 3d, then their chairman. "We cannot in all conscience permit the 'surrender operation' to go unopposed—perhaps to influence the weak in mind or the weak in heart," he was quoted in the Washington Post of Feb. 16 as saying, when Y.A.F. announced its plan to support American policy. Significantly, its marchers got no coffee from the White House, nor were they given the prestige of being invited inside for a chat. They had no chance to look out of the White House windows at the scene outside. They could only shiver on the outside, not only from the freezing cold but from this plain indication where tangible support from inside the government was being bestowed.

LAW BENT TO PERMIT ALL-OUT TREASON

This sympathy and cooperation from inside government—specifically inside the Administration— is the really decisive element in the program of gradualism that has been followed by collaborators with Hanoi, Peking and Moscow, that is intended to reach guerrilla warfare proportions on American streets. Without this cooperation, the treason could not have reached first base. The Justice Department under Ramsey Clark, in simply ignoring, re-interpreting or breaking the law, has been the main factor in this.

This policy is political; it has to be under the direction of the Executive Offices. Justice Department representatives, in testimony before Congressional committees, have labeled overt, reasonable acts as only "eccentric behavior." They have indiscriminately insisted that we have plenty of laws on the books already, when they are opposing new legislation to deal with treason, and that there are no laws to cover the treasonable acts, when questioned regarding their failure to act on treason.

The boldness of the enemy, encouraged by this policy of unprecedented tolerance during a fighting war, was graphically demonstrated on April 1, April Fool's Day. Red psychological warfare lays great stress upon symbolic actions, as in the symbolic capture of the Pentagon on Oct. 21, 1967. Only a few hours passed after President Johnson's cringing television talk of March 31, 1968, when our flag was removed from on top of Iwo Jima statue at Arlington National Cemetery and replaced by the Viet Cong flag. The reds had interpreted his seemingly bold statement literally. Hanoi would not be allowed to take over all of Viet Nam "by force," but he had said nothing about letting it go discreetly, without loss of face, in "talks." The Stars and Stripes had been publicly defiled during a pro-red demonstration at the Washington Monument some time before, but the park police had been forbidden to take notice. The Viet Cong flag had been paraded in front of the White House, as if by a conquering force. Now the enemy flag had been hoisted to the top of our most heroic statue. Apparently, all this remains "eccentric behavior," in the view of the Justice Department. Congress should insist on a repudiation of this term and the policy it represents.

REVOLUTION, STEP BY STEP, AND UNMOLESTED

Step by step, since the White House sent out hot coffee to pickets, and White House staff members told them they would be picketing, too, but for their official jobs, we have been witnessing a progressive advance toward guerrilla warfare on our streets, and a red revolution in the land. None of this could have happened but for the protective shield and collaboration given the revolutionaries from inside government.

We have now reached a stage in the recruitment, training and equipping of revolutionaries beyond which it is impossible to go, except for refinements in each of these fields. This is suicidal, of course. Rarely, if ever, has anything similar been seen in any country. Surely, no government where this could happen was able to survive it. It is happening here, with sympathy and collaboration from those whose responsibility it is to preserve our way of life against those who would destroy it by violence.

The conspiracy—and it is proven conspiracy—to soften up our people to accept crime, treason and revolution, has reached proportions that simply are not imagined by the average person. The government knows all this, though, and so must the press. This writer has just received through the mails, thanks to the anarchism in Supreme Court decisions, the Nov., 1967 issue of a San Francisco tabloid called "The Movement," in which, in capital letters, a filthy collaquialism is applied to the President's sex life. Even the absolutism of the Supreme Court does not cover this extreme example. But under obvious Justice Department instructions, nothing is done. This writer saw similar indecencies applied to the President in picket signs raised on Pentagon grounds in front of the American troops.

UNDERGROUND PRESS TEACHES GUERRILLA TACTICS

The term, underground press, is applied to a nationwide chain of tabloid papers that are edited and published, distributed and sold openly. The subtle connotation is that these are papers that would have to be produced secretly if our laws were being enforced. Explicity, tactical details are taught on how to conduct guerrilla warfare in our communities.

Diagrams show how the main section of a city can be paralyzed or panicked. The word, tactics, that seems such a bore to most who call themselves patriots and anti-communists, is found frequently in these publications. The tactics taught are those of subversion and violence, with the plainly admitted objective of overthrowing our form of government. This is treason, of course, but not to the Justice Department. (Readers might want to ask their congressmen and senators what specifically they are doing about this.)

If one accepts the purely anarchist or obsessionist interpretation, that nothing spoken or written can be interfered with legally, this sort of material as found in the openly distributed underground press is just as much a part of an overt operation as the printed directions provided with a can of inflammatory or poisonous fluid. The underground press contains instructions, and they are related to actual incidents. What we are presented with is what the reds call "learning by doing," the doing in this case being violence.

An article in this November issue, signed Jeff Segal, is accompanied by five diagrams on how to outmaneuver and fight the police or troops in an area of a city, and put the community in destructive chaos. A case study is made of one community struck by the "stop the draft week." The title on the first page is, "The Days We Seized the Streets of Oakland." A large photograph alongside illustrates one of the recommended tactics, the placing of an automobile diagonally across both sides of the street to block traffic from either direction.

"TACTICS THAT INVOLVED DIRECT CONFLICTS"

The article explains its intent blandly: "A primary purpose of this article is to make available to movement organizations and organizers the most up-to-date methods for handling police and police connected agencies in situations of struggle. Its purpose ranges from peaceful discussion with the cops to varying degrees of force when lesser means are inadequate to insure control and provide for the success of the guerilla action."

Farther on, it declares, referring to the Oakland affair, "We experimented with tactics that involved direct conflicts with the duly constituted forces of the law—cops. . . . Here, for the first time (in the history of our own movement) did we plan for and carry out an operation whose object was the taking of control over one of the basic institutions of the society. We organized in advance that manner in which we expected to defend ourselves, and our plan took the form of a military action against the cops. . . .

"We have now had clashes with the public in more than a dozen places around the country . . . and I am confident that those clashes will grow in numbers and in militancy. We most seriously study each new encounter, provide ourselves with the preparations to meet the cops in battle and win . . . This then is an attempt to present to our comrades in the movement an analysis of the specific tactics that were used and the lessons that we learned from our struggle. . ."

Who is meant in "we experimented," who "organized in advance" and who is doing the staff work? Can the Administration still insist that these are spontaneous affairs, with no conspiracy involved? Obviously, the participants would not dare operate openly this way if, in the red manner, they have not been assured by intelligence and contacts that they are immune to prosecution. Part of the backstopping for such treason, of course, is the failure to use FBI facilities or reports, and the sabotage of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. The Supreme Court went far toward guaranteeing such immunity by depriving the states of their right to intervene in matters of subversion and treason within their borders. This enabled the pro-red mechanism to concentrate on investigatory agencies of the federal government and to put political pressure on the federal courts. They have been scandalously successful in this.

The infiltrated and fake "liberal" press has probably the major responsibility both in preventing disclosure of subversion and treason, and in giving them a favorable and even glamorous image. A typical example is the manner by which the underground press can put out the most obvious publicity for itself and receive extraordinary coverage, whereas the legitimate information—not blurbs—in anti-communist publications just never receive mention.

A recent example was the publicity stunt of the Washington Free Press, the announcement that it was conducting a kite flying demonstration. The usual propaganda twist was inserted with the statement that an old law made kite flying illegal in the District of Columbia, and "we invite you to join us in direct protest of this oppressive law." The all-news radio, WAVA, in Arlington, Va., gave this corny stunt a fine position in its news program, with respectful reference to the Washington Free Press.

The rest of this issue of the pro-communist rag in which this announcement was found was given over entirely to all-out support of Red Cuba and the Viet Cong, and to obscenity. The doublespread in the center of the 20-page tabloid contained the start of a series of articles "on the development of a socialist society in Cuba."

A page was given over to advice to draft dodgers, telling them how to falsify their status and where to obtain professional guidance. Another page was an expose, from the point of view of Moscow, of Dr. Hans Weigert—"Washington's own Dr. Strangelove Weigert, an intellectual in the exclusive service of the government," who is accused of conducting a project to provide our troops with anti-personnel bombs. The article is part of the subversive campaign to unilaterally disarm the United States in all phases, from character to weaponry, while the enemy goes full speed ahead to arm itself in every manner.

DISARMING PUBLICITY RUN WITHOUT HINT OF RED SOURCE

Ads in this same issue include a "manual for draft-age immigrants to Canada," "Letters re-mailed: N.Y.C. or Long Island . . . Confidential . . ," "French ticklers," and the like. At a time when our boys are dying in Viet Nam, for any editor to present a corny piece of publicity for such a sheet, without letting his readers or listeners know what it presents, aids and abets the enemy in a very direct manner in the psychological war being waged to defeat the United States militarily.

The question at least might have been asked where the money comes from to finance these expensive "underground" papers, and where the strategy is laid down for the obvious adherence to the enemy line. One might also ask the Justice Department why no action is taken against any of the patent treason and violation of the law. One must ask, too, why the appropriate Congressional committees are so quiet.

Surely, these matters should be determinants as regards the qualifications of those seeking office.

TREASON IS MADE THE NEW "IN" FAD

In the same, highly professional manner as mini-skirts are popularized, so is treason being made the "in" thing. All the hackneyed, red gimmicks are being polished up and presented as fine, new, intellectual ideas. The hush-hush in our educational system on communist intrigue of the past in our land enables the reds to announce these discredited and exposed machinations as fresh ideas for "change." A particularly heinous example was the long dispatch sent out by the Associated Press, and widely printed, concerning a purported project for a separate black nation on American soil, to be carved out of a number of states such as Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Louisiana.

This is precisely the original proposition insisted upon by Josef Stalin for a wedge-driving campaign in the United States as a means of destroying our nation. Yet the dispatch was printed without any reference to this historical background. The time has come when insistence must be made that the immunity given communists and communist projects, under which they are presented without any indication of their red source, be ended. No other element in American society possesses this immunity. The N.Y. Times is perhaps the worst offender.

What this requires is that our side acquire an historical background, carefully avoiding scapegoat obsessions that are substitutes for knowledge, study tactics, as well, and focus its force only on the foe.

[From Tactics, Apr. 20, 1968]

VIETNAM WAR ONLY A PART OF IT: REAL WAR IS STRATEGIC—REAL WAR IS GLOBAL

The major conflict in which we now are engaged is a strategic war. The Viet Nam war is a tactical war. As such, it is only a part of the major clash. Important strategic losses already have been inflicted on our side in this major war. They have occurred on land, in air space and beyond, on the sea and underwater.

Soviet Russia is our direct antagonist in the major war, while it is only indirectly so in the Vietnamese fighting, although the latter still is costlier in manpower and resources. The U.S.S.R. has chalked up threatening gains in both conflicts. In the one, because our government policy of concealing the harsh facts makes us vulnerable to the boldest red thrusts, and in both, because we are fighting with one hand—and one foot—tied behind our backs.

The editor of Tactics has been provided extraordinary details regarding the major conflict by sources with a record of accuracy. These reports are of such life-and-death importance to our nation that the patent secrecy in which the government is taking refuge should not be allowed to prevent disclosure, surely not in Tactics. Certainly, we cannot afford a repetition of our experience with the Soviet missiles in Cuba, which the State Department successfully hushed up until President Kennedy found it politically expedient to suddenly discover them. This correspondent, for one, was told the details in Senate offices several months before. Similar concealment could cost us our existence.

CENSORS REGARD U.S. PUBLIC, NOT REDS, AS THE ENEMY

There was a time when security classification—the imposition of official secrecy—was directed at a real or potential enemy of the United States. This no longer is the case. The suppressed details are well known to Soviet Russia, because what is being hushed up are Moscow's actions. Secrecy now is aimed at the American people, their press and their Congress. Under our "escalation" bogy, these become the enemy, not the reds, because if we knew the truth, we would insist upon a basic change in policy, and a thorough housecleaning of such infiltrated institutions as the State Department.

Exactly as blunders can be blackmailed by Moscow to force compliance, those involved in secret policy have to regard the Ameriacn public, press and Congress as the foe. Even a defector to the U.S. is a peril.

Meanwhile, Moscow is proceeding full speed ahead in its global war, its strategic warfare that has replaced the erstwhile cold war.

Tactics does not intend to allow itself to become a party to his deceit. What is not of help to the enemy, we shall print. For instance, the perilous goings-on of a military nature upon our continental shelf.

The continental shelf is that portion of our continent that lies underwater off our coastlines. This extends for some miles into the Atlantic and the Pacific, and is characterized by much the same geographical features as dry land, with valleys and gulleys, ravines and mountains. This land must be guarded against enemy submarines of the Polaris type, that can launch an underwater Pearl Harbor against the East or the West coasts.

RED SUBMARINES WERE IN POSITION TO STRIKE

The most highly developed and the most sophisticated electronic devices, consisting of special buoys and radar detectors, are supposed to be in place to protect our continental shelf from intrusion. But ten Soviet submarines are declared to have invaded this region, without being detected coming or going. They were in position to launch a Pearl Harbor attack not just upon some distant point, but against the Atlantic seaboard. They could have destroyed such cities as New York and Washington. Whatever gobbledygook may be used to explain away this inexcusable affair, in plain English it constituted a rehearsal for such attack.

The first that we learned about this intrusion came from our intelligence sources abroad. This is a deeply worrying matter, for it means that our entire continental shelf lies open, like an ambush site in the Vietnamese war. The simple fact is that we do not know how the reds came in and left.

Indeed, one of these ICBM-delivering submersibles may be there now, sitting and waiting for orders. Such a submarine can patiently rest on its hull this way for a year, waiting for the signal. Soviet Russian technological and electronic advances make this quite a simple matter. Oceanography has made tremendous strides in the U.S.S.R., which ranks far ahead of any other nation, including ours, in this field.

One of Moscow's exploits has been to construct a submarine with a transparent hull, made of some plastic material. Exploration of the ocean bottom becomes much more feasible with such an instrument. The utter lack of dynamism in such a computer mind as McNamara's, and the discouraging of initiative all along the line by the Administration, has limited us to reacting to what the reds do, and then by too little, too late. We even have permitted the reds to forge ahead on undersea processes vital to warfare that depend only on the will, because the techniques are simple and known to all.

The outstanding instance of this is telecommunication by longwave sound through water. What this depends upon is a thorough mapping of the underseas. A system of tuning forks can be fastened into the sea bottom. A message could thus be sent from Baltimore around the world back to Baltimore, using no electronics, and therefore impossible to monitor unless one knew the exact pitch or wave length.

The message would go out as a wave, consisting of minor sounds like microdots, jumping from one tuning fork at one ridge to be picked up by another on some hill, and this way complete its vibrating trip. What is needed is a precise study of the ocean bottom, and this we have neglected. But the reds did not.

WHAT IS LACKING IS "AMERICAN INITIATIVE"

Scientifically, this is no complicated task, but it requires money, resources and submarines, above all boldness and a sense of dedication to victory. This dedication is squelched by an even more incomprehensible failure, our refusal to acknowledge that the cold war is accompanied by a technical war, and that we are deeply engaged. The Kremlin is out to obtain every technical advantage possible.

A number of events have taken place recently that appear unrelated. But in actuality, they may be as much related as the various fronts on which the communists are waging war. We make believe, as in Viet Nam, that each sector is the whole front, which gives the decisive advantage to the enemy, that coordinates its operations on a world-wide front, and regards each area as only one sector on this front. So it is in the technical field. The loss of the U.S.S. Pueblo was not a mere exhibition of hotheadedness at Seoul. Instead, it was a cunning maneuver by the Soviet Union to inspect the little "black boxes" on the intelligence ship, with the latest electronic secrets. These can win or lose a battle, or even a war. The reds got hold of them. Never in history has any nation put its highest scientific accomplishments in a specific field such as intelligence in one basket, and then let it lie within reach of the enemy. This may not be treason, but it certainly is criminal irresponsibility. McNamara simply had no right to thus gamble with our security.

Then there was the F-111 that was downed apparently in North Viet Nam its second day out. The plane was a storehouse of the very latest and the most delicate electronic equipment. If the pro-red agents in the United

States, whose path the Supreme Court has smoothed, had not learned those secrets, the enemy may well have them now. The blockheads among the Pentagon civilians had no right to put everything we had in "black boxes" on one plane, and that of a questionable capability, and to send it within reach of the Russians on a very secondary front, so far as the strategic war is concerned. Of course, we lost it.

Then there was that other Edsel-minded conception, the McNamara fence that we are building along the enemy-infested, demilitarized line in Viet Nam. Again, our overintellectualized muttonheads who have been put in control of our weaponry gave this line everything we had. Nothing like it ever was built before. The "black boxes" and other electronic gadgets were so super-modern that they could signal the movement of a rabbit to planes overhead. They could sense the sound of rustling made by a fly or a bee.

Much of the instrumentation was experimental. Formerly, a sniper could move through a line safely unless he tripped a wire. Now the sound of every motion can be caught by infrared lights, sound devices, and beams. All have been miniaturized, and use very little electricity, which they are equipped to make themselves. Indeed, the most advanced mechanism on a tank for the detection of danger or a target has been adapted to the needs of the new fence. Actually, most tanks do not have such advanced equipment.

But we can be practically sure the reds have this now. They obviously captured it during their Tet offensive. Only a mind obsessed with the chimera of a mellowing Communist Russia would gamble this way, putting this extraordinary mechanism in the open where it was only a matter of time for it to be captured. The obsession, of course, is that the Kremlin really means to be peaceful, and so it doesn't make any essential difference whether it finds out our secrets or not. How tragic it is that the enemy does not have people of a like mentality on its side. The difference is, of course, they never would have the chance of controlling the disposition of any delicate instrumentation. The reds would shoot them first.

DISAPPEARANCE OF TWO SUBMARINES JUST TOO PAT

Somewhere, somehow, in this global, strategic war that the Kremlin is waging against the free world, principally the United States, the odd disappearance without trace of two submarines in the Mediterranean at practically the same time, or within a couple of days of each other, has a place. The Israeli submarine Dakar had been purchased and modernized in England, had completed its tests, taken on a specially trained Israeli crew, and was practically at its destination when it vanished. Just like that, vanished!

Contact was had with the Dakar on Jan. 25, and by Jan. 27 she was gone. A wide-scale search was conducted 250 miles southwest of Israel, in the very deep waters south of Cyprus. No trace of any kind was found. This is most peculiar.

The French submarine, La Minerve, was off the southern coast of France. The two submersibles were quite a distance from each other. Contact with La Minerve suddenly was lost on Jan. 27, and she, too, vanished. Just like that, vanished! An intensive search was made for her, too, with no more success than the Israelis, with American Navy assistance, had had in their search for the Dakar. Again, most peculiar.

Such abrupt disappearance is extremely rare, and the coincidence of two submarines in the Mediterranean, at different ends of the sea, vanishing simultaneously in the same manner, is extremely intriguing. Moscow now has 40 to 50 naval vessels in the Mediterranean, about the same number as the United States, thanks to its utterly callous outwitting of the U.S., Israel and Egypt in order to achieve what it has been unsuccessfully trying to do for several centuries, to become a Mediterranean power. The American press and radio-television, with all their foreign correspondents, and the Washington Administration, with all its "whiz kids" and self-proclaimed elite, were playing poker, moving one hand at a time, while the communists were playing chess, concentrating on a number of moves ahead. Of course, we know this.

THE TWO SUBS MIGHT HAVE DETECTED SOMETHING

These submarines had the latest electronic devices, of course. Surely, we should know by now of the utter ruthlessness and duplicity of the reds, and we should have learned by now, too, that the communists are murderous when they can get away with it. The two submarines might have been curious about the Russian fleet, and its submarines. They might have approached, intentionally or unintentionally, to a point where they were able to see some of the oceanographic trickery that the Kremlin is preparing, and so just had to be destroyed. That is, from the viewpoint of the U.S.S.R.

What is likely is that our intelligence or the Pentagon has information regarding the disappearance of these two submersibles, which under our "bridge-building" policy, would be kept secret from the American people, press and Congress, so as not to annoy the supposedly "mellowing" Kremlin, and not to reveal the utter bankruptcy of our appeasement policy toward the communists, at home and abroad.

The penetration of our underwater area or shelfland by red submarines shows how thoroughly Moscow has gone ahead with its program for a single, knockout blow against the United States. We have buoys and detectors carefully spaced in our undersea area, much the same as a minefield. Automatically, they are equipped to pick up and report any undersea or surface movement by ships of any description, or even by a frogman. We are supposed to have a maintenance program scrupulously kept up, so these always would be in perfect condition. A device can be silted over, and its effectiveness in this way be diminished or destroyed. The successful passage into and out of thee waters by Soviet submarine indicated that the reds had found out how to neutralize or immobilize these crucial gadgets. Or they just might have drowned them in silt.

Another of these singular coincidence in the military electronics field, so intimately attached to nuclear warfare, was the catastrophic wreck of a French plane taking off from the airport at Reunion Island with Gen. Charles Ailleret, his wife and daughter, and a number of members of his staff. The plane, on March 9, had just begun a hop to Paris with Gen. Ailleret, who was chief of staff for France's international ballistic missiles program, a top technocrat deeply knowledgeable regarding nuclear warheads. He reportedly was returning from preparations for a new test of French nuclear capability, and was taking an irregular route to avoid our installations.

Soviet Russia's strategic war has a self-evident objective, which is to put us in a position to be knocked out with one blow. The Kremlin's goal is to counter our McNamara second-strike policy by making the first blow also the last blow. The intent is to have no second strike, the ultimate gamble of this strange man, who enthusiastically implemented the policy of the over-intellectualized "liberals" in government to put their faith dogmatically in Communist Russia's evolution into a peace-loving nation. President Johnson went along with every detail of this dangerous line. Red agents in government used their diversion and paralysis tactic to make this program palatable, and to eliminate those who objected.

MOSCOW HAS FOLLOWED THE DULLES POLICY

Moscow first employed its propaganda machine in the United States to discredit the Dulles policy, and cause us to abandon it, whereupon it took it over. This constitutes a return to the hardware, technological politics of Josef Stalin and Lavrenti Beria. They much distrusted any reliance upon or the substitution of diplomatic victories for the ability to have a military victory. Nikita Khrushchev reversed or discarded this policy. He argued that Soviet military and security police were unimaginative, and could achieve through diplomacy the conquest of the West.

The Berlin adventure, Aswan Dam, competition for the underdeveloped countries, and even the second Cuban confrontation, all were parts of this Khrushchev policy. The Soviets were not prepared as yet for real war over Cuba, but hoped to achieve their program through bluff. Beria and the hard-line military always feared this line as adventurism. Once they got rid of Khrushchev, they returned to concentrating on hardware and a first-strike victory.

Reliance upon a diplomatic and political breakthrough was minimized. Moscow became annoyed with the Chinese reds who, while pretending to be anti-Khrushchev were relying on a bluff, as he had done in Cuba. Indeed, the Moscow-Peking clash now is over this approach.

Moscow does not want us to strike first, and so its orchestrated minions in the United States have dutifully persuaded us to accept the first blow, as policy. Moscow also has made an intensive study of history. What good would it do us to have a war too soon? Beria asked. The Kremlin does not intend to repeat the errors of the ultranationalist Japanese, Hitler and Napoleon. "What good did Pearl Harbor do for the Japanese?" the red planners have asked, and answered themselves. Tokyo got no good out of it, for Japan lost the war, as did Hitler and Napoleon their wars. Khrushchev almost reproduced a Pearl Harbor situation for the reds. He could have jolted us, but as the Kremlin strategists figured it out, we ultimately would have won. So Khrushchev was removed for nearly staging a premature Pearl Harbor.

REDS ARRANGING GUERRILLA WARFARE FOR UNITED STATES

The present Kremlin policy has for its purpose a spatial or undersea Pearl Harbor, or such a predominance of power that the so-called practical "doves" in the Administration and in Congress would bring about the surrender of the United States to Soviet Russia. The American people are being softened up for this, as in our attitude toward the fighting in Viet Nam. This is double-cross, here and abroad.

Guerrilla warfare on American streets are part of the global, strategic war, in its initial stages. The reds have progressed so far that nests of traitors in such institutions as our colleges and universities are able to operate out in the open, shielded by the permissive decisions of an anarchist-minded Supreme Court. Americans grasped the danger of the "it can't happen here" mentality as regards nazis, but an anti-anticommunist propaganda climate has kept us from recognizing the communist conspiracy right under our noses. So long as treason is given any dissembling term, the enemy can get away with it. The latest instance is the providing of academic immunity, with college and university credits, for students who go out from their campuses to participate in pro-red demonstrations. They are given the protective label of "participant-observers," no more of a deceit than the term that Ramsey Clark, attorney general, used for those engaged in overt acts of treason. He called this "eccentric behavior." The scandal is made even more detestable by the fact that these students, coached by red professors, obtain draft exemption for their treasonable activities. This is psychological warfare on the "peace" front.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA'S MERCHANTS MEET RUIN

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, Washington is a city in real trouble. The local newspapers have chosen to ignore the problem. The highly respected National Observer has this to say about the situation this week:

BLACK ANTI-SEMITISM: RUIN FOR TINY MERCHANTS IN CHAOTIC WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Two Negroes sauntered into a neighborhood liquor store here the other day, paid for two half-pints of Scotch, walked outside into the morning sunshine, and smashed the bottles on the sidewalk. Then they sauntered back into the store, held the jagged necks of the bottles to the throat of the proprietor, and said quietly:

"You're in *deep* trouble Jew man. Deep, deep trouble. You done sold us two bad bottles, man. They done explode. Now make good, Jew man."

The proprietor quickly handed over two new bottles and the Negroes left. That night, when he climbed into his automobile to drive home, the headlights failed to respond; they had been smashed in.

Such bullying of the city's small merchants by Negro hoodlums has been going on day in and day out since the disorders that swept the capital following the murder of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. And it's only part of the upsurge in violence and lawlessness that has come—many believe predictably—in the aftermath of those outbreaks.

Between April 30 and May 14, four merchants were murdered in their stores. A bus driver was slain on a late-night run in the District just 3 days later. There have been as many as eight arson attempts a day here recently, according to the fire marshal's office. Extortion, harassment, threats, and anti-Semitic abuse—all have made life increasingly miserable and dangerous, particularly for small shopkeepers.

By and large these people are operators of the little "Mom and Pop" grocery stores, carry-out sandwich shops, clothing stores, and the like. Some of these merchants still bear on their forearms the tattooed numbers from their days in Nazi death camps.

The night, and parts of the day for that matter, belong to Negro toughs. The Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade says that business in downtown stores, restaurants, hotels, and private clubs is off by at least 20 percent.

The small merchants, for the most part, bore the brunt of the April riots, which saw 488 buildings destroyed or damaged by fire, and it is they who live today in alternating states of terror and despair. To protect themselves, some storekeepers now carry pistols in their belts, and many have bought police dogs.

Although little noted publicly because they have become so commonplace, assaults on businessmen have created an atmosphere of continuing tenseness here in the capital—a city already put on edge by the influx of more than 2,400 participants in the Poor People's Campaign. While there have been only minor disturbances involving marchers, authorities have been obliged to spread police forces thin to avert the danger of mass disorders. Individual shopkeepers thus are caught in the midst of a rising crime wave with reduced police protection. In recent days, police have gone on overtime to help this situation.

FEARING OF AN INCIDENT

Many merchants here are bitter because they trace the cause of the new lawlessness to the way authorities handled the April disorders. At the beginning of the rioting, local police along with Federal troops did little to try to prevent the widespread looting that went on. Since then, criminal elements in the Negro community including roving bands of juveniles, have been acting with increasing boldness in the apparent belief that they can continue to get away with quite a lot, at little risk of being punished.

It is their view that the Metropolitan Police force, under Patrick V. Murphy, public-safety director, is following a policy of "softness" toward Negro hoodlums, fearing that the slightest "incident" might set off a second riot. They trace this policy directly to Ramsey Clark, U.S. Attorney General, in whose office Mr. Murphy once labored, and hence to the White House itself.

Mr. Murphy and Mr. Clark, both of whom have denied that any such policy is in effect, have been under heavy fire from the U.S. Congress. Citizens' associations have passed resolutions of "no confidence" in Mr. Murphy, and an organization of merchants, calling itself "We the People," has retained criminal lawyer Edward Bennett Williams to investigate the feasibility of suing the District of Columbia for losses sustained in the April riots.

DEATH AND INACTION

When the deaths in quick succession of two merchants failed to stir community reaction, the friends of Benjamin Brown, who was shot while defending his store, placed a full-page advertisement in the local newspapers that read, in part:

"Ben Brown Is Dead. Is law enforcement also dead? Should anarchy prevail because a small segment of the population takes the law into its own hands? Should bands of hoodlums be allowed to continue preying on law-abiding citizens, Negro and white? . . .

"Who is at fault? Certainly not the majority of citizens, white or Negro. Certainly not the majority of the poor, Negro or white. Certainly not the policemen on the beat, who must obey orders. . . .

"This is no revolt of youth against older generations. This is no revolt of the poor against the wealthy. This is no part of the Civil Rights movement whose real leaders know that Utopia doesn't have to be built on ashes. It is an open attack by a few criminals against a community that lacks firm leadership and the courage to demand that its leaders exercise their authority—or resign. . . . Where will tragedy strike next? Today, the Inner City. Tomorrow, the residential areas, the suburbs.

"Today, Ben Brown. Tomorrow?"

BUS DRIVER KILLED

Charles Sweitzer, a World War II hero and the third man to be killed by hoodlums, met his death on May 7—the day that the black-bordered advertisement about Ben Brown appeared in the Washington Post and the Evening Star. On May 17, a D.C. Transit bus driver was slain, touching off an angry revolt among the drivers.

Last week the drivers were refusing to carry large amounts of silver for making change. When they asked for, and failed to receive, what they considered adequate police protection on the late-night "owl" runs, they refused to take the buses out with cash aboard; the transit company refused to let them go without cash. At the week end, bus service in the city had grown increasingly spotty. There was even the suggestion that the solution might be troops to ride the buses.

Apart from the violence, small merchants are bitter about other things. Many of them have lost their life's savings. Insurance companies are refusing to reinsure them. But what bothers them most are the statements by high Federal as well as District officials, which appear to echo the line of the black militants and the Communist Party, that the April looting was in some way "selective," that it was directed against usurious Jewish merchants.

"The extreme liberals, including many of my own race here in town, are using us as a scapegoat," declared a prominent Jewish businessman. "You know it eases peoples' consciences, and here we have to go back to Hitler. There was no depth to his philosophy but he appealed to many hungry, unhappy people by saying to them: 'The Jews have got all the money.'

"And as for the members of my own race who are saying such things today, I would remind them of the Jews who backed Hitler in the early days, of the Jews who went to gas chambers saying: 'It will never happen to me.' "

The small merchants express annoyance with the big retail establishments downtown that were not as badly hit by the rioters and which are in a better position to withstand temporary losses. It is their view that the "fat cats" are sitting back, appeasing the predominantly Negro District government, appeasing the Negro militants.

VIGOROUS DENIALS

Such private organizations as the Federal City Council, which is made up of prominent businessmen and civic leaders, deny the charge.

"We are working as hard as we can, but quietly, behind the scenes," is a typical response. "One of the great problems is that Walter Washington, the mayor, is a Johnson appointee and as such he is just as much a lame duck as the President."

One businessman, however, who is supplying food "at cost" to the Poor People campaigners on the mall, concedes privately that he is doing so under duress. "We are trying to 'buy' a certain amount of peace."

Oscar Dodek, an executive of D. J. Kaufman clothing stores here, has this to say: "It is an unfortunate fact of human nature that few people will move until they have been hurt themselves. We just have to recognize that looting and arson are crimes. And we must deal with them. We have arrogant, roving gangs all over town. They come through in packs of 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and they open their coats and yell: 'D. J. Kaufman looted suit!' daring me to do something.

"Take the Washington Post, for example. If the Post had been invaded the way my stores were, if their presses had been smashed by the mobs, then they might change their attitude."

POLICE POLICY PRAISED

Until recently, the Washington Post has been praising the police policy of restraint, and many merchants believe, fairly or unfairly, that the paper's news columns tend to downplay stories of Negro intimidation of merchants, such as the recent, successful efforts by militants to shut down many white businesses in honor of Malcolm X's birthday.

Mrs. Katharine "Kay" Graham, president of the Post, and daughter of its founder, Eugene Meyer, is known to be disturbed by the merchants' oft-expressed anger, and she has been hearing them out. A recent Post editorial suggests that time had come to "Stop the Violence."

During the riots, says Oscar Dodek, one of his stores was gutted by fire. The other store, on Pennsylvania Avenue across the street from the U.S. Department of Justice and the FBI, was looted "on and off for 8 to 10 hours and we had no police protection whatsoever."

Mr. Dodek has been in the forefront of the civil-rights movement in this town for years. As the former head of a human-rights commission and a merchants' association, he pushed for the hiring of more Negroes in downtown business establishments years before the movement became fashionable. He says that he does not regret his civil-rights work and he plans to continue it. But, like many other merchants, he now pleads for some kind of "balance" in the scale of justice.

NOT THE EXCEPTION

Mr. Dodek is no exception. Take Mortimer Lebowitz, head of Morton Stores, one of which was burned to the ground, another looted, Mr. Lebowitz has headed the Washington, D.C., Urban League; the Human Resources Commission; the Inner City Boy Scout Council. He marched in Montgomery, Ala., with the late Dr. King, and he has won an Equal Opportunity Award.

"It is simply not true that the looting was selective," says Mr. Lebowitz. "Almost exclusively, the looters went after places like mine which had the kind of apparel they wanted."

Hyman Perlo, whose liquor business has been destroyed, has worked for years to find jobs for Washington high-school dropouts, most of them Negro. There are many similar examples.

There is now a movement afoot to rebuild the riot corridors of 7th and 14th Street Northwest and H Street Northeast with black labor for black-owned businesses, a movement being pushed by militants on the one hand and the City Council on the other. Where the financing will come from, how the insurance will be worked out, and what will be the fate of the white-owned properties now there, are questions that have not been answered.

Not long ago, an organization called Build Black, Inc., on upper 14th Street Northwest, picketed the little P&G Market owned by Henry Walczak, a 56-year-old refugee of Nazi-occupied Russia in World War II. Negro pickets turned back customers, saying: "We want Whitey out."

Mr. Walczak boarded up his store and has taken an unlisted telephone number, but before he left he told a newspaper reporter that he had offered to sell his business to a Negro who had replied: "I didn't say I was going to buy it, I want you to give it to me."

"We are the biggest government in the world. We can lick anybody. But we can't find a way to save my business."

The Church of St. Stephen and the Incarnation lies around the corner a few blocks away from the P&G Market and a depressing succession of gutted-out, fire-blackened stores. The Rev. William Wendt, its white pastor, is especially popular with fashionable matrons from the suburbs who come to St. Stephen's to do charity work.

"It's a new ball game along 14th Street," says Mr. Wendt crisply. "New concepts must be faced up to. The P&G Market has gone: Beautiful! It's right that he went. He charged too much.

"The people up here want black businesses now, 51 per cent black. How will we finance it? Government subsidy, I suppose. Now if you want to call that socialism or whatever, go ahead."

A new ball game it is. I returned to 14th Street on May 20, the birthday of Malcolm X, because a number of merchants had told me the previous week that militants had come by their stores to "suggest" that they close down in Malcolm's honor.

"You close down for a white man, now you close for a black man," they said.

While waiting to talk with Tilmon O'Bryant, the Negro captain of the crime-ridden 13th Precinct, which encompasses upper 14th Street Northwest, I overheard one of his patrolmen report that he had counted 80 business locations closed down along 14th Street alone, a figure that I was later to confirm by walking and driving up and down the nearly deserted street. And at a closed meeting of the crime committee of the Federal City Council, later in the week, members reported that warehouses and other businesses had shut down when they had received telephone threats from militants saying that they would be "burned" if they did not.

CARMICHAEL HEADQUARTERS

Near the corner of 14th and U Streets Northwest, where the April rioting began, a mob can be gathered today in seconds. Not far from here are the offices of Stokely Carmichael and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (Snick) and half a dozen other black nationalist organizations with hate literature in their windows: A big Negro Uncle Sam glares from one such storefront with the words: "Uncle Sam Wants You Nigger!"

It was on 14th Street, just down from the corner of 14th and U, that Washington's second riot nearly erupted one day last month when a white policeman from the 13th Precinct arrested a Negro narcotics suspect who was, incidentally, carrying a television set on his back at the time of his arrest.

According to police, the suspect attempted to swallow the narcotics capsules and when he did, one of the policemen grabbed him by the throat to retrieve the evidence. An angry crowd quickly gathered. Someone hurled a bottle at the policeman and hit the suspect instead, opening a small gash on his head.

At some point during the proceedings, Stokely Carmichael appeared on the scene. After the narcotics suspect was driven away to D.C. General Hospital, leaflets appeared in the crowd that said: "A white honky policeman creeped up behind a black brother . . . and started to choke him and drag him down the street."

RUMOR OF A KILLING

The word then flashed up and down the street that the Negro narcotics suspect had been killed by the white policeman. Some of the crowd marched on the 13th Precinct headquarters. where they were told he had been taken to a hospital.

Mayor Walter Washington sped to the scene and suggested that the suspect be removed from the hospital and produced so that the crowd could be convinced that he was, in fact, alive. This was done, after two stitches were taken in the man's head. The crowd settled down, but not before some of their number set fire to a Jewish owned shop, touching off a two-alarm fire.

During the disturbance, another white police officer went from store to store suggesting that all white owners shutter up and go home immediately. "If this gets much bigger, we can't protect you," he said. Some of the merchants took his advice, closed shop, and left by back doors.

Mayor Washington and other members of the District government are being pulled this way and that by the situation, which has been severely aggravated by the pressure of the Poor People's marchers. One day Mr. Washington hits at his critics for their fear, and for "hiding under the bed." Next day he informs the House District Committee that "the problem of threats against business properties is assuming serious proportions," and he asks for legislation to curb extortion.

In a 42-page report, the Washington City Council states that "institutions created by white society created the ghetto," and urges that the rebuilding be directed toward the Negro community. The report condemns "exploitive" retail practices by the city's lending institutions and raps the liquor industry for its "attitude" toward Negroes.

Julian R. Dugas, a key aide of Mr. Washington, said not long ago: "I am going to be very color conscious in my appointments. This is a Negro city and it should be run by Negroes."

THIS IS THE CAPITAL

Exclaims a prominent white restaurateur: "This is *not* a Negro city. It is the capital of the United States! I've worked in and for this city all my life. My parents came here from Poland in 1902. My father opened a little grocery in an alley in Southwest. He never took a day off in his entire life. He dedicated his life to raising a family that would have a better chance than he did. He raised a family of seven and two more distant relatives, most of whom went to college and are now leaders in this town.

"The Negroes are being hit just as hard as we are by this crime thing; those hoodlums don't discriminate when they set fire to a store, soul brother sign or not!"

The other afternoon, I visited a little liquor store in the far reaches of one of the riot corridors. It was shortly before 4 p.m., and the owner and his clerk were getting ready to go home. The clerk was a little Jewish man with thick eyeglasses whose own store had been destroyed.

He said that he had been born in Russia, had made his way to Palestine after World War II where he had fought against the British in the underground. He had come to this country, married an American, and had worked for 18 years to establish his business. Now it was gone.

"I had a dream, too, and it was realized," he said flatly. "Now it has turned into a nightmare. If my wife will come, I will move to Switzerland. I don't feel safe in America any longer."

PETER T. CHEW.

COMMENTS ON THE POOR PEOPLES CAMPAIGN

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I am sure all the Members of Congress are getting comments from their constituents relative to what is going on in Washington these days under the guise of a poor peoples' campaign to exact from the Congress all kinds of exorbitant and unreasonable demands. This morning's mail brought one from a good constituent of mine, which I share with the membership of this House and include at this point in the RECORD:

HENRY, ILL., *May 25, 1968.*

Hon. ROBERT H. MICHEL,
Congress of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MICHEL: If the newscast this morning be accurate in reporting the attempt of a pressure-group to intimidate Mr. Wilbur Mills in his own home, then indeed have the processes of representative government been stultified by a mob-action which subordinates the national interest to its demands of transitory urgency!

It is disgraceful enough, that a pigsty encampment of rabble has been tolerated in the very precincts of the Capital but an intrusion of massive coercion into the budgetary deliberations of the Congress is destructive of all representative government.

As Mr. Justice Frankfurter discerned the ultimate contours of the First Amendment, they are "subject to prohibition of those abuses of expression which a civilized society may forbid. . . . Who is to balance the relevant factors and ascertain which interest is in the circumstances to prevail? . . . Can we establish a constitutional doctrine which forbids the elected representatives of the people to make this choice? Can we hold that the First Amendment deprives Congress of what it deemed necessary for the Government's protection? [1]

Or, has Lyndon Johnson obliterated every last hope, that this shall remain "a Government of laws and not of men?"

With every expression of highest esteem, I am

Very sincerely yours,

MILES DUNNINGTON.

THE ARITHMETIC DOES NOT MATCH THE RHETORIC

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, May 27, 1968, I had the pleasure of addressing the Toilet Goods Association, Inc. I spoke about the current economic problems of the United States and the administration's inability and unwillingness to cope with them.

In my speech I outlined the history of the administration's maneuvering on the tax issue for the past 2 years and the fact that the administration still refuses to talk about realistic ways to restore a sound economy.

The President keeps insisting that any expenditure cuts would mean cutting programs designed to assist the poor and disadvantaged. This is untrue. If poverty programs are cut this year, it will only be because the President wants to cut them.

In my speech I also identified a number of non-Vietnam and nonpoverty areas that can be reduced by about $15 billion.

The speech follows:

THE U.S. ECONOMY: WHAT LIES AHEAD

The United States is today in a severe financial and fiscal crisis; and the Administration and its allies in the leadership of the Congress seem unable and unwilling to take the measures necessary to correct the situation.

The Federal deficit for fiscal 1968 is now predicted for at least $25 billion with the same to follow in fiscal 1969; interest rates are at the highest level since the Civil War; inflation is currently running at a rate between 4% and 5%; and the balance of trade in March was negative for the first time in 5 years, representing the worst negative figure in 30 years.

The last three times I have mentioned, namely the all-time high interest rates, increased inflation, and the deterioration in the balance of trade, all stem directly from the Federal deficit.

Even Secretary Fowler in testifying before the House Ways and Means Committee admitted this—that the deficits accumulated over a period of years lie at the base of our domestic inflation and the deterioration in the balance of trade.

To give one more example of the current economic problems, look at the growth of GNP in the first quarter of 1968. GNP grew $20 billion. This figure seems impressive until you examine it and discover that 40% of GNP growth—or $8 billion of the $20 billion—was due to inflation (price rises). There was only $12 billion in real economic growth.

