Harold E. Reeves, Shady Valley.
Chandler P. Strunk, Windfield.

VIRGINIA

William J. Smith, Hallwood.

WEST VIRGINIA

Doyle D. Robinson, Jr., Logan.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Nathaniel Davis, of New Jersey, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Guatemala.

INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

Covey T. Oliver, of Pennsylvania, to be U.S. Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for a term of 2 years.

POSTMASTERS

ALABAMA

Melvin L. Atchley, New Hope.
James E. Broughton, Jr., Wellington.

ARKANSAS

John M. Moore, Arkadelphia.

FLORIDA

Jacob C. Fewell, Okeechobee.

ILLINOIS

John F. Koulentes, Des Plaines.

INDIANA

Elsie E. Cornelius, Bath.

MAINE

Keith H. Anderson, Orono.

MICHIGAN

Barbara J. Rourke, Henderson.
Jean M. Cook, Homer.
James E. Robb, Imlay City.
Wyman D. Campbell, Milan.
Donna B. Besko, Ovid.

MISSOURI

Frederick M. Ream, Green Ridge.
Charles H. Pirch, Holden.
Jerry D. Wood, Mount Vernon.

MONTANA

Otis A. Tjeltvelt, Red Lodge.
Myron C. Hacker, Stanford.

NEW YORK

Elliot B. Marrus, Cedarhurst.
Mary G. Stietzle, Port Jefferson Station.

NORTH CAROLINA

Edgar A. Cashwell, Saxapahaw.

OHIO

Ralph R. Peyton, Zanesville.

PENNSYLVANIA

James S. Gaughan, Olyphant.

TENNESSEE

Jesse L. Campbell, Manchester.
Arthur E. McCaskill, Moscow.

TEXAS

Woodrow C. Doobs, Crockett.
Vela H. Alexander, Roscoe.
Robert A. Habermacher, Sabinal.
Avis M. Tyler, Sundown.

UTAH

Arlen L. Madsen, Salina.

WASHINGTON

Andrew J. Pachosa, Grand Coulee.
Paul E. DeHaven, Tonasket.

WEST VIRGINIA

Joseph B. Faller, Ridgeley.

WISCONSIN

Raymond P. Hoffman, Fennimore.
John W. Bakker, Shell Lake.

WITHDRAWAL

Executive nomination withdrawn from the Senate October 11, 1968:

POSTMASTER

The nomination sent to the Senate on February 21, 1967, of Homer A. Crecelius to be postmaster at Bellevue, in the State of Ohio.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Saturday, October 12, 1968*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

John 14: 15: *If ye love Me, keep My commandments.*

Eternal spirit of God, who art from everlasting to everlasting, we lift our hearts unto Thee in this our morning prayer. Grant unto us wisdom to know Thy way, courage to set out upon it, and strength to walk in it. Save us from being too content with our lives and too satisfied with what we have done. Keep us from tolerating in ourselves what we condemn in others and help us to be understanding and forgiving. If changes are to be made let them begin in us. Thus may we be a part of the world's solution and not a part of its problems.

Renew our minds and hearts that we may present to this day a life honest and sincere, dedicated to the highest we know, and devoted to the best good of our beloved country.

In the spirit of Christ we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE RECEIVED OCTOBER 11

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 11394. An act to amend certain provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 relating to distilled spirits, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed concurrent resolutions of the following titles:

S. Con. Res. 82. Concurrent resolution authorizing the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House to sign enrolled bills and resolutions; and

S. Con. Res. 83. Concurrent resolution establishing that when the two Houses of Congress adjourn on Friday, October 11, 1968, they stand adjourned sine die.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bills and concurrent resolutions of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 159. An act to amend title II of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to create an independent Federal Maritime Administration, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2760. An act for the relief of Sondra D. Shaw;

H.R. 7567. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to the definition of compensation for purposes of tax under the Railroad Retirement Tax Act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 14095. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to make certain changes to facilitate the production of wine, and for other purposes;

H.R. 15114. An act to extend to savings notes the provisions of the Second Liberty Bond Act relating to the redemption of savings bonds and the payment of losses incurred in connection with such redemption;

H.R. 17361. An act to provide for the striking of medals in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the founding of the city of Memphis;

H.R. 18253. An act relating to the effective date of the 1966 change in the definition of earned income for purposes of pension plans of self-employed individuals;

H.R. 18486. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to the treatment of income from the operation of a communications satellite system;

H.R. 18942. An act relating to the income tax treatment of certain statutory mergers of corporations;

H. Con. Res. 763. Concurrent resolution providing for the printing as a House document a survey and handbook entitled "Federal Educational Policies, Programs, and Proposals;"

H. Con. Res. 797. Concurrent resolution providing for the printing of the report entitled "Commercial Banks and Their Trust Activities: Emerging Influence on the American Economy"; and

H. Con. Res. 801. Concurrent resolution listing of operating Federal assistance programs as compiled during the Roth study.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 18707) entitled "An act making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 10790) entitled "An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the protection of the public health from radiation emissions from electronic products."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 20300) entitled "An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate with an amendment to the bill. (S. 3206) to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, relating to the construction of waste treatment works, and for other purposes.

AUTHENTICATED U.S. GOVERNMENT INFORMATION GPO

The message also announced that the Senate recedes from its amendment to the bill (H.R. 5785) to authorize the disposal of magnesium from the national stockpile.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the House amendments to the Senate amendments Nos. 1, 3, and 5 to the bill (H.R. 16025) to amend title 38 of the United States Code with respect to eligibility for, and the period of limitation on, educational assistance available under part III of such title, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 2584. An act for the relief of Ludger J. Cossette;

S. 2721. An act to amend section 2 of the act of February 11, 1903, relating to appeals in certain antitrust actions, and for other purposes;

S. 3289. An act for the relief of Dr. Francisco A. Aviles;

S. 3373. An act for the relief of Dr. Andres Raul Fernandez;

S. 3440. An act for the relief of Dr. Pedro Sarduy Brito (Pedro S. Sarduy); and

S. 3464. An act for the relief of Dr. Kenneth Siu.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendments of the House to bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 857. An act for the relief of Puget Sound Plywood, Inc., of Tacoma, Wash;

S. 3174. An act to establish a National Memorial to Woodrow Wilson;

S. 3416. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, to authorize the rendering of direct assistance to and performance of special services for the Inaugural Committee; and

S. 3736. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to sell to the village of Central, State of New Mexico, certain lands administered by him formerly part of the Fort Bayard Military Reservation, N. Mex.

THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 397)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was received October 11; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Education and Labor and ordered to be printed with illustrations:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit the Third Annual Report of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Three years is but a minute in the history of our nation. Three years is not long enough to test thoroughly a completely new concept concerned with the complex subject of people and how their lives can be changed. In the first three years of the War on Poverty, however, greater strides were made in bringing people out of poverty than at any other comparable time in history. Our continuing economic health was in part responsible for this, but the efforts of the Office of Economic Opportunity also had a considerable impact.

When we undertook the task of attacking the basic causes of poverty we entered an uncharted forest where many lessons had to be learned through experience. We have come far. More than we have failed, we have succeeded. More than we have been discouraged, we have been inspired by the determination of the poor to begin moving toward a better life.

A new source of strength for our nation has been tapped as the poor, previously shut off from participation in the affairs of their communities, have had their voices heard. Instead of remaining outsiders, they have become part of their neighborhoods, and the meaning of American democracy and the responsibilities it entails have become real to them for the very first time.

The poor can be moved out of poverty. Of this we are now certain. The cycle of poverty is not unbreakable. This we now know.

This report offers striking evidence of the progress that is possible.

In fiscal year 1967, the period covered by this report:

—Over a million poor people received health services through Comprehensive Health Centers and other health programs.

—Over 2 million young people in poverty areas benefited from education, work experience and organized recreation in special summer programs.

—Formal legal actions were taken on behalf of over 300,000 of the poor by Legal Services Programs.

—Some 150,000 senior citizens took part in programs at 200 OEO-financed Senior Citizen Centers and multi-service centers.

—Over 680,000 deprived pre-schoolers had their chances of success in life increased through Head Start.

The eyes of this nation have been opened to the plight of the poor, but not completely grasped is the complexity of modern day poverty and the tremendous efforts required for the uphill climb. Desire is important—and this the poor possess in previously unsuspected quantities—but desire without assistance equals frustration. It is this assistance that the programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity provide.

The poor do not need sympathy, as much as they need understanding of the circumstances that have made them poor. They do not want a hand-out as much as they want training for a decent job, quality education for their children, health centers where their families can receive adequate medical attention.

A beginning, but only a beginning has been made. Ahead of us still remains an enormous but a necessary task. As long as all Americans do not share in the prosperity of this rich land, our attempt to correct this inequality must not slacken.

We have begun. The tide of progress is clear. Let us resolutely continue.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 11, 1968.*

SIXTEENTH, SEVENTEENTH, AND EIGHTEENTH SEMIANNUAL REPORTS OF THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 396)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Science and Astronautics and ordered to be printed, with illustrations:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting today the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Semi-Annual Reports of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration covering the period between July 1, 1966 and December 31, 1967.

The events recorded here are both tragic and encouraging; sobering and inspiring.

The eighteen-month period saw success and failure and then success again as a proud agency moved forward with renewed determination.

The Gemini missions were completed; Lunar Orbiters I and II transmitted thousands of clear pictures of the moon; new communications and meteorological satellites were orbited.

Then came tragedy. Three brave American astronauts were killed in the Apollo fire.

Initially stunned, NASA then went to work to overcome the flaws in the Apollo system. Soon, impetus was restored to this crucial part of our space effort. Other great space achievements followed, such as the Saturn 4 flight.

I commend these reports to your attention. They contain, I believe, concrete evidence that NASA is moving forward, and that America is contributing mightily in the worldwide effort to conquer space for the benefit of all mankind.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 11, 1968.*

AMENDMENT OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN UNITED STATES AND UNITED KINGDOM FOR COOPERATIVE USE OF ATOMIC ENERGY FOR MUTUAL DEFENSE PURPOSES—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy:

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 as amended, I am submitting herewith to each House of the Congress for appropriate action an authoritative copy of an amendment to the Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for Cooperation on the Uses of Atomic Energy for Mutual

Defense Purposes of July 3, 1958, as amended. The Amendment was signed at Washington on September 27, 1968.

The Agreement of July 3, 1958 as amended included a provision under which the Government of the United States agreed to transfer to the Government of the United Kingdom prior to December 31, 1969 special nuclear material for research on, development of, production of, or use in utilization facilities for military applications.

Under the Amendment submitted herewith, the Government of the United States shall transfer to the Government of the United Kingdom special nuclear material and authorize the transfer of specific other materials to the Government of the United Kingdom prior to December 31, 1979. The transfer of this material to be used as fuel in the United Kingdom's submarine program would substantially enhance the ability of the United Kingdom to contribute to our mutual defense, particularly in the North Atlantic area.

I am also transmitting a copy of the Acting Secretary of State's letter to me accompanying authoritative copies of the signed Amendment, a copy of a joint letter from the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Secretary of Defense recommending approval of this Amendment, and a copy of my memorandum in reply thereto, setting forth my approval.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 11, 1968.*

THE LATE HONORABLE PAUL J. KILDAY

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE].

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, it becomes my painful duty to announce the death of our longtime colleague, the judge of the Court of Military Appeals, the Honorable Paul Joseph Kilday, who passed away early this morning at his home in Washington, D.C.

I was greatly shocked, as I know other Members are, to learn of his untimely death.

Judge Kilday came to Congress in January 1939, just 2 years after I did. We became sincere friends.

His family and my family were and are friends. We respected him as an individual and as a great citizen and as a fine American. I also respected his outstanding ability and his magnificent character.

As a Congressman, Judge Kilday displayed those traits of intellect that made him a great judge on his court. He served for many years on the Committee on Armed Services of this House, and it ofttimes fell his lot to explain the most complicated and most intricate legislation brought in by that committee. I have never known a man in this Congress or elsewhere who had so fine an ability to make other people understand the substance of complicated matters. During all my service I have never known a Member of this House on whom the Members could more completely rely. I have never known any Member to question a statement of fact which Judge Kilday made in regard to any of his legislation because he always presented the matters not only lucidly but presented them factually so that the membership might understand.

Judge Kilday leaves a wonderful and devoted family. His wife, Cecile Newton Kilday, is a most gracious and charming lady, a faithful wife, who worked with him throughout all of his long and eventful career. He also leaves two lovely daughters both of whom are married and both of whom now reside in this area.

Personally I want to say for myself and for my wife Frances that we extend our heartfelt thanks and our best wishes to the family. For the Texas delegation I want to say that we consider ourselves as having lost one of our greatest colleagues who worked with us so long and for whom we held such deep affection. For the House of Representatives I am sure that I can say that we all feel a deep loss this morning in knowing that Judge Kilday is no longer with us.

Now I am very pleased to yield to the Speaker of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MCCORMACK].

Mr. MCCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I know that I speak the sentiments of all my colleagues on both sides of the aisle who are here today and those who served with him in past years in expressing our profound and deep feelings of sorrow on the passing of our late beloved colleague and dear friend, Paul Kilday, who served in this body with outstanding distinction and who also served in the U.S. Court of Military Appeals with equally outstanding distinction.

Paul Kilday served in the Congress of the United States during a most trying period of our Nation's history and of the world's history. His contributions to the strength and stability and firmness of America are well known by all who served with him. They are a part of the history of this Chamber. Almost each week on Saturday a group of us would meet at lunch downstairs. Paul Kilday was invariably there. As a matter of fact, I looked forward today to dropping in and having my lunch with the same group in the hope and expectation that my dear friend Paul Kilday would be there. I received the news a few moments ago of his sudden death. I received it with sorrow, and it has had a stunning effect upon me.

It is unnecessary to elaborate upon the great public service of Paul Kilday, because it speaks for itself. The people of the district he represented, which is now represented by our dear friend, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ], were justified while he served here in feeling proud at the character of the service he rendered. They are now justified in feeling proud of the great contributions that he has made to the strength, the dignity, the stability, and the progress of our country. During all his period of service he was a source of great strength in facing the challenging problems that confronted our beloved country.

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues from Texas in extending to Mrs. Kilday and her loved ones my deepest sympathy in her great loss and sorrow.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I am glad to yield to the distinguished minority whip.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I join with others here in expressing deep regret and sorrow upon learning this morning of the passing of our wonderfully fine friend, Paul Kilday, a former Member of this body from Texas.

Mr. Speaker, it was my great privilege to serve with Paul Kilday in this House of Representatives for many years. As a person I got to know him well and intimately so during those years when we served together on the Committee on Armed Services. I know of no one who has been more dedicated in promoting the policies of our military and our military posture than Paul Kilday. He was a wise man, a very intelligent person, and a determined individual with conviction and principle.

I shall always appreciate the fact that I knew Paul Kilday well and knew him as a true friend. He was not only an extraordinarily able legislator, but a dedicated citizen respected by all who knew him. I shall always cherish his memory. Mrs. Arends joins me in extending our sympathy to his wonderful wife and family.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON].

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with the Speaker and others and especially with the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] in the remarks which he has made about Paul Kilday. He has done a good job of capturing the personality of this great American. I could not improve upon what Mr. POAGE has said about Paul Kilday.

We have all felt close to Paul since he first came here as a Member of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, Paul loved his country, he loved its military services, he loved its courts of law, and, of course, he was very devoted to his family.

As the distinguished Speaker said, he loved the House of Representatives.

As was also pointed out by the distinguished Speaker, although our friend had been on the court for many years, he unfailingly came to the Capitol when the opportunity presented itself on Saturday for lunch with the Speaker and others of us in the House restaurant.

Paul Kilday was one of those rare people who seemed to have a great deal more talent in a variety of fields than most of his fellows and he used those talents in service to his fellow man.

I am glad to pay my tribute to his life and service at this time and to extend to Mrs. Kilday and the surviving members of his family my deepest sympathy in which Mrs. Mahon joins.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS].

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with the sentiments which have been expressed by the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE], the distinguished Speaker of the

House of Representatives, and others in our grief and sorrow at the untimely passing of our late and distinguished colleague, Paul Kilday.

Mr. Speaker, Paul Kilday served on the old Military Affairs Committee and on the Committee on Armed Services from its inception. At the very outset of his service on this committee Paul Kilday was assigned the most difficult tasks confronting this committee.