With all these facts widely recognized, what is being done about them? A too-little, too-late spending cuts/tax surcharge bill which would cut spending by $6 billion and increase corporate and individual income taxes by 10% is currently pending before both Houses of Congress. However, it now appears that the leadership of the House will not call it up for a vote until at least June 18th. But even if this bill is passed, it will still not be enough. The Administration itself says that this bill is insufficient. Even if the tax surcharge had been voted back in January, domestic inflation would still have continued at a rate of over 3 percent this year.

This was clearly seen by the Joint Economic Committee as long ago as January, 1967, when the President's budget and economic message came to the Congress showing spending at the $135 billion level. The Joint Economic Committee, 20 members; with 12 Democrats and 8 Republicans, said unanimously that we must cut that figure by $5 billion. Otherwise the deficit would be in the range of $20 billion and would create inflationary pressures on society which could not be borne without severe economic consequences.

The Administration did nothing, month after month, until finally, about August, the President came with a message asking for his tax increase. The Ways and Means Committee held hearings in September, right after Labor Day. The Administration told Congress that it had cut expenditures by $4 billion.

I well recall interrogating the Secretary of the Treasury. I said, "Fine. Then we are down to $131 billion from $135 billion." The Secretary appeared a little confused and flustered—and well he might—because the figure, he knew, was $142 billion. He said, in effect, No, we have not.

What happened was that the Administration may have cut expenditures of $4 billion somewhere, but somewhere else it had increased expenditures by $11 billion, so we had a net increase of $7 billion and not a decrease of $4 billion.

Under this kind of climate it became very clear we were not getting anywhere but that a tax increase would be simply transferring purchasing power from the private sector to an administration that was increasing its expenditures even then beyond a level that we felt was a breaking point. This is an economic fact.

We held hearings further. I recall asking the economists who appeared before us, and all agreed that what we should be talking about was a combination package of a tax increase with expenditure cutbacks. There was to be a balance between the two.

I want to say one other thing. The Republicans on the Joint Economic Committee this year, 1968, in our report in March, said in effect that even with expenditure cuts we think this fiscal picture is so serious it will require a tax increase. This is where there was disagreement with the Democrats on the Joint Economic Committee, who said they were opposed to a tax increase.

In further pursuing this economic problem I asked the economists in October what is the effect on inflation of a $1 billion tax increase in relation to a $1 billion cut in expenditures by the Federal Government? They responded, all but one, that a $1 billion cut in Federal expenditures would have a much greater multiplier effect in hitting at the problem of inflation than would the equivalent amount in increased taxes.

From this answer we had at least the beginning of how we might have pursued the problem of getting the proper package of expenditure cuts along with whatever tax increase might be needed.

We ended up the calendar year 1967 with the Administration refusing to sit down with the Ways and Means Committee to go over expenditure priorities on programs, or even to say where it would cut. It was adamant in saying that there was no place to cut. Administration officials said that the budget was austere and that any cutting would just damage needed programs.

1968 came with the Administration still unwilling to talk about realistic expenditure cuts and as I interpolated not really wanting a tax increase either.

In January of 1968 the President submitted his budget for fiscal 1969 which called for a spending level of $152 billion on an administrative budget basis. This figure of $152 billion is extrapolated from the consolidated budget figure of $186 billion. The $152 billion of expenditures I am talking about are those financed through general revenues. I have excluded trust funds and certain other items financed through earmarked taxes—for example, the payroll tax for social security and unemployment insurance and gasoline and other excise taxes for one defense highway program. Thus the $152 billion figure of expenditures is the important one to match against general revenues for the shortfall becomes the amount of new government debt to be floated, $25 billion for fiscal 1968, and $31 billion for fiscal year 1969 if the tax package hung up in conference is not enacted into law.

The budget submitted for fiscal 1969 in January clearly indicated the attitude of the Administration toward expenditure control and was tantamount to a thumbing of the nose at those Congressional leaders and others calling for expenditure cuts. At a time when inflation was clearly gaining steam and the budget deficit was estimated at between $20 billion and $30 billion, the President submitted a budget for the next year that was even more stimulative.

This budget presentation for fiscal year 1969 is the biggest economic fact of 1968. When Europeans realized that this proposed budget was not austere and contained none of the expenditure restraints necessary to counteract the deficit and inflation, the run on the dollar picked up momentum.

Finally, on April 2d, against intense Administration pressure and lobbying, the Senate passed a spending cuts/tax surcharge amendment to the excise tax bill and it was sent to conference. The Senate amendment called for spending cuts of $6 billion. The President said he could accept spending cuts of only $4 billion but refused to discuss priorities on line-item cuts on even a $4 billion reduction. As soon as the conference started, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget was asked where he would apply the $6 billion cut or even the $4 billion cut which the Administration might want. He started listing an across-the-board cut approach beginning with school lunches. Just as was done so futilely last October.

He refused to talk about realistic proposals to establish priorities between programs, for example to cut Federal spending on items such as troops in Europe, foreign aid, agriculture, public works, research and development, space and the SST, etc. He avoided discussing line-item cuts, but instead talked about meat axe across the board percentage cuts with no attempt to set priorities.

Finally, the Administration refusing to pinpoint areas where cuts could be made, the conference passed out the amendment calling for cuts of $6 billion without any line item cuts indicated. The President, far from accepting the $6 billion cut, which has been proposed, has remained silent since this action was taken.

As I have said in the past, the President of the United States must go on television and talk to the people and to the Congress with reference to itemized expenditure cuts. The President must say to the people that the

[1] *Dennis* v. *United States*, 341 US 494. (I have cited from 95 *L. Ed.* 1137)

Federal Government has to tighten its belt and therefore ask the people to be understanding with the Members of the Congress when they vote for cutting programs, yes, including special public works programs in their own districts in an effort to restore more power and confidence in the dollar. The President must get on television and radio and make these speeches in order for him to be believable, and in order for the Congress to feel that it has his backing in proceeding toward this goal of establishing expenditure priorities between foreign and domestic programs and between domestic programs themselves.

Let me say something further: The President says he will have to cut in the poverty area in order to provide a $6 billion saving. This is untrue. Not that I do not think the poverty area could not stand a deep scrutiny, because we are feeding money into redundant programs at such a rate that much is being wasted. There is room in these programs to cut funds in order to get better results.

Putting the war in Vietnam and the poverty war aside, the cuts I direct attention to are in other areas. If the President cuts in the poverty area, or in the Vietnam war—except for the sake of efficiencies which are badly needed—it will be because he wants to, not because other alternatives have not been presented which are more feasible.

I have suggested a number of areas in which Federal expenditures could be reduced by about $15 billion. These include:

(1) Troops in Europe—$2 billion.

(2) Foreign Aid—P.L. 480—and Development Bank expenditures can be cut back from a $5.5 billion level by $3.5 billion to a $2 billion level.

(3) Research and Development. We are currently spending at a rate of about $17 billion. I favor research and development programs in general but they have been expanded with great rapidity beyond all reason. We could cut back to $14 billion, thus saving $3 billion.

(4) Cut public works—and this I dislike to do because public works are capital expenditures which usually have good cost-benefit ratios, but because of the times we should cut them from a $5 billion to a $2 billion expenditure level until we can get on top of our fiscal problem.

Yes, I am willing to have a sign go up on the projects in my district that says, "This project temporarily suspended until we put purchasing power back in the dollar."

I believe the people of my district and of the country would applaud this.

(5) Cut space back from a level of about $5 billion to $3.5 billion. It was originally projected at an annual expenditure level of $2.8 billion.

(6) In the Williams-Smathers amendment relating to Federal personnel, there is a saving of $1 billion.

(7) I have argued we ought to review our agricultural programs to help the farmers, but to pay them through the marketplace for producing rather than by paying them in this inefficient way through government subsidies and controls to not produce. This actually would save $2 billion in tax money, and would channel income to the farmers through the private sector.

(8) Then there is $1 billion that we would save on the interest for the Federal debt by reducing these other expenditures.

Actually, this totals up to be more than $15 billion. There is some redundancy, I want to emphasize, in cutting research and development, and some of the other areas that have been mentioned such as space. But here is the list where we could make a beginning in cutting back these expenditures.

I regret to say that the way things have been going, the Executive is not about to tell the people or the Congress that he is going to accept the $6 billion cut, and then spell out where it is. He won't even spell out where he can make $4 billion in cuts. But, in my judgment, this must be done, if we are going to really hit at the problem of inflation which is eroding our economic strength—both at home and abroad.

It is interesting to note that the President has wasted so much time in his rhetoric unaccompanied by action that fiscal 1968 is almost a thing of the past. The current fiscal year ends in 5 weeks. The President has deliberately delayed any real attempt to reduce the federal deficit until fiscal 1969, in which he won't be President for the last half. He can continue to spend for the first half of fiscal 1969 at his present increased levels, leaving the incoming President to make all the cuts. This will not help our fiscal problem now. It will only aggravate and postpone meeting it.

But unless this country moves toward fiscal and monetary restraint immediately, with a heavy emphasis on genuine expenditure reform, I think there is little doubt that another run on the dollar will occur. This time we may not be able to count on the degree of cooperation from other countries which has been forthcoming in the past. There comes a time when recognition of mutual interests is blunted by a growing sense of one's own self-interest. The international financial community needs dramatic proof that this country can act responsibly to establish spending priorities, stop inflation and restore equilibrium to its balance of payments. Other countries are too sophisticated to demand results overnight. But they do want to see action taken that shows promise of producing results within the reasonably near future.

This does not mean more controls over trade, investment and travel. Controls merely throw out the baby with the bath water. They are self-defeating attempts to save the system by destroying it. What good is the international monetary system unless it provides greater freedom of trade, travel and investment? What good have been our efforts since World War II to construct an open international economy when we insidiously restrict it in the name of its salvation?

Gentlemen, I have not given you an optimistic message today. The only thing that encourages me is that I am now convinced that there is only one date to keep in mind—November. It is very doubtful that any meaningful fiscal action will be taken before that time.

The people of this country will have an opportunity in November to cast their ballot in judgment between a fiscal policy that has produced these kinds of results I have been describing today and, hopefully, the fiscal policy that I would like to see. Let us only hope that people in Europe do not want to pull the rug out from under us in the intervening months. The reason they are not cashing in the $34 billion against the $11 billion of gold we still have left is that they know our overall society—essentially the private sector—is sound, $120 billion of assets abroad against about $40 billion foreign owned assets here. They know also that there is an election in November and they think that the American people are going to throw out of office an administration that not only cannot balance a budget, but very clearly, does not want to.

THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 127th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

REPORT ON THE RIOTS

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Sunday Star of March 3, 1968, carried an article "Report on the Riots," which analyzed the findings of the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Here is a most sensible and thought-provoking article, the full text of which is as follows:

REPORT ON THE RIOTS

The President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders has produced a long report that is notable both for its rhetoric and its lack of realism. As far as riots in the cities are concerned, it may prove to be more harmful than helpful.

The basic conclusion in the summary of the report is that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." We think this is a misconception. Fifteen years ago, when segregation was the order of the day, this statement would have been largely true. Until a few years ago, however, there was a significant movement toward one society as old racial barriers fell under the impact of court rulings and, we think, a rather widespread recognition by many white people that discrimination was wrong and had to go. Let us not forget the white men and women who marched with Dr. Martin Luther King.

Then came the riots—Watts, Newark, Detroit and so on. "Burn, baby burn" and "Get Whitey" moved into the language. As a result there unquestionably has been a diminution of good will. The white backlash, though it may have been exaggerated, is real. What other reaction could a rational person expect? So now there is a movement apart, not only by whites but by Negroes who can get out of the central cities. But why not put the blame where it primarily belongs—on the riots and those responsible for them?

This report indicts "white racism" as being essentially responsible "for the explosive mixture" which "has been accumulating" in our cities since World War II. By white racism, the report means "the racial attitude and behavior of white Americans toward black Americans." There may be something to this. But the authors of the report, strangely enough, find no comparable basis for indicting black racism.

On this score it is said that the riots involved Negroes acting against "local symbols of white American society" rather than against "white persons." A bit further on the report describes the "typical rioter" as a Negro teenager or young adult, a high school dropout, and "extremely hostile to both whites and middle-class Negroes."

This last is about the size of it, and it is regrettable that the report does not put as much emphasis on forthrightly condemning riots and rioters as it does on offering excuses for them.

President Johnson, as might be expected, has reacted cautiously to the report of his own commission. An aide said Mr. Johnson wants to "do everything he can" in this field and that the report "will be very carefully considered." A key figure, Chairman Mahon of the House Appropriations Committee, has been more candid. Pointing out that we are spending more than $25 billion this year to help the poor, Mahon criticized the report for not even trying to estimate how many billions of additional dollars its implementation would require, and for raising hopes which he fears "will be impossible of fulfillment."

There is a crisis, a real crisis, in our cities. But with the costly war in Vietnam and a budget already dangerously out of balance, the money needed to deal with it certainly will not be available this year or next. We believe, however, that this country, given a chance, will find a solution to the problem. We also believe that more riots or threats of riots will serve only to delay that solution—and this at the expense of the people who are most in need of help.

AN EXCITING NEW JOB-TRAINING GROUND BROKEN IN WESTERN NEW YORK BY THE BUILDING TRADES UNIONS AND THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY EMPLOYERS WORKING TOGETHER IN PROJECT JUSTICE

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, we are always pleased to commend cooperative efforts by organized labor and employers' associations. And when these cooperative efforts are aimed at alleviating poverty by providing job-training and jobs for the unemployed, they are particularly worthy of praise.

We in western New York and the Niagara frontier are very proud of the Building and Construction Trades Council of Buffalo and vicinity and the Construction Industry Employers Association, who, with the cooperative assistance of the Opportunities Development Corp., a local nonprofit enterprise concerned as its name implies with employment of the unemployed, and of various minority groups and organizations, have developed Project Justice—journeymen under specific training in construction employment. This project has been approved and funded by the U.S. Department of Labor.

I am sure that the concept and scope of Project Justice will be of great interest to all Members of Congress. I commend it to the attention of the United States and the world, for here is an example of people working with people, for people, and for the benefit of all, in the American way.

The concept and scope of this imaginative yet practical approach to jobs for the unemployed is set out in the application for funding and approval. It reads:

JOURNEYMAN TRAINEE PROGRAM FOR WESTERN NEW YORK

The Building and Construction Trades Council of Buffalo and Vicinity and the Construction Industry Employers Association representing the Contractors in the Western New York area working in conjunction with the Opportunities Development Corporation have developed and hereby submit for approval the following Journeyman Trainee Program for the benefit of minority group personnel.

SCOPE AND EMPHASIS

The Program will include up to fifty (50) males mainly from the Minority Groups who are beyond the normal apprenticeable age and who are desirous of coming into the Construction Industry and through training received from this Program and from the Industry, become qualified mechanics.

RECRUITMENT OF TRAINEES FOR PROGRAM

The recruitment of the trainees shall be accomplished under the direction of a Recruitment and Advisory Committee, such Committee to be comprised of representation from the Minority Organizations in the Buffalo, New York area which would include the Opportunities Development Corporation, Workers Defense League, The Urban League, the New York State Apprenticeship Information Centers and others. The Recruitment and Advisory Committee shall also include a Public Member of the Construction Industry's Review and Referral Committee, a representative of the Building and Construction Trades Council of Buffalo and Vicinity and of the Construction Industry Employers Association.

The recruitment of applicants shall be established on the following criteria:

1. Above the apprenticeable age, (depending on the particular craft qualifications)
2. A background of mechanical skills or aptitudes
3. Physical ability
4. Fully motivated to enter the construction field
5. Head of household

The Recruitment and Advisory Committee will also be charged to fully inform all applicants for training that openings in the several crafts will be such that the applicants' choice of craft cannot necessarily be met.

CRAFT OPENINGS AND CONTINUITY OF ON-THE-JOB TRAINING FOR TRAINEES

The fifty (50) openings for trainees will be provided in that each participating Union will accept at least one (1) trainee with a formula developed depending upon work opportunities and size of the particular Union to fulfill the fifty (50) applicants with training opportunities in the crafts. Employers are committed to provide the trainee upon successful completion of his first phase of instruction with twenty (20) weeks of on-the-job training on the same basis as employment is provided to any other employee. The Recruitment and Advisory Committee shall be charged with providing the continuity of employment for the trainee by moving, if and when necessary, the trainee from one employer to another.

PAYMENTS TO JOURNEYMAN TRAINEE THROUGH AGREEMENT BY AND BETWEEN THE CONTRACTORS AND THE BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES COUNCIL OF BUFFALO AND VICINITY

There has been accepted a new classification of journeyman trainee. The wage rate for this classification will be the wage rate established for the journeyman in the craft for which the trainee is undergoing instruction. Such classification and wage rate will be paid to the trainee while undergoing on-the-job training.

INSTRUCTIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAM PHASE I—GENERAL INDUSTRY INSTRUCTION

This initial phase of instruction to the trainee will consist of a three (3) week period which is to provide three (3) hour classes, three (3) nights per week for a total of twenty-seven (27) hours of instruction.

The emphasis of this instruction period is on a broad indoctrination of the trainee to the Construction Industry generally, such instruction and training to cover make-up of the Industry, duties and responsibilities of the various craft Unions, Safety, duties of the craft journeyman, role of the Union and of Management in the Industry, etc.

This first phase of the Program will be conducted by instructors from the various craft Unions, Employer representatives and accredited personnel drawn from either the Public School System or local Colleges and Universities to conduct the necessary academic training.

PHASE II—SPECIFIC CRAFT TRAINING

At the conclusion of Phase I trainees will elect specific crafts to pursue to the extent that available openings will allow and according to the allocations that are made by the Recruitment and Advisory Committee. The trainee when so designated to the specific craft training will undergo six (6) weeks of intensified craft and related instruction for three (3) nights a week for a total of fifty-four (54) hours.

Two (2) nights per week will include practical skill instruction in the shop locations as are provided. The third night of the week of the training will be devoted to related instruction (craft relevant academics).

The various crafts will select instructors to conduct the practical training while academic instruction will be conducted by the accredited personnel drawn from sources indicated above.

The objective for Phase II is to provide at its conclusion an individual who is sufficiently instructed in Safety and in job orientation so that he will not be a hazard to himself or to other employees on the job; that he will have sufficient knowledge of the basic tools, jurisdiction of the craft, so as to have the essential elements to make the individual productive.

PHASE III—ON-THE-JOB TRAINING AND INSTRUCTION

Concluding successful completion as determined by the Recruitment and Advisory Committee of Phases I and II the journeyman trainee will then enter into the phase of one-the-job training and instruction for an average period of twenty (20) weeks normally at forty (40) hours per week for a total of approximately eight hundred (800) hours.

During this phase of training, close contact will be maintained with each trainee which among other things will require a weekly report on the trainee's progress to the Project Director. There will be frequent and routine meetings between the trainees and either the Union Coordinators or Recruitment Counselors. The main purpose of these meetings will be to discuss the trainees' progress or lack of progress, but in general, for the purpose of assisting the trainee in his own job development and adjustment. The outcome of these meetings might well be the assignment of tutoring classes for the trainee where specific academic deficiencies have been identified. Further problems outside of the job or instruction itself that might be of a personal nature and which might impinge upon the trainees' job performance, that might be brought to the fore through these meetings will be then serviced through an appropriate community resource.

DETERMINATION OF STATUS OF TRAINEE CONCLUDING PHASE III OF THE JOURNEYMAN TRAINING PROGRAM

The Review and Referral Committee of the Construction Industry and the Recruitment and Advisory Committee will establish objective criteria in order that a complete review may be made as to the progress of each individual trainee and from such review the determination as to the future status of each trainee. These determinations would be:

1. That the trainee be referred to his craft for journeyman qualification examination
2. If lacking sufficient qualification for examination, but sufficient potential, the trainee be required to accomplish additional related and/or vocational training prior to commencing another period of on-the-job training, or
3. Because of complete lack of qualification or potential, the trainee be terminated from the Program.

It should be recognized that this Program shall be a continuing one as long as the need exists for journeymen in the various crafts but it is understood that when sufficient manpower has been trained in any particular craft or skill that this portion of the Program will be discontinued.

CONTEMPLATED LOCATION OF INSTRUCTIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

It is contemplated that during the instructional and training phases during the Spring of 1968 that the practical instruction will be provided in the various shops at McKinley Vocational High School and that the academic related instruction will be conducted at the State University of New York Urban Center of Buffalo.

The Construction Industry Employers Association has now under construction a $500,000 Apprentice and Training Building on Ensminger Road, Town of Tonawanda. This building will be available for use as of September, 1968.

Inasmuch as the Apprentice and Training Building has both shop and class room facilities more than adequate to meet the needs of this Journeyman Training Program, it is expected that both the practical and related training as is required under the Journeyman Training Program will be conducted on and after September 1, 1968 in this new facility.

TIME TABLE FOR STAFF TRAINING

All program staff will participate in a five (5) day, forty (40) hour training period as the initial activity of the Program. Besides general orientation, this training session will concern itself with such other topical areas as:

1. Program's organizational structure.
2. Fundamentals of supervision.
3. Instructional schedules, methods and materials, to be used in Program.
4. Tours of instructional facilities.
5. Anticipated characteristics of the trainee population.
6. An overview of the trade union movement.
7. Roles of all participating agencies.
8. Assigned functions of all Program personnel.
9. Community resources.
10. Functions of Construction Industry Employers Association and Craft Unions.

The two (2) weeks following the above staff training program will be used for recruitment. Interested community groups will be requested to suggest candidates who meet the selections criteria to participate as trainees of the Program. Final selection of trainees will be the responsibility of the Program Director.

KING OF NORWAY IMPRESSES

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, Minnesota recently had the great honor of a visit from King Olav of Norway. Wherever he went in Norwegian-favored Minnesota he made a tremendous impression on the people. Mr. H. O. Sonnesyn, editor of the Post Publishing Co. in my congressional district—an outstanding journalist—captured the spirit of the King's visit in an editorial on May 16. I am pleased to insert Mr. Sonnesyn's remarks in the Record, as follows:

KING OLAV IMPRESSED LOCAL PEOPLE, HE WAS AN ORDINARY AND COMMON GOOD FELLOW

Like all good Norwegians, and this is not to insinuate all of them are not good, we joined with the descendants of the Norsemen in greeting King Olav Saturday, May 4, and singing "Ja i Elsker . . . we also said, "skal" many times.

We have not seen too many members of royalty. In fact King Olav V was the first boss of any foreign country we have ever seen.

If you had done a little mixing at the head table it would have been hard to figure out who King Olav really was because he was that modest and unassuming.

He had no special adornments indicating he was a member of royalty. He seemed more democratic to us than some of the very individuals who are seeking to become our president.

King Olav seemed just like a common ordinary fellow. It was hard to realize there are more Norwegians in the country he was visiting than in his homeland. Yet this is true.

King Olav emphasized time after time that Norway and the United States have never been at odds. He said these bonds should be strengthened. He also called attention to the fact that his nation and the United States are bound together by water—through the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean.

Gov. Harold LeVander brought out the fact that Norwegians have always wanted their children educated in higher institutions of learning and pointed to St. Olaf, Luther, Augsburg and Concordia colleges. Chief Justice Oscar R. Knutson reminded the governor the Swedes also have a good college at St. Peter, Minn., called Gustavus Adolphus.

Come again, King Olav. You were a welcome visitor.

REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS

HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, I will soon send to the constituents of Nebraska's First Congressional District my fourth progress report of the second session of the 90th Congress. For the information of my colleagues, I submit that report for the Record:

DEAR FRIEND: I am pleased that I will be able to serve the First District even more by my recent appointment to the House Republican Task Force on Agriculture. This group makes important studies and legislative recommendations in the area of agriculture. I've had some 25 years' experience working with farmers, have owned a farm, and in my law practice prior to coming to Congress 90 per cent of my work was rural-oriented.

I'm pleased to have this additional assignment to work on the behalf of all farmers. My other Task Force work includes serving as vice chairman of the Republican National Committee's Task Force on Crime and Delinquency.

REPUBLICAN "WATCHDOG"

For one legislative week in May, I held the job of assistant minority floor leader in the House. The assignment is that of Republican "watchdog" in the absence of the House minority leader who is Michigan Congressman Gerald Ford.

Unless a minority leader is present and acting at all times, the majority can slip through legislation without adequate debate. I had the responsibility of monitoring debate and requesting the "right to object", thus postponing a vote until the issue had been cleared by either the minority leadership or the ranking Republican member of the committee concerned with the legislation under discussion.

FIRST DISTRICT OFFICE SERVICE

As you probably know, I maintain offices in Lincoln and Norfolk where you may talk to members of my staff in lieu of calling or writing Washington.

Darvid Quist, the man who used to run my Lincoln office, has come to Washington as legislative assistant. My former legislative assistant, Larry Reida, has returned to Nebraska to operate the Lincoln office. Both are lawyers and I feel will benefit from the added experience.

That office in Lincoln is located in the Anderson Bldg., at 120 No. 12th St. Bob Harrison is my representative in Norfolk and has part-time office hours at the Post Office.

To contact me in Washington, call Area Code 202, 225-4806. Or write: Congressman Robert Denney, House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

ELDERLY NEED HELP

May was Senior Citizens' Month and it was an added opportunity to speak to some elderly groups in Nebraska. One occasion was the 82nd anniversary of the Tabitha Home in Lincoln.

To such groups I stressed what I think is the proper function of government—to do for the people only those things that need to be done and which can't be done by individuals for themselves. Therefore, I support policies that will protect the elderly and guarantee them respect.

DESTRUCTION OF IDA BONDS

The question of tax exempt status for industrial development (IDA) bonds is now tied up on a bill with the income surtax and the $6 billion reduction in federal spending. I opposed the Treasury Department action in March removing the tax exemption, and I am opposed to the ensuing recommendation of a Senate-House conference committee to exempt only those bonds under $1 million. If they are to be preserved as an effective tool for employment and growth of non-urban areas, a dollar limit should not be set below $10 million.

THE NATURE OF SPRING IN WASHINGTON

For some time before his death, Dr. Martin Luther King had planned the Poor People's March to Washington to make the invisible poor visible to Congress and to the nation. In the wake of his death, the worst racial disturbance in the capital's 168-year history left eight dead, 929 injured, more than 5,000 facing police charges and millions of dollars in property damage. Fires set by arsonists, hold-ups and shootings have continued through April and May.

In such an atmosphere, a massive demonstration, even one which advocates nonviolence, is a power keg and represents a clear threat to the return of peace and tranquility in the nation's capital.

I co-sponsored legislation to require a bond to be posted by the march leaders to cover additional expenses which might be incurred by the government during the demonstration. To date, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has been required to post a $5,000 clean-up bond and given permission to camp 3,000 people in an area along side the Reflecting Pool until June 16. They have paid for utility hook-ups and are using their own people as marshals to control the activity of the camp, known as Resurrection City.

There's no doubt they are visible. And while I support the right to petition in an orderly fashion, that right has its proper limitations as do all rights.

Let us hope the peaceful elements of the Poor People's leadership remain in control and make themselves heard without destroying other Constitutional rights which they also should cherish.

CONGRESS TAMPERS WITH CAMPUS

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the vote of 306 to 54 on May 9, 1968, to deny Federal financial aid to students who disobey university regulations, is a sad indication of the mood of this House. In a moment of indignation, the House approved a condition of scholarship and fellowship aid which I hope the other body will reject.

WCBS radio has broadcast on May 10 and May 11, 1968, a cogent editorial on this question, which I commend to the attention of my colleagues, as follows:

If the U.S. Congress is any barometer, the nation is deeply disturbed by student unrest at our colleges and universities.

This feeling was reflected when the House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly to cut off federal financial aid to students who take part in disorders that disrupt academic life.

The vote was 306 to 54, and in a sense it represented the reply of the House to the riots at Columbia University. There's no mistaking how the House felt.

We share this feeling to some degree, and we have expressed it in previous editorials. The militants at Columbia acted like tyrants, and they must face punishment for their acts. But at the same time, WCBS Radio does not agree with the way the House manifested its displeasure. We do not believe in legislation as a form of reprisal.

The so-called Wyman amendment, which would keep financial aid from rebellious students, is loosely-worded. As it now stands, it would deny federal assistance funds to any student who refuses to obey a lawful order of the college authorities, and who is determined by those authorities to have taken part in activities that led to a disruption of academic operations.

The questions naturally follow: what constitutes a "lawful order of the college authorities?" And how do you define "disruption" of campus operations?

As the office of President Johnson's science adviser has said, the proposal would be "unenforceable, unworkable and an administrative nightmare." Perhaps unconstitutional besides.

WCBS Radio believes colleges and universities should handle their own discipline problems, not the federal government.

To quote one federal official, the Wyman amendment would cause more problems than it would solve.

The bill of which the amendment is a part is now awaiting Senate action. We hope the Senate will reject it without compromise, to prevent this proposed federal intrusion into academic affairs.

SPEECH OF GEN. LEONARD F. CHAPMAN, JR.

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, recently, Gen. Leonard F. Chapman, Jr., Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps, gave a speech before the Marine Corps Reserve Officers' Association.

In this speech, General Chapman movingly spoke of the role of the reservist in the Marine Corps and also the role of marines in our history. He stressed patriotism and gallantry.

It is an outstanding example of a responsible leader speaking frankly about our country. I include his speech in the RECORD as a tribute not only to General Chapman, but to the Marine Corps and to the Nation and its freedoms, which the Marine Corps has defended so valiantly and ably throughout its history.

The speech referred to follows:

In time of crisis the Marine Corps Reserve has made possible the accomplishment of our many difficult missions—often providing the greater portion of our strength.

And we make no effort to conceal this fact. On the contrary, we are quite proud of it. We have been for 51 years. And we are today.

We're justifiably proud of our 4th Division/Wing team—and of its combat readiness. And, as General Rottet told you yesterday, we consider it a strategic reserve, and integral fighting unit, which should be employed as one, and not called and committed in piece-meal fashion. When I see a job that calls for this team, I'll recommend its mobilization. But until that job appears, I intend to see that our Reserve Division/Wing team retains its unit integrity.

I think the high professional interest, and the caliber of leadership in that team is evident in this conference—and I add my praise to that already passed to MCROA for conducting it.

I'd like to share a few thoughts with you, tonight—discuss something which has been on my mind for quite some time. I'll try to remove some disguises—to strip away some of the false fronts which seem to have papered over the true face of America. Then I want to paint the true picture of the challenge which faces us today. Some may say, "Oh, you mean the war in Vietnam." But that is not what I mean. The true challenge facing our country, marines, is right here at home.

At the outset, let me make it crystal clear that I am not an expert in the social sciences. I stand here, first as an American citizen and secondly, as a marine. And it is in those roles—in that order—that I speak to you.

As a marine for the past 33 years—my entire adult life—I have acquired some knowledge of human values.

As marines, so have all of you. We've learned the value of such intangibles as discipline, esprit-de-corps, and the firm adherence to high standards of personal conduct. We know that the slogan, "The Marine Corps builds men," means a great deal more is being built than mere muscle. We know that character is really what we build.

And we build character because that is what sustains men in the most adverse of circumstances. It is character from which they draw strength when they engage in mankind's greatest curse—war. We have seen what happens to men when they face death, danger, and seemingly hopeless situations—and, as marines, we have learned what pulls men through in such times. And, having learned these things we continue to teach them to other, younger, marines. We build their character—their determination—if you will.

As marines, in our duty to oncoming generations of marines, we have done well. We have passed along our belief in discipline, esprit-de-corps, and our high standards.

As Americans, with the duty of passing along the determination we possessed, we may not have done so well. As Americans, dedicated to the good of the entire Nation—we have some problems.

And it is around that framework that I intend to build my remarks tonight.

Practically all of us here are of the same generation. I do not consider it too sweeping a generality to state, as a group, we achieved full manhood—and a certain amount of well-deserved glory—during those dark days between 1941 and 1945. Or perhaps for a few of us, during the first few years of the 1950's. But the point is this: We found our maturity—and our glory—during dark, difficult times. We were a generation prepared for, then hardened and tempered in the crucible of, war.

We weren't ashamed. On the contrary, we were proud of our service, our contribution to our country—and to our Corps. In a word, we possessed patriotism.

We didn't blush when Kate Smith belted out "God Bless America."

We didn't sneer when someone shouted, "Remember Pearl Harbor."

We didn't think it was "square" to march to the sound of the drum.

We didn't burn the flag in the concrete canyons of New York. We hoisted it on a mountaintop to let the world know we had seized Iwo Jima. We had the willpower to use military power, to keep our freedoms.

And that willpower grew from patriotism.

But, take a look at your country today, ladies and gentlemen. Take a very close look.

At first glance you will see that this is the most exciting time in our lives—or for that matter in all of man's history. We are moving toward solving the mysteries of the ocean depths. We are reaching out to the stars. And we are doing these things—not in the figurative sense—but literally. And we are doing them today, in our time. We hold the power of the atom in uncertain hands. Therefore we hold our destiny. Power and destiny—for good or for evil. In your lifetime and mine, in our generation, we have made more progress up the ladder of knowledge than was made in the previous thousand generations. Our physical sciences reign supreme. Our efforts to conquer outer space are bearing the buds of new fruit every day.

But—again—take a look around you. Look and see the difficulties we're having with our inner space. Note the erosion that seems to be wearing away at the moral fabric wherein lies the true strength of our land. Look at the statistics which show that the difficulties people have in living together are on the rise. And parents, police, legal authorities, leaders, teachers, educators—and all persons who are thoughtful, are also deeply disturbed.

And well we should be. Make no mistake about it. Crime, violence, permissiveness, lack of good taste, shirking of responsibility, liberty to the point of license—all these abrasives seem to be grinding away at the very foundation of our social structure; and this is a dark time when we have never needed more, our sense of values—our strong moral fabric to pull us through—to bring us again our moment of glory.

Now, up to this point I have dabbled in domestic issues. There are those who say a military man should keep his silence in that field: That he should speak only on military matters. But let me tell you this. Military strength without moral fiber is nothing. All the sophisticated hardware we can build is useless—if we lack the national will to employ it—when, where, to the degree, and for the length of time that we must.

We need will power. We need conviction in our cause. We need determination to continue our course even when the going becomes difficult: We need dedication to the task of retaining—as well as exercising—our freedom.

And will power such as that cannot be issued through our supply systems, nor can it be inculcated overnight at our training camps, nor injected by a hypodermic needle.

That kind of power and strength comes only from the brains, the hearts, the moral courage of our people.

It cannot be generated by military leaders, by political figures, by those who wear the cloth, or by those who practice before the bar.

But it can be encouraged by them. Such men can set the example. And that is why I have chosen to speak thus to you tonight.

Our two hundred million countrymen have never failed this nation in time of crisis. From those women and children who trudged westward in the dust behind covered wagons, on down the line to those men who stormed ashore at Inchon—Americans have had the will power to protect their heritage, and to fight for its longevity.

And, through the exercise of these powers, our country can—again—demonstrate the greatness of America. We can, again, have our moment of glory. We can, again, restore our real values.

Today's young marines have a true sense of values. For my money, and I'm certain for yours, we passed on to them a knowledge of the really important things. We gave them a mighty fine example to follow.

Yes, we gave them that example, you and I, and all the marines of our generation. We gave it to them during World War II and Korea.

And since then, with the benefits of hindsight, experience, and ever-increasing maturity—we have sired, reared and watched—sometimes in wonder—a new generation of Americans.

It's a great generation, if our marines are typical of it. Let me assure you of that. Again, speaking from my experience, I can tell you—and I know you'll agree—that the young man of today who wears the globe and anchor is the smartest, toughest, best-led, most highly motivated marine who ever shouldered a rifle in the defense of this country. I am told by my counterparts in the other services that this fact is no less true for the young men who wear their insignia.

Marines drink deeply from the well of patriotism. We need only tap it for them.

Here are a few examples which prove my point:

Item: More than 18,000 young marines have extended, voluntarily, their tours in South Vietnam.

Item: on a cardboard sign, nailed outside a marine's foxhole at Khe Sanh, I saw these words: "For those who fight for it, life has a special flavor the protected never know."

Item: A young marine lies wounded in a hospital in Vietnam. He is minus a foot, which his general assures him can be replaced in the States. "Sir," speaks that young marine, "why can't they mail it to me out here and let me go back to my squad. They need me."

And the families of marines know patriotism, too.

Item: very young widow journeys to Washington to receive a posthumous Navy Cross for her marine husband—killed near the demilitarized zone. We search for words—something for her to tell her infant son when he is old enough to understand. During our awkward discomfort she puts everyone at ease by reaching into her purse with quiet composure. She produces a check for $2,500 and states it is from the people in her hometown and is to be used for the school children in South Vietnam.

There's no doubt in my mind that marines—and their families—know the true values in life that build national will power.

Well, then, how can we get all Americans to have this same set of values? We know the fabric of our nation is good—how can we clean and strengthen it? How can we pass it on to the new generation?

I'll tell you how. Simply this: By applying the same determination to being Americans that we apply to being marines!

We can take a new, an honest, an objective look at the heritage that is ours and that we are leaving to that generation. And, once we look, we can set about correcting those things which we ought not to have done, and doing those things which we ought to have done. For there is still health in us.

Long before anyone coined the term "United Nations" we were a united nation of diverse peoples. In our blood runs the blood of every race, color, and creed. Our culture is enriched, our language flavored, by cultures and languages from all over the world.

And all these diverse people have possessed the single will to cast off the yokes of weakness, to resist the easy road, to emerge with strength.

Moral strength, if you will. Pride in country, if you will.

We can rebuild pride in country—patriotism—we can pass it along.

In our time, and in our corps, we have—certainly—fostered much which contributes to the love of this country.

Think of the things we stand for—the things that are second nature to any marine.

We exert leadership—strong leadership—over those in our charge. And we unhesitatingly accept responsibility for their actions.

We take care of our own—never leaving our dead, never abandoning our wounded. There's a certain honor to the Corps involved. A certain personal integrity—true. But the real reason behind this attitude of Marines is one of strength—strength in the knowledge that no matter what happens to one marine, there'll be other marines to take care of him.

But it doesn't stop within the Corps itself. There are the families to consider, as well. We make those saddening personal calls on the next of kin of every casualty—no matter how much time and effort are involved. Let me read you one letter which shows just how worthwhile it is for us to take care of our own.

It's from the young widow of a Lance Corporal who lives down in North Carolina. She wrote:

"APRIL 17, 1968.

"DEAR GENERAL CHAPMAN: I want to tell you how appreciative I am of the Marines. My husband was killed in Vietnam on March 16, 1968 and since that day I have been taken under wing like a new bird.

"Major William Warren, Jr. and 1st Sergeant McCarter of the Marine Corps Reserve unit out of Johnson City, Tennessee, have been my strength through this whole incident and without them I don't have any idea where I would be right now.

"I didn't realize, until now what a great organization, or should I say fraternity, the Marine Corps is.

"General Chapman, may I take this opportunity to say thanks and to tell you how proud I am to be in this great circle of Marine Corps families."

Neither Major Warren, First Sergeant McCarter, nor I—none of us could ask for a greater expression of thanks than is in that letter.

And there's something else about the way we take care of our own. While we possess concern for our marines and their families, we do not possess any concern whatsoever about their race, color, or creed. They are—or were—marines, and Americans. And that's all that matters to us about their heritage—about their beliefs.

Here's another letter which explains what I am trying to say. So much so that I'm going to let this mother of a marine say it for me.

"DEAR GENERAL CHAPMAN: Thank you so much for the wonderful way you treated my family when we came to receive the Medal of Honor for our beloved son.

"He was such a fine Christian son who possessed the kind of love that Jesus tried to teach the multitudes, that of loving thy neighbor as thyself.

"Although nothing in the world can ever replace him, we do feel honored, and proud to have been his parents, and so long as this great Nation has men like him, I don't think we should concern ourselves with the few who desert us and find shelter elsewhere, and the ones who refuse to serve their country by other means. I wouldn't want either kind alongside my sons, as when the going got rough, they would merely hide behind a brave man.

"We feel a sense of pride to be helping in the struggle for peace. This is still the greatest Nation in the world and we are glad to be Americans."

And then she adds—in parentheses—this mother who has expressed herself so eloquently, who has said what I've been trying to say all along—she adds this:

"(Forgive me for my poor grammar, for I have only a high school education.)"

No one can doubt her patriotism. No one can doubt the fact that she passed a great personal strength—a great moral courage—on to her son. He won the Nation's highest award. He gave his life.

We pass along personal strength—character—determination—patriotism—in our corps. Beyond question, we do it as marines.

But we must also do it in the communities where we live.

In every civilian community I've seen, the very attributes which make a man a leader in the corps will also make him a leader in our society.

You—as citizen marines—are that kind of leader. In addition to being marines you are opinion molders, employes, policy makers, letter writers, and public speakers. You are influential.

We cannot stop with influencing our marines. As Americans, we have a responsibility to our civilian communities.

We must pass on to all Americans the things which will build our national will power. The things which inspire our American fighting men in Vietnam.

And I'll tell you something else. Nearly a half million of those inspired young men are returning home from Vietnam each year. They are the "mature Americans" of tomorrow. They're not going to shed the mantle of leadership—the qualities of character—the firm determination they have acquired—when they return. They've been shot at for real, and they're not going to let anything keep them from taking a stand on issues involving the security of the country. They have the responsibility for America's position in the world on their shoulders now. And they'll all have the responsibility of citizenship, and many of them the responsibilities of citizen-marines, to fulfill. And they'll do a good job in both.

Some of our young Americans, obsessed with the exercise of freedom, may not understand its inherent responsibilities. They—and others—may condemn our peace representatives, and demand "peace at any price."

But peace, when it is made, must be made to keep them free and their country free.

Our task, yours and mine, is to insure that peace is made with that in mind—and that they, today's young Americans—and their country, are worthy of such freedom.

We must carry the meaning of "semper fidelis" beyond the ranks of our Marine Corps.

MARTIN E. WEISS: ON THE WIRE

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, recently Martin E. Weiss, editor and publisher of the Westbury Times, an important weekly newspaper in my district, participated in a symposium sponsored by the Department of Justice Community Relations Service.

Mr. Weiss wrote in his issue of May 23, an incisive and penetrating column on the symposium and the many thoughts it provoked. Because this column is an excellent example of responsible reportage, and because Mr. Weiss addresses himself to certain of the grave issues facing this Nation, I commend his column to my colleagues' attention and wish to include it in the RECORD at this point:

Dial Tone: On Wednesday, May 15, I attended a forum in Detroit, Mich. sponsored by the U.S. Department of Justice's Community Relations Service and the Michigan Civil Rights Commission.