He became the spokesman for longevity, for career compensation, for personnel, for pay, for housing, for the things which mean so much for the morale and the makeup of the military.

He was a great lawyer. He had a great analytical mind. He loved the law. He could see the innermost things in the thinking of those who wrote it, and he too wrote good law. He was at home on the court, because he knew the military law. He was an authority on the tactics and the strategies of the military armies of all civilizations, particularly our own, and of our own military. A most unusual man was Paul Kilday, thoroughly dedicated to what was good for America.

As the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON] has said, he loved the House of Representatives.

Once a poet said this:

The leaves have their time to fall,
The rose to wither at the northwind's breath,
And stars to set;—but all,
Thou hast *all* seasons for thine own, O Death!

And in all of those seasons death has come and taken some of the great men of our time, as it has taken our beloved Paul Kilday.

We will miss him. The sympathy of my family and myself goes out to the family of Paul Kilday in this, their hour of sorrow.

We will miss Paul Kilday.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ].

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from Texas for yielding to me, and I too join with the illustrious chairman from Texas in rendering this sad eulogy in the memory of Paul Kilday.

Perhaps, Mr. Speaker, I can add some information pertaining to one facet of Paul Kilday's career that may not be generally known on this level here in the Nation's Capitol.

Paul Kilday was a native Texan. He grew up in San Antonio. He studied law here at Georgetown, and then went back to San Antonio and had a very effective and brilliant career as an assistant district attorney at a time when this office played a crucial role in the orderly development of Bexar County. At that time the congressional district which he later represented consisted of more than three counties, and when he sought the office of Representative to the U.S. Congress he won overwhelmingly because he had established himself as a most competent and keen-minded lawyer.

Besides this, his family was an illustrious family. His brother, Owen, was a renowned law-enforcement officer, and had served as chief of police of the city of San Antonio, and later at the time that Paul Kilday was elected to Congress to begin his long career, which has not been exceeded by any other man in the history of Bexar County, his brother Owen served as sheriff of Bexar County.

When Paul Kilday came to Congress as the Representative of what then made up the 20th District of Texas, he did not foresee that the country would enter a war. But at the time that it did, he began his service in the Committee on Armed Services, which at that time was known by a different name.

Of course, the rest is history here. The name Paul Kilday invokes everything that is symbolic of good government, loyalty, efficiency, and absolute integrity and trustworthiness. Therefore he left for us a tremendous example for those in the House who followed him to try to emulate him and to live up to those ideals.

Paul Kilday served in the capacity of U.S. Representative of the 20th District of Texas for a little better than 22 years, and he has left an indelible impression through his achievements in the House of Representatives, which Members such as the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] have so well brought out, and who in fact can do it better than I can since they served with Paul Kilday during the time that he was a Representative.

Mr. Speaker, it was a shocking surprise to learn this morning of Paul Kilday's passing, and I join my colleagues in sharing the grief they have expressed and in offering my condolences to his loving family.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I share a deep sense of loss over the passing of our former colleague, the Honorable Paul Kilday.

It was my very great privilege and also my pleasure to serve as a member of a subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services which he chaired. I learned to know Mr. Kilday well, and I learned to respect him.

At a time like this when you look back and think of a former colleague who has passed away, you always try to summarize that part of his character which was most impressive.

First of all, I remember Paul Kilday as a gentleman and as a gentle man, a man who was quiet and even tempered, but whose great weight of authority was inversely proportionate to his mildness of manner.

The other thing I remember most about Paul Kilday was his great knowledge and his extreme competence. I do not believe I have ever met a man who knew as much about the personal problems of the men and women who serve in the Armed Forces of the United States as Paul Kilday. Nor do I believe there has ever been a man who contributed more to the welfare of those same men and women and did more to improve the armed services as a career than Paul Kilday.

Mr. Speaker, I think this country has lost a great citizen and I certainly wish to join with my colleagues in expressing condolence and deep sympathy to his family.

Mr. POAGE. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, although I did not have the privilege of serving with Paul Kilday in this body, I knew him for many, many years. Paul Kilday was a very able and dedicated public servant and a good and loyal friend.

In south Texas, as my colleague from Bexar County [Mr. GONZALEZ] has said, the name "Kilday" is a household word. He stood for and exemplified everything that is good in America.

I shall miss him. My family and I extend our deepest sympathy to his wife and family.

Mr. POAGE. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, it was with a feeling of shock that I learned within the hour of the passing of my good friend, Paul Kilday.

It was my good fortune to have entered the Congress at the same time he did and to have become acquainted with him and his family immediately upon entering the Congress and to have enjoyed for all of these years a close relationship with him and the members of his family.

I want to join in all that has been said about his service. It was not long after he came here that all of us recognized the tremendous potential that he possessed. It was not long after he came here and began serving on the old Committee on Military Affairs of the House that he demonstrated to one and all his keen insight and his great ability to fathom the workings of and the matters of jurisdiction of that committee. He became an expert in all aspects of military legislation and military personnel problems.

Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness that I speak this morning. I know my wife and my own children join in extending to Mrs. Kilday and her lovely daughters our feeling of deepest sympathy to them during this time of trial.

Mr. POAGE. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, may I join my colleagues who have just spoken, in expressing shock and sorrow on hearing of the death of a close and beloved friend, Paul Kilday.

Judge Kilday has been my friend for more than 22 years. Whatever is said of his abilities and dedication to public trust cannot be exaggerated. He was a fine man—a man of integrity and faithfulness to his responsibilities and he accepted those responsibilities with courage and conviction.

My heart goes out to his lovely wife Cecile and their two daughters, Mary Catherine and Betty Ann.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I have just now learned of the passing of Judge

Paul Kilday and my heart goes out in deepest sympathy to all of his loved ones. I venture to say that the House of Representatives has never had a wiser, more intelligent, and merciful Member than he. It was my privilege to serve under him as a member of several subcommittees; and to be his personal friend. In this session, as in all sessions since I have been a Member of the House, he has helped me in the drafting of legislation; and I never found his advice in fault. Truly our country is stronger and the lot of its soldiers, sailors, and airmen better because of his many contributions in Congress as a judge. All America is deeply his debtor.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join our distinguished colleague from Texas, Mr. W. R. POAGE, our beloved Speaker, and the other colleagues in paying tribute to Judge Paul Kilday. The news of his sudden passing was a deep shock and saddened all of us whose privilege it was to know him.

Although Judge Kilday was a Member of 10 years seniority at the time I came to Congress in 1949, the warm, kindly, and helpful reception he extended to me in my early days will always be remembered.

His eloquent and detailed presentation of intricate and complex legislation from the Armed Services Committee clearly established Paul Kilday as an extraordinary legislator. In his gentle, yet persuasive manner, he influenced the consideration of some of the most important legislation in our Nation's history.

Judge Kilday always had a fond hello and a kind remark at every occasion. We missed him in these Halls of Congress when he was appointed as judge of the Court of Military Appeals. He will be sorely missed by his colleagues in the House and by his associates in the judiciary.

May his family and his friends take consolation in the thought that the Good Lord has chosen him to be among His very own. My wife, Blanche, joins me in extending to Mrs. Kilday and the family our deepest sympathy.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join in with my colleagues in mourning the passing of a great statesman and judge, the Honorable Paul Kilday, of San Antonio, Tex. Paul represented the San Antonio area in the Congress for better than 20 years before accepting his judgeship on the U.S. Court of Military Appeals. I cannot think of anyone more eminently qualified for his latter period of public service than Paul inasmuch as he had served his entire tenure as a Member of Congress on the House Armed Services Committee. As a member of this committee he was a moving force in the writing of the Selective Service Act and the revisions in the Uniform Code of Military Justice. In addition he was instrumental in drafting much of the legislation of a beneficial nature to members of the Armed Forces and in benefits for their survivors and retirement benefits for those military retirees.

Paul was a good friend of many of us here in the House, particularly Texans. He will be sadly missed by all of us who knew him, and America has truly lost a public servant.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, my heart is heavy with grief over the passing of Judge Paul Kilday, a great Texan and a great American who favored me with his friendship and whose family name has for many years been closely associated with the south Texas area that is home to me.

His brother, Frank Kilday, has served for many years in the 15th Congressional District of Texas as a priest of the Oblate Order. Father Kilday has been pastor of churches in McAllen, Weslaco, and San Juan, and his ministry has brought comfort and inspiration to uncounted thousands.

Judge Kilday was for 23 years a Member of this House, serving with honor and distinction in a career that continues to be a shining example to those of us who came after him. When I entered the House, he had resigned to accept appointment as a judge of the court of military appeals, a post for which he was eminently qualified both by his kindly, understanding temperament combined with judicial wisdom, and by his long experience as a member of the House Armed Services Committee.

Even though no longer a Member of the House, Judge Kilday was always available to offer wise counsel and undemanding friendship to Members young and old. He loved the House of Representatives, and his service here remains a source of inspiration to all who were privileged to know him.

Paul Kilday was my friend. He was a statesman, and a gentleman in the best sense of that perhaps old-fashioned but still meaningful term. I mourn his passing.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, for more than two decades, I was privileged to serve in the House as a member of the Texas delegation side by side with one of the finest gentlemen I have ever known, Judge Paul Kilday, whose recent death is deeply mourned by his devoted family, his host of friends, his colleagues in Congress and on the bench, and by all who even briefly were touched by the gentle wisdom that underlay his every association with his fellow men.

Paul Kilday was one of those exceptional people, who as his knowledge increased so too did his desire to learn. It was a refreshing experience to spend an hour or two with him, as I did whenever possible—usually at the Capitol on a Saturday afternoon—because his wealth of experience, his far-ranging mind, and his deeply held religious beliefs made his observations about life and the institutions of government both informative and quietly amusing. Paul Kilday was a man free of prejudice. Where his Nation was concerned, he was loyal to the core and he did not understand or approve of skepticism. It might be said that he revered his country, and was incapable of doubt, believing that in the long course of history the American way of life was the best for all mankind.

He was a good man and I am deeply proud of his friendship. His wife, Cecile, and the family he loved beyond anything in this world can take solace in the knowledge that in the opinion of his fellow mortals his greatness of heart and spirit was exceeded only by his nobility of soul and his faith in the Creator of all.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks in tribute to the Honorable Paul Kilday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA PARKING FACILITY ACT—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. DOWDY (on behalf of Mr. MCMILLAN) filed the following conference report and statement on the bill (S. 944) relating to the establishment of parking facilities in the District of Columbia:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. NO. 1974)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 944) relating to the establishment of parking facilities in the District of Columbia having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the House amendment insert the following:

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "District of Columbia Parking Facility Act".

FINDINGS OF FACT

SEC. 2. The Congress finds that—

(1) the growth and development of the National Capital area have been accompanied by an ever-increasing number of persons entering the District by motor vehicle which has resulted in serious traffic congestion;

(2) this congestion restricts the interchange of goods, services, and people between the District and the surrounding suburbs, to the detriment of both; imposes hardships and inconvenience on residents, employers, employees, and tourists in the National Capital area; impedes the efficient conduct of the United States and the District governments; and interferes with the rapid and effective disposition of police and fire-fighting equipment;

(3) the orderly growth and development of the National Capital area requires a balanced transportation system which provides residents of and visitors to the National Capital area a variety of economic and efficient means of travel into and through the District;

(4) a balanced transportation system requires adequate highways, rapid rail transit, buses, and off-street parking facilities for motor vehicles;

(5) off-street parking facilities in sufficient numbers and at rates and locations adequate to meet the needs of the National Capital area have not been provided; and

(6) the establishment of a parking authority to supplement existing parking with additional off-street parking facilities is necessary to maintain and improve the economic well-being of the National Capital area, the safety, convenience, and welfare of the residents thereof and the visitors thereto, and the efficiency of the United States and District governments.

CREATION OF PARKING BOARD

SEC. 3. (a) There is established a body politic and corporate of perpetual duration,

to be known as the "District of Columbia Parking Board" (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "Parking Board"). The Parking Board shall consist of three members, who shall be the Commissioner of the District or his designee, the Secretary of the Interior or his designee, and the Administrator of General Services or his designee. Two members of the Parking Board shall constitute a quorum. The members of the Parking Board shall select from among their number a chairman and a vice chairman of the Parking Board.

(b) The Parking Board shall appoint, subject to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and other applicable laws relating to employees of the District, an Administrator. The Parking Board may delegate to the Administrator such authority as may be necessary or convenient to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(c) In carrying out its duties under this Act, the Parking Board shall take such action as may be necessary to insure the equitable distribution of parking facilities among the properties of the Government with due regard for the comparative urgency of need for such facilities, and to that end it shall take into consideration the availability of public transportation, other Government as well as commercial off-street parking facilities, and municipal, regional, and other planning for the future extension or improvement of public transportation and parking facilities. The highest priority shall be given to any project to provide parking facilities for motor vehicles of officers and employees of the Government employed in the buildings on North Capital Street presently occupied by the Government Printing Office. In determining the location and design of those parking facilities consideration shall be given to the incidence of crime in the area surrounding those buildings.

PARKING ADVISORY COUNCIL

SEC. 4. (a) There is hereby established a Parking Advisory Council (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "Advisory Council"). The Advisory Council shall be composed of nine members, consisting of the Director of the District of Columbia Department of Highways and Traffic or his designee, the Chairman of the National Capital Planning Commission or his designee, and the general manager of the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority or his designee, all ex officio, and six members from private life appointed by the Parking Board, one of whom shall be designated biennially by the Parking Board to serve as Chairman. Two of the members appointed from private life shall be experienced parking operators in the National Capital area and the other members appointed from private life shall be chosen to reflect a range of experience in such fields as architecture, engineering, retail trade, real estate, financing, law, and transportation.

(b) The members of the Advisory Council appointed by the Parking Board shall be appointed for a term of four years, except that with respect to the first appointments made after this Act becomes effective, one member shall be appointed for a one-year term, one member shall be appointed for a two-year term, two members shall be appointed for a three-year term, and two members shall be appointed for a four-year term. Any member appointed to fill a vacancy shall serve only for the unexpired term of the member he is replacing. Any member shall be eligible for reappointment.

(c)(1) Members of the Advisory Council who are officers or employees of the United States or of the District shall serve without compensation in addition to that received in their regular public employment, but shall be entitled to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of duties vested in the Advisory Council.

(2) Members of the Advisory Council, other than those to whom paragraph (1) is applicable, shall receive compensation at the rate of $50 per day for each day they are engaged in the performance of their duties as members of the Advisory Council and shall be entitled to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties as members of the Advisory Council.

(d) It shall be the duty of the Advisory Council to advise and assist the Parking Board in carrying out its functions under this Act, including the overall planning of parking facilities, the acquisition, construction, design, and operation of such facilities, and such other matters as the Parking Board shall request or the Advisory Council shall determine. The Parking Board shall request the views of the Advisory Council on each matter made subject to a public hearing by this Act, and shall include the report of the Council, if any, in the Parking Board's record.

(e) The Advisory Council is authorized, within the limits of funds authorized by the Parking Board and subject to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service and other applicable laws relating to employees of the District, to appoint an executive secretary. Subject to reimbursement by the Parking Board for the salaries, retirement, health benefits, and similar costs for such employees, the ex officio members of the Advisory Council and the Commissioner of the District shall make available to the executive secretary such staff, information, and technical assistance as he shall require to enable the Advisory Council to carry out its responsibilities under this Act.

(f) The Advisory Council is authorized, within the limit of funds authorized by the Parking Board and in accordance with the provisions of section 21(a)(11) of this Act, to hire independent consultants to assist it in carrying out its responsibilities under this Act.

COMPREHENSIVE PARKING STUDY

SEC. 5. (a) The Advisory Council shall, within one year following the effective date of this Act, and not less than once each five years thereafter, prepare and distribute a comprehensive report on parking in the District metropolitan area. Such report shall include—

(1) an inventory of existing parking facilities in the District both public and private, and an analysis of the manner and extent to which they are utilized;

(2) an inventory of the existing and reasonably anticipated transportation facilities in the National Capital area, including roads, highways, buses, and rapid rail transit, and an analysis of the manner and extent to which they are utilized;

(3) an analysis of the extent, type, and location of all parking facilities and on-street parking which are necessary or desirable for achieving balanced transportation and an efficient flow of traffic in the National Capital area together with recommendations as to the need, if any, for additional public parking facilities and the areas within which such facilities should be located; and

(4) any other information or recommendations that the Advisory Council determines to be useful to the Parking Board in carrying out its duties under this Act.