The all-day symposium addressed itself to the topic "The Suburban Press Faces the Urban Crisis"—the editors and newsmen attending represented Michigan's daily and weekly press, as well as communications media such as radio and television.

I was one of nine panel members invited by the Department of Justice to lead the series of round-table discussions—which took place at Oakland University, a sprawling, mostly-new 4,500-student campus in Rochester, Mich., some thirty miles north of Detroit.

Of the nine panelists, three were editors—and my two colleagues came from New Jersey and Missouri, respectively. Then there were three sociologist-educators and three representatives of the Community Relations Service.

It is, of course, easily understandable why the press in the Detroit area should want to assimilate a better understanding of its role in the urban crisis—it was, after all, the scene of 1967's most violent inner city explosion.

As is so often the case, a person asked to provide some expertise at such a forum often finds, at the end, that he has learned far more than that which he was asked to provide. I came away with new views and vistas which, hopefully, will broaden both my thinking and methods.

One of the obligations of the press, of course, is not to become "locked-in" to any one particular way of doing things—for this leads to stereotyped images.

We live in a time of national crisis—we must come to grips with the problem and find an effective solution if we are to avert a national disaster. It is a question of whether or not all Americans will pull together—for, if not, they will surely pull apart as the deprived and disadvantaged vent their anger with flame, fury and separatism.

The latter is not to be taken slightly. One of the sociologist-educators, who was from Cleveland, Ohio, told me privately of the Republic of New Africa—an organization of black militants who have already elected a president and vice-president, and chosen a cabinet.

They want to establish their nation in the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina—assimilating an estimated 75 percent of the U.S. black population and shipping out all whites—who would be allowed to take out only their personal possessions, while leaving everything else as is.

It may sound implausible—but the separatists who advocate this are deadly serious; they believe that any means, including open revolution, are justifiable to attain their goal. Even now they are seeking to open negotiations with federal officials in Washington for the creation of their state.

If we are to avoid open warfare or guerrilla-type action in our streets, then we must face up to facts rather than just wishing the problem would go away.

To begin with we must understand that the words "civil rights" have been replaced by "civil equality"—which is a way of thinking rather than simply a play on phrasing.

Next, we must recognize that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed until his death by the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., is the one voice which can be equally heard by the masses in the inner cities, the ghettoes of suburbia and the poverty areas of the rural south.

No longer, it seems, can we look to the Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, or even the Congress of Racial Equality—all of which are over-identified with the past and the present—and, equally important, which represent the contentment of upper- or middle-class security.

Above all else, the SCLC seeks a sense of identity for black America—and I use the word "black" because this, in today's scheme, is the reverse of derogatory. "Black is beautiful" is what "soul brothers" tell each other.

In essence, we are witnessing a birth of pride—which, if nurtured and encouraged, can be the foundation of a meaningful dialogue and inter-action where hostility and the reaction to despair now hold sway.

However, if we are to move in this direction we must accept the thesis that organizations of black Americans must be controlled by black people—and that whatever contributions whites may make must be limited to providing advice and expertise when, and only when, they are asked.

We must, at the same time, remove the words "charity" and "welfare" from our lexicon—thus enabling those unfortunate enough to need help to face themselves, and their families, without a loss of manhood; we must find a way of providing the disadvantaged with sustenance that is more than not quite or merely adequate; and we must find a way of making the disadvantaged productive members of the American mainstream.

Whether we accomplish this through a guaranteed annual income—which is the prime focus of the SCLC's current "Poor People's March"—or whether we adopt some other means, the one certainly is that our present system is antiquated, demeaning and overly bogged down in administrative costs.

Let there be no mistake, however, in what the reaction of a society of law and order must be to those who see looting and arson as a means to an end. Such activities must be met by measures which will enforce the law.

Insurrection, even if limited to the areas in which those involved reside, can not be justified; certainly, if we are to come to "civil equality" there must be an atmosphere of respect by each man for the other.

We are, however, at the eleventh hour!

WHAT HAVE WE DONE?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, a young Navy hospitalman in a letter to the editor of the San Diego Union has expressed the feelings of many Americans in asking what will we say if we were ever face to face with a crewman from the *Pueblo*. How will we explain America's apparent willingness to blandly accept the seizure of her ship and her men?

Dennis E. Johnson wonders what the *Pueblo's* crewmen must be thinking as they languish in a Communist prison—how they must ask themselves if they have been forgotten.

Hospitalman Johnson's letter is important reading for all of those concerned that the *Pueblo* has been abandoned by America. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

WHAT HAVE WE DONE?

EDITOR, THE UNION: On Jan. 23, 1968, the Pueblo and her crew disappeared into the hands of the North Koreans. Tension and a spark of the "old" Americanism reigned for a few days.

The days of inaction increased, the tension lessened and the spark was fallen in the ashes of tired Americanism.

I, like many Americans, followed the above course of behavior and feeling. This morning I woke as usual and, for some strange reason, thought about the stolen crew.

Good God, what have we done?

Aboard the Pueblo were men risking and dedicating their lives for our safety. They were part of a team, the U.S. Navy, which has defended freedom with blood.

Are we so ungrateful, so un-American that we will let the days keep passing while the crew of the Pueblo remains at the whims of an enemy so small?

What would we be asking this moment if we were a Pueblo crewman?

"Where is my Navy, of which I am a part?"

"Where is my country, of which I am a citizen?"

"Where are the defenders of freedom, of which I am one?"

"Where are my countrymen?"

I am a member of the United States Navy and I wonder how to answer these questions myself. If we meet someone from the Pueblo some day, what are we going to say?

DENNIS E. JOHNSON,
HN, HCS, Staff, U.S. Navy Hospital, San Diego.

AMERICA: "WHERE SELDOM IS HEARD A DISCOURAGING WORD"

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the Honorable Barry M. Goldwater, I am inserting the following:

"WHERE SELDOM IS HEARD A DISCOURAGING WORD"

We were seated on the flagstone patio of a guest ranch, the night air cool and clean; five men full of pit-cooked beef and icy bourbon. Five men of diverse backgrounds and battle stations, but all in the prime of their productive lives. All having produced enough by their own sweat and ingenuity to afford the belly-busting luxury of a few days with their families in the quietude of the Arizona desert. We talked, as men do, of our jobs, our concern for the future, and of those things that life is made of.

The owner of a foundry in northern Michigan, second generation Swede, whose father had been a blacksmith. He hires thirty-four percent Negroes in his plant. He has been forced to close down three times in the past two years, not by reason of legitimate labor disputes, but to avoid dangerous situational strife among his workers. He is looking hard for a buyer. At 46, he's tired of the fight and now says he'll just putt around on his boat.

A California manufacturer of plastic laminations—makes credit cards and such. Built three plants from scratch. He can't get the Rhode Island police to break up a Mafia controlled counterfeiting card manufacturer which is destroying confidence in his own product safety, despite the fact that they know where and who makes them. He hires a crew of "detectives" whose job it is to "steal back" credit cards of his own manufacture that have been lifted and misused. He snaps on a snub-nosed Smith & Wesson as he enters his own office each morning—frequent demonstrations in his plant have cost injury to several employees. Agitators infiltrate his fifty-four percent colored work force repeatedly. He wants out. His appeal to the NLRB in Washington on two occasions for a workers' vote to unionize or not has resulted in a cursory, "You'll lose, sell out to Litton." He's 44 and quitting.

A Seattle fisherman. His father and he have a fleet of commercial boats and a processing plant. His accent is still tinged with old country Norway. They have done exceedingly well. His home is on the lake, he breeds good Morgan horses and handsome children. He fights the unions, he pays more for workmen's compensation insurance in a year than a new seventy foot reefer shrimper costs. And he bemoans the fact that a twenty-five year old seaman can become a permanent ward of workmen's comp by claiming a bad back or emphysema, and many do. He and his father are negotiating with a Japanese combine for the sale of their whole fleet.

We ambled off at midnight to our separate cabins.

We had felt the crushing sense of defeatism in a country of vigorous builders. It was a nothing evening. Avuncular.

Brain drain? Strength slide?

Not much point in trying to relate this to you and me as physicians in the same environment. It needs no pointed punch line.

This is your country and mine. These men are your people and mine.

We either fight to restore and rebuild the good that is left in it, or we rot with it.

ARTHUR R. NELSON, M.D.,
President.

LEGISLATIVE AID TO STORM STRICKEN AREAS

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, again a severe windstorm causing widespread property damage and the death of several persons has swept through Indiana including the district I represent. Its devastating power has created untold problems for individuals, businesses and public utilities of the area. Heavy rains accompanied the storm and, in one instance particularly, a tornado wreaked havoc in Andrews, Ind., in Huntington County.

My colleagues will recall that 3 years ago on Palm Sunday, Indiana suffered from another tornado. At that time, the damage and destruction were so great that the President made a tour of some of the stricken communities. I was one of those who went with him to survey the situation. He promised relief and Federal assistance to the people who were without homes and businesses but the help was slow in coming or nonexistent. However, through sheer effort and determination the people worked out their own plans, and restored the enterprises, homes and farms that were damaged by the intensity of the storm. I introduced a bill at that time to assist in alleviating the conditions and to help these people.

There was a heavy toll in Thursday's tornado in Huntington County. The electrical storm temporarily paralyzed some of the public utilities. Heavy rains partially inundated many parts of the Fourth District, including Fort Wayne and Allen County. Therefore, I am calling upon Federal officials immediately to investigate conditions in the wake of the storm and assist in the recovery efforts. At the same time, I again am introducing a bill to provide legislative aid to the stricken areas and help these communities get back on their feet. I urge that my colleagues give prompt and expeditious support to this measure, which is so badly needed.

NOT READY FOR ANOTHER "THRESHER" DISASTER

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the following prophetic article appeared in the Sunday Star here in Washington on May 26, 1968. All of us hope that its concern and admonitions were not written too late, and that the submarine *Scorpion* which was reported to have been overdue in Norfolk yesterday on a cruise from the Azores with 99 men aboard, will not prove to be lost at sea.

Two submarines of other nations, Israel and France, have recently disappeared at sea. I understand, without a trace. Surely these losses and our increasing interest in the seas as a source of food, fresh water, weather, and other resources and influences on our life recommend to our Government a mission for our Navy which should be expanded in the years ahead, the charting and development of our more intricate knowledge of the oceans—that four-fifths of our world which is water.

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

NAVY NOT READY FOR ANOTHER "THRESHER" DISASTER

(By William Hines)

Just over five years have elapsed since the worst undersea tragedy in history occurred, and little has been done in the meantime to cope effectively with another Thresher disaster.

This neglect of a pressing problem is a black mark against the Navy, even more incomprehensible and inexcusable than the space agency's stubborn disregard of the need for an astronaut rescue system. After all, space flights are rare occurrences and the risk of being stranded in orbit is remote, but an undersea catastrophe is an ever-present danger to thousands of men.

There are 75 nuclear submarines in commission in the United States Navy, all designed to run silent and deep on the supersecret business of national security. Any one of these vessels could come to grief tomorrow.

Far-fetched? No more so than the Thresher disaster itself, or the loss of a hydrogen bomb in the Mediterranean Sea off Spain. A third national emergency would have occurred last January when a bomb-laden plane crashed near Thule, Greenland, had not the surface of North Star Bay been solidly frozen.

A thought-provoking and disturbing article in the May issue of "U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings" puts the problem into sharp focus. It recites the hypothetical case of an attack submarine—the same general type as Thresher—which runs into an uncharted seamount somewhere in the mid-Pacific.

Capt. Charles N. G. Hendrix, a retired submariner, tackles the problem mainly as an operational one: How to rescue the survivors and, if possible, retrieve the stricken ship. But underlying these logistic aspects are profound scientific and technological difficulties. The basic oceanographic and engineering work that would make the task possible simply has not been done.

"The magnitude and complexity of such an undertaking today are enormous—almost beyond belief," says Hendrix in summary.

Building his case, the author speaks of the woeful shortage of information about currents and obstructions in the deep ocean. It is true that most of the world's surface is covered by water more than three miles deep, but shallower areas abound and it is here that submarines can get into serious trouble.

Hendrix asks his readers to consider an attack sub on a typical mission, running submerged through the Central Pacific. The waters along its course are known to be studded with hundreds of submerged volcanic cones, some rising to within a few hundred feet, or even a few feet, of the surface. Most are uncharted. On the course laid out by Hendrix there is a stretch of more than 3,000 miles for which not a single sounding appears.

Hendrix supposes that the submarine is traveling between 10 and 20 knots (11½–23 mph) "at a relatively great depth." What this means is a Navy secret, but one might guess 1,000 feet. Without warning, the submarine crashes into an uncharted seamount. Its bow section is destroyed and all hands up forward are killed.

"As seen through her captain's eyes, the situation is extremely grave," says Hendrix with typical bite-the-bullet understatement.

Fortunately, the watertight doors and pressure hull maintain their integrity, and the nuclear reactor mounted amidships continues to operate. With atomic power available to run the ship's life-support system, the crew has a life expectancy up to 70 days. If the reactor had failed the limit would have been five days.

Having crashed because of the inadequacy of charts, the submarine's skipper now faces the problem of communication, and again he finds himself poorly equipped. Probably the most effective method of making his whereabouts known, Hendrix says, would be to have the crew bang on the hull with hammers—just as World War I submariners did half a century ago.

This might be effective for a range of five or six miles, provided search vessels could locate the disabled submarine this precisely. Hendrix indicates that this is doubtful, be cause again the Navy is wallowing in the depths of ignorance: It has inadequate knowledge about surface and underlying currents.

And even should the craft be found before its crew dies, how are the rescuers to bring the men to the surface or salvage the submarine? "For the present," says Hendrix, "it is clearly evident that the search for, rescue of personnel from, and recovery of a disabled submarine in the remote ocean area described above will be an extremely difficult and complex operation."

And the chilling thought is it could happen tomorrow.

NASA'S DR. WALTON W. JONES STUDIES AIRCRAFT NOISE

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, in the May 14 edition of the Christian Science Monitor, Mr. Neal Stanford wrote a very enlightening interview with Dr. Walton W. Jones, chief of NASA's biotechnology and human research division, on the problem of aircraft noise.

Since the Los Angeles International Airport is adjacent to my district, I have long taken a deep personal interest in the problem of excessive jet noise. I have introduced several major pieces of legislation designed to curb and control this harassing problem, one of the most important of which is H.R. 11073, to amend the Federal Airport Act to provide for Federal financial assistance for noise abatement with respect to certain schools located near public airports.

It is no exaggeration to state that countless hours of valuable classroom discussion are lost because of overhead jet noise. Thus, it is imperative that, unless these classrooms can be adequately soundproofed, some technological or legislative measures must be taken to reduce aircraft noise.

Dr. Jones, who is in charge of conducting research studies on the noise problem for NASA, has some very provocative insights into this complex problem. Knowing that many Members of the House will find his views of great interest, under unanimous consent I include this article following my remarks:

AIRCRAFT NOISE

(By Neal Stanford)

Aircraft noise gets intensive study. It's about time. Aims are to uncover:

How bad it is.

Where the noise comes from.

What can be done about it.

How people can adjust to sonic-boom intensities, and how much.

Dr. Walton W. Jones heads NASA's biotechnology and human-research division. He heads up noise studies and research for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

In an interview he talks about his current airport-noise survey, his sonic-boom simulator, the nature of noise, and how it can be minimized or modified. One surprise: In all four cities studied, people were found who were not disturbed at all.

An aim by the Federal Aviation Administration is to have Congress set up fair maximum flying-noise levels. Too-noisy airplanes would not be allowed to fly.

Dr. Jones, I understand you are in the midst of some studies of the aircraft-noise problem at some of our big airports. What cities are you studying?

Our studies this last year have centered on four cities, Chicago, Denver, Dallas, and Los Angeles. We are shortly choosing four other cities for similar studies. Our research centers on what we call the psychoacoustic aspects of aircraft noise and sonic boom, on how humans react to these noises, on the different characteristics of these noises, and what might be done to minimize or modify them.

The data we have collected is presently being reviewed by a National Academy of Sciences panel, and until they report we won't choose the next four cities to study.

In the four case studies made how did you go about getting data and what kind of data was it?

We interviewed some 3,500 people in these studies in communities being overflown, trying to measure the reaction of the people to different kinds of noise: high frequency, low frequency, spikes in the spectrum of noise, and the like. We turned up some surprising and interesting things. For example, we found people in each of these communities who really were not disturbed by the noise at all, weren't actually aware of it. Then there were others who objected strenuously. The explanation is psychological, possibly sociological. It has to do with their being, their makeup, their interests, what they do.

You know, some men have developed very nice ways of just tuning out their wives at times, and maybe this same thing happens here.

How do you go about questioning these people? Do they know you are trying to find out how they react to different aircraft noises?

We don't advertise our studies, for we don't want any bias in them. So our interviews in going into homes do not say they are inquiring about aircraft noise. They ask a lot of questions about other noises in the community. It is really a community study. We even put in some questions for the Housing and Urban Development people so they won't have to make their own study. We only raise the question of airplane noise indirectly.

Dr. Jones, I am curious. How do you indirectly ask a person if aircraft noise bothers him?

Well, other questions may lead up to it. If they don't volunteer their reactions we can work it around so they do. I'm not so sure I should give you the questions we ask to get our information since our job is only half done.

But it is true if you ask them outright what they think of aircraft noise in their community, you will get biased answers. So our interviewers get it indirectly.

Also they notice the type of house, type of construction, number of windows, any noises from appliances, refrigerators, fans, etc. Then we have sound trucks in the neighborhood measuring the aircraft noise at the time—so answers can be related to actual noise measurements.

This may all be interesting, but how will it prove useful?

The FAA (Federal Aviation Administration) has asked Congress for authority to add to their certification requirements for airline use of airports one on noise. So if future airplanes emit noise of certain value characteristics over what criteria have been found to be acceptable, then these airplanes won't be allowed to fly. The FAA won't certify them.

The noise level agreed to, of course, must be fair—fair to both sides, and that is what we are working on now—trying to help find a fair noise level.

There are other ways of helping to improve the noise problem—quieter engines, for example, retrofitting existing engines, but those are hardware approaches, and out of my area of research.

Different kinds of planes make different kinds of noises. From your study, what planes cause the most noise problem—jets?

This is part of the reason for this study. Some people are annoyed by some aspects of noise more than others. For example, we found in work this fall that certain helicopters give very low frequency, have a very low frequency spectrum, but pictures on the walls of a house are apt to rattle. This can be very objectionable to some people.

There are several ways of handling this problem. One very simple one is to tell the people to modify their picture-hanging methods. The annoyance did not come from the noise of the helicopter but the rattle of the pictures!

Did you find that people questioned about aircraft noise while outdoors objected more strongly than those questioned indoors?

That was what we expected to find. But startlingly enough, that isn't what happened. We asked people to judge the seriousness of noise outside, and then had them enter their homes before asking again. As soon as they entered the house and closed the door, it appears, their criteria dropped, that is, their noise threshold went up, to about the attenuation of the building.

Noise that was objectionable outside on the graph indicators at 110 was just as objectionable when inside the house and registering 95. Apparently people have a built-in filter they slip off as soon as they walk inside. Part of the reason for this study is to learn such things as this, so we don't do something unnecessary in setting acceptable noise standards for airport areas.

I gather that your work also includes a psychoacoustic approach to the problem of the sonic boom. What are you doing in this field?

We have several research studies going on. One is out at the Stanford Research Institute, where we have a sonic-boom simulator measuring the effects of sonic boom on sleeping individuals.

This is a room comparable to a bedroom, furnished as in a home. One end, however, is a diaphragm that can be driven in a small adjoining room by a motor to give the effect of various boom characteristics. Tapes are used that record actual booms of varying strengths. The person is wired to an apparatus which measures levels of sleep.

Then after he has slept there for several nights and become accustomed to his surroundings the simulator is turned on.

A sonic boom is referred to as an "in-wave," and an in-wave can be low and wide, or tall and skinny, meaning time-duration widths and intensity for height. When the room is hit with a sonic boom the effect on the sleeping person can be recorded.

Does the simulator prove that people can become adjusted to sonic booms, and do they sleep through them?

So far this experiment seems to prove that people do adapt to sonic booms, but we are not prepared to say, on what data we have, what they will adapt to. But there is an adaptive mechanism, apparently.

Also, we have found that the deeper sleep they are in the more boom it takes to awaken them. People seem to get accustomed to some booms, but we can't say this applies to the whole population.

I believe your shop is also involved in the matter of improved aviation safety. What particular approach are you taking to this problem?

We are doing some interesting experimentation along with the FAA and the federal air surgeon on safer passenger and crew seats.

The military have been working on this for some time, on the question of using energy-absorption techniques in seats. If we can get some of the energy imparted to the passenger in a crash taken up by some energy-absorption device, then the passenger gets a reduced load.

Many injuries could be avoided if seats were designed to dissipate more energy. . . . If stronger seats were designed and combined with dissipation techniques, these seats could dissipate about 16 times the energy dissipated by present seat designs.

What about the talk of having passengers sit backward as a safety measure?

Not all forces are directly forward or aft in a crash. If a passenger pitches to one side he may still need a good harness. A good forward seat, with possibly a shoulder harness, would be better in many ways than turning seats around.

We are looking into all these matters. Our work on research into aircraft noise, the sonic boom, and passenger safety is really only part of a much broader study. As explained, we concentrate on the psychoacoustic aspects of the noise problem and the energy-absorbing techniques in seat construction.

BRIDGES TO HUMAN DIGNITY—PART II

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, on May 2, 1968, former Vice President

Richard M. Nixon delivered the second part of an outstanding two-part statement on the crisis of our cities.

Mr. Nixon's nine specific programs designed to point the way toward national unity are: core city credits—rural development, new capital, new enterprises, human investment, computer job bank, student-teacher corps, extended training, teacher-veterans, and homeownership.

It is a great pleasure for me to insert this address in the RECORD:

BRIDGES TO HUMAN DIGNITY: II

(An address by Richard M. Nixon on the NBC radio network, Thursday, May 2, 1968)

In a radio address last week, I stated this conviction: that the economic crisis confronting America today is so acute that it rules out a massive transfusion now of additional Federal funds into the nation's cities. Rather than spending more, the Federal budget must be cut by some $8 billion if the fiscal crisis is to be averted and the dollar itself preserved.

But I also stated that a lack of available Federal funds ought not to stifle our ingenuity. I spoke of bridges that can and should be built between the developed and the underdeveloped parts of our society—between rich and poor, white and black—human bridges, economic bridges, bridges of understanding and of help.

Tonight I would like to describe some of those bridges.

These programs represent a beginning; they illustrate the new direction that our efforts to reconcile the races and to rescue the poor ought to be taking.

They will not by themselves eliminate poverty now, or even in the next decade. They will not guarantee complete racial harmony. But they will point the way toward our becoming at last one nation and one people. For they aim at breaking the dismal cycles of despair and dependency, which have created a welfare class catered to by a welfare bureaucracy. And the point about them is that they are all things which *can* be done *now*—which do not require the massive spending which can be neither realistically promised nor responsibly delivered.

The old approach was custodial: to *care* for the poor with Federal doles, Federal housing, Federal make-work jobs. The new approach is remedial: to involve the poor in the rebuilding of their own communities and in the fostering of self-reliance and self-respect.

The first need is to replace dependence with independence.

This means laying the economic stepping-stones of meaningful and productive jobs securely in place. Beyond this, it also means encouraging black pride through its vigorous development of black management and of black capital ownership, and thus helping remove the ceiling from black aspiration.

The possible answers to our nation's problems are infinite in number—the product of the ingenuity of the American people multiplied by their commitment to the cause of justice. But here are some of the things—specific, practical things—that can be done *now* to get private enterprise into the ghetto, and the people of the ghetto into private enterprise.

CORE CITY CREDITS—RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Tax incentives—whether direct credits, accelerated depreciation or a combination of the two—should be provided to those businesses that locate branch offices or new plants in poverty areas, whether in the core cities or in rural America.

Free enterprise goes where the profits are. Tax incentives can place these profits where the people are, and where the need is.

I include rural America in this incentive program for two reasons.

The first is need. We don't see rural America exploding on television, but these harsh realities cannot be overlooked: More than half the Americans living below the poverty line live in rural America. Unemployment on the farm is twice what it is in the city. More than half the nation's inadequate housing is in rural areas.

The second reason is, quite simply, that many of the cities' problems are rooted in rural decay. As workers are forced off the farms, they crowd into the cities—often as unprepared for city life as they are for city jobs. To the extent that new jobs can be opened in rural America, to that extent will the pressure be lessened on the cities.

NEW CAPITAL

If our urban ghettos are to be rebuilt from within, one of the first requirements is the development of black-owned and black-run businesses. The need is more than economic. Black ownership—of homes, of land, and especially of productive enterprise—is both symbol and evidence of opportunity, and this is central to the spirit of independence on which orderly progress rests.

Establishing new businesses requires both capital and know-how.

Too often, the normal sources of capital are unavailable for ghetto enterprises. The risks are considered too high.

As the President's Riot Commission has recommended, the Small Business Administration's loan program should be substantially expanded in these areas.

Beyond this, additional loan guarantee programs can be combined with active efforts to enlist traditional lending institutions in ghetto development.

Reinsurance programs cost little to establish, and these can reduce the risk of investment in poverty areas.

Dr. Andrew Brimmer, a Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, has urged a greater use of correspondent relationships between large, white-controlled lending institutions and smaller, black-controlled ones, which again would increase the capital available for ghetto business loans.

Churches, unions, and corporations doing substantial business in poverty areas, might choose to keep some of their cash deposits in banks that serve those communities.

Federal and state banking authorities might join with private banking institutions to provide technical and capital assistance for the establishment of more new, black-controlled banks.

Senator Javits has proposed creation of a Domestic Development Bank, roughly comparable in concept to the World Bank. This would make loans and guarantees for businesses that either are located in poverty areas or draw most of their employees from poverty areas, with preference given to those enterprises that are locally-owned or that allow residents of the area to participate in ownership.

NEW ENTERPRISES

A New Enterprise program should be established to serve the Negro in the central city, helping black employees to become employers.

Under such a program, successful businessmen and business school teachers could provide training in the techniques of business management. If such a program were organized, surely enough could be found who would volunteer their time—and, as an extra inducement, I would suggest an individual tax deduction equivalent to the rate of pay of an instructor in a business school for the time individually put in, and corporate tax deductions for those companies that loan their executives.

HUMAN INVESTMENT

Next, I urge immediate enactment by Congress of the Republican-sponsored Human Investment Act, providing tax incentives to corporations which hire and train the unskilled and upgrade the skills of those at the bottom of the employment ladder.

A few years ago, American industry was given a seven per cent tax credit for the modernization of equipment. The credits were widely used. Productivity increased, and the entire economy benefited. A similar tax credit for increasing the productivity of people is overdue, and along with it should go a vigorous effort—led by the President—to persuade industry to utilize it to the fullest. Workers, business and the nation would benefit.

Critics have questioned such tax-credit proposals on the ground that each dollar of tax credit increases the budget deficit by as much as a dollar of new spending.

But in this case, it wouldn't work that way. In the first place, those put on payrolls will be taken off of welfare rolls or unemployment—compensation rolls; and in the second place, as industry is moved into the job-training field, government can be moved out of it.

The Job Corps, for example, has proved a costly failure. It costs some $10,000 a year to train a Job Corpsman for a job that often turns out not to exist. Under the Human Investment Act, industry itself—which creates the jobs—would be training men at far less cost for jobs that did exist.

COMPUTER JOB BANK

Part of the unemployment problem is simply a matter of getting the man and the job together.

Last month, while the Department of Labor reported that three million American men and women were looking for jobs, classified pages all across the nation were thick with "Help Wanted" ads.

This is an area in which modern technology can serve human needs. If computers can match boys and girls for college dates, they can match job-seeking men with man-seeking jobs.

Thus I have recommended the creation—immediately—of a National Computer Job Bank.

Under this plan, computers would be located in areas of high unemployment, both urban and rural. These would be programmed with data on available jobs and job training programs—locally, statewide and nationwide. A jobless man could tell the computer operator his employment background, his skills, his job needs—and in minutes he could learn where to find the work or the training he seeks.

These economic programs all are simple in concept and modest in cost. They lack the drama of a $2 billion or a $20 billion price-tag. But they are aimed at enlisting the real engines of American progress—individual initiative, private capital, voluntary services; the dynamic four-fifths of our economy *not* accounted for by government.

Now let us turn to education.

When it comes time for budget-cutting, this is one area that must *not* be shortchanged. Doing so would shortchange the future of our children, and the future of the nation.

The Federal government has an immensely important role to play in advancing education, as do the states and the local communities.

But there also is a great deal the *people* can do.

STUDENT-TEACHER CORPS

Young Americans have shown their idealism and their dedicaton in the Peace Corps and in VISTA. To these now should be added a National Student Teacher Corps of high school and college students; carefully selected, paid volunteers who would work at the tutoring of core-city children. What they might lack in formal teaching skills, they could make up in the personal bonds of friendship and respect.

A comparable program already is at work in New York City where Homework Helpers—supervised high school seniors—are tutoring fourth-to-sixth grade students. Both helper and pupil have benefited. The Riot Commission has commended the program—and it represents the kind of helping hand needed across the nation.

EXTENDED TRAINING

Compensatory education is the first step toward bringing quality education to slum schools. Without it, the children of poverty will never catch up with the children of abundance.

I recommend inauguration of Extended Training Programs in core-city schools, in which classes in basic language and communications skills would be made available after regular school hours and during the summer months. For those willing to take advantage of them, these programs would provide an essential and often missing foundation for further learning.

TEACHER-VETERANS

One of the key needs in the ghetto is for more black teachers and administrators, highly trained, highly motivated. As Floyd McKissick put it a few months ago, "We need a black authority figure . . . with whom our children might be able to identify and to whose position they might aspire."

Among the nation's greatest underutilized assets are the returning Negro veterans of Viet Nam. These include thousands of officers and non-commissioned officers, trained and proven in leadership. Many of these would be superbly qualified for training as teachers.

The universities and schools for teacher training should intensify their recruitment among these veterans. For its part, the Department of Defense should set up a special information program to make Viet Nam veterans, black and white alike, aware of the opportunities and rewards of teaching.

The black soldier has written a proud record in Viet Nam—and that pride is needed in the ghetto schools.

HOMEOWNERSHIP

People who own their own homes don't burn their neighborhoods; rather, in pride and self-interest, they turn to fixing up their communities and making them livable for themselves and their neighbors.

Exciting new trails are being blazed toward more widespread home ownership.

Senator Percy's National Home Ownership Foundation plan, for example, would provide a private sector device for channeling mortgage capital into the slums and for enabling the poor to own their own homes—and it would do so at only a minute fraction of the cost of packing them into public housing.

Flanner House, a private self-help organization in Indianapolis, has shown dramatically that "sweat equity" can be made to work as a means of getting the poor into their own homes; some 400 families there have built their own homes from scratch. The example should be widely copied.

The FHA is largely limited today to "safe" mortgages. It should be turned in the direction of taking greater mortgage risks, so that it can function effectively in slum areas where now it does little.

I have tried tonight to set forth a few examples of low-cost steps that could be taken now to attack the problems of slum housing, rather than spending hundreds of millions to clear more slum acres, to displace more families, and to build more public housing.

The basic principle here is the same as in the job programs I outlined: imaginative enlistment of the private and the independent sectors, encouragement of private ownership, development of the pride that can only come from independence.

Significantly, some of the nation's outstanding Negro leaders have shown the way. Men like Dr. Leon Sullivan in Philadelphia and Dr. Thomas Matthew in New York have established private programs which have opened doors of opportunity to thousands of Negroes who might never have benefited from a government program.

The old way—the government way—will no longer do. The old way is still the conditioned reflex of those whose policy approaches are rooted in the 30's—the old way of massive spending piled on massive spending, and of looking to Washington to solve the problem of Watts.

The old ways have failed, because the Crisis of the Old Order is not the crisis of today. In the ruins of downtown Washington, of Detroit and Watts and Newark, lie the ruins of a philosophy of government that has outlived its origins and no longer speaks to its time.

It's time now for a new way, which yet is the oldest way of all—the way that begins with people, marshaling their own energies, moved by their own will, pursuing their own dreams.

The people are responding—individuals, voluntary organizations, businesses, universities.

People are *asking* what they can do. Businesses are *looking* for ways to enlist.

Our legislative goal should be the maximum mobilization of this will and these resources, with government's primary role not to do the job by itself, but to assist in getting it done.

Through this creative interaction of public and private, of government and people, the poor can finally receive what law alone cannot provide—the hope, the help, the fellowship of human dignity, which stem from that greatness of heart that lies at the heart of America's greatness.

THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, in the past few weeks, there has been considerable public discussion on the merits and demerits of the Poor People's Campaign currently underway in our Nation's Capital.

Typical of the American capacity to honestly explore a difficult problem, most of this discussion has been rational, searching, analytical, and responsive to the needs articulated by the campaign. For the first time in their lives, many Americans who heretofore have had no exposure to poverty or its crippling effects or for that matter, no awareness of this social cancer, have been forced to think about the deprived segment in our affluent midst. One of the country's largest magazines, Time, indicated its sensitivity to the issues raised by the Poor People's Campaign by doing a cover story on poverty in its May 17 issue.

Whether or not this Nation and this Congress will be able to fully respond and thereby satisfy the demands of the Poor People's Campaign remain unknown as of this moment. I do believe and I am deeply optimistic that this Congress will respond in some measure to the critical plight of the poor people of this country. Certainly, the establishment of an unofficial dialog between an ad hoc committee of Congressmen and Senators and officials of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, organizers of the campaign, is a constructive step in the right direction.

I might add, parenthetically, that several days before our first meeting with the SCLC representatives in the Rayburn House Office Building on May 16, 1968, I had publicly urged that such a dialog begin. I also recommended that SCLC leaders make a searching attempt to trim some of their legislative demands in order to present a realistic legislative program that had some reasonable chance of passage. These comments were reported in the Philadelphia Inquirer on May 13, 1968.

But, Mr. Speaker, my concern here today is not with the immediate demands of the Poor People's Campaign whose cause I heartily and enthusiastically espouse. Nor am I discussing what kind of programs could be passed by Congress to meet these critical demands. I have already submitted a group of legislative proposals and have outlined what can be accomplished concretely with these proposals.

What concerns me as a legislator and as an American is the reaffirmation of the God-given right of any peoples in a democracy to peacefully petition for a redress of their grievances.

That these people—black, white, Mexican-American, Indian, and Puerto Rican—who have assembled in Resurrection City have legitimate grievances, none of us can deny. Living in some of the most inhuman conditions imaginable, many of these families do not know what it is to eat three meals a day or to live in a house with heat, a bathroom, and a roof that does not leak when it rains.

Impoverished economically, they have also been impoverished politically.

They have never been apprised of their rights. Indeed, they do not know such rights exist. Even among our middle-class and reasonably informed groups, there is a paucity of understanding of due process, the right to petition one's government, the inherent right to demand redress of legitimate grievances and other attendant rights guaranteed by our Bill of Rights in the U.S. Constitution.

The poor people who have gathered together in Washington, D.C., are here to seek redress of their depressed condition. They are performing this important task within the constitutionally recognized machinery of American Government. They are here as American citizens. And what they seek is what most American citizens now enjoy—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

To the extent, they are unable to earn a living, to the extent they do not enjoy the security of a decent job and are unable to provide for their families, then to that precise extent do they not enjoy life, liberty, and the ability to pursue happiness.

Whether or not some may consider their demands, just or unjust, is unimportant. What is important is that their need is undisputed.

Theirs is a need borne out of centuries of discrimination, disenfranchisement, and disinheritance. The kingdom of heaven on earth is as remote from them as it was for their ancestors.

I think that many of the critics of the Poor People's Campaign have been frightened not by the demands or the cause the poor people represent but by the great throngs of people inundating the Capital. Implicit in their presence is they are a threat to the peace and security of this city.

But, outside of a few marches and orderly confrontations with members of the executive branch, they have been essentially orderly. Yes, some of the rhetoric has been colorful and at times, hostile. Some have even classified the expressions as violent. But I make a clear distinction between a violent call to arms and the despairing anger of a subjugated peoples whose righteous indignation can no longer be contained.

When Rev. Ralph Abernathy and his associates met with Members of Congress and the Senate on May 16, he made it crystal clear that he intended to lead a peaceful and nonviolent movement. To those who see violence, Communist-control and other subversive influences operating in this truly American exercise in good citizenship, let me suggest that the words of James Mathews Legaré's poem, "To a Lily," is applicable here:

> Thou in thy lake dost see
> Thyself: so she
> Beholds her image in her eyes
> Reflected.

I would painfully suggest that those who raise the issues of "threats" "violence" and "blackmail" reflect a troubled conscience.

As this Nation's highest deliberative body, we should never be forced to legislate under duress or the threat of violence. But that does not preclude our being jolted or disturbed by segments of the American people who justifiably feel—and the vast array of statistics support their contention—that they have been mistreated, humiliated, scorned, and abused by their fellow citizens.

Such abuse and scorn, Mr. Speaker, has not been necessarily any organized conspiracy or the result of an entire nation acting against one segment of the population because I sincerely believe that the majority of white Americans are fair-minded people. I believe that if the issues now confronting this Nation are highlighted and focused by this Poor People's Campaign, there resides in the hearts of most Americans a wellspring of passion and loving concern for their fellowman that will overflow in a legislative program of redress.

When we took our oath of office, we made a compact with our voters and congressional constituents that we would faithfully represent them in the discharge of our duties. But that oath, by definition, demands that we also represent America.

Those poor people now living in Resurrection City are Americans. They do have rights. They do have needs. And their lives must be changed.

What kind of change depends upon us in this Congress.

I think they have rendered a great service to the tree of democracy and its continued nourishment by coming here to remind us and this great Nation that we are indeed one Nation and that unless we all are able to enjoy democracy's blessings, then we have failed to fulfill the mission of our Founding Fathers.

EDUCATION AND HUNGER

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, it has become apparent in the hearings before the House Committee on Education and Labor, which is considering the proposed Commission on Hunger, that food alone is not the answer to the problem of some malnourished Americans.

It appears from testimony and literature on the subject that some individuals, because of upbringing or background, are not in the habit of using or preparing certain commodities they receive.

Subtle and considerate education programs for effective changes in eating patterns must be initiated to overcome these cultural tastes.

In the October 1954 edition of the Journal of American Dietetics Association, there appeared an article entitled "Odd Dietary Practices of Women," by Cecile Hoover Edwards, Hattie McSwain, and Susie Haire. Because some of these practices may possibly exist today, I insert it at this point in the RECORD:

ODD DIETARY PRACTICES OF WOMEN [1]

(By Cecile Hoover Edwards, Hattie McSwain, and Susie Haire,[2] Department of Foods and Nutrition, School of Home Economics, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.)

Fixed traditions and taboos about foods existed even among the Hebrews of early Semitic periods. Only a limited number of investigations, however, have been made of the unusual or odd dietary practices of women, particularly those of pregnant women.

Dickins and Ford,[3] Hertz,[4] and Whiting [5] have referred to the practice of eating such substances as starch and clay. In anthropologic literature, this practice is known as geophagy, which has been defined as earth-eating among some Indian and Negro tribes. Since the existence of geophagy has been reported from various parts of the world, it would seem that the practice is not limited to any particular ethnic group or spatial area.

In a survey of rural Negro children in Oktibbeha County, Mississippi, Dickins and Ford [3] observed that 30 to 38 per cent of the 209 children studied had eaten dirt that school year.

The existence of dirt- and starch-eating in North Carolina first came to the attention of Hertz through her work with Negro mothers. According to her, mothers defend themselves by pointing out that they eat dirt when pregnant because "pregnant women have 'cravings'." She concluded that the habit of eating starch and clay was sex-linked, since there were no reports of adult men who ate either substance.

Accordingly to Whiting, the practices of clay- and starch-eating are closely associated. While working on a health education project sponsored by Bennett College in Greensboro, North Carolina, Whiting reported that two types of clay were eaten, red and white, which were described as tasting the same—sour and "puckerish." White clay was reported to be smoother and less gritty. A third substance, soot, was also referred to by Whiting. The soot was consumed (a) directly from stove pipes and (b) after being placed in bags, dipped in water, and boiled into soot tea.

The present study was undertaken to determine the nature and prevalence of unusual dietary practices of rural women who resided within a 75-mi. radius of Tuskegee Institute. As the study progressed, it became apparent that the practices of clay- and starch-eating were fairly common throughout the South and in some parts of the North. Additional information, therefore, was obtained from health agencies, doctors, and midwives in other southern states.

The objectives of the study were: (1) to compile information on "cravings" for foods which are normal dietary constituents, (2) to study the practice of eating foods or substances which do not conform to the normal dietary pattern, (3) to investigate the influence of superstitious beliefs, food taboos, customs, and traditions on the dietary habits of women in normal health and during pregnancy, and (4) to interpret and evaluate the data on the basis of (a) reasons given for ingestion or non-ingestion of specific substances and (b) the nutritive values of the foods and/or substances.

EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURE

By use of the normative survey method and personal interviews, information on odd dietary practices of women in the South was obtained. Questionnaires were directed only to individuals who were in close contact with the eating habits of women who lived in rural and suburban areas.

The names of 300 Negro women who had given birth to babies from 1949 to 1951 were randomly selected from the postpartum records of the John A. Andrew Memorial Hospital, Tuskegee Institute. Questionnaires were sent to these women to obtain information on their dietary habits during pregnancy and in normal periods. The average income of the families of the 150 women who returned the questionnaires was $1750, ranging from $168 to $4000. The ages ranged from thirteen to forty-nine years—average twenty-five years. The average education was seventh grade, with a range of from none to sixteen years. These women were farmers, domestic workers, and homemakers. The majority (55 per cent) rented their homes; 15 per cent were sharecroppers; and 19 per cent owned their homes. In this group, 87 per cent of the diets were rated fair, poor, or very poor; 10 per cent were rated good; and 3 per cent were rated excellent.

A random sample of 50 women was chosen from the group of 150 who returned the questionnaires. Visits were made to their homes to verify and supplement the information obtained from the questionnaires.

In addition to the 50 women who were randomly selected for home interviews, 61 other women were interviewed at maternity clinics in Alabama, and at home and maternity clinics in Georgia.

One hundred questionnaires were sent to health agencies, experiment stations, and hospitals in seventeen southern states; of these 47 were returned. Personal interviews were also held with 45 midwives (mostly of the "granny" or non-nurse type), 40 public health nurses, and 6 doctors in Alabama and Georgia. Thus data were obtained from a total of 211 individual women (111 by personal interview), 47 health agencies, and 91

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[1] Received for publication March 29, 1954.