(b) The Advisory Council shall refer the parking report to all interested agencies in the National Capital area for their information and comments. The parking report and all relevant data used to compile the report shall be made available to owners and operators of private parking facilities in the District in order to enable them more effectively to plan the operation and expansion of their facilities.

ACQUISITION OF PARKING FACILITIES

SEC. 6. (a) The Parking Board is authorized to acquire, in its own name, by purchase, lease, gift, exchange, condemnation, or otherwise, such property, real or personal, in the District, including any rights or interests therein, as the Parking Board may require to carry out the provisions of this Act. The Parking Board shall not acquire by condemnation any parking facility operated as such on October 8, 1968.

(b) The Commissioner of the District is authorized to make available to the Parking Board, without consideration, air and subsurface rights in areas consisting principally of land in street, highway, railway, or subway rights-of-way, bridges, and other lands under his jurisdiction and control in the District for use by the Parking Board in carrying out its duties under this Act. The Commissioner, to the extent feasible, shall exercise this authority to enable the Parking Board to locate parking facilities in such manner as to coordinate parking with any future highway or subway construction in the District. Nothing in this Act shall be construed as modifying or superseding any provision of title 23, United States Code.

(c) The Secretary of the Interior and the Administrator of General Services are authorized, subject to such terms and conditions as they may prescribe, to make available to the Parking Board, without consideration, subsurface rights in lands in the District under their respective jurisdiction and control for use by the Parking Board in carrying out its duties under this Act.

(d) The Parking Board shall take no final action with respect to the acquisition of a parking facility or the acquisition of any real property for the purpose of establishing thereon a parking facility (other than the taking of options) until the Parking Board has—

(1) obtained a study of such proposed facility from an independent expert qualified to evaluate the feasibility of any such facility, and

(2) held a public hearing to obtain views on the need for such facility, its proposed size, and its economic feasibility.

The Parking Board shall publish notice of any such hearing in at least one newspaper of general circulation in the District at least twenty days prior to such hearing.

(e) The acquisition, by condemnation, of real property for use by the Parking Board under this Act shall be authorized only if, prior to the initiation of proceedings to condemn such property, the Parking Board shall have—

(1) retained at least two qualified, independent real estate appraisers to assist it in establishing the fair market value of the property, and received in writing from such appraisers such value;

(2) established a fair market value for the property based on such appraisal;

(3) certified that it has been unable to purchase the property at such fair market value;

(4) certified that decent, safe, and sanitary housing can reasonably be expected to be available to any families which may be displaced by such condemnation action at rentals they can reasonably afford; and

(5) certified that, barring acts of God or other unforeseeable circumstances, it will commence, or cause to be commenced, construction of a parking facility upon such property within one year following the date of acquisition.

After the Parking Board has complied with the requirements of paragraphs (1) through (5) of this subsection with respect to any real property, it shall notify each House of Congress of its intent to initiate condemnation proceedings with respect to such real property. The Parking Board may initiate such proceedings unless between the date of the transmittal of such notice and the end of the first period of sixty calendar days of continuous session of Congress after that date either House passes a resolution, reported from its Committee on the District of Co-

lumbia, stating in substance that that House does not favor the initiation of such proceedings. The provisions of section 906 of title 5, United States Code, shall apply with respect to determining when the sixty day period referred to in the preceding sentence has terminated. The provisions of sections 908, 910, 911, 912, and 913 of such title shall apply with respect to the consideration of the resolution provided for in this subsection.

(f) Condemnation proceedings brought pursuant to this section shall be brought in the name of the Parking Board. Such proceedings shall be instituted and conducted in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, which court shall have jurisdiction of such proceedings, and shall be prosecuted in accordance with the procedure in proceedings instituted and conducted under the authority of suchapter II of title 16 of the District of Columbia Code, except that wherever in such subchapter (1) the terms "Board of Commissioners" or "Board" appear, such terms shall be deemed, for the purposes of this Act, to mean the Parking Board, (2) provision is made for property to be taken in the name of the District of Columbia, such provision shall, for the purposes of this Act, be construed to mean that property shall be taken in the name of the Parking Board, (3) reference is made to the District of Columbia (as a party to a proceeding instituted or conducted under the authority of such subchapter), such reference shall be deemed a reference to the Parking Board, and (4) any payment is required to be made from appropriated funds, such payment is authorized to be made from any moneys of the Parking Board which are available for such purpose.

(g) The Parking Board may make relocation payments to any person displaced by reason of its acquisition of property under this section to the same extent as such person would be entitled to receive if such payments were made under section 114 of title I of the Housing Act of 1949 (42 U.S.C. 1465). The Parking Board and the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency are authorized to enter into an agreement under which such Agency shall undertake to administer the payments authorized to be made by this subsection, and provide the Parking Board with relocation services in like manner as such Agency provides such services to the Commissioner of the District.

(h) No parking facility shall be established under this Act upon any property zoned residential without the approval of the Zoning Commission of the District, which may grant such approval only after public notice and hearing in accordance with the provisions of section 3 of the Act of June 20, 1938 (D.C. Code, sec. 5–415).

PARKING BOARD AUTHORIZED TO CONSTRUCT AND OPERATE FACILITIES

SEC. 7. (a) The Parking Board is authorized to undertake, by contract or otherwise, the clearance and improvement of any property acquired by it under this Act as well as the construction, establishment, reconstruction, alteration, repair, and maintenance thereon of parking facilities. The Parking Board shall take such action as may be necessary to insure that all laborers and mechanics employed in the performance of such construction, alteration, or repair shall be paid in wages at rates not less than those prevailing on similar construction in the locality as determined by the Secretary of Labor, in accordance with the Act of March 3, 1931 (the Davis-Bacon Act, 40 U.S.C. 276a—276a–5). The Secretary of Labor shall have, with respect to the labor standards specified herein, the authority and functions set forth in Reorganization Plan Numbered 14 of 1950 (15 F.R. 3176; 5 U.S.C. 133z–15) and section 2 of the Act of June 13, 1934 (40 U.S.C. 276(c)).

(b) The Parking Board may—

(1) include in any facility acquired or constructed under this Act air space at or below the level of the street on which such facility fronts or abuts for purposes other than parking, and

(2) make provision for the development of the air rights above any parking structure of four or more stories for purposes other than parking,

if the Parking Board determines that the utilization of such space or air rights for commercial purposes is expedient for the financing of such parking facility and is compatible with the development and zoning of the vicinity in which such facility is located. The lease under section 8 of this Act of any facility constructed or acquired by the Parking Board, shall include the space and air rights referred to in paragraphs (1) and (2) of this subsection. No petroleum products shall be sold or offered for sale in any entrance to or exit from any parking facility constructed or acquired under this Act.

(c) The Parking Board shall, as soon as practicable, lease or sell, pursuant to sections 8 and 9 hereof, any facility acquired or constructed under this Act unless the Parking Board determines that the public interest would best be served if it operated such facility itself, and includes in its record of the matter a statement as to its reasons therefor. Each such determination so made shall be reviewed by the Parking Board not less than every three years following the date on which such determination is made.

(d) In operating any such facility, the Parking Board shall, to the extent feasible, provide, by contract or otherwise, for such operations of its parking facilities by any person or management firm competent to manage the operation. Any such contract shall be subject to the Service Contract Act of 1965 (41 U.S.C. 351–357).

PARKING BOARD AUTHORIZED TO LEASE FACILITIES

SEC. 8. (a) The Parking Board is authorized to lease any parking facility acquired or constructed by it for such period of time, as the Parking Board may determine, except that a lease which is used as security for permanent financing shall not exceed forty years in duration and any other lease shall not exceed five years in duration. The Parking Board shall invite competitive bids for the lease of any parking facility, but the Parking Board may reject any and all such bids.

(b) The Parking Board shall not lease any such facility for an annual rental in an amount less than that which is necessary to amortize, within a forty-year period, the cost of acquiring or constructing such facility and to provide a reasonable reserve for such purpose; to meet the Parking Board's obligations, if any, under the lease including any obligation to repair, maintain, or insure the facility; and to meet all administrative expenses and other charges in connection therewith; except that the Parking Board may, for good cause, accept, for such number of years as the Parking Board may determine is necessary, a lower rental than the minimum hereinabove prescribed, subject to the repayment to the Parking Board of the difference between such lower rental and such minimum rental prior to the termination of the period for which the parking facility is leased.

(c) The lease of a parking facility shall be upon terms and conditions requiring that such parking facility shall be operated and maintained, during the term of the lease, for the parking of motor vehicles by the general public in accordance with rates, hours of service, methods of operation, rules, and regulations established or approved by the Parking Board and posted in such parking facility by the lessee. Such lease shall take into account the fair value of any space in, on, above, or below such facility available for purposes other than parking.

PARKING BOARD AUTHORIZED TO SELL FACILITIES

SEC. 9. (a) The Parking Board is authorized to sell any parking facility other than any facility constructed on land owned by or acquired from the Governments of the United States or the District. The Parking Board shall invite competitive bids for the sale of any such parking facility, but may, whenever it determines it to be in the public interest, negotiate the sale of such facility. The Parking Board shall include in its record of the matter a statement as to its reason for so negotiating any such sale.

(b) The sale of any such parking facility shall be upon terms and conditions requiring that such parking facility shall be operated and maintained for the parking of motor vehicles by the general public in accordance with rates, hours of service, method of operation, rules, and regulations established or approved by the Parking Board and posted in such parking facility by the purchaser.

(c) The Parking Board is authorized, in connection with the sale of a parking facility acquired or constructed by it, to include in the deed for such property a covenant, running with the land, whereby the purchaser agrees, for himself and his successors in interest, that the property purchased from the Parking Board will be used as a parking facility for such period of time as the Parking Board shall specify in said covenant. The Parking Board is authorized to agree, subject to the requirements of subsection (b) of this section, to the release or modification of any such covenant whenever the Parking Board shall find, after public hearing, that the operation of a parking facility no longer is in the public interest, the development of the vicinity in which such parking facility is located is or will be of such a character as to make such facility incompatible with such vicinity, or such vicinity will not economically support any such parking facility. Such a hearing shall be held upon the request of any purchaser (a successor in interest) who has held such parking facility for at least 5 years.

LEASING LAND FOR DEVELOPMENT

SEC. 10. (a) The Parking Board is authorized to lease for terms not exceeding forty years, any land acquired pursuant to this Act, and to stipulate in such lease that the lessee shall erect at his or its expense a structure or structures on the land leased which structure or structures and land shall be primarily used, maintained, and operated as a parking facility. Every such lease shall be entered into upon such terms and conditions as the Parking Board shall impose including requirements that (1) such structure or structures shall conform with the plans and specifications approved by the Board, (2) such structure or structures shall become the property of the District, or in the case of a facility constructed on land under the control and jurisdiction of the United States, become the property of the United States, upon termination or expiration of any such lease, (3) the lessee shall furnish security in the form of a penal bond, or otherwise, to guarantee fulfillment of his or its obligations, and (4) the lessee shall take such action as may be necessary to insure that all laborers and mechanics employed in the performance of such construction, alteration, or repair shall be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing on similar construction in the locality as determined by the Secretary of Labor, in accordance with the Act of March 3, 1931 (the Davis-Bacon Act, 40 U.S.C. 276a–276a–5), and any other requirements which, in the judgment of the Parking Board, shall be related to the accomplishment of the purposes of this Act.

(b) The lessee may, with the consent of the Parking Board—

(1) sublease or develop space in such facility at or below the level of the street upon

which such facility fronts or abuts for purposes other than parking; and

(2) sublease or develop air rights above any parking structure of four or more stories for purposes other than parking;

if the Parking Board determines that the utilization of such space or air rights for such other purposes is expedient for the financing of such parking facility and is compatible with the development of the vicinity in which such facility is located. No petroleum products shall be sold or offered for sale in any entrance to or exit from any parking facility constructed or acquired under this Act. The rentals so generated shall be taken into account in fixing the sales price of any real property sold pursuant to this Act and the approval of rates for the parking of motor vehicles in the parking facility constructed thereon.

(c) Any such lease made pursuant to this section shall be upon such terms and conditions as the Parking Board shall determine, and shall include requirements that any parking facility constructed on the land so leased shall be operated and maintained for the parking of motor vehicles by the general public in accordance with rates, hours of service, method of operation, rules, and regulations established or approved by the Parking Board and posted in such parking facility by the lessee.

RATES

SEC. 11. (a) The Parking Board shall establish and, from time to time, revise, with or without public hearings, schedules of rates to be charged for use of space in each parking facility established pursuant to this Act. Any such schedule of rates established by the Parking Board for use of space in any parking facility operated by the Parking Board shall be comparable to the schedule of rates for use of space in any parking facility which is operated by a private parking operator and which is similar to and in the same vicinity, as the parking facility operated by the Parking Board. In establishing rates under the Act, the Parking Board shall (1) consider, among other factors, the existing rates charged by privately operated parking facilities serving the same vicinity; and (2) consider, in light of the overall transportation needs and problems of the District metropolitan area, the extent to which long-term and short-term parking is desirable at each location and shall fix a schedule of rates for each location which is designed to encourage the types of use that are desired at such location. The Parking Board is authorized to provide rate differentials for such reasons as the amount of space occupied, the location of the facility, and other reasonable differences.

(b) The rates to be charged for the parking of motor vehicles within any parking facilities leased pursuant to this Act shall be fixed at rates that will enable the lessee to meet all his obligations under his lease or leases; to defray all reasonable and necessary operating expenses; and to earn a fair and reasonable profit or return on his investment.

(c) The rates to be charged for the parking of motor vehicles within any parking facilities sold by the Parking Board under this Act, or constructed on any unimproved real property leased under section 10 of this Act, shall be fixed at rates that will enable the purchaser or lessee, as the case may be, to meet all his obligations under the purchase or lease agreement or agreements to amortize his investment over a reasonable period; to defray all reasonable and necessary operating expenses; and to earn a fair and reasonable profit or return on his investment.

AUTHORITY TO ISSUE OBLIGATIONS

SEC. 12. (a) (1) The Parking Board is authorized to issue and sell, upon such terms and conditions as it shall by resolution prescribe, its obligations having such maturities and bearing such rate or rates of interest as may be determined by the Parking Board, except that not more than $50,000,000 in such obligations shall be outstanding at any time. Obligations issued under this Act shall be offered at public sale to the lowest responsible bidder. Such obligations may be made redeemable at the option of the Parking Board before maturity in such manner as may be stipulated in such obligations. The principal of and the interest on any such obligations so issued shall be payable out of any moneys or revenues of the Parking Board available under the provisions of this Act.

(2) Obligations authorized hereunder may be issued by the Parking Board in the form of temporary, interim, or definitive bonds, at one time or from time to time, for any of its corporate purposes, including acquiring necessary cash working funds, constructing, reconstructing, extending, or improving a parking facility or facilities or any part thereof and acquiring any property, real or personal, useful for the construction, reconstruction, extension, improvement, or operation of a parking facility or part thereof. The Parking Board shall also have power from time to time to refund any bonds by the issuance of refunding bonds, whether the bonds to be refunded shall have or have not matured, and may issue bonds partly to refund bonds outstanding and partly for any other of its corporate purposes. To the extent feasible, the provisions of this Act governing the issuance and securing of other obligations shall govern refunding bonds. All bonds issued under the provisions of this Act shall have and are hereby declared to have all the qualities and incidents of negotiable instruments under article 3 of the Uniform Commercial Code of the District. The Parking Board shall determine the date, the price or prices, and the terms of redemption, and the form and the manner of execution of the bonds, including any interest coupons to be attached thereto, and shall fix the denomination or denominations of the bonds and the place or places of payment of principal and interest, which may be at any bank or trust company within or without the District. In case any officer whose signature or a facsimile of whose signature shall appear on any bonds or coupons shall cease to be such officer before the delivery of such bonds, such signature or such facsimile shall nevertheless be valid and sufficient for all purposes the same as if he had remained in office until such delivery, and any bond may bear the facsimile signature of, or may be signed by, such person as at the actual time of the execution of such bond shall be duly authorized to sign such bond although at the date of such bond such person may not have been such officer. The bonds may be issued in coupon or in registered form, or both, as the Parking Board may determine, and provision may be made for the registration of any coupon bonds as to principal alone and also as to both principal and interest, for the reconversion into coupon bonds of any bonds registered as to both principal and interest, and for the exchange of either coupon bonds or registered bonds without coupons for an equal aggregate principal amount of other coupon bonds or registered bonds without coupons, or both, of any denomination or denominations.