[2] The authors wish to express appreciation to George C. Stoney, Dr. W. A. Mason, and Dr. W. A. Hunter for their assistance during this investigation, and to the staff of the John A. Andrew Memorial Hospital for making available their postpartum records.

[3] Dickins, D., and Ford, R. N.: Geophagy (dirt eating) among Mississippi Negro school children. American Sociological Rev. 7:59, 1942.

[4] Hertz, H.: Notes on clay and starch eating among Negroes in southern urban communities. Social Forces 25:343, 1947.

[5] Whiting, A. N.: Starch and soot eating among southern rural Negroes in North Carolina. J. Negro Education 16:610, 1947.

persons engaged in health work, either professionally or as midwives.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The food habits of man are intimately interwoven with his cultural and religious beliefs. In his effort to survive, he has turned to food not only as an energy-giving and body-building material, but also as a refuge from the many ills which beset him. Even today, our culture retains some of the early effects of animism, demonology, and metaphysics which have influenced the practices of peoples as generations passed.

According to Mason,[6] the medical prescriptions in early Egyptian culture showed a strong belief in the power of the supernatural. The concept that certain plants picked in the moonlight were particularly efficacious in the preparation of medicine was accepted by the peoples in that country and others, and it is still not infrequently encountered in modern popular medicine. More rational was the following prescription of the same period.

"To cure granulations of the eye, you will prepare a remedy of collyrium, verdigris, onions, blue vitriol, powdered woods. You will mix it all and apply it to the eyes of the sick person."

In those early times, the body was seen as a temple of the soul. The concept that illness and death were due to sin existed, according to Mason, in early Babylonian medicine. Evidence of this idea is found in adherence to the bath, the selection and preparation of foods, and concepts of sanitation.

The ritual of bathing and washing of the hands before meals in biblical times served a dual purpose. Whereas washing the hands before meals was done both for the sake of cleanliness and as a religious duty, symbolic of the cleansing of the soul, washing them after the meal was practiced as an evidence of duty and of respect to other persons. This practice today seems to be based wholly on sanitary principles.

The selection and preparation of food was important in Hebrew religion and even today is highly ritualistic in Jewish families. Mason quotes the "law of clean and unclean meats" (Deut. 14:3-8):

"Thou shalt not eat any abominable thing. These are the beasts which ye shall eat: the ox, the sheep, and the goat, the hart, and the roebuck, and the fallow deer, the wild goat, and the pygarg, and the wild ox, and the chamois. And every breast that parteth the hoof and cleaveth the cleft into two claws, and chewth the cud among the beasts, that ye shall eat. Nevertheless, these ye shall not eat of them that chew the cud, or of them that divide the cloven hoof; as the camel and the hare and the coney, for they chew the cud, but divide not the hoof. Therefore they are unclean unto you. And the swine, because it divide the hoof, yet cheweth not the cud, it is unclean unto you: ye shall not eat of their flesh, nor touch their dead carcass."

The prescribed instruction, "Ye shall not eat of any thing that dieth of itself . . ." (Deut. 14:21) is practiced even today, on one hand as a ritual by those following Jewish tradition, and on the other hand by a much larger group because of adherence to modern sanitation and disease prevention and control.

INFLUENCE OF SUPERSTITION ON FOOD HABITS

In the group of 211 Negro women studied in this investigation, many interesting "reasons" for certain dietary practices were given. For example, in Manning, South Carolina, there was evidence of a traditional belief that milk, eggs, fish, yellow vegetables, grapefruit, tomatoes, butter, liver, and beans should not be eaten. The basis for this belief was unknown. In Anniston, Alabama, this belief also applied to other foods, as bacon, ham, and onions.

The eating of green foods appeared to be taboo during the postpartum period among women in Louisiana, and approximately one-third of the women who visit the County Health Department in Talladega, Alabama, were reported to eat only rice, potatoes, and milk during the postpartum period. It may be that lack of information on the metabolism of food has fostered the idea that the green color of vegetables might show up in the mother's milk.

Fish, too, is widely taboo; in North Carolina, Georgia, South Carolina, and Kentucky, as many as 35 per cent of the rural Negro women apparently adhere to this practice. Comments indicated that some felt it would poison them, and others stated that it would prove fatal if consumed during a period of several weeks after childbirth. The combination of "fish and milk" was thought to be especially dangerous.

Other strange, ill-founded notions which were stated included: "Cheese, bananas, and ice cream will make you sick." . . . "Cooked cabbage and other 'strong-tasting' greens will upset the stomach and 'taint' the milk." . . . "Milk, eggs, and liver should not be eaten." . . . "If block magnesia is not eaten, the unborn will be marked." . . . "If the bark of trees is not eaten, the unborn will be marked." . . . "If clay is not eaten, the unborn will be marked." . . . "Sweet milk gives 'milk fever.'"

It is difficult to determine what experience formed the basis for these beliefs. The superstition that fish and milk must not be eaten together is probably based on digestive disturbances brought about in a few instances by factors entirely unrelated to the foods, or by foods which had been spoiled. Also, aside from being foods of high nutritional value, milk, eggs, and liver possess no similarity except that they all come from within the animal. Lack of knowledge regarding the nutritive value or desirability of certain foods in many instances appeared to be the major reason why women did not drink milk or eat green and yellow vegetables.

FOOD CRAVINGS AND BIZARRE FOOD INTAKES

Large intakes of familiar foods and intakes of substances not generally considered food were reported, both by the individuals in the survey and by the health workers. Of the women returning questionnaires, 55 reported "cravings," and although unfortunately, the listings of cravings were not accurately recorded for all of the 111 women interviewed personally, at least 40 of this group were reported to experience "cravings."

Most striking of all "cravings" was the practice of a large number of women of eating red and white clay, cornstarch, flour, and baking soda. These "foods" were part of the dietary pattern during pregnancy particularly and were eaten either because of superstitious belief that the substance had special powers or by custom. Some women stated emphatically, "The unborn will be marked if I don't eat it!" In many instances, the mother said that she had been told to follow this practice by her mother or grandmother. In other cases, it was stated that clay, starch, or baking powder relieved the nausea accompanying pregnancy.

The intake of some of these substances was quite large. As much as a 1-lb. box of starch might be consumed each day, and this practice appeared to be widespread in most of the southern states involved in the study, occurring in as many as 75 per cent of the women who attended some health departments. The practice of clay-eating, too, was quite common, being followed by as many as 50 per cent of the patients in some of the health departments and experiment stations which were queried. Another odd substance which was reported to be eaten was tree bark; the reason ascribed to this practice was superstition. For some women, block magnesia seemed to satisfy a craving, or prevented nausea, but the exact nature of the effect could not be determined.

It was interesting to search for further links in the chain of information relating to these cravings. Stoney reported[7] that the eating of clay in rural communities seemed to be a privilege reserved for the pregnant woman. In fact, disparaging remarks were made about women who continued this practice after their babies were born.

In interviewing midwives in Georgia, we became aware of one of the consequences of eating clay. Some midwives stated that they could tell whether the mother had eaten clay by observing the thickness of the "coating" over the newborn child. According to them, if the infant was coated with a thick white material (the vernex) which looked like flour, the mother had eaten clay during pregnancy. Otherwise, the "coating" would be thin.

Eating large quantities of cornstarch was explained as an attempt to satisfy a craving. Some women indicated that it "relieved nausea," or that they ate it because "mama" or "grandma" had told them to do so. Even in educated circles, this practice has been reported.

Because cravings for clay and cornstarch were more frequently reported by pregnant women (21.0 per cent) than by women during other periods (10.4 per cent), the authors felt it of interest to determine if these differences were significant. The chisquare was computed as an index of dispersion, using the hypothesis that there is no significant difference in the number of normal or pregnant women eating odd substances. A chi-square of 1,849 was found, which was not significant unless a one in five chance of being in error is acceptable.

This problem was also approached from another direction by computing the t value. Forty-five per cent (8) of the women who listed cravings when they were not pregnant ate clay, but, during pregnancy, the percentage increased to 64.9 per cent. The standard error of the per cent of increase was 14.098. A t value of 1.448 was found, which is not significant at the 1 or 5 per cent levels for 53 degrees of freedom. Consequently, by this standard, too, the difference in the craving for clay among normal and pregnant women does not seem to be significant.

Fifty per cent of the women who listed cravings ate cornstarch when they were not pregnant; during pregnancy, this percentage decreased to 32.43. The standard error of the difference was 14.071. A t value of 1.249 was found, which was not significant for the involved degrees of freedom. Thus, the difference in craving for cornstarch in normal and pregnant women does not seem to be significant.

Foods which are eaten in exceptionally large quantities and which as such or in the form used are not usually included in the American dietary patterns include: lard (as much as 1 lb was consumed without bread every three days); coffee beans (chewed throughout the day); flour, dry oatmeal; baking powder (reported to relieve nausea of pregnancy); dry skim milk powder (the woman reported she could not drink it mixed with water, but that she ate 8 oz. dry per day); baking soda (the women started eating it for "heartburn." It then became a habit and was eaten throughout the day. Several cases were reported in Tennessee and a large number in South Carolina).

Many foods which ordinarily make up our diet were reported to be eaten in excessively large quantities, usually to satisfy "cravings." This list includes: Apples, banana pudding, bananas, barbecue, cake, candy, cheese, chicken, cocoa and dry milk, collard greens, crackers, cranberries, cucumbers, eggs, fish, grapefruit, grapes, ice cream, meat,

[6] Mason, W. A.: The monotheistic concept and the evolution of medical thought. Phylon 12:255, 1951.

[7] Stoney, G. C.: Personal communication.

raw fat, oranges, peaches, pears, pickles, plums, potato chips, rhubarb, raisins, starchy foods, strawberries, tangerines, tomatoes, turnips, watermelon.

Although these are familiar foods, their use in this situation is certainly not according to our cultural pattern. As an indication of the bizarre nature of some of these intakes resulting from "cravings," the intake of fourteen eggs a day was reported in one instance. Another reason for excessive intakes of ice cream, apples, potato chips, fish, and chicken was found to be superstition.

Of the 55 women who reported cravings on their questionnaires, 67.3 per cent were pregnant. It was also apparent that a greater number of foods were craved during pregnancy than during times when the woman's health was normal. Statistical evaluation revealed that significantly greater quantities of fruits, cereals, meats, vegetables, desserts, and beverages were eaten by pregnant women, but differences for consumption of bread, salads, fat, soups, and nuts were not significant. In Table 1 is tabulated the reported frequency of these cravings.

It has been postulated by some workers that a "craving" expresses a body deficiency which is satisfied by the ingested food. The literature on this subject, however, contains many conflicting observations. Whiting, in pointing out the difficulty in explaining why these substances were eaten suggested that the practice and its genesis in an unconscious endeavor to compensate for certain nutritional deficiencies. What these nutritional deficiencies were remains to be investigated. The suggestion that this is a problem in nutrition was put forth by that investigator on the assumption that the human organism, through a system of chemical checks and balances, sets up within itself certain appetites which, when satisfied, tend to restore the normal chemical balance necessary for efficient and healthful functioning.

TABLE 1.—FOODS AND OTHER SUBSTANCES CRAVED BY 55 WOMEN RETURNING QUESTIONNAIRES

Food	Number of women reporting cravings	
	During times of normal health	During pregnancy
Fruit:		
Apples		11
Bananas		4
Cranberries		1
Figs		1
Grapefruit		3
Grapes		8
Oranges		2
Peaches		3
Pears		3
Plums		2
Raisins		1
Tangerines		1
Watermelon	4	8

TABLE 1.—FOODS AND OTHER SUBSTANCES CRAVED BY 55 WOMEN RETURNING QUESTIONNAIRES—Continued

Food	Number of women reporting cravings	
	During times of normal health	During pregnancy
Cereals:		
Potato chips	2	2
Rice		1
Spaghetti		1
Bread and bread substitutes:		
Corn bread		1
Crackers		1
Flour		1
Meat and meat substitutes:		
Barbecue		1
Cheese		4
Chicken		11
Chitterlings		1
Eggs, boiled		1
Fish	2	18
Liver		3
Pork chops		1
Sausage		2
Steak		1
Vegetables:		
Collard greens		5
Corn		1
Cucumbers		1
Pickles	2	2
Tomatoes		3
Turnips		5
Desserts:		
Banana pudding		1
Cake	3	2
Candy	6	2
Ice cream	4	7
Beverages:		
Milk		1
Milk, chocolate		1
Other substances:		
Clay	8	24
Corn starch	9	12
Paper	1	1

These strange practices do not seem to bring about any harmful or pathologic symptoms. Hertz advanced the hypothesis that clay- and starch-eating provide satisfaction for individual needs and suggested that these needs include the desire to satisfy hunger pains and the pleasure of chewing.

In our laboratory, in an effort to estimate the effect the craved substances might have on the individuals who ingested them, the nutritional value of the substances which were actually food was reviewed (Table 2).

In the case of foods of high-water content, the stomach would be filled, thereby satisfying hunger pains. Because of the nature of the food, however, it would leave the stomach comparatively rapidly, thereby setting in motion again the same "craving." Thus it may be that the "craving" expressed for certain foods or other substances is merely an indication of inadequate caloric intake (i.e., total quantity of food), since the main contribution of these foods is either carbohydrate or water. Cornstarch and other high-carbohydrate foods, for example, would supply calories (energy) and might keep the blood sugar at a more normal level, thereby preventing hypoglycemia and the attenuating symptoms of hunger.

Though no reference was made to it, the color of red clay may have been associated with rich blood for the mother and that of white clay with her milk.

These explanations are, of course, pure speculation. Detailed studies of blood and tissue changes are necessary before one can set up a hypothesis regarding the effect of clay, cornstarch, and other substances on the body. Such studies are essential in explaining the mechanism of the "craving" for specific substances as expressed by those who eat them.

PAUCITY OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT UNUSUAL DIETARY PRACTICES

That many public health officials were unaware of these superstitions and traditional dietary practices was evidenced by lack of specific information on the questionnaires returned and from the paucity of information obtained through personal interviews. Stoney has observed that the custom of hiding one's superstitions from those who might ridicule them is a powerful one. According to him, some public health nurses with years of experience in clinic and home visiting were completely unaware that such strong food taboos exist among their patients. He states: "In many instances, the patient simply learned what diet the nurse wanted her to tell her she was eating, and graciously obliged."

For example, the eating of fish seems to be taboo after parturition. According to Stoney:

"Along the Georgia coast, especially, fish is such a staple food that its removal from the mother's diet as soon as the baby is born must demand important nutritional readjustments. It was surprising to note that none of the public health nurses interviewed were aware of this taboo, although they had been interviewing patients about their diets for many years."

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Information derived from questionnaires and personal interviews revealed several generalizations that might be made in connection with dietary habits.

(a) In general, the first meal immediately after the baby was born, and often for several days thereafter, consisted of white bread toast, buttered grits, and black coffee. In some instances, a diet of this type was continued for each meal for as long as a month. Rice, mashed potatoes, and other starches may be used to vary the pattern during this period. Some women avoided drinking sweet milk during the first week after the birth of their babies because of the fear of "milk fever."

TABLE 2.—COMPOSITION OF FOODS CRAVED MOST OFTEN: 100-GM. PORTIONS [1]

Food	Calories (grams)	Protein (grams)	Fat (grams)	Carbohydrate (grams)	Ash (grams)	Calcium (milligrams)	Phosphorus (milligrams)	Iron (milligrams)	Vitamin A (international units)	Thiamine (milligrams)	Riboflavin (milligrams)	Niacin (milligrams)	Ascorbic Acid (milligrams)
Watermelon	28	0.5	0.2	6.9	0.3	7	12	0.2	590	0.05	0.05	0.2	6
Grapes	70	1.4	1.4	14.9	.4	17	21	.6	80	.06	.04	.2	4
Bananas	88	1.2	.2	23.0	.8	8	28	.6	430	.04	.05	.7	10
Apples	58	.3	.4	14.9	.3	6	10	.3	90	.04	.03	.2	5
Fish	205	19.0	2.5	.0	1.3	21	218	1.0	----------	.07	.70	4.2	2
Chicken	200	20.2	7.2	.0	1.1	14	200	1.5	0	.08	.16	10.2	0
Cheese	398	25.0	32.2	2.1	3.7	725	495	1.0	1,400	.02	.42	----------	0
Turnips	32	1.1	.2	7.1	.7	40	34	.5	----------	.05	.07	.5	28
Collards	40	3.9	.6	7.2	1.7	249	58	1.6	6,870	.11	.27	2.0	100
Ice cream	207	4.0	12.5	20.6	.8	123	99	.1	520	.04	.19	.1	1

[1] From Agriculture Handbook No. 8. Watt, B. K., and Merrill, A. L.: Composition of Foods—Raw, Processed, Prepared. U.S.D.A. Agriculture Handbook No. 8, 1950.

This custom of eating light, starchy foods immediately after parturition may be traced back to generations when sanitation and facilities for food storage and preservation were poor. Feeling that she might be upset by spoiled or strong food (and thus the food she gave the baby would be affected, possibly even endangering his life), the mother avoided anything that might spoil or have a strong taste. Today the dangers of food spoilage are much less real. Old taboos, however, are still powerful and thus have a marked effect on the well-being of mothers who may already be suffering from lack of proper diet.

(b) During this period, "store bought" bread is eaten in preference to the usual cornbread and biscuits. Since this is considered a delicacy by country families, it may be an "attention-getting" device comparable to the postnatal craving of sweets and other foods.

(c) Attitudes and food practices seemed more "normal" in and near cities. As one moves further out to the rural areas, the attitudes and food practices become more unfamiliar. This may be directly related to the influence exerted by hospitals, newspapers, radios, and other social agencies in the city.

(d) Direct experiences, such as contact with other women, whose babies had been delivered in hospitals and who had been given adequate diets, seem to have more effect than the recommendations of public health nurses in the clinics. Thus, the women believe what they see rather than what they are told.

(e) Older individuals in the community, such as the grandmothers, have a strong influence on the attitudes of the younger women toward food. It is not strange, then, that taboos and superstitions about food should be passed down from generation to generation in rural communities when little opportunity to correct them is available. Thus, where hospital service is not available, the old midwives and "grannies" teach the younger mothers their only knowledge of proper food. Where the mothers have access to hospitals and physicians, they often defy the teachings of the "grannies."

MIDWIVES' INFLUENCES

And what is the attitude presented by the midwife? Only limited information is available. However, through interviews, their attitudes seemed to fall into three categories:

(a) A few midwives believed that a woman fares better if she eats a light, mostly starchy diet for the first few weeks after parturition.

(b) A larger number of midwives were completely convinced that the newer recommendations of health departments were sound and told these to their patients, relating this to what was done in hospitals.

(c) A majority believed that the patient should eat what she had been accustomed to eating, giving no additional recommendations on diet.

This picture is distressing and tells a story which might well be in the realm of fantasy. In some states, the only hope of the rural mother to improve her condition and that of her infant is the midwife. Perhaps the solution to the problem is that of re-educating midwives in the newer knowledge of nutrition, using effective teaching aids that will show a clear picture of the value of an adequate diet.

The task of improving nutrition in low-income rural groups is certainly a difficult one, not only because of inadequate funds and the paucity of knowledge concerning the nutritional value of food, but also because of the strong influence of superstition and tradition on the dietary habits of this group. The ideas about food are firmly embedded in the older generation whose influence on the younger mothers is powerful. Their limited education and the lack of adequate communication further restrict the influence of nutrition education programs on the dietary practices of the rural population.

Some progress is being made through clinics, but not until the intricate web of emotions and superstitious beliefs can be more clearly understood, can we make real strides toward improving the nutritional status of this group. As progress is made in this area, infant and maternal mortality, morbidity, stillbirths, and abortions will decrease.

And, as we are able to convert this large group of rural families to the doctrine of sounder dietary practices, so will the health of the community and nation improve.

Average caloric intake of American women in four cities—Birmingham, Buffalo, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and San Francisco—is 1780, according to the 1953 annual report of the Chief, Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics, U.S.D.A. This intake appears in general to be adequate for food energy needs as indicated by the relation of weight to height in these women. Average calcium intake, however, was 0.6 gm. per day, as compared with 0.8 gm. recommended by the National Research Council.

THE KING AND HIS COMMUNISTS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, more and more documentation on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—SCLC—continues to be brought to light.

The leaders of this mockery of names and titles must be exposed for what they are so that our people knowingly will never be duped into emotional submission.

This must be one of our foremost duties to our constituents—to get them the facts so they can decide for themselves the truth and knowing they will remain free.

Under unanimous consent I submit a report from the American Opinion magazine in 1965 titled, "The King and His Communists" by Alan Stang, and an article from Time for May 1968 for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

THE KING AND HIS COMMUNISTS

(By Alan Stang, a former business editor for Prentice-Hall, Inc., and a television writer, producer, and consultant (Mike Wallace Interviews and Biography))

(NOTE.—Mr. Stang is a frequent contributor to American Opinion and is author of the Western Islands bestseller, It's Very Simple: The True Story of Civil Rights, a book which we heartily recommend to our readers.)

It was Sunday morning in Alabama. It was clear. It was cool. It would be a perfect day. And the most wonderful thing about it was that a foreboding, pervasive sense of nonviolence hung heavy in the air—a premonition of nonviolence in the afternoon.

Selma was so full of nonviolence it was fit to bust.

At one end of the bridge were the troopers, mounted and afoot, billies in hand. Nothing much needs to be said about them. Everybody knows, don't they, that all white Alabamians, especially the police, are filled with hatred and police brutality.

At the other end of the bridge were the others, meek, innocent, pure, abused: the "Civil Rights" fighters. Nothing much needs to be said about them. Everybody knows that they were stuffed with love. They were full of it, crammed with it, there was no way at all you could jam in any more of it.

The troopers tensed. The marchers marched.

Was this going to be it at last? Were we finally going to get some nonviolence going—most people were basically so peaceful—you had to spend such a long time lying before you got any of it at all, and then what you got might not even be decent.

"For weeks," Newsweek of March 22, 1965, explains, "Martin Luther King had been escalating his Selma voter-registration campaign toward the state he calls 'creative tension'—the setting for a paroxysm of segregationist violence that can shock the nation to action . . . ."

"The Negroes' rationale in holding night marches," explains the New York Times of February 24, 1964, "is to provoke the racist element in white communities to show its worst."

Believe me, you don't know what work is until you've tried to provoke some nonviolence.

And then at last, O Happy Days, the troopers were charging across the bridge, kicking and clubbing and tear gassing—gosh, it was wonderful. It was great. Man, you talk about nonviolence! *Newsweek* of March 22, 1965, tells it this way: ". . . At a half-walk, half-run, troopers shoved and clubbed the marchers into retreat. Behind them, the sheriff's cavalry mounted a Cossack charge into the scattering column. . . ."

Cossacks! You get it? You remember the Cossacks. They were the crowd who used to ride down the luckless, Russian workers on orders of the Tsar. Later on, the "workers" made a "revolution." You may have heard about it.

But Alabama Cossacks didn't do it on orders of the Tsar. The only reason they were there at all it seems, was that the March had been forbidden, because of this very premonition of nonviolence, by an order from Georgi Wallace, the Ivan the Terrible of American society, otherwise known as the Governor of the once sovereign state of Alabama—if you will pardon the expression.

Now, what's the point to all this nonviolence? We know it's about "Civil Rights," of course; but why must the nonviolence get so bloody? What's the theory behind it? Well, the man behind it is of course the "Reverend" Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and he tells us about it all in *Saturday Review* for April 3, 1965:

1. Nonviolent demonstrators go into the streets to exercise their constitutional rights.

2. Racists resist by unleashing violence against them.

3. Americans of conscience in the name of decency demand federal intervention and legislation.

4. The Administration, under mass pressure, initiates measures of immediate intervention and remedial legislation.

Ladies and gentlemen, here it is from the man himself. Let's spell it out—in English:

1. "Nonviolent demonstrators—that's anyone who, say, has a pair of sandals and needs a bath—go into the streets to provoke the hicks.

2. "Racists"—that's anyone, say, who doesn't have a pair of sandals and doesn't need a bath—finally lose their heads, or are simply forced to use violence—as in Selma.

3. "Americans of conscience"'—that's a reader of the *New York Times*, a professor at Yale, or anybody calling himself a clergyman—put on the pressure for more federal intervention to promote collectivism that leads to Communism.

4. The Administration—I don't know who that is—under mass pressure (you know what this is), sends in more troops and passes more laws.

In short—and remember that this is from the massive brain of the man himself—the violence that usually occurs in a King Production isn't unexpected, isn't to be avoided, isn't something to be sorry about. It is exactly what he wanted. It is the point to the whole Production.

It is in fact, says Dr. King, the *only reason* for a "nonviolent" demonstration: To generate pressure on the Congress to install more collectivism.

As we have seen, the Selma March, for instance, caused the lightning passage of the "Voting Rights" Bill, under which the federal government, rather than the states, now conducts voting registration—the point being, of course, that in any dictatorship, whether Communist or Nazi, all the power must be centralized.

So when Dr. King sees the troopers, he isn't sorry. Land O'Goshen, no! He's glad; the "paroxysm" is on its way! He loves to see his own supporters get their skulls cracked.

You see, when the nonviolence broke out in Selma, for instance, the skull of King—as chance would have it—was safe in Atlanta.

What does it all mean? What's behind it? What manner of man is Martin Luther King?

Well, there are all sorts of opinions. The "Reverend" Ralph Abernathy, for instance, explained on the Selma March, according to the *New Yorker* of April 10, 1965, that King was "conceived by God." Legend has it, we read in *Newsweek* of April 2, 1965, that after his conviction for leading the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Negroes gathered outside shouting: "Behold the king! Long live the king!"

Talk about cult of personality!

Ladies and gentlemen, I'm going to make a lot of wild charges; I'm really going to throw them around. But you never know. There may be a "Liberal" among us. Maybe even somebody from the Anti-Defamation League. So let's avoid speculation, opinion, and evaluation for the moment, and begin with a simple narration of the known facts.

Before 1955, nothing much happened to this King of Kings. *Time* of January 3, 1964, tells us that he did try to commit suicide twice. But then, life is lonely for prophets and such an act may not always denote emotional instability. Lots of people try to kill themselves just to get some attention.

But then, on December 1, 1955, a nonviolent lady named Mrs. Rosa Parks, who is a Negro, refused to move to the back of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama. "I don't really know why I wouldn't move," says Mrs. Parks, according to *Time* of February 18, 1957. "There was no plot or plan at all. I was just tired from shopping. My feet hurt."

Is it possible? Yes, it is "possible." But what is definite is that Mrs. Parks had no doubt been prepared for the adventure by a recent educational experience that included a course at an institution by the name of the Highlander Folk School, then located in the town of Monteagle, in the State of Tennessee. The Highlander Folk School was organized with the assistance of a gentleman by the name of Don West. Don West, of course, was at the time District Director of the Communist Party of North Carolina. The Highlander Folk School was of course a Communist Training School, teaching the overthrow of the U.S. Government—and authoritatively cited as such by several agencies of your government.

It was of course the Montgomery Bus Boycott, launched by Mrs. Parks of the Communist Highlander Folk School, that put Dr. King on the long road to nobelfication. He would not again attempt suicide; he had all the attention he needed. You may recall that Dr. King did his work at the head of an organization by the name of the Montgomery Improvement Association (M.I.A.). The Montgomery Improvement Association had been formed by the "Reverend" Fred Shuttlesworth. Now, the "Reverend" Fred Shuttlesworth is probably a very wonderful gentleman, I am sure, but he is also a former convict, says the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities of the State of Louisiana, and "has been affiliated with several communist-front organizations.

The *New York Times* of August 22, 1965, tells us that his Cincinnati congregation—composed of Negroes—may soon ask the "Reverend" Shuttlesworth to resign. A suit has been filed, which charges "that Mr. Shuttlesworth had usurped the power of the church trustees and officers and assumed absolute authority over the church's property. It also alleged that he had deposited funds of the church in institutions without authorization of the trustees and that he had denied members the right to call a meeting of the congregation." And Judge Frank M. Gusweiler of Common Pleas Court has issued an injunction, forbidding Mr. Shuttlesworth from spending any church funds.

What they basically want the "Reverend" Shuttlesworth to do, says a committee—a "freedom" committee (that's right)—of the worshippers, is "to treat the officers and members of the church as intelligent human beings and not as illiterate slaves as he does now."

According to a spokesman for the "Reverend" Shuttlesworth—and you will remember that all of this is from the pages of the *New York Times*—the trouble is caused by jealousy of the "Reverend" Shuttlesworth's "Civil Rights" activities—jealously "inspired by white persons."

One of these activities, we read in the *New Yorker* of April 10, 1965, was the Selma March—conducted, as chance would have it, by Dr. Martin Luther King.

Another former convict is a gentleman by the name of Bayard Rustin. Dr. King thinks very highly of Mr. Rustin. He describes him, according to the *Washington Post* on August 11, 1963, as "a brilliant, efficient and dedicated organizer and one of the best and most persuasive interpreters of nonviolence."

In 1953, the Pasadena Police Department described him differently. Arrest record No. 33914 includes Mr. Rustin's qualifications as a sexual pervert.

The *Allen-Scott Report* for August 16, 1963, says of the qualified Mr. Rustin:

As a student at the College of the City of New York in 1936, Rustin joined the Young Communist League and was active in its operations on the campus and elsewhere.

In World War II, he was arrested several times for making speeches advocating resistance to the conflict against Hitler and Mussolini. As a professed conscientious objector, he served 26 months in the federal prison at Ashland, Ky., and Lewisburg, Pa. [Emphasis mine.]

He says he resigned from the Young Communist League in 1941. What probaby happened was that he was graduated.

National Review of August 20, 1963, says "Rustin worked closely, often as an office holder, with: the War Resisters League, the World Peace Brigade, *Liberation* magazine, the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, the second General Strike for Peace, the Monroe (N.C.) Defense Committee, the Committee for Non-Violent Action . . . the Greenwich Village Peace Center, and any number of other groups, ad hoc committees, petitions, etc., few of which are arrestingly wholesome. . . ."

Mr. Rustin has also been active in a group called the American Forum for Socialist Education, which is Communist dominated, says the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

In 1958, Mr. Rustin got involved in a trip to Russia sponsored by a group known as the Nonviolent Action Committee Against Nuclear Weapons.

The January, 1963, issue of *Fellowship* reveals Mr. Rustin to be a "friend" of Kwame Nkrumah, the Communist dictator of Ghana.

In September of the year, he was in Richmond, Virginia, where he suggested, says the *Richmond News Leader* of September 27, 1963, "that more bloody Negro suffering should be encouraged so that squeamish Northern Negroes would be horrified into line. . . ."

He was fresh from the March on Washington, which he conducted on August twenty-eighth to help pass the "Civil Rights" bill, the day after which he urged that the only hope for Negroes was to "go left."

On February 3, 1964, Mr. Rustin successfully conducted the New York City school boycott. On the next day, photographers recorded his departure from a cocktail party at the Russian mission to the United Nations. He has a real feel for comedy, Bayard does. He says he was there to discuss "artistic freedom" in Russia.

And finally, as chance would have it, Mr. Rustin somehow managed to find employment, in the year of 1955, as "secretary," and "adviser," to a Very Important Person.

The person's name was Martin Luther King—as chance would have it.

So the three of them—ex-con and Communist-Fronter Fred Shuttlesworth, ex-con and Communist-Fronter Bayard Rustin, and the "Reverend" Dr. King—went ahead and improved Montgomery.

After they had improved Montgomery for more than a year, they held a meeting in Atlanta, in March of 1957, at which they formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (S.C.L.C.).

The meeting probably couldn't have been called in February because Mr. Rustin, Dr. King's "secretary," was then attending the sixteenth national convention of the Communist Party. He had been officially invited, as an official "non-Communist" observer, you see. The observers observed in a signed statement that:

. . . The sessions of the convention were democratically conducted with vigorous discussion of all matters brought to the floor. There were many indications that no individual or group was in a position to control the convention.

You will recall that at the time, the Animals were trying to shed the image they deserved for crushing the Hungarian Revolution. But that didn't bother Bayard Rustin and the other observers, who also said:

Finally, we wish to protest vigorously against the continuance by Senator Eastland's Senate Internal Security subcommittee of the un-American practice of governmental inquisition into political opinions and activities. . . .

My goodness, these "non-Communist" observers come in handy, don't they?

The President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is the "Reverend" Dr. King.

The Vice-President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is the "Reverend" Fred Shuttlesworth. And the "Reverend" Fred Shuttlesworth is the new President of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund, ladies and gentlemen, has been described by *three* agencies of your government—the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities of the State of Louisiana—as a department of the Communist Conspiracy. It was organized by Communists. It is run by Communists. It is the most important Communist organization in the South.

Mr. Carl Braden of Louisville, Kentucky, who serves as field director of S.C.E.F., has been named under oath as a member of the Communist Party. Mrs. Anne Braden, also of Louisville, Kentucky, and editor of the *Southern Patriot*, which is published by S.C.E.F., has also been named under oath as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Braden is a former convict, of course. While in Louisville, he was convicted of a felony—a little matter involving some dynamite. And Mrs. Braden was indicted for sedition. It seems she doesn't care for our form of government.

Carl Braden is also listed on its letterhead as one of the "national sponsors" of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee which sponsored member emeritus Lee Harvey Oswald, the "lone fanatic"—which is a Communistic

Front. Braden was one of the main speakers at the F.P.C.C. dinner in New York on April 28, 1961.

Benjamin E. Smith and his law partner, Bruce Waltzer, take part in the general management of S.C.E.F. Both are under indictment for multiple violations of the Louisiana Subversive Activities and Communist Control Act. At a closed meeting of the S.C.E.F. on February 3, 1964, at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York, Benjamin E. Smith, explained as follows: "Come June, armies will take the field." "These armies are coming to strike. The Southern Conference Educational Fund is one of those armies." "The Southern Conference Educational Fund occupies a unique place in the South, it furnishes a staff organization supervising others." "There will be strikes, sitdowns, movements, we must play our part." "Revolution is on its way."

Mr. Aubrey Williams was President of S.C.E.F. until 1963, when he got so busy as Chairman of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC—which is a Communist Front—that he decided to make himself President Emeritus. As Director of the National Youth Administration under President Roosevelt, Mr. Williams was Lyndon Johnson's boss. He also held other important jobs in the New Deal. In 1945, however, the U.S. Senate rejected his appointment as Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration, after his affiliations with the Communist apparatus had been placed in the record.

On March 19, 1954, Mr. Williams testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that he had made the following statement in a speech in New York on September 11, 1947:

It is my belief that it is precisely at this point that we take our stand and defend the right of any Communist to *maintain his position as an employee of the Government of the United States* ... [Emphasis mine.]

In April of 1954, at Hearings held in New Orleans by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Mr. Williams was identified as a Communist Party member by one witness who had been in the Party, and was identified by another witness as one who had accepted Communist Party discipline.

It was Mr. Williams, a Communist, whom the "Reverend" Shuttlesworth—friend and colleague of the "Reverend" Dr. Martin Luther King—recently replaced as President of S.C.E.F., a Communist organization.

Mr. Williams died recently. There is always something sad about the death of a man, even a professional criminal and Communist like Aubrey Williams.

The Executive Director of S.C.E.F. is Dr. James A. Drombrowski. At the S.I.S.S. Hearings in March of 1954, John Butler, former Alabama Communist Party official, testified that on July 8, 1942 he attended a meeting of Communist Party leaders in the Thomas Jefferson Hotel, in Birmingham, Alabama, at which Alton Lawrence introduced James A. Drombrowski as a member of the Communist Party. Butler said this meeting of Communist Party leaders was held in Drombrowski's own hotel room.

The Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities of the State of Louisiana has preserved a letter dated September 21, 1960, from Carl Braden to James A. Drombrowski, which shows that the "Reverend" Fred Shuttlesworth—friend and colleague of Dr. Martin Luther King—was using the Bradens to write his news releases.

In fact, ladies and gentlemen, on October 7, 1958, the "Reverend" Dr. King himself wrote a letter to Anne Braden, who as you will recall is a Communist and had been indicted for sedition by the American State of Kentucky. Louisiana Committee Counsel Jack Rogers explains at a hearing that "in this [letter] *King urges Anne Braden and her husband, Carl, both Communist party members to become permanently associated with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. . . . Of course, the Bradens were well identified publicly as Communists long before the date of this letter.* We offer the letter.

"The next document is a letter from Martin Luther King to James A. Drombrowski, dated August 16, 1960. It shows *the friendly personal relationship that had developed between these two men by that time.* It is very brief, I will read it to the Committee. It says: 'Dear Jim: This is just a note to acknowledge receipt of your letters of recent date. *We, too, were more than happy to have you in our home,* the fellowship was very rewarding. I will expect to hear from you when Bishop Love returns to the country. At that time we can set the date for an Atlanta meeting. Very sincerely yours, Martin.' " [*Emphasis mine.*]

Committee Counsel Rogers testifies furthermore that Dr. King actually filed a lengthy affidavit in the Federal Court in New Orleans strongly supporting James A. Drombrowski and the Southern Conference Educational Fund as "integrationists" of good character, and that Dr. King refused to repudiate the affidavit even after Mr. Rogers showed him absolute proof that they were all actually Communists.

Indeed, a photograph exists which shows the "Reverend" Dr. King along with Anne Braden, Carl Braden, and James Drombrowski (the last three all identified Reds), the back of which reads as follows in Drombrowski's handwriting: "The 6th Annual Conference of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Birmingham, Alabama, September 25 to 28, 1962."

And there is a check, issued by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, signed by Benjamin E. Smith and James A. Drombrowski, and dated March 7, 1963, to the order of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., in the amount of $167.74, with a notation on it: "New York expenses"—and the endorsement, on the back of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The Committee concludes that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—*headed by Dr. King*—is "substantially under the control of the Communist Party through the influence of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and the Communists who manage it."

It is important to repeat that nothing of what we have said so far is speculation, rumor, hearsay, or opinion. All it is a simple narration of the known facts—some of them—to be found, among many other places, in a report entitled *Activities of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. in Louisiana,* issued by the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities of that State and available now from American Opinion.

Also of interest is the career of the "Reverend" Andrew Young. The "Reverend" Andrew Young was trained at the Highlander Folk School, which as we have seen is a Communist Training School.

"Before its charter at Monteagle was revoked," the *Atlanta Constitution* of July 24, 1963, tells us, "the Highlander School received support from the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers.

"An officer of the union, now under indictment on a charge of filing a false non-Communist affidavit, was one of the directors of the Highlander School.

"The Reverend Young has been headquartered rent-free in Savannah in the offices of the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers. The Subversive Activities Control Board, an agency of the Federal Government, has found the union to be Communist infiltrated. The Mine-Mill Union has appealed the finding to a Federal court of appeals."

The "Reverend" Andrew Young, we read in the *New Yorker* of April 10, 1965, was one of the directors of the Selma March, which was headed, of course—as chance would have it—by Dr. Martin Luther King. In fact, the "Reverend" Andrew Young is Program Director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—which is headed of course by Dr. Martin Luther King. As chance would have it.

On the Labor Day weekend of the year 1957, at this same Highlander Folk School—a Communist Training School—many humanitarians gathered to discuss "civil rights." A photograph of the events records the presence of Mrs. Rosa Parks. That's *the* Mrs. Rosa Parks The "Reverend" Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was there, of course, with his close friend and associate, the "Reverend" Ralph Abernathy. A photograph records the Abernathy presence. Another photograph shows the "Reverend" Dr. King addressing the assemblage—perhaps at the very moment when he piled praise on School Director Myles Horton, whose "noble purpose and creative work" he says he has long admired, possibly because it has included some cash to Dr. King.

Mr. Horton's creative work consists of having run, with Communist James Drombrowski, an outfit called Commonwealth College, which was convicted under the laws of the American State of Arkansas of displaying the hammer and sickle and openly teaching Communism—and which on April 27, 1949, was cited by the U.S. Attorney General as a Communist Front; and of operating the Highlander Folk School, a Communist Training School. His "noble purpose" is apparently to Communize the South.

Dr. King also mentioned Aubrey Williams—a Communist—whom he called "one of the noble personalities of our times."

Still another photograph—the best—shows the following comrades enjoying a lecture: the "Reverend" Dr. King; Aubrey Williams, a Communist, and then President of S.C.E.F., a department of the Communist Conspiracy; Myles Horton, friend and teacher of Communists, and director of this Communist school; and Abner W. Berry, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Comrade Berry looks bored, but the others seem to be enjoying the lecture very much. In fact, on a form letter from Director Horton, dated May 15, 1963, the "Reverend" Dr. King is listed as a Highlander sponsor.

As chance would have it.

Then there is the interesting case of a gentleman who is sometimes known as Mr. Hunter Pitts O'Dell. "The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee declared today," we read in the *New York Times* of September 16, 1956, "that 'a smoothly coordinated' Communist underground was operating in New Orleans as late as last spring. The panel made public in support of its finding the transcripts of hearings held in that city in April."

The subcommittee said that American Communists "sought to infiltrate labor unions, churches, farmer organizations, parent-teacher organizations, channels of public opinion and other streams of influence in our society . . .

"Much of the Senate panel's case was built up at New Orleans from material found by New Orleans policemen in the abandoned apartment of one Hunter Pitts O'Dell. Mr. O'Dell had been identified in previous testimony as being the district organizer of the Communist party in New Orleans".

"On April 12, 1956, identifying himself as Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a New Orleans waiter," we read in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of October 26, 1962, "he testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. He invoked the Fifth Amendment and refused to say whether he was a southern district organizer for the Communist Party.

"Robert Morris, counsel for the sub-committee, said information had been received that O'Dell was, in fact, a district organizer for the Communist Party in New Orleans; that O'Dell gave 'directives to the professional group' in that city, and that he operated under three different names—the two other names being John Vesey and Ben Jones."

In 1958, when O'Dell was living in Montgomery, he again declined to answer on grounds, *et cetera*.

In 1962, the House Committee on Un-American Activities published a two-volume study entitled *Structure and Organization of the Communist Party of the United States.*

On Page 576, there is a list of those elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., as known to the House Committee in November of 1961.

Among the names was that of Hunter Pitts O'Dell.

With this as a reference, Mr. O'Dell went looking for a job. And in 1960 he landed one. It was quite a job.

As chance would have it, he went to work for an outfit called the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by a gentleman by the name of Dr. Martin Luther King.

Who says an intelligent, young Negro in America can't make good?

But "racists" and "imperialists" naturally began to complain: "A Communist has infiltrated to the top administrative post in the Rev. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference," we read in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* for October 26, 1962.

"He is Jack H. O'Dell [another alias], acting executive director of conference activities in southeastern states, including Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana."

So Dr. King developed an interesting strategy.

You may have heard of it.

We call it lying.

Like Bayard Rustin, Dr. King has a real feel for comedy. He developed the strategy of firing O'Dell.