(3) In the discretion of the Parking Board, bonds may be secured by a trust agreement by and between the Parking Board and a corporate trustee, which may be any trust company or bank having the powers of a trust company within or without the District. Such trust agreement may contain provisions for protecting and enforcing the rights and remedies of the bondholders, including covenants setting forth the duties of the Parking Board in relation to the acquisition of property and the construction of parking facilities and the improvement, maintenance, operation, repair, and insurance of parking facilities, the rates to be charged and the custody, safeguarding, and application of all moneys; shall set forth the rights and remedies of the bondholders and of the trustees; may restrict the individual right of action by bondholders; and may contain such other provisions as the Parking Board may deem reasonable and proper for the security of the bondholders. All expenses incurred in carrying out the provisions of such trust agreement may be treated as a part of the cost of operation.

(4) In order to secure the payment of its bonds, the Parking Board shall have power, in the resolution authorizing the issuance thereof or in the trust agreement securing such bonds (which shall constitute a contract with the holders thereof) to—

(A) pledge all or any part of its revenues, including future revenues, the proceeds of bonds and any other moneys available to the Parking Board;

(B) covenant with respect to pledges of revenues, liens, mortgages, sales, leases, any property then owned or thereafter acquired, or against permitting or suffering any lien on such revenues or property;

(C) covenant with respect to limitations on any right to sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of any parking facility or part thereof, or any property of any kind;

(D) covenant with respect to the terms of any bonds to be issued, the custody, application, investment, and disposition of the proceeds thereof, the issuance of additional bonds, the incurring of any other obligations by it, the payment of the principal of and the interest on the bonds or any other obligations, the sources and method of such payment, the rank or priority of any such bonds or other obligations with respect to any lien or security or as to the acceleration of the maturity of any such bonds or other obligations; and

(E) covenant with respect to the replacement of lost, destroyed, or mutilated bonds.

The Parking Board is further authorized to pledge as security for revenue bonds, the revenues of parking meters, and to covenant with respect to the installation, relocation, operation, and maintenance of parking meters; the maintenance of its real and personal property, the replacement thereof; the insurance to be carried thereon and use and disposition of insurance money; the rates and other charges to be established and charged by the Parking Board under the authority of this Act; the amount to be raised each year or other period of time by rentals, sales, fees, rates, or other charges, and as to the use and disposition to be made thereof; and for the creation of special funds and accounts, including reasonable reserves.

(b) Obligations issued by the Parking Board, their transfer, and the income therefrom (including any profit made on the sale thereof), shall be exempt from all taxation (except estate, inheritance, and gift taxes) now or hereafter imposed by the United States or the District, any State, territory, or possession, or any county, municipality, or other municipal subdivision or taxing authority of any State, territory, or possession of the United States.

(c) Notwithstanding any restrictions on investment contained in any other laws, all domestic insurance companies, domestic insurance associations, and executors, administrators, guardians, trustees, and other fiduciaries within the District of Columbia, may legally invest any sinkng funds, moneys, or oher funds belonging to them or within their control in any bonds or other obligations issued pursuant to this Act, except that nothing contained in this subsection shall be construed as relieving any person, firm, or corporation from any duty of exercising reasonable care in selecting securities for purchase or investment.

(d) No trustee or receiver of any property of the Parking Board shall assign, mortgage, or otherwise dispose of all or part of any parking facility established under this Act, except in the manner and to the extent permitted under any trust or other agreement securing an obligation of the Parking Board. A trustee under any trust or other agreement securing an obligation of the Parking Board may be authorized in the event of default under any such trust or agreement to seek the appointment of a receiver who may enter and take possession of any parking facility of the Parking Board, operate and maintain such facility, collect all revenues arising therefrom, perform all duties required by this Act or by any trust or other agreement securing an obligation of the Parking Board to be performed by the Parking Board or any officer thereof, and take possession of the revenues from parking meters applicable to the payment of any obligations of the Parking Board.

PARKING METERS

SEC. 13. (a) The Parking Board shall, subject to the approval of the Commissioner of the District, install, maintain, repair, relocate, and remove parking meters at such locations on the streets, rights-of-way, avenues, roads, highways, and other public open spaces under the jurisdiction and control of the Commissioner of the District as the Parking Board may determine as an aid to regulation and control of the movement and parking of motor vehicles. In carrying out the aforementioned duties, the Parking Board shall, from time to time, consult with the Director of the District of Columbia Department of Highways and Traffic. The Parking Board is authorized to prescribe fees for the parking of vehicles where parking meters are now or hereafter installed and to utilize its own personnel to collect such fees. Such fees shall be collected by the Parking Board and shall be accounted for and disposed of in like manner as other revenues of the Parking Board.

(b) The Parking Board is authorized to pledge, in addition to its other revenues, the revenues of parking meters as security for its obligations, except that no such pledge shall extend to more than 75 per centum of the revenues of the meters in existence at the time such pledge is made. No covenant or agreement entered into by the Parking Board shall prohibit it from relocating parking meters.

EXEMPTION FROM TAXATION

SEC. 14. The Parking Board shall not be required to pay any taxes or assessments upon any parking facilities or any part thereof, or upon the income thereof. In lieu of such taxes or assessments the Parking Board shall pay to the District an amount equal to the taxes or assessments that would have been levied against the property of the Parking Board were the Parking Board not exempt from taxation. The exemption from taxes and assessments hereunder shall not be extended to any interest in a parking facility conveyed by the Parking Board to a grantee or lessee. The requirement to make payments in lieu of taxes shall be subordinate to the obligations of the Parking Board under any bond, mortgage, obligation, other evidence of indebtedness, or contract.

FRINGE LOTS

SEC. 15. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the Parking Board is authorized, after consultation and coordination with the Washington Metropolitan Area Transportation Authority, and the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments, to establish fringe lots in the National Capital area. The head of any Federal or District government agency or department is authorized to make lands in the National Capital area under his jurisdiction and control available, on such terms and conditions as he shall determine, to the Parking Board for use by it in establishing fringe lots under this section. No fringe lot shall be established outside the District, except on land owned by the United States, or any department or agency thereof, unless the Parking Board has first obtained approval therefor from the local governing body of the jurisdiction in which such fringe lot may be located.

(b) The Parking Board is authorized to operate any fringe lot established by the Board under this section, or to lease any such fringe lot pursuant to such terms and conditions as the Board may determine. The Parking Board is further authorized to operate or arrange for the operation of such fringe lots without charge to the persons patronizing such lots.

(c) As used in this section, the term "fringe lot" shall mean a parking lot primarily open to public use for the long-term parking of motor vehicles, located at or beyond the fringe of the central business district of the District served by buses, rail transit, or other mode of mass transportation.

NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION

SEC. 16. (a) On and after the effective date of this Act the Parking Board or any person desiring to acquire existing parking facilities, construct new parking facilities, or lease property for use as parking facilities shall submit to the National Capital Planning Commission for its review and recommendations thereon their plans for the acquisition, construction or leasing of such facilities or properties. The recommendations of the Commission shall be advisory in nature.

(b) The National Capital Planning Commission is authorized, whenever such plans are forwarded to it in accordance with the provisions of this section, to study such plans and make such report thereon as the Commission, in its discretion, determines is necessary. If no such report on such plans is submitted by the Commission within sixty days from the date the Parking Board or such person forwards them to the Commission, the Commission's approval of such plans shall be assumed.

(c) Nothing in this section shall be construed as superseding any existing law or provision of law relating, directly or indirectly, to the construction, establishment, expansion, operation, or location of parking facilities in the District.

COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS TO REVIEW PLANS

SEC. 17. (a) The Parking Board shall, in accordance with the provisions of the Act of May 16, 1930 (40 U.S.C. 121), submit to the Commission of Fine Arts the plans for each parking facility which the Parking Board proposes to construct or which is to be constructed on land leased by the Parking Board.

STUDY

SEC. 18. The Advisory Council shall undertake a study of the relationship between parking requirements and zoning regulations, with specific reference to the District planning proposals and the District zoning study now under way.

NOTICE TO PARKING BOARD OF SCHEDULE OF RATES TO BE CHARGED BY PRIVATE PARKING FACILITIES

SEC. 19. Every person owning or operating a parking facility in the District shall, pursuant to such rules and regulations as shall be established by the Parking Board, file in writing a complete schedule of the rates charged by such person for the storing or parking of motor vehicles in such facility, and in no case shall such person, following the filing of such schedule of rates, make any charge for such storing or parking in excess of that set forth in such schedule so filed until forty-eight hours after he has notified the Parking Board in writing of the new schedule of rates which he intends to charge. Nothing herein shall be construed as authorizing the Parking Board to fix or regulate such rates. The provisions of this section shall not be applicable with respect to any parking facility the rates of which are subject to the control and regulation of the Parking Board under this Act. Any person who shall violate this section shall be subject to a fine of not less than $100 and not to exceed $500.

AUDITS AND REPORTS

SEC. 20. (a) All receipts and expenditures of funds by the Parking Board pursuant to the provisions of this Act shall be made and accounted for under the direction and control of the Commissioners in like manner as is provided by law in the case of expenditures made by the government of the District. Nothing contained in this section shall be construed to prevent the Parking Board from providing, by covenant or otherwise, for such other audits as it may consider necessary or desirable.

(b) A report of any audit required under subsection (a) shall be made by the Parking Board to the Congress not later than one hundred and twenty days after the close of the Parking Board's fiscal year. The report shall set forth the scope of the audit and shall include a verification by the person conducting the audit of statements of (1) assets and liabilities, (2) capital and surplus or deficit, (3) surplus or deficit analysis, (4) income and expenses, and (5) sources and application of funds, and a verification by such person of separate income and expense statements for each facility, including as an expense item a payment in lieu of taxes.

(c) The Parking Board shall submit together with the audit report, a comprehensive report to the Congress summarizing the activities of the Parking Board for the preceding fiscal year.

POWERS OF PARKING BOARD

SEC. 21. (a) The Parking Board, in performing the duties imposed upon it by this Act, shall have all the powers necessary or convenient to carry out and effectuate the purposes and provisions of this Act, including the power—

(1) to sue and be sued, to compromise and settle suits and claims of or against it, to complain and defend in its own name in any court of competent jurisdiction, State, Federal, or municipal;

(2) to adopt, alter, and use a corporate seal which shall be judicially noticed;

(3) to adopt, prescribe, amend, repeal, and enforce bylaws, rules, and regulations for the exercise of its powers under this Act or governing the manner in which its business may be conducted and the powers granted to it by this Act may be exercised and enjoyed;

(4) to make, deliver, and receive deeds, leases, and other instruments and to acquire easements, rights-of-way, licenses, and other interests in land, and to take title to real and other property in its own name;

(5) to construct and equip parking facilities in the District and to exercise all powers necessary or convenient in connection therewith;

(6) to borrow money, to mortgage or hypothecate its property, or any interest therein, pledge its revenues, and to issue and sell its obligations;

(7) to appoint and employ, subject to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and other applicable laws relating to employees of the District, such officers, agents, engineers, accountants, appraisers, and other personnel for such periods as may be necessary in its judgment, and to determine the services to be performed by them on behalf of the Parking Board;

(8) to procure and enter into contracts for any types of insurance and indemnity against loss or damage to property from any cause, including loss of use or occupancy, against death or injury of any person, against employers' liability, against any act of any director, officers, or employee of the Parking Board in the performance of the duties of his office or employment, or any other insurable risk;

(9) to deposit its moneys and other revenues in any bank incorporated under the laws of the United States;

(10) to spend its revenues, or any funds appropriated to carry out the purposes of this Act;

(11) to employ, or to enter into contracts with, consulting engineers, architects, accountants, legal counsel, construction and financial consultants, managers, superintendents, and such other consultants and technical experts as in the opinion of the Parking Board may be necessary or desirable, without regard to section 3709 of the Revised Statutes, the civil service, classification and pay laws, and section 3109 of title 5, United States Code;

(12) to enter into all contracts and agreements, in addition to those otherwise mentioned herein, necessary or incidental to the performance of the functions of the Parking Board and the execution of its powers under this Act, except that as otherwise provided in this Act, all such contracts or agreements shall be subject to competitive bidding unless the value thereof does not exceed $2,500;

(13) to sell, exchange, transfer, or assign (in accordance with the general law of the District governing disposal by the District of real or personal property, including interests therein) any property, real or personal, or any interest therein, which was acquired under the authority of this Act, and which has been determined, after public hearing, to be no longer necessary for the purposes of this Act;

(14) to obtain from the United States, or any agency thereof, loans, grants, or other assistance on the same basis as would be available to the District.

(b) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (13) of subsection (a) of this section, the Parking Board shall not have the authority to exchange, sell, or transfer any real property acquired by condemnation within one year following such acquisition unless the owners of such property at the time of its acquisition by the Parking Board shall first have been afforded a reasonable opportunity to reacquire such property for an amount equal to that paid to them by the Parking Board plus the cost of improvements made by the Parking Board to such property, if any.

COMMISSIONER AUTHORIZED TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO PARKING BOARD

SEC. 22. (a) The Commissioner of the District is authorized to aid and cooperate in the planning, undertaking, construction, reconstruction, extension, improvement, maintenance, or operation of any parking facility established pursuant to this Act by providing, subject to reimbursement, such services, assistance, or facilities as the Parking Board may request.

(b) Subject to the reimbursement to the District by the Parking Board for the salaries, retirement, health benefits, and similar costs for such employees, there shall be made available to the Parking Board such number of employees of the District as the Parking Board certifies are necessary to the proper discharge of its duties in carrying out the purposes of this Act, which employees shall be subject to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service.

(c) The provisions of the second paragraph under the caption "For Metropolitan Police" in the first section of the Act entitled "An Act making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the Government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred, and for other purposes", approved March 3, 1899 (D.C. Code, sec. 4–115), authorizing the Board of Commissioners of the District to appoint special policemen for duty in connection with the property of corporations and individuals, shall be applicable with respect to the property of the Parking Board.

(d) The Corporation Counsel of the District of Columbia is authorized and directed in all matters to act as counsel for the Parking Board, except insofar as the Parking Board may find it necessary or convenient to retain outside legal counsel.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 23. As used in this Act, the term—

(1) "District" means the District of Columbia;

(2) "person" means an individual, firm, copartnership, association, or corporation (including a nonprofit corporation);

(3) "revenues" means all payments received by the Parking Board from the sale or lease of parking facilities, all moneys received from the operation of parking meters, authorized to be pledged, and all income and other moneys received by the Parking Board from any other source;

(4) "parking facility" means a parking lot, parking garage, or other structure (either single- or multi-level and either at, above, or below the surface) primarily for the offstreet parking of motor vehicles, open to the public use for a fee, and all property, rights, easements, and interests relating thereto which are deemed necessary for the efficient and economical construction or the operation thereof;

(5) "parking garage" means any structure (either single- or multi-level and either at, above, or below the surface) which is open to public use for a fee and which is primarily used for the offstreet parking of motor vehicles; and

(6) "National Capital area" means the District and all surrounding jurisdictions which are commonly recognized as part of the District metropolitan area.

ABOLITION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA MOTOR VEHICLE PARKING AGENCY AND TRANSFER OF FUNDS AND PROPERTY TO PARKING BOARD

SEC. 24. (a) The Motor Vehicle Parking Agency created by Reorganization Order of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia Numbered 54 and reconstituted under Organization Order of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia Numbered 106 (D.C. Code, title 1, appendix) is abolished. The functions, positions, personnel, equipment, property, records, and unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds, available or to be made available relating to the Motor Vehicle Parking Agency are transferred to the Parking Board.

(b) All positions, personnel, equipment, property, records, and unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds, available or to be made available relating to the function of installing repairing, replacing, and removing parking meters on the public streets of the District are transferred to the Parking Board from the Department of Highways and Traffic.

(c) Section 11 of the Act approved April 4, 1938 (D.C. Code, sec. 40–616) is repealed.

REPEAL

SEC. 25. The District of Columbia Motor Vehicle Parking Facility Act of 1942 (D.C. Code, secs. 40–801—40–809a) is repealed.

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 26. This Act and the amendments made by this Act shall take effect on the first day of the first month which begins more than ninety days after the date of its enactment.

And the House agree to the same.