After he got fired, Mr. O'Dell was probably pretty broken up. But in America you can't keep a good man down. He landed another job, this one with the "Reverend" Andrew Young, who as you will recall was trained at the Communist Highlander Folk School by Communists, and is program director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which is headed, as chance would have it, by Dr. Martin Luther King.

After that, O'Dell got still another job—as Administrator of the New York office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which is headed, as chance would have it, by Dr. Martin Luther King.

Legend has it that they got on great, until the odor got to be too much even for the American Press.

Dr. King acted, swiftly, decisively.

He fired O'Dell.

"King said the Negro, Jack H. O'Dell of New York, left the S.C.L.C. the second time June 26 by mutual agreement," we read in a U.P.I. story inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for July 31, 1963, "because of concern that his affiliation with the integration movement would be used against it by 'segregationists and race baiters'."

That ended it.

Some time later, in the summer of 1963, U.P.I. had an interesting story inserted in the *Congressional Record* for July 31, 1963. It seems that the *Atlanta Constitution* had published a report that O'Dell was still working for S.C.L.C. as Director of the New York office. So U.P.I. called the office.

". . . *A Staff employee who answered the telephone Thursday morning told United Press International O'Dell was still with the office as administrator of the New York operation.* Later in the day the same office said he was not connected with the agency and had no knowledge of his whereabouts.

"King told reporters he could not understand why anyone in his office would say O'Dell worked there when he doesn't . . ." [*Emphasis mine.*]

It's quite a strategy.

So it's very reasonable to assume, wouldn't you agree, that Hunter Pitts O'Dell, of the National Committee of the Communist Party, may very well be working with Martin Luther King right now.

In fact, we read in the *Boston Globe* of April 15, 1964:

Official warnings have again been given to King about another, even more important associate who is known to be a key figure in the covert apparatus of the Communist Party. After the warnings, King broke off his open connection with this man, but a second-hand connection none the less continues . . . [*Emphasis mine.*]

Ladies and gentlemen, there's no need to go on, I am sure you will agree. In fact, we *can't* go on—you see, they only allow us ninety-six pages per issue of the magazine. So let's leave it at that, and remind ourselves again that all we have recorded here is a simple narration of the known facts—some of the known facts. There are others—many others—as I say. So there's no need to mention, for instance, that the American Committee for Africa, which Dr. King allows to use his name, sponsored and financed the American tour of Communist terrorist Holden Roberto, the Butcher of Angola; or that in October, 1962, King turned up in a Harlem hotel with Communist Ahmed Ben Bella, of Communist Algeria, who joined him in a statement that the two injustices of colonialism and American segregation are "linked."

What do you make of it?

As you know, it is my usual practice to garnish even the most minor assertion with a wagon load of evidence. But I now take the position—after Los Angeles—that to add to the obvious facts that the "Civil Rights movement" was not only planned by the Communists, but was begun, is staffed, and is conducted by the Communists—and has only one real purpose: the destruction and Communization of America—would be an unforgivable redundance.

Readers of my book—or of *Two Revolutions at Once*, by Robert Welch—will know that the Communist "revolution" now going on in this country, under the cloak of "Civil Rights," consists of two parts. The first is the drive for a Soviet Negro Republic, an independent "nation," consisting of several Southern states—and is of course conducted by the "Reverend" Dr. King. It is the Soviet Negro Republic that the current "voter registration campaign" is all about—a campaign which includes the amazing spectacle of the Attorney General of the United States boasting publicly that he is forcing the sovereign states to register total illiterates.

The second part of the Communist scheme also bears a faint resemblance to the activities of the "Reverend" Dr. King—as chance would have it. It consists of course of forcing more and more legislation through the Congress under the cloak of "Civil Rights," all of it designed only to destroy the states and concentrate the power.

Recent developments leave little doubt about the "Reverend" Dr. King. As we have seen, he has begun a new series of the usual violent and money-making visits—but for the first time including cities of the North—complete with the usual hints of guerrilla warfare if Americans do not immediately come to heel. He has recently decided to conduct American foreign policy himself, by negotiating our defeat directly with North Vietnam, apparently having lost patience with Dean Rusk—and who can blame him? And at this writing he has just landed in Los Angeles to establish what he calls a "community of love," but in actuality of course simply to return to the scene of the crime. The man behind Dr. King on the television screen when he was interviewed on arrival in Los Angeles looked very much like Bayard Rustin, who of course is an authority on establishing "communities of love." Mr. Rustin was also allowed to accompany Dr. King to Oslo for the Prize; they go everywhere together.

Angelenos of all colors should keep their backs to the wall, until the verified departure of the King and the Thing.

It is unfortunately true that some American Negroes have suffered from injustice, and obviously true that the *few remnants* of this injustice must be erased.

But, ladies and gentleman, it is equally and much more dangerously true that the "Civil Rights movement" which is supposedly designed to erase them *is* what we have said it is, *only* what we have said it is, and *nothing else but* what we have said it is.

The interesting question remains of why Dr. King does it.

It is remotely possible that Dr. King was not already a practicing Communist when he was selected to conduct the Montgomery Bus Boycott. That is possible.

If this was the case, there can be no doubt that he was broken in slowly, in the usual way, step by planned step, until the ultimate revelation, when it was fully explained to him what he had become.

Dr. King says he did it because he wanted to create a "community of love," whatever that is. He says he felt a moral obligation; that it was his duty. And most important, he says he wants nothing for himself. He couldn't care less about material things, you see. He's above all that. In fact, we learn from Mrs. King, in *Redbook* for September, 1961:

There was a time when he was quite concerned about his personal appearance. Today I have to remind him that he needs a new suit. Our trip to India in 1959 to study Gandhi's independence movement made a deep impression on him. He became even more committed to non-violence and much less interested in material things. At times he has even talked seriously about whether or not he should own anything that's not absolutely necessary for the rest of the family.

My goodness, he's quite a little gentleman.

In fact, we read in *Newsweek* for December 21, 1964:

To share his moment of triumph, Dr. King had brought with him the largest entourage in Nobel Prize history—some 26 relatives, friends, and aides. "We are all of us very poor people," said one, explaining that they had scraped together the money for the trip from savings accounts, pension funds, and "travel now, pay later" arrangements.

Gosh! Ain't it terrible? The poor Negroes down in the South!

As it happens, ladies and gentlemen, the senior "Reverend" King, a Southern Negro, had earned the money down in the South to pay for his son's college education. Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. is a graduate of Antioch—that's right. *Commonweal* of June 10, 1960, tells us that the father of the "Reverend" Abernathy—King's colleague and cell mate—had his own *five hundred acre* plantation—in Alabama!

You know—this makes me mad! My father did not have the money to send me to college and to graduate school. But I went. I invoked an unusual procedure—I worked. I drove a taxicab. My father also does not own a five hundred acre plantation. I bawled him out about it as soon as I got the news about the "Reverend" Abernathy. You see, I got all kinds of funny feelings in the "racial integrity." Maybe I'll go out and organize a spontaneous riot.

It's enough to make you wish you were a Negro down in the South.

Once again the fact is dramatically and irrevocably proved that Communism is not caused by "poverty," or by "hunger," or by "sickness," at all. The cause of Communism is so simple that many honest men have missed it, and many dishonest men have hidden it.

Communism is caused by criminals.

There is no other cause of Communism.

You see—as Dr. King is well aware—there are essentially two types of degenerate thug; the big timer, and the small timer. The small timer is represented by a specimen such as John Dillinger. Sure, John liked robbing and killing and beating people up—bad mannered stuff like that—but you must admit that at the mention of his name you can't help but feel a touching nostalgia. There was a refreshing sincerity about the man; he told you straight out what he wanted. He didn't claim that he was robbing you and beating you up for your good; he was perfectly pleased to admit that he was doing it for his own good.

That was his mistake.

A big timer would have known that the first thing to say was that he was doing it for you. They want nothing for themselves, this type. Everything they do is for your own good. Classic specimens of this variety are called Socialists, of course, and they include, for instance, the things known as Stalin and Hitler.

Whatever the type, they believe, because of their own insignificance, that it is impossible for men to deal fairly with each other, and that a man has only two real choices; whether to be master, or whether to be slave. Like all sure losers, they blame the "system" for their own insignificance. They talk only of power, and deal only in force.

All of which makes it now seem reasonable to theorize that as a smart, young man on the make, Dr. King quickly found out how the wind was blowing.

Ladies and gentlemen, the time has come. J. Edgar Hoover is wrong. Martin Luther King *isn't* the "most notorious liar in the country." He's the *biggest*. He isn't notorious enough. That this man can not be only tolerated, but honored and admired, quoted and consulted—by the President of the United States—is a travesty compared with which that nemesis of the innocent known as Earl Warren can seriously be called a judge.

King has no real interest in the real welfare of black—or white—Americans.

He is only interested in tricking them both into civil war—and in lifting their money.

He doesn't mind that it is exactly because of his own activities that Negroes aren't making the progress he complains they aren't.

He doesn't really mind that many Negroes are illiterate—as long as they register and vote for him.

What he really wants is to be a black plantation boss giving orders to "his people."

In a rational society, he would be a carny barker or a snake oil salesman in a crooked side show.

So let's do it. Let's do it now.

As you know, the origin of the exact science of ducknology is irrevocably lost in the mists of antiquity, although it is undoubtedly based on the master principles discovered by Aristotle—the first great extremist.

Let's apply them.

The Thing walks like a duck.

It smells like a duck.

It looks like a duck.

It quacks like a duck.

Ladies and gentlemen, there can be only one explanation. I can not even imagine any other explanation.

It's a duck.

[From Time, May 17, 1968]

CHALLENGING THE PHARAOH

Affluent America will have ample opportunity during the next few weeks to weigh the extensive—perhaps explosive—demands of the black poor. Last week, stepping out from shantytowns and slums throughout the nation, more than 1,200 marchers of the Poor People's Campaign began the trek toward Washington. Some were weathered field hands who had never before left the cotton-blown bottoms; others were rambunctious teen-agers splitting from a desperate scene. "The cause this march represents is alarmingly real," wrote Atlanta Constitution Editor Eugene Patterson. "Before any white man passes judgment on it, he ought to understand what he is judging."

That tolerance was not always so evident among the marchers. "By the time we're through in D.C.," cried March Coordinator Hosea Williams, "white folks gonna say, 'Where's Dr. King? Wake up, Dr. King!' These white folks killed the dreamer, but we're gonna show these white folks what become of the dream. The poor people are marching to challenge the Pharaoh." Led by Williams and the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, 42, successor to Martin Luther King, the poverty pilgrims wound through back-country roads in buses, battered cars and behind farm wagons drawn by mules named Stennis and Eastland, George Wallace and Jim Clark (for the former Selma, Ala., sheriff who bloodied many a black head during earlier civil rights marches).

Even a man of the cloth like Abernathy felt no compunction about wearing the marchers' arm band reading "Mississippi God Damn." In Boston, where 1,000 poverty marchers mustered en route to Washington last week, a self-styled "Polish Freedom Fighter" named Joseph Mlot-Mroz, 53, picketed the parade with a sign reading, "I am fighting poverty. I work! Have you tried it?" In a sorry scuffle, the bow-tied anti-protester was stabbed and hospitalized in fair condition.

Abernathy was ebullient before his own people. "You're gonna have hell on your hands," he told a Selma audience. "I weigh 185 lbs., and it's all man from the top of my head to the bottom of my foot. I'm just 5 ft. 8 in. tall, but that's tall enough. If it isn't, I can walk on my toes too." There is still considerable walking to be done before the talking starts in Washington. There, last week, officials granted permission for the marchers to erect their "Resurrection City," whose plywood A-frames will house 3,000 people on 15 acres in West Potomac Park, just south of the Lincoln Memorial.

PUSH FOR AN EQUAL EDUCATION SQUEEZING ALL TO ONE LEVEL

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Miss Ruth Moss, who is today recognized as one of the most competent educational writers in America, has written a most timely article in the Chicago Tribune on the entire question of whether or not the push for equal education in America is going to drive all of our youngsters into an educational monolith.

I call to my colleagues' attention this excellent article and hope that it will become the basis of a growing dialog in educational circles regarding the whole question of equality in education.

I wonder if too many people aren't confusing equality in education with equal opportunity in education.

The article by Miss Moss follows:

PUSH FOR AN EQUAL EDUCATION SQUEEZING ALL TO ONE LEVEL

(NOTE.—Is the power of social pressure ending the ability groupings in schools that enable students to learn at their own rates? In a drive for "equality," schools are beginning to make courses the same for everyone.)

(By Ruth Moss)

The fact of individual differences in learning ability is inescapable. So is the problem of coping with these differences in the great cross section of children served in our nation's public schools.

Consider, for example, the challenge to high school teachers who welcome each fall a freshman class with a range in reading ability from 4th or 5th grade level to senior or college level. And reading is but one reflection of academic skill.

In an effort to assure the best possible education for each youngster, many high school administrators in recent years have turned to ability grouping, with students assigned to honors, regular, general, and basic classes on the basis of test results and teacher recommendation reflecting students' former classroom performance. When current accomplishment indicated a change, students have been reassigned to more appropriate classes.

The winds of social change, tho, have shifted, and schools in integrated communities are feeling the buffetings of this social thought and action. Even schools which long have been successfully integrated now are strongly subjected to pressure for further social adjustment.

Such a school is Evanston Township High school, where within the last year the ability groupings in English, for example, are being cut from four to two at each grade level.

In the current newsletter to parents, English Supervisor Clarence Hack reports on the implications of the cutback and the "spiritual dilemma" faced by the faculty in making its decision:

"Robert Lowell once said that one of America's major spiritual problems was that of reconciling the claims of equality and of excellence. At the present time, the English department is faced with this spiritual dilemma as it eliminates both basic and honors classes and groups pupils into only two tracks, the lower and the higher."

By grouping, the department recognizes pupil differences in learning and achievement, Mr. Hack explains. It also recognizes the unanimous condemnation of grouping by a seminar at the Anglo-American conference at Dartmouth college in August, 1966, which asserted that "the aim in teaching literature and language are fundamentally humane and should be the same for all students, at all levels."

With grouping eliminated, the English teacher "could thus help to overcome division between kinds of human beings, the deplorable social effects of separating and classifying youngsters," the Dartmouth report states.

The Dartmouth conference calls for "more democracy in the classroom" would require an overhauling of curriculum, teacher preparation, and working conditions.

"The English department finds itself in the position of Prof. Wallace Douglas of Northwestern university," Mr. Hach explains, "who said at the conference he would not argue that grouping should be dropped forthwith—'tho all my instincts, values and feelings tell me to say so.'"

"The practical problem and danger of heterogeneity," says Mr. Hach, "is that every pupil in a class may become a neglected child unless the teacher has a reasonably light load and is sufficiently able to individualize instruction almost to a tutorial level.

"The problem of the English teacher who recognizes that his aims are fundamentally humane and that one of the functions of a school is social is also recognition that one of his important goals is academic and that not every pupil can read the same book, do the same assignments, participate competently in the same abstract discussion, write the same thesis."

Leveling influences? Meeting individual needs so that no child is neglected and remaining true to the philosophical aims of his subject and of democracy is the spiritual dilemma of the English teach, Mr. Hach explains.

So those at Evanston Township High school find themselves as they "philosophically agree that less grouping is desirable and at the same time express concerns of the probable leveling influences of grouping procedures, particularly with numbers that make a tutorial or independent learning kind of program difficult at best."

"In years past it has been the belief of the department that grouping, rather than being undemocratic or inhumane, has been democratic and humane.

"It has been the feeling of many as in the words of one of the Dartmouth reports, that it may be more humane to relieve backward students of direct competition with superior ones, which may give them more pronounced feelings of inferiority than placement in classes suited to their needs."

Despite concerns for the welfare of all pupils, Mr. Hach says, his department is committed to try two-track grouping as a compromise to complete heterogeniety, recognizing the challenge to teachers and the demand placed upon them to respect "both equalities and inequalities."

"The long-standing benefit that the teaching of English requires a super human being to accomplish 'The Impossible Dream' is becoming ever more evident." Mr. Hach concludes.

GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY OF ARMENIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1968

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, the golden anniversary of any event is marked by a joyous celebration of the occasion. But, today in Armenia there is no joy on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Armenian Independence Day.

In 1918 the brave patriots of Armenia threw off the yoke of Turkish despotism and formed a free and independent Armenia. That day was a day of rejoicing and the Armenian dedication to the freedom of man, because Armenia was to be the first democratic republic in Asia Minor. May 28, 1918, was a day that climaxed a six-century struggle for freedom and the Armenians proved that they will always cherish freedom and will endure any hardship to attain it.

The life of the Armenian Republic was short indeed. It lasted a brief 2 years when it fell prey to the conquering armies of Soviet Russia. The dreams of the Armenian people for an independent country were shattered by the attacking Communist forces. The work of Woodrow Wilson to establish an order which would guarantee political independence for the great and small nations alike, was destroyed by the invading Red troops.

But dreams are not forgotten and the work of the Armenian people for a free and independent Armenia is continuing. The Armenian people are determined that the lamp of liberty will again shine upon their native land.

We are proud of the more than 150,000 people of Armenian descent who live in this country. They have contributed much to the American way of life. They have brought to this Nation a zest for living and a willingness to fight for liberty which they learned about long ago on the plains of Armenia.

We have in our midst many Armenian Americans who have made outstanding contributions to the culture and progress of the United States. They have proved to be unusually gifted in educational, artistic, political, and economic fields.

We thank them all for what they have given to America and we share in their prayers that their homeland of Armenia will soon know the rebirth of freedom.

WASHINGTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, BETHLEHEM, PA.

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, our Nation's true greatness is rooted in the diversity of race, creed, and nationality of its people. Men and women and children from all parts of the earth have come here over a period of centuries and helped to mold this Nation. Our Nation has often been called the "melting pot" because of its rare blend of races, creeds, and nationalities.

In my congressional district, Mr. Speaker, is a school which draws its student body from a neighborhood where people of many races, creeds, and nationalities make their homes. I might add, nowhere have I ever encountered a greater spirit of true American patriotism than among the students of such diverse backgrounds who attend this school.

I refer to the Washington Elementary School in Bethlehem, Pa. Several times within the past few months I have had occasion to visit this school and meet many of the students.

A visit there early this year was prompted by a letter I received from Angelo Martinez, president of the sixth grade of Washington School, and his classmates whose names remind one of a roster of United Nations delegates. They wrote:

We are sixth grade students at Washington School, in Bethlehem, Pa. On the flagpole in front of our school flies a dirty, torn, faded American flag. We feel embarrassed to fly this flag because every day hundreds of steel workers see the flag on their way to and from work. We like to think we are very patriotic but people who see our flag flying would not believe that we are.

It would make us feel proud if we could obtain a new flag, especially one that has flown over the Capitol building in Washington. Is it possible for you to help us get such a flag? We do not know the expense involved but we would all be willing to work and earn money to pay for the flag.

It was a unique pleasure to present the Washington School sixth grade with a new flag which had flown over our Nation's Capitol and to address the students during an assembly program. Recently, they expressed their deep gratitude with a beautiful, handcrafted plaque during a surprise presentation to me on a return visit to the school. The plaque is a reproduction of the great seal of the United States crafted in fine detail of crepe paper. It was their expression of thanks for a new American flag which they could display proudly from the school flagpole.

Their spirit of patriotism, Mr. Speaker, is clear evidence that our American youth will meet and exceed the hopes and expectations of older generations. Much credit for instilling such keen patriotism in these young people is due the dedicated members of the teaching profession, who have helped them to gain knowledge of their Nation and its heritage, such as their sixth grade teacher, Mr. Henry W. Richard, who has established an extraordinary atmosphere for learning in his classroom, and their principal, Mr. Jerome Quarry, a former school classmate of mine and a fine administrator.

TAX AND SPEND

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, since the Congress is being implored by the President and criticized for not enacting his proposed surtax, as well as an income tax increase, he should be made aware that the Congress is not "dragging its feet" as a body but is merely reflecting the views of the majority of taxpayers across America who do not favor the surtax nor a tax increase until such time as there have been meaningful and substantial reductions in spending.

On May 16, 1968, in the Columbus, Ohio, Dispatch, a letter to the editor, over the signature of Eugene L. Pace, of Jackson, Ohio, is an example of the feelings of many Americans.

The letter follows:

TAXPAYER DECRIES CALLS FOR "MORE!"

JACKSON, OHIO.

TO THE EDITOR: My family and I can't afford a trip to visit our nation's capital.

We can't afford the time that would be required because my hours of employment are much too long.

We can't afford it because my salary is only enough to buy our few necessities.

We can't afford it because taxes during the past eight years have gone higher and higher to keep pace with the ever increasing demands of our so-called federal assistance programs to minority groups.

Yet these very minority groups are the ones who visit Washington, D.C. They visit our nation's capital while I stay on the job to pay my taxes.

They march and demonstrate while I pay taxes. They sing and chant, "You aren't doing enough for us," while I pay taxes.

If by chance we do visit Washington some day, I suspect just what will be there to see. There will be tons and tons of litter, rubble and garbage.

Perhaps then, I can see how my tax dollars are utilized—to help pay for cleaning up after the very ones who are screaming, "Give us more, give us more."

Eugene L. Pace.

ALL THE NEWS FIT TO TINT—NO. 2

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, no newspaper in the United States is more sanctimonious on the issue of civil rights than the New York Times. They prate on this issue more than any other but when it comes to delivering rather than talking it is the old story of not practicing what they preach.

This startling revelation came to light today while perusing the hearings on the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies appropriation bill. It gave a graphic illustration of how far apart the word and deed of the New York Times actually is.

Mr. Clifford L. Alexander, Jr., Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, testified before the Appropriations Subcommittee on April 23, 1968. His testimony is found on page 997 and subsequent pages.

On page 1054 he was asked about the employment practices of the New York Times. He indicated that although the Times had over 200 reporters in the New York area, it had only three Negroes and no Puerto Ricans on this staff. Note well, this is the New York area and not their outposts from Bangkok to Nairobi.

By my arithmetic, that figures out to something less than 1.5 percent. You do not even have to read the New York Times to know that one Negro reporter out of 67 would not be a very good batting average for Gerald L. K. Smith's cross and the flag, let alone the supposed champion and defender of liberalism and the paragon of reporting excellence, the New York Times.

Possibly this is the best they can do—after all you would not expect them to go too far down the line in setting an example. Aside from their questionable hiring practices, they certainly set no example of journalistic excellence and their bias is reflected daily in their news reporting. The maligning of my colleagues and friends in their editorial column last Sunday, as I reported yesterday in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, was biased, childish, and beneath the dignity of a reputable paper. If they had specific complaints about votes, issues or conduct in office it would have been one thing but they instead chose to slur and deprecate these good men whose only sin must be their failure to adhere to the Times line.

Possibly I will find the time to go back over some of their editorials and stories where they have castigated business, the railroad brotherhoods, the construction trades and just about everyone in general for Jim Crowism. Maybe someone down in the New York Times personnel department never got the word. At any rate, the Times could well merit the title of "Jim Crow Employer of New York City."

At any rate, it can be readily seen that the Times does not include practicing what it preaches in the steady and unfaltering liberal line it promotes. Mr. Alexander's testimony pinpoints the disparity in the paper which rightly earns the slogan, "All The News Fit To Tint."

Mr. Alexander's testimony is as follows:

NEGRO OR PUERTO RICAN EMPLOYEES WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. ROONEY. Now, Mr. Alexander, I understand you have had occasion to go into the question of how many Negro employees there are with the New York Times newspaper.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROONEY. Can you give us the facts with regard to that? It might be interesting to a reader of this record to find out how liberal the policy of the New York Times is in this regard.

Mr. ALEXANDER. In New York City, the New York Times in public testimony indicated that it had over 200 reporters in the New York area. In this area it also indicated that it had a very liberal editorial policy, and that it practiced what it preached.

When we questioned the representatives of the New York Times, they indicated they had three Negro reporters in New York City.

Mr. ROONEY. Out of how many?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Out of over 200, Mr. Chairman.

They have no Puerto Rican reporters and, in fact, had never had a Puerto Rican reporter on the New York Times, and never in the history of the Times had they had an editor or vice president who was a Negro or Puerto Rican.

I asked the New York Times if it felt it wanted to stick by the specific statement that it practiced what it preached in its employment policies, and they said they did. We expressed our hope that the New York Times would take the lead in the future in equal employment opportunity.

There is, of course, a great source of Negro and Puerto Rican talent in New York City, as the chairman knows from the many efforts he has made on behalf of minority groups. These constructive efforts, I might add, date back over 20 years ago and have continued unabated.

Mr. ROONEY. You have a couple of good Spanish-language newspapers in New York, do you not?

Mr. ALEXANDER. We certainly have.

ALASKA PASSES "CASEY" GUN BILL TO CRACK DOWN ON CRIMINAL FIREARM USE

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, on July 23, 1968, a new law will go into effect in our sister State of Alaska, one of the first in our Union to adopt the "get tough" policy on criminal use of firearms I have been advocating.

It is a law strongly supported by sportsmen, hunters, gun collectors and dealers, and the plain, average American who knows the answer to our problem is to crack down on the criminal.

After July 23, any person in Alaska who uses or carries a firearm during the commission of a robbery, assault, murder, rape, burglary, or kidnaping is guilty of a felony and upon conviction for a first offense is punishable by imprisonment for not less than 10 years.

A second conviction requires imprisonment of not less than 25 years.

No "if's, and's, or but's"—Mr. Speaker. Mandatory, long-term incarceration of not less than 10 years.

This is the answer to our crime problem, and the growing use of firearms by criminals. The new Alaskan law is exactly the same as the bill I have pending before the House, H.R. 6137, pertaining to the Nation as a whole, and H.R. 4212 to set the same penalty for gun crimes in the District of Columbia.

This is exactly in line, Mr. Speaker, with the President's call for an additional 10-year prison term for those who rob with firearms in the District, issued in his message on crime in the District of Columbia last March.

Mr. Speaker, every law-abiding citizen—every sportsman who enjoys the peaceful and lawful use of firearms—extends grateful thanks to the Governor, and the Legislature of Alaska for taking the lead in this bitter struggle against crime.

They have shown our Nation the way, and I hope every State follows suit. My sincere congratulations to them.

SOMETHING IS HAPPENING

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the Port Mail and the Manhasset Mail, two important weekly newspapers in my congressional district last week printed a perceptive and eloquent editorial on the grave problems of lawlessness and violence that are facing this Nation.

This editorial made the too often neglected point that utlimate resolution of the problems that breed domestic unrest, no matter what the stimulus or the reaction, will require individuals to examine their consciences and recognize the need for individual responsibility.

Because this editorial so clearly and effectively goes below the surface of our domestic problems, I commend it to my colleagues' attention and wish to include it in the RECORD at this point:

Where there once was one nation, indivisible, with justice for all, there now lies a sick land, divided by prejudice and warped by Fascists, Communists, racists, cross-burners, flag-burners—all with a basic intolerance of others and for the rights of others, and all exercising a twisted interpretation of individual rights.

The sick sentimentality that condones criminality as society's fault and dismisses the individual from responsibility has led to bravado masking cowardice and patriotism a farce.

There is a long hot summer directly ahead. During the winter, the hippies disappear inside—even they suffer from cold—but during the pleasant weather can take over the parks. The warm weather also encourages sit-ins, lie-ins, in-burnings. The hot weather ignites the riots.

Permissiveness has pervaded the nation to the point where the individual is lost in a mass move toward total destruction of a nation's soul, once a proud beacon, whose standards waved pioneers across unclaimed land. A man slept well in those days, soothed by moral law.

Violent opposition to law—any law—is against the basic principles upon which this country was founded. It is as equally against the law to oppose free speech—a disdain for the rights of others—as it is to preach blasphemy against a constitution.

If the preservation of the whole range of Civil Rights is the goal, the whole range of Civil Wrongs must be rejected.

Open housing will come to North Hempstead, it will not solve prejudice, the lack of opportunity, the woes of the underprivileged. In the end, both the cause and solution lie with the individual.

It is a time for individual responsibility to take over—and to heal.

MELVIN H. HEARN, OF NORTH CAROLINA, RECEIVES DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month, one of North Carolina's most distinguished and able public servants received the highest award which the U.S. Department of Agriculture can give any person—the Distinguished Service Award.

That man was my good friend and fellow North Carolinian, Melvin H. Hearn, State director of the Farmers Home Administration.

What Mr. Hearn has accomplished and for which the award was presented to him, exemplifies the best that is now going on in rural America and on our family farms through the credit programs of the Farmers Home Administration.

In presenting the Distinguished Service Award to Mr. Hearn, Secretary Freeman said:

Mr. Hearn has demonstrated remarkable leadership that has helped improve the living standards of nearly 400,000 North Carolinians since assuming the state directorship in April 1961. Under his supervision the Farmers Home Administration program in North Carolina increased 534 percent, to $68.4 million in 1967 and the caseload of borrowers went up 269 percent.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to read the citation which went along with Mr. Hearn's award:

For singular achievement in furthering rural areas development and community relations in North Carolina through effective administration of USDA credit, technical assistance and outreach programs.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to cite just a few of the accomplishments which Mr. Hearn and the Farmers Home Administration has achieved since 1961:

Rural housing: An old program revamped and expanded—$100 million loaned—51,000 people assisted, 9,600 homes built, 1,700 homes repaired, 65 additional units constructed or improved to provide rental housing for senior citizens, migratory laborers, and others. Annual activity fivefold over 1960.

Strengthening family farms: Old programs broadened and expanded—$143 million loaned, 180,000 people assisted—60 percent of which were young farmers and older low-income boxed-in farmers who were helped to acquire, expand, develop, operate farms, overcome crop disasters, and other emergencies. Annual activity fourfold over 1960.

Directing strong antipoverty effort: New programs began January 1965—$5 million loaned, 18,600 low-income people assisted in raising their average annual incomes by $2,133 a year. Borrowers average more than 62 years of age.

Stimulating rural areas development—communities of tomorrow:

First. Rural water and sewer systems: 105,000 people in 81 rural communities have good water to drink, and for business and industrial expansion and State board of health-approved waste disposal systems. Loans and grants totaled $2¼ million.

Second. Community recreation facilities: 18,500 people in 29 rural communities enjoy swimming, golfing, and other healthful recreation previously available only to city dwellers. Loans totaled $4¼ million.

Third. Rural renewal: New pilot program to help stimulate lagging economics of three counties.

Fourth. Controlling floods and protecting watersheds: 25,500 people live in less fear of floods, using Farmers Home Administration financial assistance to carry out long-term measures to protect, develop and better utilize their land and water resources. Though an old program, there was no activity prior to 1960.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to extend my congratulations to Mr. Hearn.

INTEREST RATES

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, financial conditions in the credit markets have continued to foster rapid increases in both long-term and short-term interest rates.

The current pace of rising interest rates must not be permitted to continue. Too many risks are involved that extend beyond our borders and may come back to us many times magnified.

In today's markets, the clear need is for fiscal restraint to prevent a return of the now infamous 1966 "credit crunch." The markets both here and abroad continue to reflect the indecision on the currently pending tax-spending package. They demonstrate that they are wholly dependent on the outcome of the surcharge proposal.

In two unusually informative economic analyses about the current situation in financial markets, newspaper columnists, Peter Nagan and Harold Dorsey, report that concern is being voiced in financial markets at home and abroad, and that in the current environment, financial experts are saying the fate of the tax bill is the single most important factor influencing financial markets.

These important articles should be read by all of us as we continue the current dialog, and for this reason I insert into the RECORD those two recent newspaper columns:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 27, 1968]

PROSPECTS OF PRESIDENT'S SURTAX INFLUENCES BOND, MONEY MARKETS

(By Peter S. Nagan)

The bond and money markets demonstrated again last week how completely their outlook depends on passage of the President's surtax.

Up through Wednesday, deep gloom prevailed. Postponing of Congressional action on taxes swelled fears of still tighter money and pushed certain interest rates to all-time highs.

But, on Thursday, the markets bounced back as hopes for the tax bill suddenly brightened again. Ways and Means Committee Chairman Mills predicted that, once all the turmoil in the House subsided, Congress will vote the 10 per cent surcharge and spending cuts of $6 billion.

Until the reversal in the tax outlook, prices of bonds and other fixed-income securities had been falling steadily. Investors shied away from even high-quality issues offering up to 7 per cent. Dealers found it all but impossible to sell tax-exempt state and municipal bonds, though the interest offered was a quarter of a percentage point higher than the week before.

Among short-term issues, the rates on the Treasury bills due to mature in three months rose to a record high of 5.92 per cent at one point. The new seven year 6 per cent notes the Treasury sold earlier this month fell to nearly a point below offering price—a big decline for a new issue in a market that measures its movements in thirty-seconds of a point.

The climate in the market was the dreariest professionals could recall since the "crunch" of 1966. Some talked of "demoralization." Others saw no end to the slide in bond prices and whispered about "approaching chaos."

But after mid week, the rekindled hopes of tax action reversed the market's direction. Bill rates fell a full eighth of a point. The new Treasury 6's regained more than half their slump in price from par. And the tone in corporate and tax-exempt sectors was noticeably happier.

Without a tax increase further tightening of credit seemed inevitable as the only tool left to slow inflation and restore confidence in the dollar. As money becomes less available, its costs—interest rates—would go up.

This doesn't mean that the Federal Reserve, which controls the nation's credit supply, was planning to reduce the flow further right away. The monetary authorities never want to push the markets to the brink of disorder or panic. And they don't want the banks to run out of money to lend.

Right now, the banks are feeling considerable pressure as past actions by the "Fed" to curb credit take hold. They have been losing hundreds of millions of dollars in large time deposits weekly, because the maximum rates they are currently permitted to pay are not competitive with those available on Treasury bills or other short-term obligations.

And things could get worse in June if there's no tax action, when more than $4 billion in Certificates of Deposit mature. The Fed could ease the strain by lifting the ceilings on what banks can pay on these large certificates, but that would lead rates even higher.

There has also been deep concern at the Fed over what has been happening at the savings and loan associations. Their money inflows have fallen sharply, as savers do their own investing in securities at today's very attractive votes.

There could be sharp outflows over the early July dividend crediting dates, even if the Reserve System takes no positive steps to tighten further. Homebuilding would be feeling the effects after a lag of several months.

Of course, the outlook will change significantly if the tax bill passes. The Federal Reserve would tighten no further. Indeed, it would have to consider a fairly early start toward relaxing its current harsh grip. Certainly, expectations of a trend toward easing would produce a tidy rally in the bond markets, with related slippage in interest votes.

But the tax increase must first be voted before either the Fed or the markets really react. They have seen their hopes battered down too often to rely on optimism from Capitol Hill. The start-of-the-week performance was only a preview of what will happen if Congress fumbles the surtax in the end.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 27, 1968]

FINANCIAL MARKETS ENTER A PERIOD OF TURBULENCE

(By Harold B. Dorsey)

NEW YORK.—The financial markets here and abroad have reflected mounting tensions since action on the tax and spending-cut bill was postponed. With yields on bonds and other debt instruments soaring to new highs, the domestic financial markets have entered a period of great turbulence.

The price of gold climbed past $42 an ounce early last week, about 20 percent above the official price. And the pound sterling has come under renewed pressure, reflecting worries about gold and the dollar.

Another substantial outflow of funds from the thrift institutions is an immediate threat, with some signs that that trend has already started. The interest yields now available on top-quality debt instruments are more attractive than the rate of interest being paid on thrift deposits. And the yield on the other debt instruments is more attractive than the net yield on mortgages and hence the former attracts money that otherwise might have been available to the mortgage market.

Hence it seems inevitable that the flow of money into homebuilding and other mortgage-financed activities is diminishing, thus foreshadowing a significant slowdown in the activity of these areas later in the year.

In the absence of fiscal restraint, the Federal Reserve has little choice but to pursue a stringent money policy designed to slow the rate of business expansion. The need for restraint was underscored by the first-quarter balance-of-payments figures, which showed a further deterioration in the commercial trade balance to a deficit of about $2¾ billion (annual rate). There is little doubt that credit will tighten even further if a tax bill is not forthcoming.

Although the interest rates paid by commercial banks on Certificates of Deposit have been boosted to the upward-revised ceiling, even better returns are readily available on other debt instruments. Hence this form of deposit with the banks is now declining and seems likely to decline even more sharply over the next few weeks. This reduction in fund available to the banks for lending and investing is coming at precisely the time when the demand for bank credit is going to rise to finance the rapid expansion in business activity and the June 15 tax payments.

Thus, there is a very distinct possibility that a financial crunch will become front page news in the month of June. As if that threat were not enough, the credit markets are seriously worried about the huge demands for credit by the government to finance an enormous deficit in the second half of the year, assuming legislation is not enacted immediately to reduce the size of that deficit.

Procrastination in respect to this legislation has already done a tremendous amount of damage to the foundations of domestic and foreign economies—further jeopardizing the position of the pound sterling, further accelerating the wage-price spiral, seriously distorting cash flows, etc. But to present this evidence as a reason for not enacting the pending fiscal legislation is like argument that there is no reason to apply the brakes to a speeding car that is heading for a smashup anyhow.

While the early passage of this legislation would not immediately correct the damage that has already been done, it would resolve some of the current uncertainties. The very real threat of a financial crisis would be significantly reduced. Very tight credit policies would not be so necessary. Interest rates would probably tend to decline instead of rise. An immediate threat of an international currency crisis would be lessened; at last the deteriorating trend of the balance of payments deficit would slow down.

If the government's domestic deficit is to be reduced by $16 billion within the short space of a year, the withdrawal of that sum as a stimulant to the economy would certainly slow down the expansion from its current excessive pace. But that is the prime objective of the legislation.

CASUAL CHAT

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Bill Courtney, editor of the Wynne Progress, Wynne, Ark., writing in his "Casual Chat" column comes up with quite a timely and illuminating editorial on law enforcement.

I agree with Mr. Courtney that to stop the riots, looting, and lawlessness requires the use of force by law-enforcement officers. These officers need to be assured by their superiors that they will stand behind them in the performance of their duties. The Bill Courtney article is as follows:

CASUAL CHAT

(By Bill Courtney)

Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago issued an order to police to "shoot to kill" arsonists as potential murderers, and "shoot to maim" looters.

Attorney General Ramsey Clark says it won't work; that it will just make the arsonists and looters mad and cause more trouble.

I'm inclined to disagree with Mr. Clark. When an officer sees an arsonist in action and shoots to kill, that solves the case right then and there. There will be no more arson from that particular source.

And I'd give this advice to looters who console themselves that the officer will only shoot to maim—go out to the firing range and watch them shoot at targets, then measure how far they miss and lay out the error on your anatomy. It is possible that you wouldn't want to bet the officer would hit you in maiming territory only.

It has become apparent that the courts are virtually useless in backing up law enforcement officers after a riot situation. Knowing their cases will be dismissed, even if they are arrested, arsonists and looters have what amounts to a license from the government to do as they please.

Until the courts assist policemen in protecting the peace and security of our nation, it is necessary that such barbaric orders as Mayor Daley's be given and carried out. When the courts return to the law of the land in handing down verdicts and meting out punishments, then we can turn from this vigilante course.

PROJECT TRANSITION: A PRAISEWORTHY PROGRAM

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, beginning July 1, approximately 840,000 men are scheduled to be discharged from the military service. Of this number—40,000 are Negroes—over 183,000 have not yet completed their high school education. All of these men have made great personal sacrifices in the defense of freedom, sacrifices which entitle them to return home to a nation free of discrimination and open to opportunity.

Thus, it is welcome news indeed to learn that "Project Transition," the Defense Department's program to help returning GI's adjust to civilian life and find employment, is well on its way toward becoming fully operational.

Since I myself have cosponsored the bill—House Concurrent Resolution 705—to assure preferential employment for returning veterans, I am heartily in favor of doing everything in our power to give these men every possible advantage upon their reentry to civilian life.

"Project Transition" is a giant step forward in this respect since it aims to give those GIs having 1 to 6 months remaining military service the vocational and academic training they require to find suitable and satisfying employment. Also, this program will go far in helping upgrade that segment of American youth which has been most likely to be drafted—the victims of limited opportunity.

Already, major industries are devoting their time and expertise to train these young men. IBM offers courses in machine repair; Humble Oil in service station management; postal employees in letter carrying; lawyers and law-enforcement officers in police work. Instruction is followed by vigorous jobs placement efforts. These contributions by private industry are vital to the success of "Project Transition," and I hope that other industries will follow their lead.

Returning veterans are a rare breed of men as they have proven themselves unafraid of challenge and responsibility. Eager as these veterans are to channel their energies into a productive civilian life, the U.S. Government and private industry would be missing a remarkable opportunity were they to let this source of manpower lie untapped.

KENNEDY'S HUMBUG ON VIETNAM

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, since the Kennedy campaign has taken on all the trimmings of a Hollywood production with little regard for facts, I believe an editorial in this morning's Chicago Tribune setting forth some facts on Vietnam will certainly be an interesting contrast to the platform tirade of the junior Senator from New York.

The editorial follows:

KENNEDY'S HUMBUG ON VIETNAM

Patrick E. Nolting Jr., who was President Kennedy's ambassador to South Viet Nam, has accused Sen. Robert F. Kennedy of falsifying the record in trying to absolve his brother of responsibility for the involvement of huge American forces in the war.

Nolting says it is "now generally recognized" that by encouraging a group of generals to overthrow the government of President Ngo Dinh Diem "the Kennedy administration made inevitable the dispatch of American combat forces or the abandonment of South Viet Nam altogether."

Diem was assassinated in a coup d'etat on Nov. 1, 1963. President Kennedy, at a press conference, had called for "changes in personnel" in the Saigon government, and a Voice of America broadcast said this meant Diem. At the same time the state department sent Henry Cabot Lodge, the new ambassador in Saigon, a directive stating in effect that Diem must go. Lodge thereupon consulted the generals, promising recognition of a military junta as successor to Diem's government and resumption of American aid, which had been cut off in a squeeze play. The result was political chaos and massive military intervention by the United States to prevent a communist takeover in South Viet Nam.

It was the Kennedy administration's "final decision" to get rid of Diem, Nolting says, that "transformed South Viet Nam's own national effort into an American responsibility."

Bobby Kennedy's transformation from hawk to dove on Viet Nam at about the time he decided to run for President has been as transparently opportunistic and cynical as his attempt to shift blame for the Viet Nam tragedy from the Kennedy administration to President Johnson.

Here is the way he talked about the war in 1962:

"The President has pledged the United States to stand by the side of Viet Nam through this very difficult and troublesome time. We will win in Viet Nam and we shall remain here until we do."

"The solution [to the Viet Nam war] lies in our winning it. That is what the President intends to do."