JOHN L. MCMILLAN,
TOM ABERNETHY,
ANCHER NELSEN,
WILLIAM HARSHA,
JOEL T. BROYHILL,
Managers on the Part of the House.

JOSEPH D. TYDINGS,
W. B. SPONG,
PETER H. DOMINICK,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 944) to establish a District of Columbia Parking Board, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report.

The Senate bill contained the following principal features:

(1) Creates a Parking Board consisting of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, and directs the Board to appoint an Administrator.

(2) Establishes a Parking Advisory Council to advise and assist the Parking Board in carrying out its functions, including overall planning, acquisition, construction, design, and operation of parking facilities. The Advisory Council will be composed of 11 members, including the Secretary of the Interior, Administrator of General Services, Chairman of the National Capital Planning Commission, Administrator of the National Capital Transportation Agency, Director of the District of Columbia Department of Highways and Traffic, and 6 members from private life, with emphasis on experience in architecture, engineering, retail trade, real estate, financing, law, parking and transportation.

(3) Directs the Advisory Council to prepare and make available to interested agencies and private parking lot operators, within 1 year and each 5 years thereafter, a comprehensive report including an inventory and analysis of existing parking facilities, existing and anticipated transportation facilities, and parking requirements to achieve a balanced transportation program, including recommendations on the need, if any, for additional public parking facilities. It is the intent of the committee that the reports of the Advisory Council be submitted to the Congress.

(4) Authorizes the Board to acquire property by purchase, lease, gift, exchange, condemnation or otherwise to carry out its purposes, but provides that the Board cannot acquire existing parking garages by condemnation unless for the purpose of increasing substantially their capacity. The bill authorizes the Commissioners to make available air and subsurface rights to lands under their jurisdiction, with a view toward coordinating parking facilities with highway and subway construction; and authorizes the Secretary of the Interior and Administrator of General Services to make available, on terms they may prescribe, the subsurface rights to lands in the District under their respective jurisdictions and control.

(5) Authorizes the Board to construct and operate parking facilities; to lease space at ground level in, and lease or sell air rights above, parking structures; and to lease or sell facilities acquired or constructed under the act as soon as practicable, unless the Board determines the public interest would be best served if the Board operated such facility.

(6) Authorizes the Board to lease or sell facilities for operation as parking facilities and authorizes the Board to lease property for development as parking facilities, while in each case, retaining control over rates and quality of service.

(7) Directs the Board to set rates to be charged for use of space in facilities established under the act. The Board is required to consider existing rates charged by privately operated facilities in the vicinity, the extent to which long- or short-term parking should be encouraged in each location, and to establish the lowest rates that will enable the cost to be amortized within 40 years and return a fair profit to the lessee or owner.

(8) Authorizes the Board to issue and sell revenue bonds on terms and at rates the

Board may prescribe, but limits the amount of such obligations to $50 million outstanding at any time. The obligations are not guaranteed by, nor are they obligations of, the Federal or District governments. Obligations may be secured by trust agreements and pledges of all revenues of the Board, including 75 percent of the revenues of parking meters, which will be under the regulation and control of the Board. The obligations are tax exempt.

(9) Provides that the Board will be exempt from taxes or assessments on parking facilities or income from such facilities, but that in lieu of taxes, the Board may pay to the District of Columbia an amount equal to that which the Board would be obligated to pay if not exempt. This exemption will not be extended to interests conveyed by the Board to grantees or lessees.

(10) Authorizes the Board, after coordination with agencies and local governments, to establish fringe parking lots in the National Capital area, including locations outside of the District of Columbia, on approval of the local governments exerting jurisdiction over the proposed site, and to operate or lease such fringe lots.

(11) Directs the Board to submit plans to construct parking facilities to the National Capital Planning Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts.

(12) Requires any person who plans to construct or substantially expand a parking garage open to the public for a fee to obtain prior approval from the Director of the District of Columbia Department of Highways and Traffic and the National Capital Planning Commission of the size, design, and location of planned facilities before the issuance of a construction permit. Denial of such approval is subject to review by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia circuit.

(13) Requires operators of parking facilities to file a schedule of rates with the Board and give 48 hours' notice of intent to change rates. The bill provides that the Board shall have no authority to fix or regulate rates of parking facilities not constructed or operated pursuant to this act.

(14) Provides for audits to be made in like manner as is done with regard to expenditures of the District of Columbia, and requires that audit reports include separate income and expense statements for each facility.

(15) Grants to the Parking Board powers necessary or convenient to carry out or effectuate the purposes of the act.

(16) Amends the zoning laws to require the Zoning Commission to issue regulations to require that buildings to be erected in the central business district provide reasonable facilities, either in the building or elsewhere, directly or by contract, for the offstreet parking of vehicles of people using such buildings. This provision may be waived for specified reasons and upon payment of a fee representing an equitable contribution toward the cost of parking facilities in the area.

(17) Repeals the District of Columbia Parking Facilities Act of 1942, abolishes the Parking Agency created under that act and transfers the funds, property and personnel from the agency to the Board, and funds, personnel and property relating to parking meters from the Department of Highways and Traffic to the Board.

The House bill contained the following provisions:

1. Authorizes the Administrator of General Services to contract with qualified private parking operators for the construction, maintenance, and operation of such parking facilities on, above, or below properties of the Federal or District of Columbia Government as he deems necessary to accomplish the purpose of this act. The Administrator is directed to obtain the approval of the Commissioner of the District of Columbia and the Secretary of Interior for use of property under their jurisdiction for the purpose of this act. The bill specifies that the term "qualified parking operator" means a financially responsible person with a proven record of large-scale, efficient operation of parking facilities.

2. Authorizes the Administrator of General Services to fix fees for the use of these parking facilities, with the fees established for officers and employees of the Government to be nominal and based upon a consideration of the proximity of the parking facility to their place of employment. All proceeds from leases and fees shall be deposited in the U.S. Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

3. Authorizes the Administrator to make rules and regulations necessary to carry out the act, including those relating to hours of operation, general administration, management, allocation of parking spaces, and criteria for assignment of parking spaces.

4. Authorizes the Administrator to lease parking facilities under this act, and to contract with experienced, private parking operators for the operation of any such facility. Included in any such lease or contract shall be provisions which will—

(a) State the amount of parking fees to be charged;

(b) Authorize official Government-owned vehicles on Government business to park without charge;

(c) Authorize the lessee or contractor to permit the public to use the parking facility during specific nonworking hours for reasonable fees and to retain, in whole or in part, the proceeds from such fees, and

(d) Require the lessee or contractor to have in force public liability insurance in an amount sufficient to save the Government harmless from all damages arising out of the operation of the facility; as well as any other provisions which may be necessary to protect the interests of the United States or the District of Columbia.

5. Requires the Administrator to assure the equitable distribution of these parking facilities throughout the District of public land with regard for the comparative urgency of the need therefor, and to give the highest priority to the construction of suitable and adequate parking facilities for persons employed in the Government Printing Office. It is further specified that in determining the location and design of these parking facilities, consideration shall be given to the incidence of crime in the area surrounding the buildings.

The committee of conference agreed that the intent of the House bill could be accomplished within the framework of the Senate bill. That is, the Commissioner of the District of Columbia, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Administrator of General Services are authorized to make available land and subsurface rights under their respective jurisdictions, for the development of parking facilities for government employees and visitors.

In addition, the committee of conference agreed to the other provisions of the Senate bill, with certain modifications. Except for technical, clarifying, and conforming changes, the following statement explains the differences between the Senate bill and the substitute agreed to in conference.

COMPOSITION OF PARKING BOARD

Under the Senate bill the Parking Board would consist of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia. The conference substitute recognizes the reorganization of the District government, and the responsibility of the Federal government with respect to the provision of parking, by changing the membership of the Board to: the Commissioner of the District of Columbia, the Administrator of General Services, and the Secretary of the Interior, or their designees.

PARKING ADVISORY COUNCIL

The Senate bill provided an 11-member would consist of the Commissioners of the representatives from the Federal and District Government and 6 members from private life. The conference substitute provides for 3 representatives of government agencies (reflecting the transfer of the Administrator of General Services and the Secretary of the Interior from the Council to the Board) and also provides that at least 2 of the members from private life shall be experienced parking operators in the Washington metropolitan area.

ACQUISITION OF PARKING FACILITIES

The conference substitute adds the provision that the Parking Board may not acquire through condemnation, any parking facility in operation on October 7, 1968.

The conference substitute also provides that whenever the parking board seeks to undertake condemnation of any property, it shall notify both Houses of Congress, and shall proceed with condemnation only if, within 60 days following such notification, neither House has passed a resolution reported from its Committee on the District of Columbia disapproving such condemnation. (The provisions of the substitute bill governing this procedure are similar to those governing Congressional action on an Executive reorganization proposal.)

AUTHORIZATION TO LEASE FACILITIES

The Senate bill authorized the Parking Board to lease separately the subsurface or air space rights developed in conjunction with a parking facility. The conference substitute provides that when a parking facility is leased by the Parking Board to a private parking operator, any related subsurface and air space development which may be provided shall also be covered by that lease.

RATES

The Senate bill provided that the rates to be charged for parking should be fixed at "the lowest" rates that will enable the lessee to meet all his obligations under the lease; to defray all reasonable and necessary expenses; and to earn a fair profit. The conference substitute deletes the words "the lowest" in order to provide additional flexibility in permitting the existing private competitive rate structure to be taken into consideration. Rates for the use of space in any parking facility operated by the Board shall be comparable to the schedule of rates prevailing in privately operated facilities which are similar to and in the same vicinity as such public facility.

REVIEW OF PARKING FACILITY PROPOSALS

The Senate bill specified that any private parking operator desiring to construct or expand any parking facility must first obtain the approval of the Director of the District of Columbia Department of Highways and Traffic and the National Capital Planning Commission. The Parking Board was not subject to this requirement. The Conference substitute removed this difference by providing that the development of parking facilities by either a private operator or the Parking Board be subject to the same requirements for review by the National Capital Planning Commission.

PARKING FACILITIES IN CONNECTION WITH NEW CONSTRUCTION

The Senate bill required that all new buildings constructed in the central business district provide offstreet parking for owners, occupants, tenants, patrons, and customers of such buildings, or that a sum of money be paid by the owner to the Parking Board towards the provision of parking. In view of the uncertainty regarding the effects of such a broad requirement, and in view of the potential development of new transportation, land-use and zoning plans for this area of the city, the Conference substitute pro-

vides instead for a study to be made of the possible relationships between parking requirements and zoning regulations.

LEASES

The Senate bill provided that the Parking Board is authorized to lease any parking facility acquired or constructed by it, and that the Board shall invite competitive bids for such leases, except that the Board may negotiate such leases when it determines it to be in the public interest to do so. The conference substitute deletes the authority to regulate these leases, and provides that the Board may reject all competitive bids and invite new bids in connection with any lease.

EXEMPTION FROM TAXATION

The Senate bill provided that the Parking Board shall not be required to pay any taxes or assessments on any parking facilities or any part thereof. In lieu of such taxes or assessments, however, it was provided that the Parking Board may pay to the District an amount equal to the taxes and assessments that would have been levied against the property were the Parking Board not exempt from taxation.

The conference substitute provides that the Parking Board *shall* pay the District such an amount on any parking facility which it owns and operates, except those facilities constructed and operated on property made available to the Board by the Federal or the District of Columbia government.

OPERATION OF FRINGE PARKING LOTS

The Senate bill provided that the Parking Board is authorized to operate or arrange for the operation of any fringe lot established by the Board, either with or without charge to the persons patronizing such lots. The conference substitute provides that such fringe lots operated by the Parking Board shall be operated without charge to the users thereof.

JOHN L. MCMILLAN,
TOM ABERNETHY,
ANCHER NELSEN,
WILLIAM HARSHA,
JOEL T. BROYHILL,
Managers on the Part of the House.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE 90TH CONGRESS: REPORT TO THE PEOPLE OF THE FOURTH DISTRICT OF WISCONSIN

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, many Americans are tempted to look for simple solutions to the frustrating and complex problems which confront us today.

History, however, has taught us that there are no simple solutions to the perplexing needs of a modern society. The only solution to these predicaments is a true understanding of their origin and a realistic attack on contributory factors with the resources available.

It is this belief which has guided me during my tenure in Congress, particularly in the 90th Congress.

On this, the last legislative day of this Congress, as we review the record of our accomplishments, I believe we can conclude that real progress has been made toward solving the problems which confront our country today. As has been my policy, I take this opportunity to report to the people my position on the major legislative measures enacted or considered during the 90th Congress.

CONSUMER PROTECTION

Certainly, when we compare the 90th Congress with the 89th Congress, it may appear that this Congress was not as productive. However, this is perhaps due to the fact that so much was done in the previous Congress.

Just as the 89th Congress will probably be known as the "Education Congress" because of its accomplishments in that area, the 90th Congress will be remembered as a Congress which has scored significant breakthroughs in the area of consumer protection. Over the past decades the American consumer has become the victim of increasing deception in buying products or borrowing money. This Congress has done much to correct this situation.

The Truth-in-Lending Act was the outstanding accomplishment, providing new Federal protection for the consumer. Beginning in July of this year, the disclosure of annual rates of charges on loans and installment credit, both in dollars and cents and in percent, is required. This law should protect the consumer from misrepresentation. Further, it requires the disclosure of interest on first mortgages, permits a person to obtain relief from a fraudulent second mortgage, restricts the practice of wage garnishment, and provides penalties against the practice of loansharking.

Congress enacted the Wholesome Meat Act which sets guidelines for better meat inspection standards at all State levels. In the second session, a similar measure was adopted, providing guidelines for adequate inspection and production standards for poultry and poultry products.

In the further interest of protecting the consumer, the Congress directed the Secretary of Transportation to conduct a comprehensive study and investigation of all relevant aspects of existing motor vehicle accident compensation systems.

A National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control was established to conduct research into safety programs to curb the damage to property and loss of life which accompany fires.

The Housing and Urban Development Act requires disclosure of land sale plans by promoters to the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. This is intended to deter or prohibit the sale of land by use of the mails or other channels of interstate commerce through misrepresentation of facts relating to the property.

The Gas Pipeline Safety Act provides for safety standards to prevent dangerous leaks or explosions in the interstate transport of natural gas.

EDUCATION

Although the 89th Congress set a milestone in the field of education legislation, that area was not entirely neglected by the 90th Congress. Many of the programs initiated in the last Congress were continued, expanded, or further implemented by this Congress.

The Higher Education Amendments of 1968 continue and improve several important education programs, including the Higher Education Facilities Act, the Higher Education Act of 1965, the Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act, and the National Defense Education Act. These measures have provided vital assistance to institutions of higher learning in improving their physical plants, in improving faculties and curriculums, and in affording loans to needy students. The Higher Education Act consolidated the NDEA student loan program educational opportunity grants, and work-study programs; and authorized grants to encourage institutions of higher education to share facilities such as classrooms, libraries, laboratories, closed-circuit television, and computers by establishing specialized library and computer networks between such institutions.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 was continued and expanded to include the provisions of the George-Barden Act. In fiscal 1970 the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act also will be consolidated with these two laws to provide a comprehensive and unified approach to vocational education assistance, and will do much to strengthen vocational education programs throughout the States.

The National School Lunch Act was expanded by establishing a program for child-care institutions—public or private nonprofit—in areas where poor economic conditions exist or where there are high concentrations of working mothers. In addition, it extends the school breakfast program through fiscal 1971.

The National Science Foundation Act was amended to improve the organization and operation of the Foundation.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

Congress enacted several important measures to improve the health and safety of American citizens.

The Heart Disease, Cancer and Stroke Amendments of 1965 was amended to continue the regional medical programs initiated in 1965, and extends health services programs for domestic agricultural migratory workers. Further, it provides for the construction of facilities for the prevention and treatment of alcoholism and drug addiction.

The Health Professions Training Act continues grants for the construction of medical and dental teaching facilities and extends grant authority for additional assistance to institutions which train medical personnel. Included in this act are provisions to authorize appropriations for the construction or rehabilitation of nurse training facilities and to provide additional assistance to nursing students.

To overcome poverty and the causes of poverty in our Nation, the creation of jobs and the training of persons for obtaining jobs were given much attention in the 90th Congress. Various proposals were made to augment existing manpower training programs and to extend and expand vocational rehabilitation training grants to the States. Effective in fiscal 1970, the Federal share of rehabilitation grants will increase to 80 percent, compared with the present 75 percent.