"Viet Nam's struggle to preserve its independence against communist aggression is a grave one which affects free countries everywhere. . . . The American people will see Viet Nam through these times of trouble."

As late as 1965, after President Johnson had started bombing North Viet Nam and committed American ground forces to the war, Kennedy said:

"Until North Viet Nam and the Viet Cong become convinced that a military solution is impossible, they will continue their attacks—and we will have to continue to aid South Viet Nam."

In 1966, however, Kennedy said: "To give blood to the North Vietnamese would be in the oldest traditions of this country. I'm willing to give blood to anyone who needs it."

"Military victory would require that we crush both our adversary's strength and his will to continue the battle. . . . Its coming is beyond our present vision."

In 1967 he said: "Hundreds of thousands of people are being killed on our responsibility."

This year he has said: "We must be willing to foresee a settlement which will give the Viet Cong a chance to participate in the political life of the country."

Such is the credibility of a young man who asks the American people to take him seriously as a candidate for President of the United States.

OIL SHALE AND PUBLIC POLICY

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times of May 25, 1968, had a pertinent editorial concerning action by the Interior Department to protect the public interest in connection with oil shale deposits and public land.

After describing the Department's action in ruling that dawsonite cannot be used as a basis for claims on public lands bearing oil shale, the New York Times stated wisely, "but the problem remains of formulating an effective policy for the extraction of the oil."

The Interior Department has now prepared a study, made over a period of nearly 1½ years, which will be released on May 29. It is my understanding that the public will have 90 days to respond to this study after which various experimental procedures will be undertaken. Although I have not yet had a chance to evaluate the study, I am advised that it is a thoughtful document but that many questions remain unanswered.

I hope that industry's sense of urgency about implementing plans for oil shale extraction will not lead the Interior Department to anything but a sober approach to formulating policy and to making commitments that will limit future possibilities. This issue, which is of monumental financial and social interest to this Nation, should receive full and prolonged public debate. The public interest must be protected.

The New York Times editorial follows:

[From the New York Times, May 25, 1968]

NO OIL SHALE BONANZA

The Interior Department has moved belatedly but firmly to block the effort of some oil companies and individual speculators to obtain public lands rich in oil shale.

The oil shale deposits, which are potentially of immense commercial value, lie in Colorado, Wyoming and Utah and four-fifths of them are in publicly owned land. Since 1920 Congress has forbidden any private mineral claims to be filed for the shale itself. But two years ago a sudden rush began. Claims were filed, based on the presence of dawsonite, a mineral often found in the shale lands. Dawsonite has commercial value. The real objective was not to mine the dawsonite but to get hold of the oil shale.

After some public protest Secretary of the Interior Udall put a freeze on the filing of further claims in January of last year. Now the Interior Department has ruled that dawsonite cannot be used as the basis for filing a mineral claim on public land, thus wiping out more than 5,000 of the claims filed during the 1966 rush.

The Interior Department deserves praise for this defense of the public interest, but the problem remains of formulating an effective policy for the extraction of the oil. Last year Secretary Udall proposed a tentative plan for development under which 30,000 acres of public land were to be leased to private companies for a research-and-development project, with the Government receiving a graduated royalty. The Government would do better to go ahead with the research on its own, thus achieving early development of this resource and at the same time protecting the taxpayers' stake in an immensely valuable public property.

EXCHANGE OF REMARKS BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER JOHN GORTON OF AUSTRALIA

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, our Nation and our capital were privileged to host the Prime Minister of Australia and Mrs. Gorton. Undoubtedly the meetings of the Prime Minister with the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and other U.S. Government officials will be of mutual advantage to both of our nations. Today as in the past the great country of Australia is a champion of and has contributed to the preservation of freedom and security not only in its own area but throughout the world. This fact is very eloquently documented in the exchange of remarks between the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson and Prime Minister John Gorton of Australia which I insert at this point in the RECORD:

EXCHANGE OF REMARKS BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER JOHN GORTON OF AUSTRALIA

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Gorton, Secretary and Mrs. Rusk, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Mr. Prime Minister, it is a very great pleasure for Mrs. Johnson and I to welcome you and your most charming wife to our country.

We have very little to offer in the way of surprises. Mrs. Gorton is a native of New England. We have some New England weather for her this morning. But she already knows all of our secrets anyway. Even if she did not, you, yourself, Mr. Prime Minister, are the Prime Minister of Australia—and the Australians and the Americans have so much in common that we seem to understand each other almost on sight anyway.

Our people have been molded by the same forces. Both of our continents are vast. Both of our histories are young. Both of our governments are free. All of our people were drawn from many lands. We both enjoy an abundance which, for most of the world, is yet just a dream.

We share a common vision. We see a world where might does not make right. We strive for a world where nations can live together in peace and freedom under the rule of law.

We have been fighting for this dream for a long time now. Twenty-five years ago we fought side by side from the Middle East to the South Pacific. Today we are fighting side by side in the rice fields in Vietnam.

I do not know how close we may be to success in our common—and our historic—cause.

But I do know that you, Mr. Prime Minister, come here at a moment of very historic importance. Our American aim is now, as it has been from the beginning, to achieve peace with honor, a peace which will permit the people of Asia and the South Pacific to work out their own destiny in their own way. We have never sought anything else, and we will not accept anything else.

I believe that Australia shares that aim, and I look forward with a great deal of anticipation to our conversations about this—and about many other common concerns.

Mr. Prime Minister, you and your countrymen are always welcome in Washington. I think you will soon find that although you are half a world away from Australia, you are still very much at home. Thank you very much.

Prime Minister GORTON. Mr. President, Mrs. Johnson, Secretary Rusk and Mrs. Rusk, Distinguished Guests:

Thank you, Mr. President, on behalf of all Australians, for the honor which, through me, you do my country.

We value this the more since it comes from a power which is not only great, but which, since the end of the last world war, has assumed all the burdens and responsibilities of being great.

You helped reconstruct Europe. In large measure, you financed the constructive work of the United Nations. You have without stint given blood and treasure to protect small nations from subjugation by force or by threat. And you seek to raise the living standards of people in every corner of the world.

For this your country has received scant thanks—yet at one time, through sole possession of atomic power, you could have imposed your will upon the world—and did not. You could have chosen to conquer, but chose to set free. You could have looked inward, but instead you chose to look out.

If the United Nations has not brought that end to war which its founders sought, if the world is still torn by strife as it is, that is the fault of others, not of yours.

You have assumed, sir, as I said, many burdens, and today one dominates our minds.

Even as we stand here, our men fight in Vietnam together, as they fought in other wars, to protect small nations from overthrow by force of governments elected by the people. Even as we stand here, diplomats in Paris seek to discover whether there is hope of ending that fighting and securing a peace—just, lasting and honorable—giving to the people of South Vietnam a chance themselves to choose their future path without fear or threat.

You, Mr. President, bore the lonely weight of decision to continue to resist force with force. You, Mr. President, by your recent gesture, brought the North Vietnamese to talk. You, Mr. President, relinquished chance of further office to give those talks such chance of success as they may have. And for that we admire and salute you.

It is that struggle which engrosses us today, but when it is decided, that solution will be one step only in the solution of other problems to which men and nations are born, which have arisen in the past, which exist now, and which will arise in the future in a world in transition.

So the Revolutionary War decided whether America would or would not be independent. The War Between the States decided whether the Union would continue or fragment. The Second World War decided whether the world would be subject to Fascist tyranny.

Just as those decisions engrossed the hearts and consciences of those then living, and decided a particular matter but did not provide solutions for future conflict or for progress, so will the outcome of the war in Vietnam decide that matter—but not those questions for decision arising in the years ahead. As Australians see it, those problems, although worldwide, are likely to be most acute in Asia.

We see there an area which needs an economic and technical base such as Europe already has. We see there an area where development and progress are essential if the peoples of those divergent nations are to support and defend something dynamic and developing—not something stagnant.

We see there an area crying for technical skills, a more experienced administration, a more equitable sharing of an increasing income—and we see there an area subject, above all, to the threat of subversion, terrorism, and aggression.

In some way, sir, because of internal division, parts of Asia are reminiscent of the Balkans before World War I—and in some ways they may pose the same dangers, dangers aggravated by the eagerness of agitators to exploit divisions.

Perhaps, Mr. President, though I don't think so, we Australians see this out of perspective—because it is here that we, contiguous to Asia—part of the South East Asia region—live and breathe and have our present and our future. It is here that we feel that we can best contribute to stability and to progress and to preserving its political freedom which seeks economic freedom as its concomitant. It is here that we can play our part. But we cannot effectively play it alone.

As for ourselves—we are not a great power, though we are destined so to be.

In our Nation are new frontiers and boundless opportunities for those who will risk in order to win; for those who will work in order to build; for those who will endure initial hardship to gain distant goals.

We shall grow in numbers and in industrial power, and further develop the use of our natural resources, and in growing, Mr. President, will grapple with existing problems and prepare for those which wait in the corridors of the future.

But for the present, we, who for two centuries were shielded by the British Navy, have as our major shield the ANZUS Pact, and behind that, and because of that, we can the sooner grow to that stature we shall reach, we shall the sooner reach a position to repulse any attack the future may hold from any quarter, and by any means. We can the sooner grow in capacity to offer more economic and technical assistance to the Governments and peoples of our region.

I do not mean that we do not now play our part in defense, as we do in aid, or in seeking to foster trade which may be more important than aid.

But I do mean that because of your assistance, because of the ANZUS Treaty and what it implies, we can divert to building a future strength, resources which would otherwise be now diverted to defense, to the future detriment of defense, and to the future diminution of our ability to render as much help in the region as we would wish.

This is to us the virtue of the ANZUS Pact. And allied to it is the sure knowledge that you—while providing that shield—recognize that behind it we, as we build our country, are free to make and will make our own foreign policy decisions subject only to our Treaty obligations.

Sir, I have not been here before in my present office, yet I feel I come not as a stranger.

On too many fields of battle we have stood together fighting for the concept of freedom, fighting against aggression. On too many occasions we have cooperated in the economic plans to help the world's underprivileged advance their standards of living.

There is too much common heritage of a system under which Government is chosen by a majority, dismissed by a majority, protect minority rights, yet refuse to be coerced by organized minority demonstrations. There are too many bonds for any Australian Prime Minister ever to feel that here he is a stranger.

And so as in the past, so may it be in the future. Looking down the vista of the years, I hope that you in your greatness now, and we in our present strength and our greatness to come, will together give protection, stability, advancement, encouragement, will help to foster, along with and depending on the people who live in that region—a new world in Asia to redress the balance of the old.

If this can be done, if we can do this together successfully, the price to be now paid will, in the future, be thought by humanity small.

Thank you, sir.

CONGRESSMAN MACHEN ISSUES SIGNIFICANT STATEMENT ON NATIONAL ISSUES

HON. E. S. JOHNNY WALKER

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 26, 1968, my good friend and distinguished colleague, Representative HERVEY G. MACHEN, of Maryland, announced that he will seek a third term in the U.S. House of Representatives.

As a sometime resident of southern Prince Georges County in Congressman MACHEN's congressional district, I know that his announcement is welcome news to Congressman MACHEN's constituents. HERVEY MACHEN and I have been members of the House Armed Services Committee for 4 years and we have worked very well together. I look forward to another 2 years serving with him on this important committee in our work on national security and defense. I also know from my first 2 years on the House District Committee that Congressman MACHEN has a long and continuing interest in legislative measures to strengthen law enforcement and to restore law and order in the Nation's Capital and environs. He has been successful in working with our committee on other measures of significance to his congressional district and the metropolitan area.

I believe that Congressman MACHEN's statement not only is important to his constituents but also to all our colleagues as a comprehensive statement of the major issues facing our Nation. I insert it at this point in the RECORD:

Today I am announcing my strong desire to continue serving all the people of Prince George's and Charles Counties in the U.S. House of Representatives.

I shall campaign for a third term as the Congressman from the Fifth Congressional District of Maryland. I shall discuss the major issues—as I see them and as my constituents see them—that face our nation. I shall discuss my record of four years' service in the Congress. I shall continue to meet the challenges of our times in a responsible and progressive manner. I shall meet my challengers in the forum of the campaign and I shall prevail over them in September and November with the help of the grass roots citizens I have served for 14 years as a state and national legislator.

I would be shirking my duty and reneging on my obligation to my constituents if I were to quit when the going gets tough. This will not be an easy year for any person to seek elective office because these are very uneasy times. Simple, pat, public relations solutions to the overwhelming problems we face will be rejected out of hand by the voters.

Never in the 14 years I have held legislative office have I seen our nation in such a state of utter distress—and this includes the years of World War II and Korea. Never have I felt such strongly conflicting forces in our nation as today. Never have I heard such extremism from the left and from the right threatening to tear apart our society and our democracy. Never, in my recollection, has there been so much stirring for violent metamorphosis, an urge to rip off the cocoon of our nation's short but great history to bare the raw, and undeveloped infant of radical change.

Certainly we must make changes in our society for our society to remain viable and responsive to the needs of all its citizens, and to retain its unprecedented position of continuing economic and democratic leadership in the world. But such change must, and this is imperative, must be peacefully and constructively accomplished within the framework of our democratic process. To do otherwise would engender a reaction on a scale rarely seen in our history—one that would wipe out all the gains we have made toward freedom and equality for all Americans.

It is primarily because of this state of unrest that I have decided to continue my public career. I believe strongly that there is a greater need in times of national distress for men of experience and proven ability, men such as myself who were first elected on programs of constructive progress within the ability of our national economy to finance them, men who can lead our national legislature and government in striking a balance between the conflicting philosophies of negativism and radical change, between the haters and the lovers, between the majority and the minority, between the past and the future. In striking such a balance we will continue to provide responsible and responsive leadership

In this statement I will discuss briefly a number of issues which I shall develop during my campaign. In my view there are at least six overriding issues.

Our major foreign issue is Viet Nam. My position has been stated time and again. As long as we have American servicemen fighting in Viet Nam we must support them. As a member of the House Armed Services Committee I have staunchly supported all legislation, not only to provide our servicemen with the equipment, supplies and weapons they need, but to increase their salaries and benefits. We must greatly increase the retention rate for our military services, and if we succeed we will automatically reduce the numbers of men drafted to replace those who leave.

I believe that the priority domestic issues are law enforcement, education, fiscal security, individual security, conservation and consumers.

No democratic government can function in a state of lawlessness, confusion and rampant fear among the populace. If the man on the street walks in fear of crime in the streets he will have a profound distrust in the ability of his government—local, state and national—to provide orderly and needed services his taxes pay for, and to make the laws, enforce them and prosecute them fully to maintain security for the innocent and detention for the guilty.

Our next domestic priority is education. It was said by Herbert George Wells in 1914 that "Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe." This statement is as accurate today as yesterday. This race is a race that I intend our nation to win. My 100 percent record for programs to further expand and increase educational abilities and capabilities will attest to my strong convictions for education. I do not view education as a key or a passport to the future—but as an essential way of life today.

The problem of fiscal security is one of the most complex. Ranging from deficit spending to inefficiency in government, it includes a complete overhauling of our welfare system and getting rid of government programs that overlap, that have outlived their usefulness and that are simply a waste of the taxpayers' money. Generally speaking, I have opposed the income tax surcharge because I feel it will not accomplish its stated purpose and because we cannot legislate prosperity; I strongly support legislation to end loopholes that cost our government an estimated $21 billion a year in so-far uncollectable oil-mineral depletion allowances and the end of tax escapes for the very wealthy; I support programs, such as the war on poverty that delete the dole and provide constructive approaches to instill motivation and responsibility in those below the poverty level.

Individual security may not yet be an issue of national significance. It is to me. The cybernetic or computer revolution is rapidly overtaking every person and everything we give to it takes a little from each of us. Frankly I fear the depersonalization of the individual, the enormous increase in leisure time, the cold calculation of emotion and intellect that are coming with a computerized society. I feel that there is much to fear in this regard unless our national leaders move now to address themselves to the complex ramifications associated with cybernetics. We must take steps to protect the individuality and dignity of every member of our society in order that we are prepared for another new age without undergoing painful and frustrating periods of adjustment.

Conservation has always been an issue close to my heart. I was extremely gratified that in this Congress my national campaign to save the view from Mount Vernon through a joint citizen-government program was successful. I intend to persevere in my efforts to save the Potomac River shoreline in Prince George's County and to do everything possible to see that our natural beauty is protected in the face of our rapidly-urbanizing country.

The American consumer is no longer the forgotten man in our society. The Congress has enacted, and will continue to enact with my strong support, programs to protect the consumer. My own consumer protection bill, to provide short-term financial assistance to States for State consumer protection offices, has gained considerable support since I offered it. I will continue pushing consumer protection programs so everyone will have dollar power.

This is a capsule of the major issues as I see them today. Others will develop during the year and I intend to discuss them if I feel that they are germane to the role of a Congressman.

There is a subject of special interest to me that is not an issue. The needs of our Federal employees have always been foremost in my mind. Not only have I offered quite a number of bills to provide them the same benefits as their counterparts in private industry. I have also made a sincere effort to fight for their causes when they face a sometimes inconsiderate bureaucracy or administration policy. It probably goes without saying, but as my seniority increases in each Congress I shall be that much more effective in representing the Federal employees in my district and everyone else in their relationships with the national government.

As to my record, I feel that it will stand up to the strongest scrutiny. It has been my policy to perform as a legislator in a legislative body, because if a Congressman cannot succeed in having his own bills enacted he is not serving his country nor his constituents. It has been my policy not to speak out irresponsibly, nor at the drop of a chance for publicity for publicity's sake. It has been my policy to do everything within my power as a Congressman to help my constituents who have problems with merit. In many respects, my office has been a "court of last resort," and many of our verdicts have been favorable.

This concludes my statement. I will campaign as much as possible but I will be limited because of our daily sessions in Washington. My attendance record is about 98 percent and I intend to maintain that. I look forward to seeing each one of you in this campaign and I wish you the best in every hour of every day.

FACTS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE UKRAINE

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on May 18, the Ukrainian-American community in Chicago held a day-long series of meetings reaffirming its solidarity with the Ukrainian nation, now oppressed by the Soviet Union.

At a meeting held at St. Vladimir's Cathedral in Chicago, the Ukrainian-American group adopted a resolution addressed to the Human Rights Division of the United Nations.

Prof. Vasyl Markus set the tone for the meetings when he assured those gathered that the Ukrainian-American community in the United States will not rest until their compatriots in the Ukraine can again enjoy their traditional freedom.

Mr. Andrij Gajecky, president, and Mr. Mychajlo Panasiuk, secretary of the United Ukrainian-American Organizations of Illinois submitted a resolution to the gatherings which was unanimously adopted.

It was my privilege to also address this group, and I should like to include in the RECORD both the telegram sent to Mr. Marc Schreiber, director, Human Rights Division, United Nations, and my own remarks.

A copy of the telegram and my remarks follow:

[Telegram]

RESOLUTION

Mr. MARC SCHREIBER,
Director, Human Rights Division,
United Nations, New York, N.Y.

SIR: The meeting of Ukrainians in Chicago on May 18, 1968, convened by the United Ukrainian-American Organizations in Illinois, calls your attention to the continuous suppression of political and human rights in the Ukrainian SSR and to the recent secret trials and illegal imprisonment of thousands of Ukrainian patriots, including over a hundred of young intellectuals and students.

We urge you to investigate this serious matter in the spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, systematically violated by the governments of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR. If the U.N. Human Rights Commission will bypass opportunistically the known discriminatory practices, including the cultural genocide by the Soviet governments vis-a-vis non-Russian peoples, it will fail in its noble mission and its service to the humanity.

FACTS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE UKRAINE

(By U.S. Representative ROMAN PUCINSKI)

The intellectual ferments in Eastern Europe and among the literati in Moscow have their counterpart in Ukraine, second largest Soviet Republic.

Khrushchev in the last years of his rule strengthened the Party control over the Ukrainian people.

The new school reform 1959-60 made the Ukrainian language only optional in the schools of the Republic.

The decentralized economy was blamed as "localism," i.e., economic nationalism, and soon the economic regions were dissolved;

The autonomous rights of the Republic once again were reduced;

A new doctrine of the merger of languages and cultures was propagated throughout the 60's;

The forced russification was intensified: reduction in the circulation of the Ukrainian books and press; many courses at the Universities and institutes started to be taught in Russian; transfer of Ukrainian cadres to other republics and simultaneous increase of Russian technical and administrative personnel in Ukraine;

In 1964, an event which recalled a flagrant anti-Ukrainian action of the ruling Russian-dominated Communist Party of the Soviet Union took place. This was the arson of the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Kiev in which precious manuscripts and book-holdings perished. The Ukrainians considered it to be an act of a planned destruction of the Ukrainian culture.

All this generated a reaction in form of the Ukrainian self-defense.

In 1963, the Ukrainian scholars, educators, literati and students convened a cultural conference at the Kiev University which called for stopping discriminatory policy, for introduction of the Ukrainian as the language of public use, for Ukrainization of the higher learning and for the rights of the Ukrainian minority in other republics of the U.S.S.R.

The resolutions of this conference attended by over a thousand people were suppressed in Ukraine. They were published in Poland.

At the end of 1966, the Fifth Congress of Ukrainian Writers took place. It was also a strong protest against the present policies of Moscow in Ukraine. The Congress also echoed the fact that in meantime many Ukrainian intellectuals were arrested and tried.

All over Ukraine sporadic arrests took place. The people were tried secretly and sent to the labor camps, mostly in Mordovian Autonomous Republic. Among the victims of repression were renowned critics Dziuba and Svitlychnyj. Against illegal trials and persecution many protests were risen even in the ranks of the loyal Ukrainian Soviet cultural and civic leaders; academicians, members of the Unions of Writers, Composers, Artists, even the vice-president of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet attempted to intercede on behalf of the arrested. Nothing helped.

Over a hundred of well known names in the artistic-cultural life of Ukraine disappeared from the national cultural and creative activity. They are now prisoners of Mordovia or of a notorious jail in Vladimir. These who attempted to defend the accused and persecuted, were silenced.

What was the criminal activity of the Ukrainian intellectuals? Formally, the "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". In a few cases the Procuracy was able to demonstrate that the accused read some publications from abroad. A group of Ukrainian jurists were tried because allegedly, they advocated implementation of the right of secession of the Ukrainian Republic from the Union, a right publicly guaranteed in the Constitution. One group tried to organize a Peasant-workers Socialist Society, not sponsored by the Soviet official institutions. And, finally, some others were sent to the labor camps because they have protested and publicized the regrettable state of affairs of the Soviet Ukrainian Justice.

However, the people were not silent.

There were some courageous people who rose their voice. They wrote petitions, circulated them among people, compiled pamphlets on the victims of the new repressions. Their voice has been heard also outside the USSR.

The free world is now in possession of a number of documents, pamphlets, literary works from the captive Ukraine. Many of them were published in Ukrainian, English and French. From this literature we learn what is the true spirit of Ukraine.

It is the spirit of liberty, of human dignity, of social justice, of national independence and cultural freedom.

This is the same spirit as over a hundred years ago was the spirit of Shevchenko's Ukraine. The present situation in the Ukraine reminds so much a similar oppression of the Ukrainian nation by Czarist Russia.

A modern Polish writer called that period the "Ukrainian Nights." Really and truly—it was a dark night in which a genius came to bring a new dawn in the person of Taras Shevchenko. We hope that there will be another Jerzy Jendrzejewicz who will write about the continuing genealcgy of the Ukrainian genius.

Ukraine suffers now as a nation, as a people and as a culture. This gifted and vigorous nation is forcefully prevented by a foreign rule to be a full-fledged member of the Community of Nations.

Its place in the United Nations is nothing but a caricature, irony and hypocrisy. Ukraine is neither sovereign nor free and independent member of the Union, as the constitution proclaims.

She is not master of her destiny. She is a colony in the worst sense of this word.

Presently, in this 1968 year of the Human Rights, proclaimed by the United Nations, we experience flagrant violation of very basic rights of the millions of people and of the nations in the Communist bloc.

The lot of Ukraine now is very dramatic. That nation fights for its survival.

We are confident that the Ukrainians in this struggle will overcome. However, the friends of Ukraine in free world, in particular those who are of Ukrainian descent, cannot be passive spectators of this historical struggle. We must help our kin and all freedom-loving people in their aspirations toward a better world, toward a democratic, just and peaceful order.

THE BENEFITS OF VISTA—A TWO-WAY STREET

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, our VISTA volunteers have already proven that the contributions they make will bring significant results in improving the lives of many of the underprivileged. I am enclosing with these comments an article from the March 24 issue of the Austin American-Statesman which tells the personal story of Miss Betty Frausto of Austin, Tex. and of the work she is doing in Bristol Terrace, Pa.

One aspect of the program not always as apparent as the benefits to the underprivileged is that VISTA also pays tremendous rewards to the volunteers themselves. William H. Crook, whose home is San Marcos, Tex., in my district, and the National Director of VISTA said:

The idealism, dedication, and constructive energy VISTA volunteers such as Miss Frausto bring to their work certainly can be counted as one of America's greatest resources.

To my way of thinking, VISTA gives each citizen the opportunity to help in a meaningful way. It helps each of the volunteers know the real nature of our country and the problems underlying so many of the boiling issues of the day. I believe citizens who have this awareness are better citizens, and I commend VISTA and all who work with it for their efforts.

The article follows:

VISTA IN PENNSYLVANIA—AUSTIN GIRL WORKS IN EASTERN SLUM

Transport a girl from the sweeping spaces of Texas to a crowded slum in the East, and you are introducing two opposites.

"There are 1500 children in Bristol Terrace, Pennsylvania," said Isabel (Betty) Frausto, 20, of Austin. "Not one of them knows the marvelous games children can play in the grass and the trees. Not one of them has room to spread out and romp."

"If that weren't sad enough," she adds, "the only open spaces they know are dirty streets and alleys. What kind of a healthy playground is that?"

For the past year Betty, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Juan Frausto of 1705 Francis Avenue in Austin, has worked as a Volunteer in Service of America (VISTA), providing activities to take these Pennsylvania youngsters off the streets and give them something to do.

Her work is part of a program set up through the Bristol Township Community Center. In 1966, the first VISTA Volunteers were assigned there. Starting with only an old building at their disposal, they set up a children's recreation program.

In two years, that initial program has grown. In addition to the original sports activities, the current five Volunteers sponsor organized club meetings.

"The whole concept is just great," said Betty. "All the kids participate in whatever we plan. And we gear our clubs to what they tell us they want."

Pre-school youngsters claim Betty's morning hours every weekday.

She is involved with youngsters of all ages. Together with another Volunteer she sponsors the Teen Club, driving its members to various activities in an old Army bus. The teens themselves raise the money for their functions, which have included dances, movies, and skating parties.

Recently Betty started an arts and crafts program for the junior high set. With supplies donated by the local stores, 25 boys and girls have made paper mache puppets. Future projects include jewelry craft and a party with a pinata.

As an integral part of the community she serves, Betty is also involved in the problems of its adults.

Bristol Terrace is a housing development of 3500 persons. Although predominantly Negro, one third of its people are Puerto Rican or white. Betty, who is herself Spanish-American, has found her bi-lingualism very helpful.

"Most of the Puerto Ricans find it hard to speak English," she said. "I can help the other Volunteers understand what they want."

Job opportunities in the community are severely limited. Many people are on welfare.

Many women support their households through domestic work. The men work in steel mills and other day labor jobs. Through home visits, Betty and the other Volunteers work with the families on their problems.

A community action group was formed, which meets monthly to discuss such topics as urban renewal and better police protection. The residents have elected their own officers and boast a full-house attendance.

VISTA director Bill Crook, a fellow Texan, has high praise for Betty. "It's a real pleasure to watch her with those children," he said. "They follow her around as if she was the Pied Piper. And she enjoys it so much, it hardly looks like the true work it is at all."

A VISTA recruiter will be in Austin Monday through Friday in the lobby of the Lowich Building at 11th and Guadalupe from 8:30 a.m. until 8:30 p.m. His telephone number there is 476-6005. The Academy Award winning VISTA movie will be shown daily at 10 a.m., noon, 2 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. during this recruiting drive.

TAINTED MEAT AND TAINTED EVIDENCE

HON. CATHERINE MAY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, the National Observer of May 20 carried on its front page a most disturbing article concerning reports prepared by the U.S. Department of Agriculture at the time Congress was considering the Wholesome Meat Act last year. The USDA reports were on conditions in U.S. meat slaughtering and processing plants not under Federal inspection, and were used by many people, both in and out of Congress, as evidence of the need for stronger Federal meat inspection laws.

The author of the National Observer article, Mr. Joe Western, says in one of his opening paragraphs:

What can now be confirmed is the nasty fact that the "evidence" gathered last July was deliberately biased, that the tainted reports were used to mislead Congress and the public, that they put a lie in the mouth of President Johnson, duped a large number of well-meaning people, including Ralph Nader and Betty Furness, and did a superb con job on much of the nation's press.

Mr. Speaker, the idea of an agency of the Federal Government deliberately fostering misleading and biased reports is shocking to say the least. It is entirely alien to our whole concept of government, and carries implications that are positively frightening.

I supported the Wholesome Meat Act and exerted every effort to get the best legislation possible. While I feel that this legislation was both necessary and desirable, I submit that even such a worthy goal as this could not possibly justify the tactics described in the Observer article. The basis for such actions could only be a cynical belief that the ends justify the means, and I firmly believe that such a philosophy has no place in our system of Government.

Some have viewed this article as an attempt to justify opposition to the Wholesome Meat Act, but that is not the point at all. This has absolutely nothing to do with the merits of the legislation. The point is that no agency of the Federal Government ever has the right to use misleading or deliberately biased evidence, no matter what the purpose.

Mr. Speaker, at this critical time especially, U.S. citizens need to be able to have confidence in our Government, but nothing will erode that confidence any faster than the kinds of actions described in the following National Observer article:

[From the National Observer, May 20, 1968]

FLIMFLAM AND THE FEDERAL MEN: TAINTED MEAT AND TAINTED EVIDENCE

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Agents of the Federal Government fanned out across the nation last July under urgent and explicit instructions from Washington to gather examples of horrid conditions in meat-processing plants not under U.S. Government control.

Swiftly and often with calculated deception, the Federal men got what they were ordered to get. Their findings, which were widely accepted as factual and unbiased Government inspection reports, painted a picture of widespread filth in meat handling. These reports were later to be used as undisputed authority for scare stories that frightened the public and helped stampede Congress into passage of a new and tougher Federal meat-inspection law—the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967.

What can now be confirmed is the nasty fact that the "evidence" gathered last July was deliberately biased, that the tainted reports were used to mislead Congress and the public, that they put a lie in the mouth of President Johnson, duped a large number of well-meaning people, including Ralph Nader and Betty Furness, and did a superb con job on much of the nation's press.

FINDINGS CHALLENGED

The stench of the filthy-meat survey began seeping out belatedly early this year when state and industry officials challenged the authenticity of some of the inspectors' findings. An investigation by this newspaper revealed that U.S. inspectors had, indeed, fudged on some facts [The National Observer, Jan. 29, 1968] and that other reports were doctored in Washington to make them sound even more damning than they were [The National Observer, Feb. 12, 1968].

The Observer's inquiry uncovered the fact that a written memorandum with explicit instructions to field inspectors did exist. Officials in Washington admitted as much but refused to release it. After months of determined efforts, including legal action, by this newspaper, the Agriculture Department finally agreed last week to give a copy of the memorandum to The National Observer. The contents of this remarkable document, which the Agriculture Department admits reflects the substance of its orders to field inspectors, are published in full on Page 12.

The memorandum was written by Wilbur F. Michael, officer in charge of the Dallas area compliance and evaluation staff, which is the investigative arm of the USDA's meat-inspection service. It was to serve as a guide for the activities of three field inspectors: John Halverson, based in Dallas; Joseph J. Barrett in Denver; and Matias Ramos in San Antonio.

Entitled "Special Project QQ&C (Quick, Quiet and Confidential)," the memo instructed agents to use guile in entering plants not under Federal supervision, to select plants "in which you would expect to find the most discrepancies," to look for "horrible examples" of unsanitary conditions in those plants, and to describe them "in dramatic, graphic terms with impact, such as cancer-eye, pus, manure, disease, excreta, cockroaches, rats, flies, loose paint, cobwebs, rust, grease, overhead dripping sewer lines, toilet facilities, mice, flour, excess water, chemicals, excess fat, etc., instead of other more acceptable terms."

A sense of urgency was emphasized because, as the memo put it, the information "is to be used at Congressional hearings now being held . . ." The memo, dated July 27, 1967, which was a Thursday, instructed the agents to get into plants in five states—Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Colorado, and Arkansas—write their reports, and send them directly to Washington. By Wednesday, August 2.

The compliance officers complied—swiftly and predictably.

Out of Oklahoma flew reports of seven inspections by Mr. Barrett. A random, not untypical sample of the report on one plant: "Stagnant water stood in bloody puddles all over the place. The walls were covered with grime grease and mould. One beef carcass had an infected brisket and another had a large knee joint which appeared to be arthritic. A butcher was boning out a beef round which had sour bone and the meat near the bone was greenish colored."

In addition to covering plants in Oklahoma, Mr. Barrett managed in the brief period to hustle through inspections of nine plants in Colorado and file reports of a similar nature on each of them.

REPORTS FROM TEXAS

Out of Texas came reports of five inspections by Mr. Ramos. A random, not untypical sample of the information in one: "Edible meat drums were very dirty, contaminated with rust and the inside showed a very poor job of washing. Some of the lips were broken with meat imbedded in. The paint on all walls is flaking off, some was evident on hanging beef fore shanks. Hair, bruises, and kill dirt was also noticed on these carcasses. Flies were swarming on the back dock. Spitting on the floor by an employee was noted."

In addition to covering plants in Texas, Mr. Ramos managed to file similar inspection reports on conditions in three plants in Louisiana.

Inspector Halverson sent in reports of inspections in four Arkansas plants. Sample: "Large numbers of flies in processing room. No coverings over the mixers. Knocked down boxes were placed and piled on floor, toilet rooms were in an unsanitary condition; no ventilation in toilets."

A FLOOD OF REPORTS

And so it went. All told, the order from Washington rapidly produced reports of inspections with derogatory comments of one sort or another on 183 plants in 38 states. Nobody made much effort to tell Congress or the public that these were plants specially and hastily selected to prove a point. On the contrary, the implication was floated time and time again that the findings of the "survey" were generally representative of conditions in the 15,000 meat plants not under Federal supervision. Indeed, even the astute and knowledgeable Rep. Thomas S. Foley, Washington Democrat, referred approvingly in Senate hearings to the USDA reports as "current and comprehensive." And he was by no means alone in believing this.

The reports themselves, all of which have now been made available to The Observer, vary widely in length and quality. Some are little more than brief, generalized statements. Others run on at some length in a chatty, informal manner with a high content of irrelevancies. One, for example, offers the unexpected information that breweries do not knowingly permit females during the menstrual period to enter certain phases of the brewing procedure. "How do I know?" rhetorically asks the writer. "I had a friend who was a salesman for a brewery, and he told me so."

The actual names and locations of the plants inspected have been deleted by the department. While this is standard practice in many regulatory agencies of Government, it imposes a difficult detective job on anyone outside the agency who might have doubts about the accuracy of reports and seeks to check them out independently. Thus they have the aura of anonymous authority, offering no opportunity for the accused or the skeptic to dispute the findings.

Mr. Michael's written instructions, of course, went to only three field inspectors. In a letter accompanying the release of the memo to The National Observer, Rodney E. Leonard, administrator in Washington of the Consumer and Marketing Service, states that the memorandum "was issued by a subordinate field official, and that certain parts of it did not represent the policy or instructions of this Service."

But in an interview here last week, Mr Leonard acknowledged that the memo did, in fact, reflect the "substance" of instructions telephoned to all field officers from Washington.

"The men were told," he says, "to arrive at the plants unannounced, ask for permission to enter without stating their purpose, and, if admitted, to record their factual observations. We are satisfied that they carried out this mission and accomplished this goal without any improper conduct, without any substantive inaccuracies, and without being underhanded about it."

DIFFERENCE IN STANDARDS

The standards that Marketing Service officials set for judging conduct, inaccuracies, and underhandedness are, of course, their own. But there's ample evidence to conclude that those standards are not widely shared, especially by those people who were being slyly investigated.

It should be noted, first off, that Federal inspectors had no jurisdiction last summer over state-inspected packing plants. (They do now, as a result of the law signed last Dec. 15.) Nonetheless, Mr. Michael's memo clearly directs Federal inspectors "to gain entrance into non-Federally-inspected plants . . . under the guise of (a) meeting local inspection personnel to gain co-operation in our normal C&ES work (b) discussing our denaturing and decharacterizing requirements with management, (c) etc."

The fact that an inspector sometimes could not get into a plant did not deter him from submitting a report anyway. For example, Mr. Barrett reports thus on a locked-up plant in Oklahoma: "The exterior of the premises was filthy and stinking. I moved a meat barrel containing meat scrap and a rat jumped out and nearly knocked my hat off. I noticed that the rat entered the rear of subject plant."

Included in the batch of current reports last summer was one about a Colorado plant that, it developed, had been closed at least nine months earlier. The inspector later explained that he had been told it was all right to include plants he had inspected in the "recent" past. He said his inspection of that particular plant had been made in November 1966, a year before his findings were published in the Congressional Record by an obviously impressed congressman.

The managers of some plants cited in inspectors' reports insisted that they did not even know a Federal inspector had been on their premises. And, in at least one instance, an inspector conceded that he stayed in his car and did not enter a plant that his report later criticized. He said he had been in the plant a week earlier and so knew the conditions there.

During The Observer inquiry last February, it was discovered, too, that field reports from some inspectors had been edited by a ghost in Washington who deleted complimentary passages and thus made reports sound more critical than they really were.

All the reports flowed into Washington just as a House Agriculture subcommittee was completing work on a milder version of what later became the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967. Predictably, the reports began filtering out in a manner calculated to make headlines. News accounts giving stomach-turning details of the "survey" were published and broadcast as gospel. There were again predictably, cries of outrage by housewives, consumer groups, labor organizations, and editorialists over the fresh evidence of filthy meat. Lost in the furor were protests by many state officials that the reports were grossly exaggerated, misleading, unfair, and that some were outright fabrications.

"Nobody had any idea of the explosive impact these reports were going to have," Mr. Leonard asserted last week. "Our goal was simply to demonstrate that despite all the new state and local meat-inspection laws that had been enacted there was relatively little improvement in actually enforcing those laws."

There is no dispute among people with knowledge of the meat industry that unsanitary conditions do exist. Nor with the contention that the American consumer deserves to be protected against the health dangers that may lurk in filthy meat products. There is a basic philosophical and practical disagreement, however, over whether the meat-inspection job can be done better by a corps of Federal inspectors with Federal powers and authority rather than state and local officials. These arguments, however, have been made rather academic since the passage of the new law. What is not academic, at least in a democratic society, is whether the means adopted to obtain Federal inspection justify that end.

When the House version of the meat-inspection bill came to the floor for debate late in October, the House Agriculture Committee's report carried long excerpts from the quickie July investigation. These excerpts appeared in the "supplemental views" of five committee members, led by Representative Foley, who contended the bill had to be strengthened in view of the bad conditions revealed by the reports.

In the debate on the House floor, speaker after speaker rose to support the bill, citing the fresh Federal reports again and again. The White House silent up to then on the bill sent Miss Furness on a speaking tour to plug the Administration's consumer-protection legislation, including the meat-inspection bill. Both she and Mr. Nader, the safety consultant, repeatedly cited the USDA reports as evidence of the need for mandatory Federal meat inspection.

THE HEART OF THE BILL

On Oct. 31, the House passed its meat-inspection bill by a vote of 403 to 28. The heart of that bill provided mainly that Federal matching funds would be made available to the states to encourage them to upgrade their meat-inspection systems.

But by the time a Senate Agriculture subcommittee began hearings on a similar proposal on Nov. 9, Administration leaders and their allies on Capitol Hill decided to push for a much stronger measure. During four days of hearings, witnesses and senators referred to the USDA's July survey no fewer than 35 times. One of the witnesses was Mr. Leonard of the Consumer and Marketing Services, who thoughtfully brought along three staff investigators who had participated in the summer survey. The kindly questioning, mostly by Sen. Walter F. Mondale, Minnesota Democrat, elicited from each of the investigators generalized comments on what they had found. The questioning, for example, of Edward Chizek, a compliance officer brought in from Omaha, went like this:

"Senator Mondale. Now, in your studies and surveys, you found instances of practices that fell substantially below the Federal meat-inspection standards in these intrastate plants; is that correct?

"Mr. Chizek. Yes, sir.

"Senator Mondale. Would you give a few examples, if you will.

"Mr. Chizek. I did not visit any slaughtering plants. These were basically processing plants that I visited in 1967 and so the deficiencies there were mainly in the nature of additives and poor sanitation.

"Senator Mondale. Would you give a few examples?

"Mr. Chizek. More specific than that?

"Senator Mondale. Yes.

"Mr. Chizek. This was in the summer months—in July. And some of the screenings were off these buildings, flies were abundantly present, mold and slime present on the ceilings and walls of various coolers, debris and trash lying freely about in some of the operating areas as well as storage areas.

"Employes not being required to wear any type of washable clothing. Equipment left to sit overnight at room temperatures, or perhaps even longer periods without any adequate sanitation procedures—to be used again the following morning."

A TOUGHER PROPOSAL

The bill that emerged Nov. 27 for debate on the Senate floor was tougher than the House-passed version. It required the states to match Federal meat-inspection standards, and enforce them, within two years or face Federal take-over of the state inspection job. Matching funds to help the states improve their own systems were authorized. Involved were all 15,000 plants not then subject to Federal meat-inspection regulations because they weren't engaged in interstate commerce.

As Mr. Michael's memo indicates, inspectors also had been told to get samples of non-Federally inspected meat products on sale in retail food stores. These samples, it has been learned, were sent to USDA meat-inspection laboratories for analysis. A total of only 162 samples collected from around the land were tested. Of these, 39 products met all Federal meat-inspection standards. The other 123 samples were said to show a total of 259 violations of Federal standards due to excessive water, excess nonmeat fillers, and use of various additives such as ascorbate, phosphates, and nitrites in products where they are prohibited by Federal standards.

"A DEEP SENSE OF OUTRAGE"

Senator Mondale in a long speech in the Senate seized on this sampling as a major point in his argument that ". . . The revelations of the last few weeks, and information received in the hearings, have provoked a deep sense of outrage on the part of consumers. . . . Mr. President, well might we insist upon immediate Federalization of all plans under state control. . . ."

During Senate debate on the bill, Senator Mondale inserted into the Congressional Record enough of the investigators' reports, set in small type, to cover seven pages. There was little substantive debate; the Senate completed action on the measure in two days.