The Food Stamp Act was revised to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to provide funds for implementing the food stamp program in the States.

The first session of the 90th Congress enacted numerous amendments to the Social Security and Medicare Acts and the second session enacted similar benefit increases for persons covered by the Railroad Retirement Act and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act.

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CRIMINAL PROCEDURE

In the field of civil rights, several measures were introduced affecting equal employment opportunities, open housing, intimidation of and interference with those exercising civil rights, and extension of the Civil Rights Commission. The major legislation in this area contained the following provisions: First, safeguarding persons in the exercise of various constitutional rights or while participating in various federally protected activities; second, the extension of Federal jurisdiction to riotous outbreaks and acts of civil disobedience that affect interstate commerce; third, the establishment of national fair housing safeguards; fourth, penalties for using force or threats of intimidation to obstruct fair housing safeguards; fifth, the protection of the constitutional rights of Indians.

Congress also established procedures to guarantee that jury selection in Federal courts shall preclude discrimination of any kind.

The Omnibus Crime Control Act will give much-needed assistance to police forces throughout the Nation in improving their capacities for preventing crime and protecting the public. In addition, other provisions in the law are intended to help in criminal investigations and prosecutions.

The State Firearms Control Assistance Act bans the sale of long guns to persons under 18 and the mail-order sale of all guns and ammunition. The legislation creates additional penalties for persons convicted of a Federal crime in which firearms are involved. Title IV of the Omnibus Crime Control Act prohibits the sale of handguns and ammunition to persons under 21. The bill prohibits the sale of firearms and ammunition to felons, fugitives, persons under indictment for a felony, narcotic addicts, and mental incompetents. Although these laws do not guarantee that weapons will be kept out of the hands of criminals, I believe they will deter the possession of guns by felons, without restricting the right of responsible persons to own weapons.

I was pleased that the majority in Congress decided that if there were need for the registration and licensing of guns, it should be left to the local and State governments.

To control the growing use of drugs, particularly among young persons, a new Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs was created. It combines the Bureau of Narcotics and the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control and is within the jurisdiction of the Justice Department. It is hoped, by coordinating the efforts of these agencies, the expanding traffic in drugs can be curbed.

In addition, stiff legal penalties were established for trafficking in LSD, stimulant or depressant drugs and for possessing such drugs as stated earlier. Continued aid was assured to regional medical centers for the rehabilitation of alcoholics and drug addicts.

Congress enacted the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act to assist the courts, correctional systems, and community agencies engaged in the prevention, control, and treatment of juvenile delinquency. Legislation was adopted to stop the mailing of pornographic materials to juveniles, and to curtail the indiscriminate mailing of master automobile keys or other devices which are an open invitation to car theft.

HOUSING

The 90th Congress enacted the most comprehensive housing bill since 1949. The new Housing Act, with emphasis in most programs on greater participation by private financing, includes the following significant provisions: Assistance to low- and moderate-income families in purchasing homes; rental housing assistance to low- and moderate-income families similar to the homeownership plan; amendments strengthening various FHA mortgage insurance programs; FHA assistance to new community developers in financing and constructing developing communities; improved urban renewal programs; extension of urban planning assistance to include nonmetropolitan areas; more fund authorization for urban mass transportation assistance and extension through June 1970 of the emergency mass transportation program; conversion, in part, of the FNMA into a private, second mortgage institution while retaining Government administration of special assistance, management, and liquidating functions; programs to encourage private industry construction of low- and moderate-income housing through Government-supported profitmaking corporations; housing loans for rural residents if other assistance is not available; establishment of a National Insurance Development Corporation to provide Federal-State reinsurance coverage for insurers against property loss resulting from various criminal acts, including rioting or civil disorder; a 10-year housing program requiring the President to submit a report on goals and plans and requiring periodic annual reports thereafter; and increased authorization for the model cities program and other extensions or modifications of the National Housing Act.

In addition, the bill includes a national flood insurance program which will provide insurance coverage to families in areas prone to floods. Under this new program the Federal Government will assist the private insurance industry in protecting families' homes and property.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Various bills were enacted into law by the Congress to preserve our natural beauties and to conserve our scarce resources. Established were the Redwood National Park in California and the national scenic rivers system, including parts of the Wolf and St. Croix, in Wisconsin.

Also initiated was a nationwide system of trails, affording millions of Americans greater pleasure in the use of our national parks, and the Secretary of Interior was authorized to make feasibility studies of various water resource projects in North Dakota, Arizona, and Oklahoma, in an effort to insure the development of American land and water resources.

Continued Federal Government support was provided for our Great Lakes alewife problem, for combating pollution of our fresh water supply and for saline water conversion programs. The Water Quality Improvement Act provides for the construction of waste treatment facilities and water pollution control research. The Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act permits the Secretary of Agriculture to contract for the construction of works of improvement upon the request of local organizations.

GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION

Various bills were considered by the House and Senate to review and improve the organization and management of the executive branch of the Government.

Resolutions were adopted in both Houses to assist Members in avoiding conflicts of interest and other ethical predicaments. House Resolution 1099 provided the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct with the authority to render advisory opinion to Members of the House and to receive evidence and make recommendations in instances when a Member has been accused of misconduct.

The tragic assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy as he campaigned for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination resulted in the passage of a measure which authorizes Secret Service protection for major candidates for President and Vice President.

A law was passed to encourage the States to take action in providing absentee voting privileges to residents temporarily residing overseas and the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 was amended to assist armed services personnel to vote in Federal elections.

SERVICEMEN AND VETERANS

Both Houses passed a resolution expressing the policy that returning Vietnam veterans should be accorded employment preference in the Federal Government and that the Government, through its procurement operations, shall encourage the same policy on the part of private industry.

The basic compensation rate for totally disabled veterans was increased from $300 to $400 per month, and the compensation rates for partial disability was increased by 8 percent. The law will affect some 1,951,000 veterans effective January 1, 1969. The basic law was further amended to increase income limitations on disability pensions of veterans, so that increases in social security benefits would not affect disability pensions. The cold war GI bill was revised to include the apprenticeship and job training program that I sponsored.

Congress extended for 4 years the military draft system, with revisions to make it more equitable. Legislation was approved preserving the separate status of the Army Reserve and the National Guard, and pay raises were provided for the members of the armed services. Ade-

quate funds for military support of the U.S. servicemen in Vietnam were appropriated.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

One of the most controversial issues which have demanded the attention of the Congress was the Vietnam war. It has become a leading issue in the current political campaign. With the alternative of summarily pulling out of Vietnam unacceptable and the other alternative of escalating the war to the degree that it might precipitate a third world war—which could lead to a nuclear holocaust—the Congress has supported the administration's policy. This policy calls for continued pressure on the aggressor in Vietnam, with simultaneous proposals for a negotiated end to the conflict. To carry out this policy, the Congress has appropriated the necessary funds to support our men and military operations in Vietnam. Regardless of individual opinions on the war, it is necessary to fully evaluate the alternatives in the context of our responsibilities and resulting consequences in Southeast Asia.

Congress was exceptionally conservative in future foreign assistance funds. It was the consensus that investment in the economic development of allies and underdeveloped countries, while a worthy and sound cause, must not excessively burden the domestic economy of our country. Therefore, the foreign-aid funds were cut back considerably and our international assistance programs have been tightened.

The food-for-peace program was continued through December 1970 and surplus farm products will be sold for local currencies to countries in dire need. The Peace Corps program was continued. U.S. participation in international lending institutions such as the Inter-American Development Bank and the Asian Development Bank was encouraged. Laws were enacted prohibiting the use of Export-Import Bank funds to finance trade with Communist countries and restricting Export-Import Bank financing of military equipment sales to underdeveloped countries.

VOTING RECORD

Certainly, there were some measures that should have been approved, and some that should not have been adopted. Generally speaking, however, I believe this Congress has concluded with a good record.

It can be expected that the actions taken by the 90th Congress in meeting the challenges it faced will be the beginning of a stronger, more responsible role for future Congresses in the shaping of the truly great society of which this country is truly capable. It is my sincere hope that, with the cooperation of our allies and friends, a similar goal can be achieved throughout the world.

In this report only a few of the major achievements were outlined. I am including a table listing many more bills which were considered or approved by this Congress. The disposition of each bill, and my vote or position on it, are indicated.

It has been an honor and a privilege to represent the Fourth District of Wisconsin in Congress over the years. It is my sincere hope that my record in the 90th Congress will be received by my constituents in the spirit in which this accounting is given.

RECORD OF CONGRESSMAN CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, 90TH CONGRESS

My stand	Issue	Status
	CONSUMER PROTECTION, HEALTH AND WELFARE	
Voted for	Truth in lending bill requiring disclosure of actual credit charges	Became law.
Sponsored	Truth in credit-rating bill to to protect consumers against false or malicious credit reports	Hearings in House.
Voted for	Aid to States to bring meat inspection programs up to satisfactory levels	Became law.
Do	Strengthened poultry products inspection law	Do.
Do	Investigation of the auto insurance industry	Do.
Do	Federal pipeline safety standards	Do.
Do	Protection of the public from dangerous amounts of harmful radiation	Cleared for President.
Do	Aid to States for comprehensive health services and rat control	Became law.
Do	2-year extension of programs to improve the quality and increase the number of health services personnel	Do.
Do	Continued aid to regional medical centers and for rehabilitation of alcoholics and drug addicts	Cleared for President.
Do	Creation of a National Eye Institute	Became law.
Do	Federal penalties for illegal manufacture, traffic in, or possession of drugs such as LSD	Cleared for President.
Do	Aid to build facilities to treat the mentally retarded and to train teachers of the retarded	Became law.
Sponsored	Federal payment of medicare bills on the basis of an itemized bill rather than by reimbursement	Do.
Voted for	Federal penalties for mail-order sale of guns and sales to minors, criminals, and other undesirables	Cleared for President.
Do	Civil Rights Act of 1968, including antiriot and fair housing provisions	Became law.
Do	Extension of the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act	Do.
Do	Grants to States for crime prevention and control	Do.
Sponsored	Federal regulation to combat aircraft noise	Do.
Do	Regulation of mailing lists to curb the flow of pornography	Hearings in House.
Voted for	Training and work incentive programs for members of families on welfare	Became law.
Sponsored	Expansion of the food stamp program to make surplus farm products available to needy persons and families at reduced prices	Cleared for President.
Voted for	Strengthening the programs of the Older Americans Act	Became law.
Support	Additional Federal welfare and pension plan protection	Reported in House.
	EDUCATION AND LABOR	
Voted for	Extension of Federal aid programs to colleges, universities, and needy students	Cleared for President.
Sponsored	Aid to improve education in public and private day care centers	Hearings in House.
Voted for	2-year extension of Elementary and Secondary Education Act programs to public and private nonprofit schools	Became law.
Do	3-year program of teacher training, including the Teachers Corps	Do.
Sponsored	Extension of certain NDEA benefits to private nonprofit schools	Hearings in House.
Voted for	Public Broadcasting Act to promote educational television and radio	Became law.
Do	Expansion of Vocational Education Act programs	Cleared for President.
Do	Expansion of National School Lunch Act programs to reach more disadvantaged children	Became law.
Do	2-year extension of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities	Do.
Support	Occupational Health and Safety Act	Passes House.
Voted for	Prohibition of age discrimination by employers	Became law.
Do	Amendment and extension of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act	Do.
Do	Extension of the training and job placement programs of the Manpower Development and Training Act	Cleared for President.
Voted against	Compulsory arbitration of railway strike	Became law.
Support	Situs picketing legislation to permit lawful picketing at common construction sites	Reported in House.
	NATIONAL ECONOMY	
Voted for	Substantial reductions in nonessential Federal spending	Became law.
Opposed	Temporary 10-percent surtax and severe cuts in vital national programs	Do.
Support	Tax reform to distribute the tax burden more equitably and close tax loopholes	Pending in House.
Sponsored	Increase in personal income tax exemption	Pending.
Voted for	Extension of 5-percent excise tax on plane fares to international flights and customs measures to reduce our balance-of-payments deficit.	Passed House.
Sponsored	Elimination of certain tax-exempt municipal bonds used to benefit private industrial development	Became law.
Voted for	Revision and 2-year extension of Office of Economic Opportunity programs	Do.
Do	Comprehensive housing program to bring decent housing within the reach of more Americans	Do.
Do	Federal reinsurance of urban riot-prone areas	Do.
Sponsored	Tax adjustment for American Motors	Became law.
Voted for	Additional funds for the Small Business Administration	Became law.
Voted for	Increased social security and railroad retirement benefits	Became law.
Voted for	Adjustments in Federal and postal salaries and postal rates	Became law.
Support	Increased benefits for retired Federal employees, improved financing for retirement system	Passed by House.
Support	Interstate Taxation Act to establish uniform limits on State taxation of small businesses	Reported in House.
Sponsored	Sale of certain Federal surplus property to local governments	Pending in House.
Voted for	Continued Federal aid for interstate highway construction	Became law.
Sponsored	Income tax deduction for expenses involved in adopting a child	Pending in House.
Support	Expansion of U.S. trade to provide more jobs, reduce our balance-of-payments deficit	Hearings in House.
Voted for	Relief for domestic industries and workers adversely affected by increased imports from low-wage areas	Passed by House.

RECORD OF CONGRESSMAN CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, 90TH CONGRESS—Continued

My stand	Issue	Status
	NATURAL RESOURCES AND AGRICULTURE	
Voted for	Creation of a National Redwood Park in California	Became law.
Sponsored	Establishment of an Apostle Islands National Lakeshore in Wisconsin	Passed by Senate; hearings in House.
Sponsored	Congressional consent for the Great Lakes Basin compact	Became law.
Sponsored	Federal aid to control the alewife and similar Great Lakes pests	Passed Senate; hearings in House.
Voted for	Creation of a national scenic rivers system, including parts of the St. Croix in Wisconsin	Became law.
Voted for	Creation of a nationwide system of trails	Became law.
Voted for	1-year extension of the basic farm program	**Became law.**
Voted for	Federal program of river, harbor, and flood control projects	Became law.
Voted for	Additional sources of revenue to finance parks and recreation areas	Became law.
Voted for	Water Quality Improvement Act	**Became law.**
	GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION	
Sponsored	Reform of the electoral college system of selecting the President and Vice President	Hearings in Senate.
Support	More efficient congressional procedures, as recommended by the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress	Reported in House.
Support	Constitutional amendment lowering the voting age to 18 years	Passed Senate; reported in House.
Support	Representation in Congress for the District of Columbia	Reported in House.
Sponsored	Creation of a Joint Committee on Central Intelligence	Pending in House.
Sponsored	Creation of Joint Congressional Committee on Consumer Interests	**Pending in House**
Support	Reform of political campaign financing in Federal elections	Passed Senate; reported in House.
Voted for	Revision of the copyright laws	Passed House.
Support	Revision of the patent laws	House and Senate hearings.
Sponsored	Striking of medal to commemorate the explorations of Father Marquette in areas of North America such as Wisconsin	Became law.
Voted against	Disapproval of reorganization of the District of Columbia government	Disapproval defeated.
Voted for	Uniform national observance of certain holidays on Mondays	Became law.
	SERVICEMEN AND VETERANS	
Voted for	Pay raise for members of the armed services	**Became law.**
Voted for	Increases in veterans' pensions, disability compensation, and other benefits	**Became law.**
Sponsored	Inclusion of apprenticeship and job training under cold war GI bill	**Became law.**
Voted for	Aid to returning veterans to help them find suitable employment	**Became law.**
	NATIONAL DEFENSE, INTERNAL SECURITY AND SPACE	
Voted for	Amendment and 4-year extension of the military draft system	Became law.
Voted for	Preserving the separate status of the Army Reserve and the National Guard	**Became law.**
Voted for	Continuation of funds to support U.S. efforts in Vietnam	**Became law.**
Voted for	Federal penalties for desecration of the American flag	**Became law.**
Voted against	Killing of the Committee on Un-American Activities by denying it expense funds	Motion defeated.
Voted for	Continued operation of U.S. space and atomic energy programs	Became law.
	INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	
Support	U.S. participation in nuclear nonproliferation agreement	Pending in Senate.
Voted for	2-year extension of food for peace program of selling surplus farm products abroad for local currencies	Became law.
Sponsored	U.S. initiative for United Nations consideration of the Vietnam conflict	Passed by Senate.
Voted for	Continued operation of the Peace Corps program	Became law.
Sponsored	Creation of delegation to meet with similar NATO country delegations regarding an Atlantic Union	Reported in House.
Voted for	1-year extension of economic and military aid to needy foreign countries	**Became law.**
Voted for	Continued U.S. participation in the Asian Development Bank to finance development in Asia	Reported in House.
Voted for	Increased U.S. participation in the Inter-American Development Bank	Became law.
Sponsored	Travel restrictions in cases where U.S. foreign relations would be imperiled	Pending in House.
Voted for	Prohibition against use of Export-Import Bank funds to finance trade with Communist countries	Became law.
Voted for	Restrictions on Export-Import Bank financing of military equipment sales to underdeveloped countries	Became law.
Voted for	2-year extension of the Arms Control and Disarmanent Agency	Became law
Sponsored	Creation of an Institute of International Affairs for promotion of freedom and understanding among nations	Hearings in House.
Voted for	Emergency food aid to drought-stricken India	Became law.
Support	Increased U.S. participation in the International Development Association	Reported in House.
Voted for	U.S. participation in measures to stabilize the international monetary system, provide means to finance expanded international trade.	Became law.