A joint House-Senate conference committee quickly convened to try to reconcile the milder House version with the stronger Senate bill. What emerged was, essentially, the Senate bill. Both Houses approved the conference version on Dec. 6. Nine days later, President Johnson signed the law.

In the ceremony at the White House, Mr. Johnson read these words taken from one Federal inspector's report: ". . . Beef was being broken on an open dock, by a dirt road, in 95-degree weather. There were flies in meat. Drums of bones and meat scraps were covered with maggots."

Subsequently, John P. Orcutt, Colorado's commissioner of agriculture, identified the plant that Mr. Johnson had referred to and stated the conditions cited were not so. He said the dock is located adjacent to a paved street—not a dirt road—and that the plant's owner flatly denies there was any truth in the inspector's report. He quotes the owner as stating: "Beef is not broken (cut up) on our dock and never has been. . . . If this so-called inspector saw any meat scraps or bones in drums, he must be a contortionist, as our bone barrels are stored bottom side up." Mr. Orcutt says the plant owner insists the Federal inspector never entered the processing area of the plant and so he couldn't have seen the barrels in use.

A diligent effort to determine precisely how and why the quickie survey came about turns up no definitive answers. It is known, however, that many congressmen were not impressed by the results of an old USDA survey made in 1962. Though it was an extensive and serious study of meat-inspection operations, the facts in it were well-dated by the summer of 1967. This, incidentally, did not discourage publicists, public and private, from dramatically citing those stale findings to marshal support for fresh legislation last year.

The man in the Agriculture Department who initiated the survey was Rodney Leonard. "Mr. Purcell [Rep. Graham Purcell, the Texas Democrat who is chairman of the House Agriculture subcommittee] asked us to update the old survey made in 1962 showing that many of the non-Federally inspected plants were in bad shape," Mr. Leonard says. "We knew that many states had passed new meat-inspection laws and had strengthened old ones. But we also knew, through our compliance and evaluation activities, that actual enforcement of good sanitation and good meat inspection wasn't much better than it was in 1962."

Mr. Purcell says he may have asked Mr. Leonard to update the old survey at the request of some of the other subcommittee members. "Representative Foley, perhaps, and others," he says. "I personally thought we had a good bill and that additional surveys weren't needed." Indeed, the new survey's timing and effect were peculiarly unsuited for Mr. Purcell's purposes. The furor the survey caused torpedoed the mild meat-inspection bill that emerged from the House subcommittee, which was basically the bill Mr. Purcell himself had introduced.

Mr. Leonard continues: "I told Bob [Dr. Robert K. Somers, chief of the meat-inspection service] to try to make the survey. I did it. I should have been more specific about how to handle it."

Dr Somers relayed Mr. Leonard's request to Berlin H. Rorem, acting director of the compliance and evaluation staff. It was Mr. Rorem who telephoned the C&E's field offices and got matters rolling.

On July 27, Mr. Michael wrote his memo. When The National Observer called his office last week to talk with him, a reporter was told he was sick at home. Mr. Leonard says Mr. Michael explained recently that he wrote the memo in such explicit form because some of his staff members were new to his office and he wanted to make sure nobody misunderstood what was expected. Mr. Michael has been in the meat-inspection service for more than 20 years.

Mr. Rorem says his memory is dim as to precisely what he said in telephone calls to the C&E's six field offices in Dallas, Kansas City, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Atlanta. He does deny he told anyone to call it "Project Quick, Quiet, and Confidential."

"I certainly didn't tell anyone to look for 'horrible examples,'" Mr. Rorem says. "I didn't have to. Those men are experienced inspectors. They knew where to go, what to look for, and how to write their reports."

It might be added that they also know how to follow orders.

U.S. GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL, TOP PRIORITY, RUSH PROJECT

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, CONSUMER AND MARKETING SERVICE COMPLIANCE AND EVALUATION STAFF,

Dallas, Tex., July 27, 1967.

To: All Dallas Area, Compliance Officers.
From: Wilbur F. Michael, Officer in Charge.
Subject: Special Project QQ&C (Quick, Quiet and Confidential).

Effective immediately, we are to discontinue all other C&ES work and devote full time (plus any overtime necessary to effectively complete this assignment) to "Project QQ&C." Overtime will not be authorized for travel.

The information we will gather at Non-Federally Inspected (NFI) plants in this effort is to be used at Congressional hearings now being held in connection with the proposed amendment (HR-6168) to the Meat Ispection Act.

For the purpose of this project, the following areas of responsibility are assigned: Barrett—Colorado and Oklahoma; Halverson—Arkansas; and Ramos—Texas and Louisiana.

We have been designated to make this "survey" since our presence in NFI plants would attract less attention than any other USDA personnel, as we are normally in and out of these plants.

This project consists of 3 parts, as follows:

1. You are to gain entrance into NFI plants (slaughter and/or processing) under the guise of (a) meeting local inspection personnel to gain cooperation in our normal C&ES work, (b) discussing our denaturing and decharacterizing requirements with management, (c) etc. This should be done quickly and quietly in such a manner that no one is aware of the real purpose of your visit. This will require a very discreet approach and may tax your imagination. Other approaches used to gain entrance to NFI plants are: (1) requesting management's permission to check their freezers for product bearing Federal Marks of Inspection that might be forged or counterfeit. (2) explaining to and showing management how Federal Marks of Inspection must be obliterated before used containers are filled.

The sole purpose of your visit is to observe, and for each plant visited, submit a written report direct to B. H. Rorem, Acting Director, C&ES, USDA, South Agric. Building, Room 2614, Washington, D.C. 20250, (copy to me), *listing any deficiencies noted that indicate a need for tighter inspectional controls.* You are not to limit your observations to the following, but examples of things to be checked are: (a) *Plant Facilities*—window and door screens, drainage, types of floors, ceilings and walls, lighting, welfare facilities, equipment, etc., (b) *Environmental Sanitation*—Availability of sterilizers for equipment used on diseased or contaminated meat, hand washing facilities, cleanliness of employees and their clothing, spitting on floor, cleanliness of equipment (describe *type* of dirt or filth, stipulate amount only if excessive), etc., (c) *Inspectional Procedures*—lack of or inadequate ante and post mortem inspection, temperaturing of cooked product containing pork, labeling controls, etc., (d) *4-D type Animals Held in livestock pens for Slaughter*—Cancer-Eye, downers, deads, cripples, (e) *Plant Operations Procedures*—meat and/or product in contact with floors, contamination of carcasses with manure, pus, dirt, etc., in dressing operation, deceptive packing, etc.

Plants selected for this survey will be those in which you would expect to find the most discrepancies. In other words, look for "horrible examples."

2. In 1963, Dr. M. R. Clarkson prepared a report concerning a comprehensive fall and winter survey made in 1962 by MID of *intrastate* meat packers and processors in 48 states. Their report showed there was widespread use of false or deceptive labels or packing and that much intrastate meat contained diseased tissues and spoiled, putrid, filthy materials.

Please submit a report to me stating what each of the states you are concerned with, has accomplished in the way of corrective measures (as new laws, etc.) since 1963.

3. You are to each collect a minimum of *five* retail samples of NFI produced meat food product. If time permits and you find additional products you feel should be sampled, feel free to do so. It is expected that most of this sampling will need to be done on Saturday and Sunday. This will leave the weekdays through next Wednesday for your survey of NFI plants. Incidentally, all of this work must be completed by Wednesday, August 2, 1967.

The samples are to be air mailed to the Meat Inspection Laboratory, U.S. Court and Customhouse Building, 1114 Market Street, St. Louis, Missouri 63101. You should select products you believe might be violative. Be sure you get labels if available. Labels should be attached to the 6th copy of the MI-422, which will be mailed directly to Rorem. You keep the 7th copy and mail 5th copy directly to me. Original and all other copies should accompany the sample. If hamburger is sampled, be sure it is produced in a meat plant and not ground by the retail store. Purchase and use dry ice you feel necessary to pack with your sample. Contact your nearest MI office for sample mailing containers, bags, etc.

Attached is a specimen copy of MI-422 to be used as a guide in their preparation. Be sure all information shown on the specimen is included. In block No. 3, show "Non-Inspected-1" for your first sample, "Non-Inspected-2" for your 2nd sample and so on.

Use the attached chart to determine the particular analyses you desire laboratory to do. Desired analyses not printed in blocks on the MI-422 should be written in the "other" blocks.

Also attached for your use is a paper listing "Analysis Which the MI Laboratories are Able to Perform," including species determination and coagulation tests to determine highest temperature attained in cooked products. Suggest this analysis be made on smoked sausage to determine if possible live trichinae have been destroyed.

In your reports of plant "surveys" it is suggested you use dramatic, graphic terms with impact, such as cancer-eye, pus, manure, disease, excreta, cockroaches, rats, flies, loose paint, cobwebs, rust, grease, overhead dripping sewer lines, toilet facilities, mice, flour, excess water, chemicals, excess fat, etc., instead of other more acceptable terms. Of course, you must be factual in your reports. Try to find evidence of contaminants on the meat if possible.

Please keep in daily contact with this office and give us telephone contact points, etc., where you might be reached.

Enclosed are pre-addressed "franks" for the St. Louis Laboratory.

I am to phone Mr. Rorem next Monday to report our progress.

Enclosures—4.

THE QUESTION OF WIRETAPPING

HON. JOSEPH P. VIGORITO

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. VIGORITO. Mr. Speaker, with the passage last week by the Senate of the crime-in-the-streets bill much national attention was focused on the question of wiretapping. Recent public statements by knowledgeable persons and stories in the newspapers by eminent journalists have also brought the spotlight to rest on this very important legal and moral matter.

Since I have received mail on this subject from my constituents, I would like to make as a matter of public record my views on wiretapping.

Wiretapping is of great concern to me. It is an instrument with the potential for much good, for instance to combat crime. Yet, improperly utilized, it can cause great damage to our sacred individual rights. For that reason I feel that the jurisdiction over wiretapping should come under close Government scrutiny. Not everyone should be authorized to allow wiretapping. I believe that because of its wide ramifications, wiretapping authority should be entrusted only to the President of the United States and used only in matters of vital national security for the national defense.

Wiretapping could also be authorized on court order, similar to search warrants now issued on the request of law-enforcement officials. This would mean that a wiretapping order would be granted only after a police officer had made a thorough determination that it was necessary for the prosecution of a certain case and had sufficient evidence to prove this request before a court of law. Only after proof was given would the court issue the wiretapping order.

I believe that if we concentrate the power to authorize wiretapping in the hands of the courts of law and the President of the United States, we will prevent its abuse.

ISRAEL'S 20TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, May 15 marked the 20th anniversary of the State of Israel. I am pleased to pay tribute to the noble people who have succeeded in building a strong nation in a strategic part of the world despite enormous obstacles.

The development of Israel is one of the great success stories of this century. In 1948 when Israel proclaimed her independence she did not know which nations were her friends. With hostile nations surrounding her and a large portion of the land within her boundaries considered wasteland, Israel faced tremendous problems. Many of these problems have been overcome.

Israel has transformed much of her land into a highly productive state. Three-fourths of her food is now home grown and the value of agricultural production has increased tenfold in 20 years.

While the people of Israel are peace-loving, they have shown their enemies that they have the military strength and the determination to deal with aggressive acts. They are a permanent nation of the free world.

The United States, under the leadership of President Harry S. Truman, was the first nation to recognize the State of Israel. We should all be proud of the bonds of friendship which have grown since our first act of faith in behalf of Israel 20 years ago.

It is a privilege to congratulate the people of Israel on their great success. I believe each anniversary will mark even greater advances.

FEDERAL BUSINESS GAINS FROM FREE TRADE

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, it is quite encouraging to note the proposals contained in the President's Trade Expansion Act of 1968. There are two major areas in which the President's international trade recommendations seem to have particular significance.

The first is concerned with the elimination of the American selling price valuation system. At the present time, the U.S. chemical industry is the primary beneficiary of the ASP. Forty years ago, the ASP performed a needed function for what was then a young, struggling industry. But today the U.S. chemical industry is a formidable competitor in world chemical trade and the ASP is no longer needed to sustain it.

Our country's trade negotiators have been successful in obtaining significant concessions directly beneficial to our domestic chemical industry in exchange for the elimination of the ASP. But, we must act first, in order to gain the benefit of those concessions.

The President's Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will enable us to get those benefits.

The second area of importance under the new trade legislation concerns adjustment assistance for American workers and firms that are adversely affected by import competition.

In 1962 when we first adopted the Trade Expansion Act, we gave solemn assurances that help would be forthcoming for workers and firms adversely affected by our trade concessions. For various reasons, we have not been able to make good on that commitment.

Happily, the proposals in the new trade legislation presented to the Congress today will correct this situation. I support the President's trade bill as beneficial to workers and business alike. His message follows:

GREATER PROSPERITY THROUGH WORLD TRADE

To the Congress of the United States:

A nation's trade lines are its life lines. Open trade lines and active commerce lead to economic health and growth. Closed trade lines end in economic stagnation.

Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized these truths more than thirty years ago, when the nation and the world were in the grip of Depression.

On that March day in 1934 when he asked the Congress to pass the historic Reciprocal Trade Act, he pointed to America's declining world trade and what it meant to the nation: "idle hands, still machines, ships tied to their docks."

That Act set in motion three and a half decades of descending tariff barriers and rising world trade. Our producers and farmers found new markets abroad, and American exports multiplied twenty-fold.

This era of commercial progress was capped by the Kennedy Round Agreements reached at Geneva last year—the greatest success in all the history of international trade negotiations.

When I reported to the Congress last November on the Kennedy Round, I said it would mean new factories, more jobs, lower prices to families, and higher incomes for American workers and for our trading partners throughout the world.

Already, through these Agreements, tariff barriers everywhere are falling, bringing savings to consumers, and opening new overseas markets for competitive producers.

But the problems and the promises of world trade are always changing. We must have the tools not only to adjust to change, but to turn change to our advantage.

To prepare for the era of world trade unfolding before us now, I submit to the Congress today the Trade Expansion Act of 1968. This measure will:

maintain our negotiating authority to settle—advantageously—trade problems and disputes.

carry out the special Geneva agreement on chemicals and other products.

improve the means through which American firms and workers can adjust to new competition from increased imports.

OUR INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

The Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will strengthen relations with our trading partners in three ways.

First, it will extend through June 30, 1970 the President's authority to conduct negotiations for tariff reductions. This authority was contained in provisions of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 that have expired.

Most of this authority was used in negotiating the Kennedy Round. The unused portion of that Authority will give the President the flexibility to adjust tariff rates as future developments might require.

For example, the United States might find it necessary to increase the duty on a particular article—as the result of an "escape clause" action or a statutory change in tariff classification. In such event, we would be obliged to give other nations compensatory tariff adjustments for their trade losses.

Without this authority, we would invite retaliation and endanger American markets abroad.

I recommend that the President's authority to make these tariff adjustments be extended through June 30, 1970.

Second, the Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will eliminate the American Selling Price system of customs valuation. This action is necessary to carry out the special agreement reached during the Kennedy Round.

The American Selling Price system has outlived its purpose. It should be ended.

The generally accepted method of valuing goods for tariff purposes—which we and all our trading partners employ—is to use the actual price of the item to the importer.

But many years ago, to protect a few of our fledgling industries, we imposed on competing foreign goods—in addition to a substantial tariff—the special requirement that their tariff value be determined by American prices. Today this unusual system often produces tariff protection of more than 100 percent of the import cost of the product.

Such excessive protection is both unfair and unnecessary.

This system is unfair because it—

Gives to a few industries a special privilege available to no other American business.

Rests on an arbitrary method of valuation which no other nation uses.

Diverges from the provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Imposes an unjustified burden on the U.S. consumer.

This system is unnecessary because the few industries which it covers no longer need special government protection.

It applies primarily to the chemical industry in the benzenoid field. Yet chemicals, and benzenoids in particular, are among our most efficient and rapidly expanding industries. They have done well at home. They have done well in the international market. They are in a strong position to face normal competition from imports.

A supplementary agreement was negotiated at Geneva which will lower foreign tariffs on American chemicals and reduce certain non-tariff barriers—road taxes and tariff preferences—on American automobiles and tobacco. To receive these important concessions, the United States must eliminate the American Selling Price valuation system and thereby give foreign producers of chemicals and a few other products normal access to our markets. This bargain is clearly in our national interest—good for our industries, good for our workers, and good for our consumers.

I recommend that the Congress eliminate the American Selling Price system to remove inequities in our tariffs and enable us to take advantage of concessions negotiated in the Kennedy Round.

Third, the Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will provide for specific funding of our participation in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

This is the procedure we follow in meeting our financial responsibilities to all other international organizations.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade has become the most important forum for the conduct of international trade relations. The Kennedy Round took place under its auspices. Yet since 1947, we have financed our annual contribution to this Agreement through general contingency funds rather than through a specific authorization.

I recommend that the Congress authorize specific appropriations for the American share of the expenses of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

OUR NEEDS AT HOME

When trade barriers fall, the American people and the American economy benefit. Open trade lines:

Reduce prices of goods from abroad.

Increase opportunities for American businesses and farms to export their products. This means expanded production and more job opportunities.

Help improve the efficiency and competitive strength of our industries. This means a higher rate of economic growth for our nation and higher incomes for our people.

Some firms, however, have difficulty in meeting foreign competition, and need time and help to make the adjustment.

Since international trade strengthens the nation as a whole, it is only fair that the government assist those businessmen and workers who face serious problems as a result of increased imports.

The Congress recognized this need—in the Trade Expansion Act of 1962—by establishing a program of trade adjustment assistance to businessmen and workers adversely affected by imports.

Unfortunately, this program has been ineffective. The test of eligibility has proved to be too rigid, too technical, and too complicated.

As part of a comprehensive trade expansion policy, I propose that we make our adjustment assistance program fair and workable.

I recommend that Congress broaden the eligibility for this assistance. The test should be simple and clear: relief should be available whenever increased imports are a substantial cause of injury.

I intend to pattern the administration of this program on the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965. Determinations of eligibility will be made jointly by the Secretaries of Labor, Commerce and Treasury.

The adjustment assistance provisions of Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965 have been successful. They have well served American automobile firms and their workers as we have moved to create an integrated U.S.-Canadian auto market.

These provisions will expire on June 30.

I recommend that the Congress extend the adjustment assistance provisions of the Automotive Products Trade Act through June 30, 1971.

TRADE INITIATIVES FOR THE FUTURE

The measures I have recommended today will help us carry forward the great tradition of our reciprocal trade policy.

But even as we consolidate our past gains, we must look to the future.

First and foremost, we must ensure that the progress we have made is not lost through new trade restrictions.

One central fact is clear. A vicious cycle of trade restrictions harms most the nation which trades most. And America is that nation.

At the present time, proposals pending before the Congress would impose quotas or other trade restrictions on the imports of over twenty industries. These measures would cover about $7 billion of our imports—close to half of all imports subject to duty.

In a world of expanding trade, such restrictions would be self-defeating. Under international rules of trade, a nation restricts imports only at the risk of its own exports. Restriction begets restriction.

In reality, "protectionist" measures do not protect any of us:

They do not protect the American working man. If world markets shrink, there will be fewer jobs.

They do not protect the American businessman. In the long run, smaller markets will mean smaller profits.

They do not protect the American consumer. He will pay more for the goods he buys.

The fact is that every American—directly or indirectly—has a stake in the growth and vitality of an open economic system.

Our policy of liberal trade has served this nation well. It will continue to advance our interests in the future.

But these are critical times for the nation's economy. We have launched a series of measures to reduce a serious balance of payments deficit. As part of this program, I have called for a major long-run effort to increase our trade surplus. This requires that we push ahead with actions to keep open the channels of trade.

Many of our trading partners have indicated a willingness to cooperate in this effort by accelerating some of their tariff reductions agreed to in the Kennedy Round, and by permitting the United States to defer a portion of our tariff reductions. Furthermore, a number of Western European countries are now taking more active steps to achieve a higher rate of economic growth. This promises to increase the demand for our exports and improve our trade position.

To take full advantage of the expanded trading opportunities that lie ahead, we must improve the competitive position of American goods. *Passage of the anti-inflation tax is the most critical action we could take now to strengthen our position at home and in world markets.* The tax measure I have recommended will help prevent destructive price increases—which can sap the vitality and strength of our economy. Continued rapid increases in our prices would mean fewer exports and higher imports.

Second, other nations must join with us to put an end to non-tariff barriers.

Trade is a two-way street. A successful trade policy must be built upon reciprocity. Our own trade initiatives will founder unless our trading partners join with us in these efforts.

The Kennedy Round was an outstanding example of international cooperation. But major non-tariff barriers continue to impede the free flow of international commerce. These barriers now block many U.S. products from competing for world markets.

Some non-tariff barriers violate provisions of the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade. We will step up our efforts to secure the prompt removal of these illegal restrictions.

Other non-tariff barriers may not be illegal, but they clearly hamper and hinder trade. Such barriers are found in all countries; the American Selling Price system is an example of one of our non-tariff barriers.

We have initiated a major international study to assess the effect of non-tariff barriers on world trade.

We have already begun action in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and other international organizations to deal with some of these non-tariff barriers.

Efforts such as these are an important element in our trade policy. All sides must be prepared to dismantle unjustified or unreasonable barriers to trade.

Reciprocity and fair play are the essential standards for international trade. America will insist on these conditions in all our negotiations to lower non-tariff barriers.

Third, we must develop a long-range policy to guide American trade expansion through the 1970's.

I have directed the President's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations to make an intensive study of our future trade requirements and needs.

I would hope that Members of the Congress and leaders of Labor, Business and Agriculture will work with the Executive Branch in this effort. To help develop the foundations of a far-reaching policy, I will issue an Executive Order that establishes a wide basis for consultation and assistance in this important work.

AN EXPANDING ERA IN WORLD TRADE

The proposals in this message have been shaped to one purpose—to develop the promise of an expanding era in world trade

We started on this road three and a half decades ago. In the course of that journey, the American farmer, the businessman, the worker and the consumer have benefitted.

The road ahead can lead to new levels of prosperity and achievement for the American people. The Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will speed us on the way.

I urge the Congress to give this important measure its prompt and favorable consideration.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *May 28, 1968.*

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY, OF NEW YORK, RECEIVES HONORARY DEGREE

HON. DANIEL D. ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, my good friend and colleague, the Honorable JOHN M. MURPHY, of New York, recently toured Korea, South Vietnam, and other areas in Southeast Asia. Mr. Murphy is no stranger to this area; it was his third battlefield inspection of Vietnam, and he had served in Korea during the Korean War, where he won the Distinguished Service Cross, the Nation's second highest award for bravery. While in Korea Mr. Murphy was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the Sung Kyun Kwan University in Seoul. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of Mr. Murphy's speech on that occasion:

REMARKS BY REPRESENTATIVE JOHN M. MURPHY OF NEW YORK AT SUNG KYUN KWAN UNIVERSITY, SEOUL, KOREA, UPON RECEIVING AN HONORARY DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF LAWS, APRIL 15, 1968

The university occupies a key position in the life of a nation. As the depository for the cultural and intellectual wealth of a nation, the university provides the stability and continuity necessary to preserve and protect the nation's identity.

Regardless of changes in government or rule, whether they be internal or external, as long as the university survives, the nation will be assured of retaining its sense of purpose and direction and meaning.

As an American I cannot help be impressed with the longevity of your university. In the United States our oldest and most distinguished universities are only a few hundred years old, Sung Kyun Kwan University has been in operation for nearly a millennium, and was training leaders for your nation before my country had even been discovered.

But while a university is a link with the past, it is also a bridge to the future, while it preserves the old, it must also discover the new; it must be flexible enough to meet the demands of a changing world without sacrificing the strength and stability it derives from its ancient heritage.

Sung Kyun Kwan University has successfully met this dual responsibility. It met the impact of Western Civilization in the 19th century by introducing a new educational system to reap the benefits of both Eastern and Western culture; the year 1895 marks the date when your modern university was established.

Today, Sung Kyun Kwan University continues to play a leading role in the development of this nation. It is training a new generation of leaders who will lead Korea into the 21st century, just as it trained many of the leaders who today guide your nation.

But the university also fosters the educational, social and cultural development of the rest of the nation. It is both an example to be followed, and a stimulus to those who would follow. The great economic and social progress which today is so evident in Korea is directly indebted to this fine university.

In receiving this honorary Doctor of Laws Degree, I am honored first by the fact that this university occupies such a hallowed position in the history, both past and present, of your nation.

I am honored second because I feel very close to both your country and your people. I helped in your effort to defend your freedom more than fifteen years ago, and since that time I have maintained close ties with my many Korean friends, both in my country an here in Korea. I have met many of your national legislators when they visited the Congress of the United States, and I found that we had much in common, both as individuals and as nations. I am also proud to say that I am an honorary citizen of Kyung Sang Nam Do province.

Third, I am honored because this degree is in a field which I consider to be the most important in any free society. As a Representative in the Congress of the United States, it is my job to help write the laws which guide my nation, and I believe that the strength of the nation depends in a large part on the strength of those laws.

Law is the fabric of our societies. It is the source of our strength, it gives order to our lives, and it provides the framework within which we can live and prosper as individuals to the fullest extent of our capabilities.

Basically law is an expression of the relationship between men. It sets forth this relationship in a formal manner, but it is essentially an acknowledgment that men must respect the rights of the individual, that men share a common purpose in life, that men desire to be free to pursue their own goals in life, and that to do so they must establish a legal framework which protects both their own rights and the rights of others.

This common understanding between men evolves into mutual respect among nations. For the rights claimed by an individual are those claimed by a nation. Just as individuals want the freedom to live their own lives, so do nations want this freedom; just as men realize that cooperation and mutual respect for the differences between them is essential for orderly development of any society, so must nations realize that cooperation and mutual respect are essential for the peaceful development of the world.

The United States and Korea have fought for this philosophy in the past, and we stand shoulder to shoulder 'oday in Vietnam fighting for it once again. It is our common desire to live in peace under this philosophy, but it is also our common pledge to resist any attempt to destroy this philosophy.

It has been said that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." This has never been more true than it is today. Freedom cannot be sacrificed in one part of the world without endangering it throughout the world.

I am confident, however, that the universal desire for freedom will prevail on this planet, for freedom is the strongest force we know today. Man's technology has produced awesome weapons of mass destruction, but none has the power of an idea or a dream. Bombs can threaten to destroy much of the world, but the concept of freedom will eventually rule the world.

ARMENIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the great tragedy of these times is the subjugation of peoples under the Fascist-like dictatorship of Communists who now dominate the lands of Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and the Caucasus. One of the proudest of these nations is the Armenian people, its homeland now reduced to a puppet state in the U.S.S.R. But it was not always so. Just 50 years ago, the Armenians were a free and independent people with their own Government and their own state, without the bonds of tyranny or the chains of oppression.

The Republic of Armenia, patterned after the Republican government of the American system and some of the European nations, was born after the Great War amid the hopes of the Armenian people that they would finally realize their centuries-long dream of a free and independent nation of their own.

But the Armenians were unable to withstand the onslaught of other, more powerful countries. The Armenians had started their new country with the barest of resources and had believed they could coexist with their neighbors. Soon, Russia and Turkey were conspiring to end the Armenian dream of liberty. Just 2 years after the rebirth of Armenia that had once flourished as a proud nation before the rise of Greece and Rome, the Republic of Armenia succumbed to the strength of the Turkish and Russian Armies.

In those 50 years since the foundation of the Armenian Republic, other nations have come and gone, many forgotten by all but the historians. The principles of self-determination and freedom are expired dreams, lying in state with the nations that were created and nurtured on the slim hope that men would recognize the basic ideals of individual freedoms. The machinations of international diplomacy and power dealt the death blow to the Republic of Armenia because the world's free men did not care or would not be bothered with the struggling nation in the Caucasus Mountains.

But Armenia did not die in 1920, and the Armenian people did not end their valiant struggle for freedom, just as no free men surrender to the tyrants and the dictators who would lock the yoke of oppression around the neck of all men.

These people now living behind the barricades of intolerance and the thousands that live in exile, scattered across the world when their nation dissolved, have not forgotten Armenia. They will never relinquish their right to live again in their nation. It is their dream that one day the Armenians living in the U.S.S.R. and the Armenians denied the status of citizens will regain their nation.

On this 50th anniversary of the founding of the Armenian Republic on May 28, 1918, we, the free people of the world, must rededicate ourselves to the most basic principles of individual liberty under God—that all peoples should have the right to rule and govern themselves and be assured of a future for their children.

I congratulate the Armenians on this the anniversary of their Republic.

Theirs is not forgotten by free men.

REGRET FOR THE SITUATION IN WASHINGTON

HON. EDWIN W. EDWARDS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I was looking forward to a visit by a group of patriotic high school students from Jennings, La. The group planned to visit Washington on June 6 and had made all the necessary arrangements, including a scheduled guided tour of the White House. For reasons best expressed in the letter which follows, the group has elected to cancel its trip to our Nation's Capital. How tragic that in this Nation, Americans are fearful to visit our Capital as a result of the unrest, violence, and turmoil here in Washington. It is a sad commentary and a poor example to people around the world who are striving for the freedoms we so often boast exist here in America. I hope that it is not unrealistic to believe that in the near future all American citizens will demonstrate a desire to restore peace and quiet, law and order and a respect for law and order in our Capital and in our beloved Nation. That is the kind of march, and demonstration we need in troubled America. Hopefully, we can address ourselves, as the freest people known to mankind, to our sober and law-abiding ways and in full respect for the rights and privileges of all American citizens.

Mr. Speaker, I insert herein the letter received from these students and join with them in expressing my own regrets anent the situation now existing in Washington:

JENNINGS HIGH SCHOOL,
Jennings, La., May 16, 1968.

Hon. EDWIN EDWARDS,
House of Representatives, Seventh District, Louisiana, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. EDWARDS: This is a letter of thanks, regret and anger that we believe must be written.

First, thank you very much for taking such a strong interest in our proposed trip to Washington, D.C., and arranging for the trip through the White House that seemed to have such strong appeal to the students.

Secondly, we regret to inform you that we have been forced to cancel our trip to Washington. A vast majority of the parents felt that this was necessary. We realize that we may have been able to have stayed in Washington for a month and not have seen any violence, while possibly, one of our buses might have been in the wrong place at the wrong time and injury or worse may have occurred to our young people.

The angry part has to do with what I am sure you and the majority of other Americans believe very strongly. Our first reaction after having to cancel the trip was one of sorrow because so many young people had looked forward to this trip for such a long time and then to have it taken away from them was indeed a sorrowful thing. But the final reaction that set in, the one that is still very strong in us today, is one of anger—anger at the very thought that this country, which is so great and mighty and wealthy and has for so long upheld the foundations of freedom, would have allowed events to advance to the point that a group of high school students, intent on studying their nation's history and government, had to cancel a trip to their nation's capital. What has become of our freedom of travel? What has become of our freedom to pursue our educational goals? We don't know what has happened to them; we can only say we are very angry!

Again we say, thank you Congressman Edwards. The parents of this group really appreciate what you have done for us. I, also, would like to express my gratitude for your help.

Respectfully,
J. W. Adcock, Carolyn Ford, Glenda LeGros, Nancy Ford, Randy Sonnier, Ronald Billodeaux, Jimmy Doucet, Matt Dees, John Conner, Jr., Ann Spurry, Alice Marie Lockey, Buddy Bloch, Calvin Mire, Matt Hebert, Randy May, Ronald Wilkinson, Jeannie Adams Sandy Caldwell, Polly Mire, Diane Bertrand, Karla Nelson, Charlotte Cormier, Charles Patrick LeGros, Wally Constant, Jill Hebert, Valerie Dailey, Brenda M. Lejeune, Evelyn Settlemyer, Judy Pousson, Chris Vicknair, Connie Davis.

ELECTION PERIL AT PANAMA

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in a statement to the House on "Peril at Panama" in the RECORD of March 28, 1968, I commented on the much publicized attempt by the present National Government of Panama to control the outcome of this Isthmian country's presidential election in favor of the government's candidate and against the opposition.

In the May 12 election there were three aspirants for the presidency of Panama: David Samudio, the government candidate; Dr. Arnulfo Arias, the candidate of the opposition; and Dr. Antonio Gonzalez Revilla, candidate of the small Christian Democratic Party.

In contrast with the election practice in the United States, where the results of an election would be known in the night immediately following the vote, the results in Panama of the May 12 election are not yet known nor is it known when such announcement will be made. It seems clear, however, from returns of the workers for the three candidates that Dr. Arnulfo Arias was the winner. Such delay can be explained only by the manipulations of the parties in power.

The forces supporting the government's candidate, according to popular judgment in Panama and as given by prominent and objective newspapers with observers on the spot, is that the government of Panama is delaying action on the counting and announcement of the results of the vote for the purpose of formulating and putting into practice fraudulent procedures to defeat the majority of the voters.

Thus, in two news stories from Panama City by James Nelson Goodsell in the Christian Science Monitor of May 21 and 27, 1968, he cites open declarations by supporters of the government candidate that their purpose is to defraud the winner of his majority in favor of their own candidate; also that candidate Samudio has stated:

> We can do away with 25,000 (votes) but how can we get rid of 50,000?

The National Guard of Panama, which previously favored the government candidate, has recently announced that it will recognize as valid the vote as finally announced by the Panamanian Board of Scrutiny. Certainly, Panama, by its own actions, has again revealed its inherent political instability.

Because of the strategic importance of the Panama Canal the people of the United States have every right to be deeply concerned about the current situation at Panama.

They wish the candidate who received the required number of votes to be declared the winner and thus to see a constitutional outcome ensue with the course of fair play and justice observed. Just such a condition as now obtaining in Panama adds to the apprehension on the part of the U.S. Congress concerning Panamanian stability and the security of the Canal Zone and Panama Canal.

Because of their relevance, I quote as part of my remarks the indicated news stories by James Nelson Goodsell; also two editorials from important newspapers denouncing what has been transpiring in Panama:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, May 21, 1968]

PANAMA AWAITS VOTE REVIEW

(By James Nelson Goodsell)

PANAMA CITY.—Panama's long-drawn-out electoral drama shifted over the weekend to the high-ceilinged hall of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture here.

Seated at one end of the hall was Junta Nacional de Escrutino—the national board of scrutiny, composed of one member from each of the 10 parties represented in the May 12 presidential election.

Before the group were official papers from the first of 1,360 polling places throughout the nation.

The board's task: to decide whether David Samudio, the government candidate, or Dr. Arnulfo Arias, the opposition candidate, will be Panama's next president.

Mr. Samudio, a former finance minister in the Cabinet of outgoing President Robles, continues to claim a small margin of about 5,000 votes.

But, Dr. Arias also claims victory—by close to 50,000 votes.

And Dr. Antonio Gonzalez Revilla, candidate of the small but growing Christian Democratic Party, says his party's computations show a clear Arias victory.

BIG QUESTION POSED

In fact, most observers here tend to accept an Arias plurality. Then the question arises: Why shouldn't he be declared president?

Part of the answer lies in the attitude of government politicians. There is deep-seated bitterness between Arias and many in the government, going back many years to the previous two Arias presidencies. People in the Robles government do not want to see Arias president and have vowed to do all within their power to keep him from the presidency.

The tactic now seems to be one of delay in certifying the vote, allowing time for maneuver or, as one independent politician said, "allowing time for a miracle to happen."

The government-controlled electrical tribunal, which ordinarily gives results before the national board of scrutiny reviews the vote, has so far refused to issue any official returns.

ARIAS BACKING STRONGER

And thus the whole election focus has fallen on the board of scrutiny, which met for the first time Saturday and continued a rather confused meeting schedule Sunday and Monday.

The board's members include representatives from five parties supporting Dr. Arias, four supporting Mr. Samudio, and one from the Christian Democratic Party which has accepted an Arias victory. The government can vote only in case of a tie.

Thus on the surface of things, Arias forces appear stronger with six votes than Samudio forces with four.

This surface strength showed up over the weekend in various votes on procedural matters. A majority called for the vote review to begin with Panama City and then to go through the provinces in order of population. Traditionally, the vote review has taken provinces in strict alphabetical order.

EARLY LEAD VALUED

A debate over where to start counting may seem unimportant, for it will not change the vote, but to the parties involved it was a question of major importance. Panama City is conceded to be pro-Arias, and an early lead in the vote review was felt to be an important advantage by the Arias group.

Samudio supporters then got into the picture by obtaining an order from the electoral tribunal that the vote count follow alphabetical order. This was rejected by Arias supporters, who said the electoral-tribunal order was unofficial since it was not published in the nation's official gazette, having been issued on Sunday when the gazette is not published. And so it went.

The first polling places to undergo review late Sunday were in Panama City. Polling place No. 1 gave Dr. Arias 150 votes and Mr. Samudio 111.

The whole process of review is proving slow. In the first three hours, only 14 polling places had been certified.

LONG HAUL EXPECTED

A long haul in this vote review is expected. Apparently an Arias landslide would result in a difficult change result. The government tactic, as outlined to this reporter by one highly placed supporter of Mr. Samudio, is to "stall, stall, stall while we see what happens."

His comment came after that of still another Samudio supporter who virtually admitted the Arias lead. "We can do away with 25,000," he said, "but how can we get rid of 50,000?"

That question remains unanswered. But there are some people here who are convinced the government would find a way. At the same time if the board of scrutiny shows up a major Arias lead, it is going to be hard to deny him the presidency.

GUARD PROMISES RESPECT

Then, too, the National Guard, in a highly unusual statement, said it would "abide by and respect" the decision of the board of scrutiny.

The Guard is a small, efficient, United States-trained force. It has often played a role in Panama politics. It helped twice in deposing Dr. Arias from the presidency and has frequently indicated opposition to the former president.

Indeed, there is little friendship between Dr. Arias and Brig. Gen. Bolivar E. Vallarino, the guard commander.

But the Guard is not necessarily pro-government.

The statement saying it will respect the decision of the board of scrutiny indicates the Guard has decided, at least for now, to keep out of the political struggle. And in so doing, it has given a big boost to the Arias forces.

But it probably will be some weeks before a definite answer is available to the question of who is Panama's president-elect.

[From the Washington Daily News, May 24, 1968]

BAD ODOR IN PANAMA

It would take a spray can four stories tall to cover up the stench given off by the unscrupulous gentlemen trying to hang onto political power in Panama.

The bare facts tell the story of record-breaking chicanery by the government party. The elections were held May 12. The public is still waiting for the official results. Who got the most votes is no secret. The adding up of ballots got through 1295 of the 1341 tables, at which point it became obvious the opposition candidate, Dr. Arnulfo Arias, was going to beat the government man, David Samudio. So the stalling began.

Despite the tactics of Samudio's cronies, eventually the National Election Board is bound to complete its arithmetic. The ruling oligarchs have one more card; they control the Electoral Tribunal that has the power to overrule the election board. But the National Guard, Panama's army-police, which has been pro-Samudio, surprised many by declaring it will uphold the election board's finding.

Panama may still be in for renewed street fighting, or even civil war, before the election is finally "over."

Meanwhile to date, the conduct of overridingly ambitious politicians has given the entire Western Hemisphere a lesson that democracy can be crushed and mutilated not only by the likes of Fidel Castro and his communists, but by rich, hypocritical "aristocrats" who defile the basic instrument of democracy, the fair election. They, too, are a disgrace to the Hemisphere.

[From the New York Times, May 21, 1968]

PANAMA'S SHAME

A six-month power struggle within the narrow elite that runs Panama has now culminated in a fraud-ridden Presidential election, sporadic violence and a delayed vote-count—all of which threaten what passes in Panama for constitutional government. The country's 350,000 voters went to the polls a week ago Sunday, but it will be several weeks more before the official results are tallied and certified.

President Marco Robles is trying desperately to force the election of his candidate, former Finance Minister David Samudio. Opposition candidate Arnulfo Arias, in the opinion of most observers, obtained too large a lead in the capital city to be easily overcome even by a manipulated provincial vote. But two election boards are involved in determining the results, one controlled by the government, the other with an opposition majority, and the outcome remains in doubt.

The conflict has traced a bizarre course from the beginning, centering on personalities and clan allegiances rather than substantive issues. President Robles' choice of Mr. Samudio as his successor split the country's oligarchy. Four of the eight parties in his Government coalition broke away. They threw their support to Dr. Arias, a former President and leader of the country's largest party, giving the opposition a majority in the National Assembly.

The Assembly impeached, then removed Mr. Robles but Mr. Robles refused to surrender office. The National Guard, which serves as army and police, supported him until the pro-Robles Supreme Court declared the impeachment unconstitutional.

The United States is embarrassed in two ways.

The National Guard, with a strongly anti-Arias commander, will be tempted to stage a military coup if Dr. Arias is declared the winner. With its American advisers, equipment and training, the Guard is regarded as an American instrument by many Panamanians.

Meanwhile, new treaties concerning the Panama Canal, completed with Mr. Robles last summer, cannot be put through until the new President is installed. For the United States, the need is for great circumspection. It is a moment of shame for Panama, a failure in self-government out of which Panamanians alone can extricate themselves.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, May 27, 1968]

PANAMANIAN POLITICS AT CROSSROADS

(By James Nelson Goodsell)

PANAMA CITY.—Ever since Vasco Núñez de Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama and sighted the Pacific early in the 16th century, Panama has been the cross roads of the New World.

Long before the Panama Canal was built early in the 20th century, Panama had become a natural lifeline between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans—and a melting pot of peoples, allegiances, and ideas.

Its history has been chaotic—not only since it became independent at the turn of the century, but also earlier in Spanish colonial years and in an era when it was simply an appendage to Colombia.

In recent months, this history erupted again in a violent clash of men and allegiances. A power struggle for control of the Isthmian Republic of 1.3 million people culminated May 12 in the presidential election which may prove to have been one of the most fraudulent in Panamanian history.

LEADERS HOLD ON

Those in power today are just as unwilling to turn over power to others as their Spanish colonial ancestors were in the 16th century.

"Our history has a way of repeating itself," a young lawyer said here this week as he surveyed the election aftermath without any declared winner.

"We have the trappings of constitutional government," he added, "but trappings and little more. Things have changed little from Spanish times when Balboa, then Pedrarias [Pedro de Arias, a ruthless Spanish colonial official] and then others ruled this land."

In the presidential vote, more than 350,000 Panamanians went to the polls—and apparently chose opposition candidate Arnulfo Arias as their president by a 50,000-vote margin. But the government of Marco Aurelio Robles is doing what it can through alleged manipulation and admitted delaying tactics to prevent Dr. Arias from taking office.

SAMUDIO BACKED BY ROBLES

The Robles administration wants its candidate, David Samudio, former Finance Minister, to be Panama's next president.