ROLLCALL RECORD OF CONGRESSMAN CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, 90TH CONGRESS

Session	Total roll and quorum calls	Rollcalls	Not voting [1]	Quorum calls	Absent on quorum [2]
1st	447	245	18	202	13
2d	428	233	25	195	8

[1] Paired on rollcall votes when possible; excused when on official business.

[2] Absence on quorum call does not necessarily mean an entire legislative day's absence.

R. T. CALLAHAN

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, on August 4, the Greater Miami area, indeed the State of Florida, and his innumerable friends suffered immeasurable loss in the accidental death, while he labored on his farm, of R. T. "Smitty" Callahan, business agent of a great and dynamic union, Local 349 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Smitty Callahan was more than a labor leader. He was the very personification of all that a leader of labor—leader of men—could be. He was a man of indefatigable energy, of persistent drive, of unbounded courage, unreserved dedication to the cause of those he represented, and of magnificent vision. He was not only deeply loved and unquestionably followed by his union but he was regarded with the greatest respect and esteem by employers with whom he dealt in his work. He was the soul of honor and his word was his bond to all to whom he gave it. He was a man of warm and compassionate heart who gave his great strength to any worthy cause in his community. He was a gallant gentleman. He had a profound respect for ladies and would allow no man to speak disrespectfully of a lady in his presence. The few who did not heed his request to desist from such remarks regretted their mistake.

Smitty Callahan lived 48 of his 51 years in the Miami area. He was past president of the Miami Building & Construction Trade Council, a past member of the executive board of the Dade Federation of Labor, former member of the Dade County Electricians Examining Board, vice president of the Florida AFL–

CIO, president of the State Electrical Workers, member of the State of Florida Construction Licensing Committee, political coordinator of the construction trade, member of the Allapattah Masonic Lodge, Miami Grotto, and member of the Labor Advisory Staff Interama.

Smitty is survived by his wife, Doris; two sons, R. Thomas Jr. and wife, Royce; Reginald G. and wife, Susan; a daughter, Miss Diane Callahan; two grandsons, Gregory and Chris; parents, Idena and Ethan Smith; three brothers, E. G. Smith, Jr., Leroy Smith, and Kramer Smith all of Miami.

Mr. Speaker, when a great and good man still in his prime is snatched away, precious riches have been irrevocably lost. Smitty Callahan was my friend for more than 25 years. I shall ever cherish his friendship. The high quality of his friendship will long be a moving memory and a stirring inspiration to all who knew him and those who shall know of him. I appreciate the privilege of adding these words of heartfelt tribute to Smitty Callahan to the permanent RECORD of this House and the annals of my country.

TRIBUTE TO DR. JOAQUIN GONZALEZ CIGARROA, SR., OF LAREDO, TEX.

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous material.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, throughout the history of our country, we have had examples of immigrants and sons of immigrants who have felt so deeply the opportunities which this country has offered them to become successful that they have demonstrated their gratitude and their love of country in many different ways.

One such example is the case of the illustrious family of Dr. Joaquin Gonzalez Cigarroa, Sr., of Laredo, Tex. Dr. Cigarroa was born in Mexico of humble parents. He worked his way through medical school and graduated with honors. Shortly after he was married, he immigrated to the United States and settled in my hometown of Laredo. Through his dedication and his ability in his profession, his humanity, patience, and understanding with his patients and all with whom he came in contact, he gained for himself an enviable reputation and gained the friendship and love of all who knew him.

He and his charming wife became the parents of two boys and one girl. He instilled in his children a great desire to be of service to humanity and all three became professional people. The two sons, Leonides and Joaquin, Jr., both attended medical schools where they also established enviable records, and the daughter, Rebecca, became a pharmacist. When the children returned to Laredo, they also, following in the footsteps of their father, soon became renowned in their profession. They too have won the love and respect of their community. They have given of their talents, their time, and their money to secure a better way of life for the inhabitants of their city.

Dr. Leonides Cigarroa has served with great honor and distinction as a member of the local school board where he has contributed immeasurably in raising the quality and standards of education on a local level. Dr. Joaquin Cigarroa has likewise been a tireless champion of quality education in Texas, serving very ably under appointment by the Governor on the coordinating board, Texas College and University System.

Mr. Speaker, they have felt that this country has showered its blessings of health and success on them and in recognition of this, have decided to, in a more material way, show their appreciation for such blessings. They, together with Dr. Margaret Gillard Cigarroa, wife of Dr. Leonides Cigarroa, recently created a multipurpose charitable foundation in honor of their father which will contribute immensely to the welfare of the young citizens of our city. In the September 16, 1968, issue of the American Medical Association News, there appeared an article more fully describing the purposes of this foundation. I include in the RECORD at this point that article:

COMMUNITY FOUNDATION HONORS PHYSICIAN

The students at J. W. Nixon High School in Laredo, Tex., are really talking these days.

For the first time they will have their own football field.

A young girl who would have had pretty tough going—and might not have made it at all—is going back to school again on a $500 scholarship.

A lot of people get sick at Laredo, too, young and old, rich and poor. Some wouldn't be able to pay their bills without some help.

"We Should Share": All or these people, indeed the whole community, are tied together by a philosophy stemming from a medically prominent Laredo family, a family whose roots extend across the border to Mexico. This family, the Cigarroas, have created a multi-purpose charitable foundation for the betterment of Laredo because they felt they owed it to their home.

As Leonides G. Cigarroa, MD, puts it: "We have earned our living here in this town and area and feel we should share what we have with our people."

Dr. Cigarroa, a surgeon, was speaking about the Joaquin Gonzalez Sr. Foundation, named in memory of his father, a surgeon, humanitarian, and sportsman.

Foundations Founders: The founders are Dr. Cigarroa, his brother, Joaquin Cigarroa, Jr., MD, their sister, Mrs. Marco Uribe, a pharmacist, and Dr. Leonides Cigarroa's wife, Margaret Gillard Cigarroa, MD, a city health officer.

The first official endeavor of the group whose physician members are members of the American Medical Association, was to donate $26,000 of lighting and seating equipment to the Nixon High School for the football field, which will be named in honor of the late Dr. Cigarroa.

Three Main Goals: The foundation has three main goals, Dr. Cigarroa said. They are: To furnish educational assistance to young persons of good moral character without regard to race, religion or sex; to establish health care facilities to include the care of those not able to meet the economic burden of sickness; and "to further such other religious, educational, athletic and charitable endeavors which will contribute to the advancement of religion, education, health, and the relief of poverty."

Scholarship Program: The foundation just recently awarded a $500 scholarship to a young girl for the continuation of her education. It is hoped this will be an annual award, Dr. Cigarroa said, and eventually, if more persons see fit to contribute to the fundation, the scholarship program will be expanded.

Dr. Cigarroa said in the event the foundation dissolves, all properties and funds will go to the Laredo public school system for use by the trustees as they see fit.

Born in Mexico: The senior Dr. Cigarroa was born in Durango, Mexico. He worked his way through the U. of Mexico.

In 1922 he married Josefina Gonzalez de la Vega and after their first son, Leonides, was born, the family moved to San Antonio, Tex. Several years later the family settled in Laredo.

Dr. Leonides Cigarroa is a 1946 graduate of the Loyola U. of Chicago and served his internship at Cook County Hospital in Chicago. That's where he met his wife, a graduate of the U. of Illinois, Champaign, Medical School.

His brother, an internist, is a 1947 graduate of Harvard U. Medical School.

MEMORANDUM ON READER'S DIGEST ARTICLE ENTITLED "LET'S ENFORCE OUR LABOR LAWS FAIRLY"

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, an article in the August issue of the Reader's Digest has received a good deal of attention recently. It is entitled "Let's Enforce Our Labor Laws Fairly." Because this article has been inserted in the RECORD on several occasions by my colleagues, I thought they and other interested persons would be interested in the following memorandum which exposes this article as an incredibly one-sided and distorted attack on the National Labor Relations Board on the policies of the National Labor Relations Act and on the Federal courts as well:

MEMORANDUM ON THE AUGUST 1968 READER'S DIGEST ARTICLE ENTITLED "LET'S ENFORCE OUR LABOR LAWS FAIRLY"

INTRODUCTION

The August 1968 *Reader's Digest* article entitled "Let's Enforce Our Labor Laws Fairly" is an intemperate attack on the National Labor Relations Board. Less directly, but quite clearly, it is also an attack on the policies of the National Labor Relations Act and on the federal courts. This article is simply misleading, unbalanced and inaccurate.

The authors have withheld essential information about many of the cases which they discuss, while they have distorted the facts of others. Relevant background data, necessary to put the issues into fair perspective, have not been reported. Significant identifying information about persons quoted has not been disclosed. The views of independent legal scholars and federal judges who disagree with the authors, not to speak of union and management representatives, have been to-

tally ignored. And the views of the Members of the National Labor Relations Board were not even sought.

Because the authors made no effort to weigh the "pros" and "cons" of any of the issues which they discuss, *Digest* readers would have been better served if the publisher had frankly identified this as an editorial statement. Many readers, who understandably might not have necessary information to evaluate the authors' conclusions, are likely to assume that they are fair and accurate. They are neither.

The partisanship of the authors is exposed by the extraordinary invitation with which the article ends (page 125): "Readers with knowledge of comparable cases, where N.L.R.B. decisions have been unjust, are invited to write to the authors." The irony of this invitation is that these writers, who accuse the N.L.R.B. of "flagrant bias," apparently are conducting an opinion poll in which they will record only the opinions of those persons who agree with them, ignoring any contrary opinions.

There are innumerable instances throughout the article which equally expose its one-sidedness. For example, in referring to Senator Robert P. Griffin's testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on the Separation of Powers, the *Digest* writers say that he cited "case after case to demonstrate the unabashed pro-union bias of many N.L.R.B. decisions." In fact the Senator cited 4 main cases to support his criticism of the Board. But the *Digest* does not report that in each of these cases the Board was affirmed by the federal courts, in 2 instances by the Supreme Court,[1] a fact which the Senator readily acknowledged.

As a public agency entrusted with the impartial administration of a major federal statute, the N.L.R.B. welcomes informed and constructive criticism of its work. Such criticism may be found in the decisions of the federal courts, in the writings of legal scholars, and in the carefully prepared briefs of the parties before the Board and courts. The press and other media, through fair reporting of the agency's work, can help to promote public awareness and understanding of the law. Their responsible criticism can help the Board to perform its duties with ever greater sensitivity to the public interest.

The *Reader's Digest* article falls far short of these standards. While it may not be easy for a mass circulation magazine to treat complex legal issues with fullness and sensitivity, the following examples show that these writers were simply indifferent to elementary standards of journalistic fairness and accuracy.

THE FIBREBOARD CASE

The *Digest* article devotes over half a page to an attack on the Board's supplemental decision in the *Fibreboard Paper Products Corp.* case.[2] According to the *Digest*, this case raises "disturbing implications for our entire economy" which "cannot be exaggerated." Quoting a former Member of the Board, it asserts that such "rulings wreak havoc with management's right to manage" (pages 122–123). Despite the *Digest* authors' strong words, the history and facts of *Fibreboard* tell quite a different story.

For over 20 years the union in *Fibreboard* had served as the collective bargaining representative for 50 employees in a maintenance and powerhouse unit. In 1959, shortly before the current labor agreement was scheduled to expire, the employer subcontracted the work of these employees to a subcontractor who agreed to perform the same work, in the same place, under the same conditions but with his own employees. The employer did not notify or bargain with the union about this decision, the effect of which was that the 50 employees were terminated and replaced by employees of the subcontractor.

The issue before the Board was whether the requirement of Section 8(a)(5) of the statute—that employers and unions must bargain in good faith about "wages, hours and other terms and conditions of employment"—embraces an employer's decision to subcontract all of the work of a bargaining unit. The Board held, on the factual record before it, that the employer's decision to subcontract this work was a statutory subject of collective bargaining because Congress intended employers and unions to submit this subject to the process of free collective bargaining.

The Board did not hold that the union could veto the employer's decision to subcontract. Instead, the Board held simply that the employer must notify and discuss this subject with the union in good faith. If the employer and union do not reach agreement after good faith exploration, then of course the employer is legally free to take the proposed subcontracting action.

The *Digest* article gives the impression that the *Fibreboard* decision was a product of the Board's imagination and that the Board reached this decision without regard to the language of the statute, the intent of Congress as expressed in the legislative history, earlier Board and court precedents or labor relations practices in the Nation. The *Digest* failed to report that the Board relied upon a number of persuasive precedents, including a 1946 Board decision which had also held that subcontracting is a statutory subject of collective bargaining.[3] The *Digest* failed to report that the Board relied upon several recent decisions of the Supreme Court, including one which held under comparable provisions of the Railway Labor Act that a decision to subcontract is embraced by that law's bargaining obligation.[4] The *Digest* failed to report that the Board relied upon Congress' express rejection of a proposal in 1947 which would have excluded subcontracting from the scope of statutory collective bargaining. The *Digest* failed to report that the Board took cognizance of the fact that, by 1960, nearly one-fifth of all collective bargaining agreemen contained provisions limiting the right of employers to subcontract unit work. These and other considerations, on which the Board relied, are necessary to any fair understanding or appraisal of *Fibreboard*, but not one of them is mentioned by the *Digest* article.

Perhaps the most egregious omission of the *Digest* article is its failure to mention that the *Fibreboard* decision was appealed to the courts. First it was appealed to a federal Court of Appeals, which upheld the N.L.R.B. Then the employer appealed to the Supreme Court, which unanimously upheld the Board's interpretation of the statute as faithful to Congress' intent.[5]

If the authors of the *Digest* article were unaware of the Supreme Court's unanimous approval of the *Fiberboard* decision, then their discussion was no less than badly informed. On the other hand, if the authors knew of the Supreme Court's decision but knowingly concealed it from their readers, it would appear that the authors consciously chose to be unfair and misleading.

Since the Supreme Court's decision in *Fibreboard*, the Board has issued a number of decisions which illustrate the considerations which it weighs in such cases. With two exceptions, the *Digest* ignores all of these cases, but, even in discussing these two, the *Digest* adds to its distortions and misrepresentations about the *Board's* work.

On page 122, the *Digest* notes that an "automobile manufacturer was slapped down for 'unilaterally' changing the method of moving cars off the assembly line." The *Digest* certainly intended its readers to understand that it was the N.L.R.B. which "slapped down" this unnamed automobile manufacturer. In fact, however, in the case to which the article refers, *General Motors Corporation*, the Board did *not* find a violation.[6] On the contrary, the Board twice dismissed the complaint against this employer and twice found no violation. However, the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia reversed the Board.[7]

The Court reasoned that the employer's unilateral action violated Section 8(a)(5) as interpreted by the Supreme Court. General Motors then petitioned the Supreme Court for review of the Court of Appeals' decision, and that petition was denied. Thus, the inference in the *Digest* article that the Board "slapped down" this employer is wholly wrong and misleading.