The trouble is that government people here are finding it hard to "eat" 50,000 votes, as one government supporter called it the other day. The tactics of delay, employing a complicated election law, are being used by the Robles-Samudio team. With two election boards involved in determining the winners, there is plenty of opportunity for such tactics.

Politics here are based on personal loyalties and enmities—both of which run deep. But these loyalties and enmities can change, and often do. They did in this election when Panama's ruling oligarchs—several dozen families—split forces. Some went with Dr. Arias who, despite a family heritage in oligarchy, is something of a maverick.

What happens now as politicians maneuver to see who will be declared winner is an open question. The longer the Arias people await a decision, the more unhappy they will become. This could lead to many taking to the streets in support of Dr. Arias.

Already, a vicious, invective-filled campaign over the radio waves is part of the Panama scene. Radio stations operated by Fernando Eleta, Panama's foreign minister, and those supporting Mr. Samudio and Dr. Arias, are airing a variety of programs in which opponents are called everything from "sex deviates" to homosexuals to "illegitimate children."

It is the roughest personal sort of attack ever heard in Panama, according to long-time observers here who say, as one did this week, "Politicians here have stooped to new lows."

No one really knows what will happen. Panama's National Guard, a small but efficient military unit, may make the final decision—as it has frequently done in the past. How it will go is a major topic of discussion.

GUARD SAYS "HANDS OFF"

A few weeks ago it was thought the National Guard was on the side of President Robles and candidate Samudio. But now the picture has changed.

The Guard commander, Brig. Gen. Bolivar E. Vallarino, met last week with Dr. Arias. The guard subsequently issued a statement saying it would respect the decision of the National Board of Scrutiny in the election count. That board is composed of a pro-Arias majority.

AN EMERGING CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, the Poor People's Campaign has brought many civil rights leaders to Washington. Most of them are familiar figures from earlier and somewhat less tense days, but this Poor People's Campaign, the last dream of Dr. Martin Luther King, has brought at least one new leader to the national scene. Jesse Louis Jackson has long been active in the "movement" despite his youthful 26 years, but his new job as the city manager of Resurrection City has placed him in the position of being seen and known by everyone. The New York Times carried a feature on Mr. Jackson on Friday, May 24, after he quietly removed 300 campaigners from the front of the House Office Building. Feelings in the crowd were very tense because 18 members of the group had been arrested only moments earlier, but when Jackson arrived and talked with police and congressional officials, he was able to calm the group with a press conference and address in the Rayburn Building before they returned to Resurrection City.

I would like to commend Mr. Jackson for his actions on Thursday, for his dedication to nonviolence, and his determination to make Resurrection City work. For the benefit of those of my colleagues who did not see the Times profile, I am inserting the article following my remarks:

EMERGING RIGHTS LEADER: JESSE LOUIS JACKSON

WASHINGTON, May 23.—"We have been the nation's laborers, her waiters. Our women have raised her Presidents on their knees. We have made cotton king. We have built the highways. We have died in wartime fighting people we were not even mad at. America worked us for 350 years without paying us. Now we deserve a job or an income." The speaker was Jesse Louis Jackson, who at the age of 26, is one of the emerging leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

His speech was flawless as he preached what was undoubtedly the only revival sermon ever to come through a bullhorn through the third-floor hearing room of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in the Rayburn House Office Building.

Mr. Jackson, who is to be ordained a Baptist minister on June 30 in Chicago, is the city manager of "Resurrection City, U.S.A.," the shantytown headquarters of the Poor People's Campaign. He rushed to the Rayburn Building today after 18 of his townfolk were arrested.

After a quick conference with the police and Congressional officials, the arrests were stopped and the band of about 300, including newsmen, crowded into the hearing room for an hour and a half of song, prayer and Mr. Jackson's remarks.

Mr. Jackson looks like a leader. He is more than six feet tall and weighs more than 200 pounds. He always seems serious, and he rarely smiles. According to his friends, he can carry on a conversation with a white businessman on the sociology of the black ghetto one minute, and shout the language of "soul" to black gang leaders the next.

"And he hasn't forgotten how to talk to the people he grew up with," said Dr. Robert S. Moore, the dean of students at the Chicago Theological Seminary.

Mr. Jackson spent two full-time years at the seminary in 1964 and 1965 before his activities with "Operation Breadbasket," the economic uplift program of the leadership conference began taking most of his time.

The program, which Mr. Jackson now heads nationwide at the personal request of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., was organized to provide jobs for low-income Negroes by posing the threat of a boycott on businesses who did not cooperate in the program.

BORN IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. Jackson was born in Greenville, S.C., on Oct. 8, 1941, the eldest of the two sons of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Henry Jackson. His father has worked as a maintenance man in the Greenville post office for more than a decade.

His mother, Mrs. Helen Jackson, remembers him as a "very handsome young man." He saved his money, she said, from jobs in a bakery, theater, drive-in restaurant and elsewhere. He also was a Boy Scout.

Mr. Jackson's right arm and his good high school grades got him into college. The University of Illinois offered him a football scholarship, which he accepted. But after a year there he transferred to North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro, a predominantly Negro school.

There, he became the all-American collegian—star quarterback, head of the student government, honor student, national officer of his fraternity, Omega Psi Phi. There, he also became interested in civil rights and led students into segregated restaurants in Greensboro.

At North Carolina A. & T., he met his future wife, Jacqueline. They live in South Chicago and have three children, Santita aged 5, Jesse Jr., aged 3, and Jonathan Luther, one year old.

BEEF IMPORTS AFFECT ADVERSELY EVERY U.S. CITIZEN

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, the American cattlemen are becoming a vanishing race. Through no fault of the U.S. beef producers, the foreign imports of cheap meat are ruining the most basic American industry.

Because the cattleman must of necessity spend most of his time in the hills and has little time or talent for communicating his plight and problems to the Congress or the American consumer, under unanimous consent, I include an exceptionally good and informational article from the California Cattleman relating to the present and future U.S. foreign trade policy pertaining to the widening disparity of beef products between imports and U.S. exports.

FUTURE OF U.S. FOREIGN TRADE POLICY

(Statement of the American National Cattlemen's Association to the Trade Information Committee)

Beef imports have a direct impact on all levels of the U.S. beef and live cattle market. First, and most obvious, is that the family dining on imported beef is not in the market that mealtime for any domestic product, whether it be domestic ground beef from cows, steers, bulls or heifers or from fed beef roast or steak.

In 1967, imports of beef, veal and other meats subject to the 1964 import law were equivalent to 6.2 percent of U.S. commercial beef production.

The importation of inexpensively produced boneless beef from foreign sources has had a significant influence on packers and processors who no longer are, as a result of these imports, encouraged to actively bid for "two-way" cattle. There are animals generally weighing from 700 to 800 pounds which could go either into the feedlot or to the packer for slaughter and boning. By transferring their own labor and other costs to foreign nations, these packers sidestep active competition for a domestic supply of animals which has remained abundant, but which has gone, largely, for want of a better home, to the feedlot. In other words, since domestic packers and processors have such high labor costs and can purchase imported manufacturing beef for "blending" purposes for less than what they can afford to slaughter and bone out domestic two-way cattle in tthe U.S., they will do so, and as a result, directly contribute to too many fed beef animals.

Therefore, excessive imports in past years have led to a condition which contributes to the plight of the stockman in two basic ways: (1) Presenting direct competition with domestically produced beef for a significant number of "stomachs"; and (2) taking away competition for an even more significant number of "two-way" cattle that are domestic supply of ample quantities of lean beef, and measureably contributing to the oversupply of fed beef tonnage by increasing the average slaughter weights of these same cattle by 300 to 500 pounds.

United States export-import maladjustment must be corrected by taking it out of the realm of theory. Beef imports and objectives of foreign aid must be disassociated from commercial realities. Domestic beef producers can operate in no other way than upon hard business facts. Balancing low present gross income equivalent to 20 years ago with constantly inflating costs of operation, has become an impossible task.

No matter how production costs are held down by new efficiencies, costs beyond the pasture or feedlot have jumped so immensely that there is no opportunity to compete "big" in export trade except in certain offal or variety meat items.

There *is* an ample supply of beef available in the U.S. which could meet the demands and consumer preference at home and in some foreign countries, *providing* such beef could conceivably be made available to these countries on a competitive basis.

Dr. G. Alvin Carpenter, agricultural economist at the University of California, made an extensive survey on prospects for U.S. beef sales in Europe, published in December 1965, with the USDA as cosponsor. The report said, "Exports of U.S. chilled beef to Western Europe are overshadowed by three or four major impediments," and added "Major hindrance to moving U.S. beef to Europe is price . . . possibilities for narrowing this price gap are becoming less promising as we look into 1966. Unless sizeable reductions in ocean freight rates and other handling costs can be achieved, the price gap will still be too great to generate such trade . . ."

Since that report, the price gap generally has widened due to exceptional inflation in the U.S. while most European Countries have held down inflation.

Labor cost in food marketing, according to USDA, has increased at an average annual rate of four percent, or 42 percent in the past 10 years. Services went up by 24 percent and other items more than 4 percent. At the same time, meat imports into the U.S. have increased by 21 percent just in the three years since the Trade Expansion Act of 1964. And these added millions of pounds have entered the U.S. in such erratic pattern that normal marketing flow has been disrupted, at times as much as 42 percent over a previous month. No matter how carefully domestic beef producers may attempt to plan orderly marketing to even out price levels, they cannot program serious unknowns such as large irregular imports. (See Chart No. 1.)

The domestic beef cattle industry subscribes to the doctrine of "reasonableness" with respect to the importation of beef to the U.S. The 1964 meat import law was aimed in this direction but in practice has created severe irregularities that amount almost to "dumping" at certain periods when heavy domestic marketings are also present in the U.S. market. Chart No. 2 graphically shows the pattern of import flow and demonstrates the bulk of imports arrive in the U.S. at a time of high cow slaughter and thus create a price depressing effect on those domestically produced animals.

While other countries have imposed export subsidies and border taxes, the U.S. continues its policy of foreign aid and tariff concessions without regard to the domestic cattle industry.

We continue to support the basic market sharing approach, but economic disparity has become so pronounced that modification of the present meat import law is essential.

Particularly, meat imports into the U.S. must be leveled out so that during periods of domestic abundance a double price depressing effect will be alleviated. This is more important now in view of an intensified effort presently being made by cattle producers and feeders nationwide to bring domestic beef supplies into proper balance with effective demand.

We see the widening disparity of beef and cattle products between imports and U.S. exports. These cannot be overcome under any foreseeable circumstances because of domestic policies creating greater inflation and because of foreign policies which place foreign aid and balance of trade above commercial reality that guides private industry domestically.

If exports-imports are considered necessary for the benefit of the U.S. as a whole, then all the citizens should pay equally rather than place disproportionate cost upon the beef producing segment of the nation.

To further illustrate the present import-export situation affecting U.S. cattlemen, other countries demonstrated their unwillingness to share their market during the Kennedy Round in 1967. The breakdown in negotiations revolved around refusal of the participating countries, particularly in the EEC, to permit access for competing meats on any kind of equal basis. While the U.S. opens its borders to nearly a billion pounds of beef annually, as called for in the Meat Import Act of 1964, other countries adamantly keep it a one-way street. Indications are that future negotiations will not change the situation.

In summary, the U.S. producers are placed in the untenable position of "giving away" a large portion of their domestic market while the U.S. and other exporting nations are being prevented from gaining access to outside markets. Three factors beyond U.S. producers' control reveal their price-destroying position: (1) Refusal of foreign countries to agree upon mutually equitable trade terms; (2) Rising domestic inflationary costs that prevent profitable exchange; and (3) Unpredictable and erratic import supplies to the U.S. at prices that cannot be met by domestic producers and which depress the domestic market at frequent periods of oversupply.

Mr. Speaker, many industries of our Nation are plagued with problems. Many of these suffer from self-induced troubles. Numerous U.S. industries are facing devastating underselling from foreign competitors. Some U.S. industries have priced themselves out of the foreign markets. Some U.S. industries have failed to produce a product superior to competing foreign products. Although it is questionable how much the Federal Government should undertake to assist industries which overprice their products or which produce inferior goods, we in the Congress are importuned every day to come to the aid of just such an industry.

Some industries do not fit into this general practice.

The plight of the U.S. beef producer is as precarious as any U.S. industry facing foreign competition today. However, the U.S. beef producer did not cause his products to be overpriced, and his quality is the highest in the world. Furthermore, the beef industry may be our most important and strategic industry. Agriculture is our No. 1 industry, and beef is the No. 1 agricultural product. If our beef-producing industry is bankrupt by unfair, cheap foreign competition, we could not revive it in case of an international emergency.

Every Member of the Congress should understand the plight of the U.S. cattle producer and contemplate the consequences of the current conditions which are worsening, rather than improving.

REDWOODS

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, in a statement which appears in yesterday's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD I included an editorial from the Washington Post endorsing the exchange of the Northern Redwood Purchase Unit as a means of reducing the outlay necessary to acquire a Redwood National Park.

Today the New York Times in an editorial lends its voice in support of the Purchase Unit exchange.

In the view of the Times it is "critically urgent" that the Congress complete action on the Redwood Park this session. I agree.

I commend the Times editorial to the attention of my colleagues and to the readers of the RECORD by inserting it at this point:

DECISION TIME FOR REDWOODS

A House Interior subcommittee held the final round of hearings last week on bills to establish a Redwoods National Park. The Senate last year passed a bill to create such a park and the time for a decision is now approaching in the House.

As part of the compromise worked out in the Senate, the nationally owned Redwood purchase unit of 14,500 acres administered by the Forest Service would be traded to private timber companies in exchange for land to be included in the park. It was only to be expected that the Forest Service would resist such a trade, and Secretary of Agriculture Freeman duly set forth its objections in his testimony the other day. As a general principle, it is better for the Federal Government to buy the lands it seeks and not to engage in barter deals. These transactions only encourage private interests to shop around for desirable portions of the public domain and, as Secretary Freeman emphasized, unhealthy precedents can thus be set.

However, in this instance, the special purpose for which the purchase unit was set aside is no longer relevant and the fiscal pressures of the Vietnam war make it essential that the Government's financial outlay be kept to a minimum. Moreover, an emergency exists today because Georgia Pacific has with supreme arrogance already cut some of the historic trees that should have been saved for the park; and there is no certainty that the existing industry moratorium on logging inside the proposed park boundaries can be extended to next year.

Under the circumstances, it is critically urgent that the Congress complete action on a Redwoods National Park before the end of this session. The two-unit park envisaged in the Senate bill is smaller than this newspaper believes desirable, but it does afford protection to a portion of the beautiful trees in Redwood Creek as well as those in Mill Creek. The Senate bill is a minimum measure. Efforts to shrink it still further in the name of "economy" are tantamount to sabotaging the entire project.

FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF HARLINGEN, TEX.

HON. ELIGIO de la GARZA

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, it has recently come to my attention that the First Christian Church of Harlingen, Tex., was among the top award winners among winning youth, Chistian Endeavor societies and other local groups in the the International Society of Christian Endeavor's Christian youth witness program.

First place went to four Christian Endeavor societies of the New Cumberland Christian Church, New Cumberland, W. Va., for their "Sing Out," which challenged its audiences to stand up and be counted as loyal Americans and God-fearing citizens.

The second award was made to the 25 members of the high school group of the Harlingen, Tex., First Christian Church under the sponsorship of Mrs. H. R. Fuqua, herself an outstanding lady. These boys and girls entered a float in the community Christmas parade and took first honors in the church division. The float depicted a church with children inside at worship, carrying out the message, "Worship at the church of your choice."

Mrs. Fuqua said, and I can certainly verify the fact, that this annual project faced special difficulties in 1967. Because of the hurricane and floods in September school was delayed 3 weeks and many of the youth helped in the cleanup, thus giving the students less time for preparation for the parade December 8, and to top it all off, when the float was almost completed, there was another downpour which ruined the work already done so they had to begin again.

Undaunted, they started again from scratch, and the parade was viewed by

20,000 people, mostly youth. as well as untold thousands on television. Dick Ross was float chairman and Kathy Wetzel was president. The pastor, Rev. W. E. Davis, proudly says these young people carry their witness to the community by many acts of service as well as worshipping regularly in their own church.

Mr. Speaker, at the time my district was ravaged by Hurricane Beulah and the ensuing floods, I myself was moved to comment on the floor of this Chamber at which time I said:

There is no beginning and there is no end of those who helped. Let me talk about the young people. You talk about the younger generation. You talk about the young people in high schools and in colleges and you see how they are publicized in what they are doing. But you should have seen the young people in my district (and Harlingen was in the area hardest hit by this disaster). They were filling sandbags. They were helping in the refuge shelters. They were acting as interpreters when there were people from Mexico. They were acting as runners for the Civil Defense organization and for the volunteer agencies such as the Red Cross and the Salvation Army. I do not have any question about the young people of my district. Oh, they might publicize someone who gets out of line now and then. But I think if we all look back, we were out of line now and then. I cannot do anything but commend the young people of that area because really I think we learned a lot from them. They brought the whole high school football teams and the coaches and teachers and worked as a team . . . that is how they filled the sandbags—when one sandbag made the difference between whether a city would be under water or not . . . so I think they publicize too much what the young people may do that is wrong. I am here to say that I saw what they did there and what they did was right, and, by golly, they did a lot of things that were right.

Mr. Speaker, what I said then still goes, not just for this group, of whom I am justly proud, but for the majority of our young people, and I think not just the winners, but the youthful participants in this witnessing program all over the country can be proud, and we can be proud of them. Thank you.

SPREAD THE WORD AND SAVE THE TAXPAYERS MONEY

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include here, for the wider reading it eminently merits, a most interesting and revealing article by the distinguished columnist, Carl T. Rowan, that appeared in last Sunday's issue of the Washington Star outlining the activities of the personnel in the Inspector General's office of the State Department in trying to save the hard-earned dollars of the American taxpayer for which these public servants are owed the deepest gratitude.

Mr. Rowan's article is especially timely and thought provoking as the Congress and the people face the challenge of establishing priority spending standards in order to maintain the financial stability of this country. Inherent in this recital is the silent admonition to all custodians of the taxpayers' money to "go now and do likewise," and I most earnestly hope the admonition is clearly heard and fully observed throughout the whole structure of our Government.

The article follows:

OUR TIRELESS, UNSUNG, DOLLAR-SAVING AGENTS

(By Carl T. Rowan)

One day last May two inspectors from the office of the State Department's Inspector General for Foreign Assistance were walking through a warehouse in Buenos Aires, Argentina. They found 18 large crates of tool kits that the Defense Department had shipped to Paraguay's Ministry of National Defense more than nine years earlier.

After the Inspector General's Office (IGA) proded the Defense Department, the crates finally reached their destination.

IGA inspectors analyzing vouchers last year discovered that the Agency for International Development (AID) was financing the shipment to the Dominican Republic of: James Bond lunch-kits, dolls' eyes, dolls' hair, cocktail napkins, champagne glasses, chrome hub caps, toy snakes, and bubble gum.

There were $84,572 worth of items on these vouchers that AID later determined were ineligible for shipment, and for which AID claimed reimbursement from the Dominican Republic government.

Last June, IGA inspectors walking the docks of Weehawken, N.J., came upon 16 tons of chains that had been "shipped" to Pakistan in 1965. The chains finally got to Pakistan last September.

Probably the most unsung group of people in the U.S. government are the officers of IGA. The 23 men who work under J. Kenneth Mansfield, the inspector general, and his deputy, Howard Haugerud, are the scourge of embassy incompetents the world over.

They have cost some people their jobs and caused others to face federal indictments.

They have also uncovered enough embarrassing situations in time for them to be corrected to prevent the entire foreign aid program from going down the drain. In this economy-minded Congress, only the most dramatic evidence that the State Department is effectively policing our military and economic aid programs has kept the foreign aid programs alive—weak though they are.

It was an IGA officer who tipped off former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara that the military was shipping ridiculous amounts of whisky into Vietnam.

The choicest brands of scotch, liquors, and wines were poured into Saigon in such profusion that nobody knew how much was where. Then an IGA man came upon a mountainous supply that the South Vietnamese were about to auction off. That brought the stream of whisky for Vietnam to a slow trickle.

It was also an IGA team which discovered that, although only 750 women in Vietnam were "eligible" to buy hairspray at U.S. PXs, the Pentagon was shipping in 100,000 to 200,000 cans each month.

An IGA protest stopped these exorbitant shipments—and deprived the GIs of a favorite bargaining commodity in Vietnamese fun houses.

These IGA officers, who shun the limelight, are not always viewed as a plague by our missions overseas. One team went to Peru last year and raised some harsh questions about lavish plans for a student union building at the La Molina agricultural university. Not only were the top two stories of the building postponed, at a saving of $1,250,000, but a senior AID official in Lima wrote:

"I count your calling the La Molina matter to our attention as the most useful of the services which your visit here rendered."

IGA inspectors are now toting up the many millions of dollars in foreign exchange that they have saved the U.S. over the last year—just by forcing the use of surplus local currency in some countries where dollars were being spent carelessly.

Mansfield's agents are popular with Congress, though possibly considered traitors by every other department in government, for a most unusual reason: though allocated two million dollars a year to carry out its work, IGA has never spent as much as a million dollars.

So IGA not only challenges the bureaucracy to do as it says, but to do as it does.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE START OF AIRMAIL SERVICE IN NATION AND IN PITTSFIELD, MASS.

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, this year marks the 50th anniversary of the inauguration of a great advance in bringing closer together Americans living everywhere across our broad land. For it was in 1918 that an adventurous pilot departed from this Nation's Capital in a fragile single-engine aircraft carrying for the first time a cargo of U.S. mail. With that initial flight, watched by a nervous Postmaster General on the ground, the Post Office Department's airmail service took off on a flight that has been characterized by ever swifter and more efficient delivery of the mails that are so essential to business, government, and happiness of separated families and friends.

Within 20 years of that first Washington to New York flight, mail was being flown coast-to-coast day and night in one-quarter of the time required by surface mail. Most smaller cities and towns in between, too, were benefiting from the faster airmail service.

Pittsfield, Mass., entered the airmail picture on May 19, 1938, so I am happy that 1968 is also the 30th anniversary of airmail service for my own hometown. In the beginning, Pittsfield served as the center collection point for all mail of Berkshire County destined for air transport. By 1949, scheduled flights to Albany, N.Y., were in effect and Pittsfield became sectional center for all western Massachusetts cities and towns. Daily air service to Springfield, Mass., and Albany began in 1965, and today there are, in addition, four round trip air taxi flights to New York carrying Pittsfield's daily average of 1,000 pounds of mail. As a result, Pittsfield is no further than 2 mail days away from any place in the Nation. Previous to the air taxi service, mail to and from the west coast sometimes took 5 days for delivery.

The continually improving mail service enjoyed by Pittsfield was a prime example of the progress being made nationwide in postal service. Using volume as one indicator, we see the 8.5 million pounds of mail carried by air in 1931 increased to over 250 million pounds by 1967.

Today 75 percent of all that mail is being delivered the day after mailing—much faster than the 7-day delivery time of 1922. As of January this year, the Post Office Department airlifted, not just airmail, but all first-class mail that could be expedited in any way by air transportation.

The price paid by Americans enjoying swift, efficient mail delivery in 1968 is 6 cents per letter, a far less expensive rate that the 24 cents an ounce charged for the 1922 airmail delivery.

I am happy to have the opportunity to serve on the House Post Office Appropriations Committee and to be able to have close and continuing contact with the Post Office Department and I am proud to be a resident of Pittsfield which has long played an important role in the development of mail delivery by air.

CONGRESSMAN PODELL RECEIVES A GIFT FROM THE YESHIVA OF FLATBUSH

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on the 24th day of March 1968, the Yeshiva of Flatbush, one of the leading Hebrew parochial schools in the United States, held its annual dinner, at which time two outstanding members of the community, Mr. and Mrs. Irving Allerhand, were honored. Over 1,000 guests were assembled at the dinner, including an illustrious alumnus of the Yeshiva of Flatbush, the Hon. BERTRAM L. PODELL, our newest Member from the 13th Congressional District in Brooklyn, N.Y.

During his prepared remarks, Dr. Jack Walker, president of the yeshiva, surprised the audience by calling upon Congressman PODELL to rise for a presentation. In Mr. Walker's remarks he said the following:

Thank you Mr. Chairman. With your kind permission, I wish to depart from the program for a few moments to acknowledge the presence of a distinguished alumnus of the Yeshiva of Flatbush, a director of our institution and now a member of the House of Representatives of the United States of America. I am honored to call your attention to the Hon. Bertram Podell—our new Congressman—in recognition of his great achievement. The Yeshiva of Flatbush is proud to present a most meaningful gift, the symbol of our faith and identity as Jews; a mezuzah, to be affixed to the door of his new office in Washington.

Mr. Congressman, surely you associate the words on the seal of your Alma Mater, our Yeshiva, with the same words found in the Shema inscribed on parchment in the mezuzah, "and you shall teach them diligently to your children."

The Shema, the cornerstone of the Jewish faith and the Yeshiva, the cornerstone of our children's education are those lasting influences in their character training for loyal American citizenship and their legacy for moral, religious and ethical living. These traditions are also part of your fibre, to our great distinction and yours.

We are proud of you, our distinguished graduate, Mr. Congressman, for your achievement in the sphere of government and for your example of upright character and high idealism.

May G-d set in your heart the spirit of wisdom and understanding to uphold peace and freedom. May He bless all that you undertake on behalf of the citizens whom you represent.

At the conclusion of Dr. Walker's remarks, those who were sitting close to the Congressman saw that he was genuinely moved and he was heard to remark that this was one of the most touching moments of his life.

Shortly thereafter, Emanuel B. Quint, now a member of the board of trustees of the Yeshiva of Flatbush, went to Washington and in the presence of Congressman PODELL and his staff, proudly affixed the mezuzah to the doorpost of his congressional office.

Knowing our distinguished colleague, Congressman PODELL, as I do, I know that he is proud of the remarks made by Dr. Walker and of the mezuzah which is affixed to the doorpost of his office in Washington. Congressman PODELL can also be very proud of the high esteem in which he is held by the Yeshiva of Flatbush.

As a new Member of Congress, BERTRAM PODELL, with his background of experience in the New York State Legislature, is destined to become one of the leaders in the Congress of the United States and thus serve the best interests of his constituents.

C. & O. NATIONAL MONUMENT

HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. GUDE], has taken the lead in the effort to maintain the C. & O. Canal National Monument within the Potomac National River concept proposed by the administration. The Washington Post editorial of May 18 makes a clear and worthy case for the preservation of the identity of this historic waterway.

I insert the editorial at this point in the RECORD, and commend it highly to my colleagues of the Congress:

HISTORIC VALUES

Rep. Gilbert Gude has made a good point about preserving the identity of the historic Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. The old canal and its towpath between Washington and Cumberland were made a national monument by President Eisenhower. Under the Administration's bill to create a Potomac National River, the national monument would be abolished and the property would be absorbed into the much larger park occupying both shores of the river.

Although we heartily support the National River concept, we think it is desirable to preserve the identity of the C. and O. Canal National Monument for historic reasons. The towpath has become a favorite trail for thousands of hikers each year. The old locks, lock houses and other facilities are a source of enormous historic interest that should not be lost. Indeed, these relics ought to be restored and preserved without waiting for full realization of the National River project.

Mr. Gude's point is that there is no more reason for abolishing the C. and O. National Monument than there is for abolishing the Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, which is also a part of the Potomac basin. The latter is left intact under the bill. The same could be done with the "monument" for the sake of emphasizing the rich history associated with it. Administration of the three units could then be merged or closely coordinated without upsetting historical values.

CRIPPLING OUR MERCHANT MARINE AKIN TO DEPRIVING POLICE OF SQUAD CARS

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the La Mesa (Calif.) Scout, May 23, 1968]

CRIPPLING OUR MERCHANT MARINE AKIN TO DEPRIVING POLICE OF SQUAD CARS

The Johnson administration, like some of its predecessors, is bound and determined to saw off the legs of one of America's most precious adjuncts in national security.

This week, the administration announced its plans for the Merchant Marine program.

Slash. Slash. Slash.

Johnson's hatchetmen would lop off by 60 per cent the proposal of the U.S. Senate Commerce Committee.

Included in the hatchet job is the whacking of a proposed $300 million program for ship building to $110 million.

The administration has a lot of pat answers for questions that Congress—and the public—raise on the Merchant Marine role in national defense.

It is costly to subsidize passenger liners that cost the government $275 for each passenger transported . . . Atomic ships are not economically competitive with those normally powered . . . Aircraft has supplemented the need for shipping . . . Reforms are needed.

If our present administration had its way, the Merchant Marine would be cast aside as worthless.

It's almost like paying for a large police force but not providing squad cars.

Our federal government thinks nothing of throwing billions of dollars across the seas to foreign nations in the guise of investment for national security. Our administration has tossed billions of dollars into a space program and a few billion here and a few more there for a fighter plane that still has to prove itself as a satisfactory weapon along with a supersonic transport that may or may not prove economically feasible.

Yet, from a practical standpoint, we have had difficulty in supplying troops in a "limited brush fire war" in Viet Nam. We have been in a position where we would have to back down in a confrontation by communists from North Korea simply because we did not have the means to prosecute any other "brush fire wars."

It is said that an atomic-powered merchant vessel is not economically competitive. Still, this nation moves ahead with atomic development to create electricity, fresh water and many other uses . . . on the grounds that such development eventually will prove beneficial.

* * * * *

But let us consider the plight of our Merchant Marine.

In ranks somewhere around 10th or 11th among world powers. While we have let our Merchant Marine dwindle, Russia has risen to eminence in this field. Japan has built super tankers that dwarf the giants that plied the seas only a few years ago. So-called friendly nations have been supplying BY SEA the very forces that oppose our servicemen on the field of battle.

We are losing a war on the home front. We have sold off many of our best vessels as surplus. Those remaining in mothball are of nebulous value. Even the de-mothballing practice should bear scrutiny. The national public—and Congress—demanded a better seaborne weapon be used off the coast of North Viet Nam and the administration belatedly complied with the de-mothballing of the battleship New Jersey. That ship has been a year in the re-fitting process. It still hasn't put to sea for Viet Nam and it may not be used . . . if peace talks are successful. In other words, mothballing doesn't mean that a ship can be made readily available.

Moreover, one must consider what is left in the mothball fleets that dot rivers and bays on three coastal fronts. We have sold off most of our better vessels. Even those, by the way, were ships built 20 years ago of a design intended for swift, easy construction.

We have spent a mere pittance in new design. We have done little enough in mechanization of loading or automation in operation of the merchant vessels now under American flag.

We find a number of ex-American vessels under foreign flags, supposedly friendly to us. We also find many of these same shipping firms have supplied our enemy. Their friendship and availability in time of need is a matter of question.

We will argue the matter of subsidization at any level. We maintain that virtually every industry and utility in this country is under subsidization of one sort or another. We can range from the aircraft industry to other forms of transportation to the oil interests to communications to the farmer. It may be an out-and-out subsidy or it may be a tax advantage. Whatever, it is governmental aid. Even the taxpayer is subsidized. Federal and state funds go toward local education. State and federal tax refunds go toward the highway and street improvement on the local level.

Who kids anyone when he says federal aid is limited. It is omnipresent.

American costs of shipping are high because American labor costs are high. We must accept this—not blame the Merchant Marine for its predicament.

In just a few years, we have seen a nation strip itself of a merchant fleet second to none to one that is strictly 10th rate.

In the meantime, a nation that has challenged us in many phases of life, Russia, has done everything it can to build the world's greatest merchant marine.

And now we find our federal administration is bent upon slicing the proposed expenditures for maintaining the miniscule Merchant Marine by 60 per cent.

We doubt that Congress will let this transpire.

Congress has protected the Merchant Marine just as it has protected other facets of national security.

This isn't a Congress of yesteryear that thought the seas which surrounded us on most of three sides were our greatest national defense. This is a Congress aware that those oceans are now avenues of attack or thoroughfares for our conduct of war, as well as avenues for peaceful business.

* * * *

We would support this Congress even if we were residing in the Ozarks or beside a lake in Wisconsin or deep in the heart of Texas.

A strong Merchant Marine is paramount in our picture of national security. We cannot afford to let it be destroyed by a negligent administration.

We want squad cars for our police force and we want merchant vessels that fly our own flag . . . are capable of serving us in time of need . . . that operates efficiently today . . . not a fleet on paper draft or a mothballed, motley collection of derelicts.

BAIL AND RIOTS

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert the Washington Post editorial, "Bail and Riots," of May 27, 1968, so that all Members may have a chance to consider it.

The editorial follows:

BAIL AND RIOTS

The argument in the District's Judicial Conference over denial of bail to suspected arsonists and rioters during a critical emergency was in part based on semantics. The special committee appointed by the Judicial Council to study bail problems had recommended that judges here be granted additional authority "to deny release entirely for persons charged with certain riot-connected offenses for the duration of an officially declared emergency." Opponents of the recommendation denounced it as "preventive detention," and its sponsors defended it as an essential means of avoiding chaos in times of widespread civil disturbance.

There is good reason to be concerned, of course, over "preventive detention" proposals. One major purpose of the Bail Reform Act is to prevent judges from trying to curtail future crime by putting a price on liberty that poor defendants cannot meet. That is an inexcusable practice, and there should be no retreat from the determination to abolish it. The problem of crime committed while the accused is awaiting trial should be attacked by other means. The American Bar Association Committee on Pretrial Proceedings recently noted that, when there are indications that an accused may be a menace to the public, the courts should be able to limit his movements and associations, prevent him from possessing a dangerous weapon or put him under supervision of an officer of the court. The Bar group also suggested that judges be authorized to revoke the release of a defendant if he violates the conditions of his release. It properly opposed preventive detention.

The starting point of wisdom in any judicial system, however, is sufficient flexibility to meet unusual situations. A court should not be required, for example, to release a prisoner in the face of evidence that he had threatened the life of the complaining witness. In the case of a major civil disturbance, we surmise that the judges will find a way of detaining accused arsonists and snipers until order is restored regardless of what the statutes say. In the April riots here, delays in the courts had this effect in some cases.

In our view temporary detention of defendants "arrested under very incriminating circumstances for riot-connected acts dangerous to life and limb"—to use the language of the report which the Judicial Conference approved—should not be swept into the general category of "preventive detention." It is a self-defensive action on the part of a city in great peril. The courts can be trusted to prevent its abuse. One of the strong recommendations of the bail study panel was that greater use be made of the Bail Act's requirement for 24-hour review of all cases in which an accused has been denied release. Safeguards can be erected against abuses which come under the heading of "preventive detention" without crippling a law-enforcement system in the face of a major crisis.

EX-RED GENERAL REAL CAPTOR OF PRAGUE AHEAD OF ALLIES

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Julius Epstein, a research associate at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University in my congressional district has recently published an article in the Palo Alto Times which states that Prague was not liberated by the Soviets, but by the Soviet renegade, General Vlasov. Mr. Epstein published this article in order to counteract press reports of anniversary celebrations in Prague of the "Soviet liberation" of Prague in 1945. The article follows:

[From the Palo Alto Times, May 14, 1968]

EX-RED GENERAL REAL CAPTOR OF PRAGUE AHEAD OF ALLIES

(By Julius Epstein)

I read with gratification recent press dispatches from Prague which reported that Lidova Demokracie, the Czech Roman Catholic newspaper, finally recognized the "sober truth" that the western part of Czechoslovakia was liberated by the American Army.

The same reports contained the even more astounding news that Czech authorities placed a wreath of flowers on the site of the destroyed monument to American soldiers in Pilsen, the farthest point Lt. Gen. George S. Patton was allowed by General Eisenhower to reach in Czechoslovakia.

Also reported was the arrival of a 12-man Soviet delegation, headed by Marshal Ivan S. Konev, for the celebration of the 23rd anniversary of "Prague's liberation by Soviet forces." It is this gross distortion of historical truth which induces me to take exception.

REAL TRUTH

The truth—established beyond the shadow of any doubt—is that Prague was liberated neither by the Americans nor by the Soviet Red Army, but by Gen. Andrei A. Vlasov and his troops.

Who was Vlasov?

Born in 1900 as the 13th child of a peasant family, he attended—like Stalin—a theological seminary and joined the Red Army in 1919. During the period of the great purge in the 1930s, Vlasov was a member of a group of military advisers to Chiang Kai-shek. After the German invasion of the Soviet Union, Vlasov fought heroically in the defense of Kiev and later of Moscow and Leningrad. He was celebrated by Ilya Ehrenburg as one of the great heroes of the Red Army. While defending Leningrad, he was captured by the Germans.

Some months thereafter, Vlasov—in captivity in Germany—published an appeal, inviting all Soviet armies and civilians to support Hitler's fight against Stalin. Under Nazi supervision, Vlasov organized several divisions, consisting of anti-Stalinist Soviet prisoners of war in German prisoner of war camps. They fought in German uniforms in the East as well as later in the West. At the end of the war, Vlasov and his generals and troops desperately tried to surrender to the West, especially to the Americans.

Neither the Americans nor the British accepted them as prisoners of war under the Geneva Convention but repatriated them by force and against their wishes to Stalin. But before this happened, Vlasov had liberated Prague from the SS.

EYEWITNESS

Ivan H. Peterman, an American correspondent for the Saturday Evening Post, published his eyewitness account in the Saturday Evening Post of July 14, 1945. I quote the following passage:

"Prague really was liberated by foreign troops, after all. Not by the Allies, who did not arrive until the shooting was all over, but by 22,000 Russian outlaws wearing German uniforms. The leader of these renegades was General Vlasov, a former hero of the Red Army."

Vlasov and his soldiers of his first division liberated Prague in May, 1945, at the specific invitation of the leaders of the Czech underground resistance. For all these facts documentary evidence is available and they have never been disputed by any serious historian. That the Soviets ignore this historical truth will come as no surprise to anybody familiar with their technique of "rewriting history."

HANGED

Vlasov was hanged in Moscow in 1946. A brief communique in Pravda stated that he was sentenced by a military tribunal to death because of "treason of the fatherland, active espionage, sabotage and terroristic activities against the Soviet Union as agent of the German secret service."

With him, the following 11 generals and colonels of the Vlasov army were hanged: V. F. Malyschkin, G. N. Schilenkov, F. I. Truchin, D. E. Sakutny, I. A. Blagoweschensky, M A. Meandrow, V. I. Malzew, C. K. Bunjatshenko, G A. Zwerev, V. D. Korbukov and N. Schatov.

The forced repatriation of Vlasov, his officers and about 900,000 soldiers will always remain an indelible blot on the American tradition of ready asylum to political exiles. Moreover, it was a gross violation of the Geneva Convention.

COMMUNISM IN DISGUISE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the frantic performance of Melina Mercouri as she fronts for the worldwide Communist propaganda barrage against the Government of Greece was dramatically demonstrated when she revealed her Marxist philosophy in a recent press interview.

The story is described in a very penetrating column by Dumitru Danielopol of the Copley News Service who has just returned to Washington from an extensive European trip. The article appeared in the Auroa, Ill., Beacon News on May 22, as follows:

MELINA MERCOURI'S DEMOCRACY IS COMMUNISM IN DISGUISE

(By Dumitru Danielopol)

ATHENS.—"What kind of democracy do you recommend, that of Plato or that of Marx?" ask the newsman.

"Only that of Marx exists," Melina Mercouri answered, in her recent interview in the French Communist paper L'Humanite.

The Greek actress posing as a defender of "democracy," has for months been engaged in trying to overthrow the military-backed government of Greece.

She has been denouncing its leaders with every kind of invective, calling them fascist, hangmen and murderers.

She has influenced some people. But she never explained what the word "democracy" meant to her.

In Paris she explained. What Melina apparently advocates for her country is communism, or the Eastern Europe style of "Marxist democracy."

That she should be drawn to such ideology is not surprising. Her late father was a member of Parliament when the Greek military coup took place in April, 1967. He called himself an independent but was elected with the support of EDA which was the Communist front organization of Greece.

Her husband Jules Dassin, has long been associated with Communist front groups in Hollywood and elsewhere. He's noted for his extreme left-wing views.

If Melina thinks a Marxist democracy is good for Greece, that's strictly her own affair. But she should make it plain everywhere what kind of government she would prefer to the present Athens regime.

She travels in a world which allows people to express their opinions even when they are denigrating the society that protects them.

Her insulting description of the United States, where she has earned a living for many months, also was not totally unexpected. When she failed to captivate official Washington, she turned to inventions, inexactitudes and invectives.

"There are two Americas," she told the French Communist reporter, "that of the people and of the young . . . from which I got extraordinary support. The other America is that of the C.I.A., the Pentagon and the State Department."

What is shocking, however, is that Americans who are supporting the so-called Committee for Democracy in Greece, of which Melina is a vice president, some of the members of Congress, have allowed themselves to be duped by this Greek "passionaria."

Very few of these people would share Melina's views on democracy. Very few would agree with her description of the United States.

Let's hope they read the interview in L'Humanite and then take another look at this self-styled Greek Joan d'Arc.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Wednesday, May 29, 1968*

The House met at 10 o'clock a.m.

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

The righteous shall be held in everlasting remembrance.—Psalm 112: 6.

God of all the ages, our fathers' God and our God, we thank Thee that our forefathers founded on these shores a free nation, dedicated to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all, and we are grateful that our fathers continued this heritage that a government of the people, by the people, and for the people would not perish from the earth.

Grant, our Father, as we come to another Memorial Day, to remember that there are those who gave their lives that we may be free and there are those even now who are giving their lives that freedom can be ours.

We may weep over the graves of our beloved, but may there be no tears of bitterness, nor resentment, nor ill will, but only sorrow that so great a price has to be paid that men continue to be free.

Help us so to live and so to love our country that our flag may fly over a united nation, one flag, one faith, one folk, one fellowship of good will and to Thee be the glory now and forevermore. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

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

H.R. 15004. An act to further amend the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, as amended, to extend the expiration date of certain authorities thereunder, and for other purposes; and

H. Con. Res. 782. Concurrent resolution providing for the adjournment of the two Houses from Wednesday, May 29, 1968, to June 3, 1968.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendment to the bill (H.R. 15190) entitled "An act to amend sections 3 and 4 of the act approved September 22, 1964 (78 Stat. 990), providing for an investigation and study to determine a site for the construction of a sea-level canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans," disagreed to by the House; agrees to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. BARTLETT, and Mr. COTTON to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 224. An act to provide for the rehabilitation of the Eklutna project, Alaska, and for other purposes;

S. 1578. An act to authorize the appropriation for the contribution by the United States for the support of the International Union for the Publication of Customs Tariffs;

S. 3073. An act to promote the economic development of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands;

S. 3207. An act to amend section 2 of the act of June 30, 1954, as amended, providing for the continuance of civil government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; and

S. 3497. An act 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.