The other unilateral action case which the *Digest* article discusses is *Westinghouse*.[8] The *Digest* describes this as a "ridiculous case" in which the "Board ruled that an employer must bargain with the union over a one-cent increase in the price of coffee at the company cafeteria" (page 122). The employer in this case unilaterally raised the price of coffee by one cent and raised the price of hot food entrees by five cents, refusing to discuss these increases with the bargaining agent of its employees. The Board's decision did not involve merely an increase in food prices; it involved the basic principle—established by many cases—that an employer may not change conditions of employment unilaterally. The *Digest* did not report that this was virtually a "captive" cafeteria, for it was the only adequate place where employees could eat during the period allowed for lunch. The *Digest* did not report that a panel of three judges of the Court of Appeals in Richmond initially agreed (2–1) with the Board and affirmed the Board's decision. The *Digest* did not report that it was a divided Court of Appeals (by a vote of 4–2) which, upon reconsideration, reversed the Board's decision. With slapdash indifference to the facts and the issues, the *Digest* brushes this case aside as "ridiculous." But even the majority opinion of the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, which reversed the Board, was careful to observe that "the question here is both novel and troublesome."

PICKETING DECISIONS

A breezy half-page discussion is devoted to picketing decisions under the Labor Act. This discussion is headed "Blackmail Makes a Comeback" (page 123).

The *Digest* asserts that Congress "thought it had outlawed this 'blackmail picketing,'" but "since 1961 NLRB rulings have allowed picketing for the purpose of 'truthfully advising the public' that a certain place is 'non-union.'" As a result of this so-called "loophole," the *Digest* charges that "blackmail" pickets now march again in front of businesses across the country."

What is this "loophole" which permits picketing for the purpose of truthfully advising the public" that an employer is non-union? This "loophole" is nothing more—and nothing less—than a direct, verbatim quotation from Section 8(b)(7) of the statute itself. Congress—not the N.L.R.B.—chose these words and exempted such picketing from the regulation of the statute. If this is a "loophole" in the law, it is one which Congress thought was appropriate. The *Digest* writers are either disingenuous or most ill-informed.

N.L.R.B. picketing cases are fully reviewable in the federal courts, and many such cases have been reviewed. Thus, if the N.L.R.B. had created a "loophole" contrary to the will of Congress, the courts would reverse any such decision. What court cases does the *Digest* cite to support this "loophole" allegation? Not one. On the contrary, "since 1961" the Board's interpretations of the picketing provisions of Section 8(b)(7) have received uniform approval in the federal courts, and this judicial approval is the standard created by Congress itself to test the accuracy of the Board's decisions.

Footnotes at end of article.

Leading academic authorities on labor relations law—whom the *Digest* ignores—have repeatedly said that the Congress' intent in enacting Section 8(b)(7) was "murky"[9] and far from clear.[10] Notwithstanding the difficulty of interpreting this section of the statute, and notwithstanding the dozens of cases which the Board has decided "since 1961" involving such picketing, the *Digest* does not point to even one case in which any federal court has upset the Board's interpretation of the law.

Moreover, despite the *Digest's* charge that the Board is guilty of "flagrant bias" in favor of unions, the Board "since 1961" has sought injunctions against dozens of picket lines in cases where the law has been violated, and the Board has issued dozens of cease and desist orders against illegal picketing. Yet not one word in the *Digest* article gives its readers any indication that the Board regularly finds that both employers and unions have violated the law and that the Board administers the law with an even hand.

THE NATIONAL WOODWORK DECISION

In a discussion of several paragraphs entitled "Consumer Costs Go Up" (page 121), the *Digest* grossly oversimplifies and distorts a subject which scholars and others regard as complex and difficult. This subject concerns a 1959 amendment to the Labor Act, Section 8(e), sometimes called the "hot cargo" section. The *Digest* article charges that the Board has "legitimized" certain boycott actions which "were thought to be outlawed by the Landrum-Griffin."

The principal case to which the article refers is *National Woodwork*.[11] The *Digest* grudgingly acknowledges that the "Supreme Court upheld the Board in a 5–4 decision," but it shrugs off Supreme Court approval as somehow improperly permitting "similar boycotts and featherbedding from coast to coast." The *Digest* plainly implies that the Board and the Supreme Court violated Congress' intent by their interpretation of the statute in this case. Again the *Digest* has misled its readers.

In *National Woodwork* carpenters in Philadelphia refused to install pre-cut doors on the basis of a provision in their labor contract which prohibited handling pre-cut doors. The employer charged that this contract was unlawful under Section 8(e) which prohibits agreements which require an employer "to cease or refrain from handling, using, selling, transporting, or otherwise dealing in any of the products of any other employer, or to cease doing business with any other person." The union contended that the purpose of this contract was to preserve for its members their own traditional work, nothing more. The Board made a thorough study of the facts, the Congressional history of Section 8(e), as well as leading Supreme Court and other court precedents. On the basis of this study the Board concluded that the Congress did not intend to prohibit labor agreements which have as their purpose to preserve traditional work of employees in a bargaining unit, for the reason that Congress regarded this as permissible "primary" activity. However, the *Digest* article fails to point out that the Board held certain union conduct in this very case to constitute an unlawful secondary boycott.

The Supreme Court made its own independent, exhaustive study of the Congressional history of Section 8(e), and it agreed with the Board. While this is a complex subject, the Nation's highest judicial tribunal has authoritatively affirmed the Board's construction of the statute as accurate.

The *Digest*, nevertheless, asserts that "such restrictions" as were involved in the *National Woodwork* case "can add $3000 to $6000 to the cost of a $25,000 home." Of course, the *Digest's* mere assertion does not make this a fact, and the *Digest* cites no evidence to support this assertion. Apparently, however, it is the *Digest's* position that the N.L.R.B. and the Supreme Court should have ignored Congress' words and ignored Congress' intent in *National Woodwork* in order to avoid the possibility of adding to the cost of residential construction. The Board's statutory responsibility is to obey Congress' words and intent. The Supreme Court held that the Board was faithful to both the words and the intent of Congress. The *Digest* suggests that the Board should have acted otherwise.

THE ALLIS-CHALMERS DECISION AND UNION FINE CASES

Under the inflammatory heading "Pushing the Worker Around," the *Digest* discusses the subject of union fines. It is jaundiced and misleading on virtually every point.

The opening paragraph of this discussion sets the tone (page 123): "The bedrock philosophy underlying the nation's labor-relations law is that every workingman should be protected in his right to join—or not to join—others in union activity. But the NLRB undercuts this principle by repeatedly placing the claims of labor unions ahead of the rights of individual workers."

What is the basis of this extravagant accusation? Only two cases cited in the article have been reviewed by the courts. In the first, *Allis-Chalmers*,[12] the Supreme Court (5–4) upheld the Board's application of the statute. In the second case, *Price*,[13] the Court of Appeals in San Francisco, in a unanimous decision, also upheld the Board's decision as faithful to the intent of Congress, and the Supreme Court refused to review the decision.

In *Allis-Chalmers* a local union of the U.A.W. fined several of its members from $20 to $100 for crossing a picket line and returning to work during an economic strike which had been approved by over two-thirds of the union's membership. The employer charged that these fines, and subsequent efforts by the union to collect them in the state courts, violated Section 8(b)(1)(A). This section prohibits union coercion of employees, but it also contains an express exception for the "right of a labor organization to prescribe its own rules with respect to the acquisition or retention of membership." Thus, the statue prohibits union coercion, but it also gives unions the explicit right to make their own regulations "with respect to the acquisition or retention of membership." It was this express Congressional exception which, in the Board's opinion, showed that Congress did not intend to regulate union fines in these circumstances.

In deciding the *Allis-Chalmers* case, the Board relied upon the identical interpretation of the statute by an earlier Board decision in a case called *Minneapolis Star and Tribune Company*.[14] This 1955 case is totally concealed from *Digest* readers who are led to believe that the present Board invented the *Allis-Chalmers* doctrine contrary to precedent. Also concealed from *Digest* readers is the fact that the Chairman of the Board in 1955 was Guy Farmer, who participated in the *Minneapolis Star* decision. Nonetheless, the *Digest* quotes Mr. Farmer, who is now a management lawyer and a critic of the *Allis-Chalmers* doctrine, as having said that the present Board is guilty of a "dual standard."

The Supreme Court upheld the Board by a vote of 5 to 4. The closeness of this vote (as well as a division in the Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit) indicates the difficulty of the issues raised by this case. *Digest* readers are not informed that this was a complex and difficult case. They are told only that it shows the Board's alleged "bias."

In its zeal to prove accusations of bias against the Board, the *Digest* fails to point out that *Allis-Chalmers* stands for the limited proposition that a union does not violate the Labor Act when it fines a member for crossing a picket line during an economic strike. The *Digest* does not point out that a union can not attempt to collect fines by threatening a man's job in any way. Neither does the *Digest* point out that the Board also held, with Supreme Court approval,[15] that a union may not fine a union member for filing an unfair labor practice charge with the Board.

The *Digest* also attacks the Board's decision in the *Price* case. *Price* was not a fine case, for a fine initially imposed was rescinded. It raised the question of whether it is unlawful to expel a member from the union (not from his job) because he filed a decertification petition to oust the union. As in *Allis-Chalmers*, the Board had to interpret and apply Congress' words and intent. The Board concluded that Congress did not intend to forbid expulsion of a member who, by filing a decertification petition, attacks the existence of the union as an institution. Moreover, the Board concluded that the statute does not require a union, confronted with a decertification petition which would destroy its bargaining status, to keep within its membership and privy to its strategy members who seek to get rid of the union.

The Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit reviewed the Board's decision in *Price* and affirmed it unanimously. But the *Digest*—either consciously or ignorantly—does not disclose this fact to its readers. Another fact which the *Digest* failed to report is that, despite Price's expulsion from the union, the decertification election which he sought was in fact conducted by the N.L.R.B., and at the same time his job rights were protected. (The employees chose to retain the union in this election.)

In its distorted discussion of the *Price* case, the *Digest* quotes Theophil Kammholz, whom it identifies only as a "onetime NLRB general counsel." Mr. Kammholz says, "Individual workers have increasingly been ignored by the very Board set up to protect them." But the *Digest* failed to tell its readers that Mr. Kammholz, who is so critical of the *Price* case, is a partner in the private management law firm which argued for Mr. Price in the Court of Appeals against the Board. By failing to disclose the relevant fact that Mr. Kammholz's firm represented a losing litigant in the *Price* case, the *Digest* gives its readers the impression that Mr. Kammholz is simply a disinterested expert.

Finally, referring to the *AFTRA* case in Kansas City where large fines were levied against union members, the *Digest* charges that, when "embattled workers appealed to the NLRB last year, it refused even to consider their case, citing Allis-Chalmers." The fact is that this case never reached the N.L.R.B. The fact is that the independent General Counsel of the Board dismissed the charge in this case based on his sincere belief that *Allis-Chalmers* governed it. The fact is that the N.L.R.B. General Counsel has recently issued complaints against unions in other cases involving large fines, but the Board has not yet determined their legality or illegality. These facts, of course, the *Digest* chose not to disclose.

THE GENERAL ELECTRIC DECISION

In a distorted discussion of the facts of a recent *General Electric Company*[16] case, entitled "Free Speech Has Two Sides," the *Digest* charges that this decision was "high-handed" (page 122). This case is presently pending on review before the federal Court of Appeals in New York. Accordingly, I believe that I may not properly comment upon it at this time.

However, *Digest* readers were not informed that the Board's and Trial Examiner's decisions in this case covered 96 printed pages, dealing with many difficult legal and factual

Footnotes at end of article.

issues. The *Digest's* pithy description of it is neither fair nor adequate.

In its criticism of the *General Electric* case, the *Digest* quotes Gerard D. Reilly, whom it identifies only as a "former" NLRB member: "Such rulings not only demonstrate the Board's double standard but have made a mockery of the free-speech guarantees of Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin." It is true that Mr. Reilly is a former member of the Board. More recently, however, Mr. Reilly, a management lawyer in private practice, has been employed as counsel to the General Electric Company in other cases before the Board and the courts, a fact which the *Digest* chose not to disclose. Recent reports in the public press and in the *Congressional Record* have also identified Mr. Reilly as a co-chairman of the Chamber of Commerce's "blue ribbon committee" of management lawyers who reportedly are engaged in a public relations and legislative campaign to rewrite the National Labor Relations Act and to abolish the N.L.R.B., another fact which the *Digest* chose not to disclose.

Each year the N.L.R.B. and the federal courts, reviewing the Board's work, decide many cases involving the "free speech" issue. These important cases involve careful appraisals of factual records and interpretations of the applicable law. The *Digest's* terse discussion of this difficult and significant subject does not begin to explain the Board's actual views as experssed in dozens of published decisions over the years.

OTHER ALLEGATIONS

Throughout the article, the *Digest* writers cast aspersions on the Board's work which invite reply. To answer each of them would require many pages of analysis. Several final examples will illustrate the apparently calculated unfairness of these aspersions.

On page 120, the *Digest* asserts: "So flagrant is the Board's bias that, frequently, the courts are overturning its decisions." The fact is that year after year over 80 per cent of the Board's cases which have been reviewed in the courts have been upheld in whole or in part. The fact is that in the last two terms of the Supreme Court the Board has had a perfect record, having been sustained in each of its 9 decisions reviewed.

On page 120, referring to the *Lipetz* case,[17] the *Digest* reports that an employer was assaulted by union agents but that the N.L.R.B. failed to "discipline" the union and "minimized the attacks as mere 'outbursts.'" The fact is that in the case before the Board the union was not charged with unfair labor practices because of its violence; thus, the Board had no authority or power to "discipline" the union. The fact is that in literally dozens of cases the Board has issued cease and desist orders against unions which have engaged in violence in violation of the statute. The fact is that the Board did not "minimize the attacks as mere 'outbursts'" but called them "instances of serious misconduct." The fact is that the Board found that this employer had committed a number of serious violations of the law and that the Court of Appeals agreed with the Board with respect to most of these violations; but the Court did not agree with the Board in finding that the union's violence did not excuse the employer's refusal to bargain.

On page 120, referring to the *Garwin*[18] case, in which the Board found that an employer illegally transferred his entire plant from New York to Florida in order to avoid dealing with a union, the *Digest* charges that the Board did not "punish" the offending employer, but, instead, "punished" the new employees in Florida, whom the Board "forced to join" the union. The fact is that the Board did not "force" anyone to "join" the union. The fact is that this employer illegally discharged all of his New York employees to avoid dealing with the Union. The fact is that the Board fashioned a remedy for this violation which did not require the employer to return to New York, a possible remedy, but instead the Board ordered the employer to recognize and bargain with the union in Florida. However, the Board qualified this order by providing that any contract entered into would bar an election for only one year (rather than the usual 3-year period), unless the union achieved majority status among the Florida employees. The *Digest* presumably is critical of the Board for not imposing the harsher, alternative remedy which would have required the employer to return his entire plant to New York. Although a federal Court of Appeals did reverse the Board's remedy in this case, as the *Digest* accurately reports, Circuit Judge McGowan agreed with the Board's remedy and dissented from the court's decision, as the *Digest* did not report.

On pages 120–121, referring to the *Scott's*[19] case, the *Digest* charges that the Board required an employer who violated the law to read to his employees a "confession of sins." It is true that a majority of the Court of Appeals (2–1) disagreed with the requirement that the employer read a notice that the employer would not violate his employees' statutory rights; but it is also true that Circuit Judge Wright wrote a thoughtful dissent in which he agreed with the Board. The fact is that, while some courts have disagreed with this "notice reading" remedy, the Court of Appeals in New York has held that this remedy is appropriate if the employer is given the choice of reading the notice himself or having the same notice read to employees by an agent of the Board. Moreover, the article's description of the notice reading remedy as a "confession" is simply not true. The employer is not required to confess violations, but to state that he will not violate his employees' statutory rights. This has been a standard remedy for over 30 years.[20]

CONCLUSION

In a few pages the *Digest* has managed to discuss a large number of important and complex decisions, while uniformly distorting the issues or the facts of each. The misfortune of this article is not just that it misleads countless readers with respect to particular cases. More important is that the article totally fails to put the work of the N.L.R.B. and the policies of the Labor Act into perspective.

The N.L.R.B. each year processes over 30,000 unfair labor practice charges and election petitions. Each of these is a potential labor relations dispute which the law helps to resolve in the overwhlming number of cases quickly and peacefully, most often by voluntary agreement of the parties themselves. *Digest* readers are not informed that the N.L.R.B. conducts approximately 8,200 secret ballot elections each year in which over half a million employees freely choose whether or not they wish to be represented for collective bargaining. *Digest* readers are not informed that the Board decides over 800 contested unfair labor practices each year, protecting the rights of employees, employers and unions alike, according to the will of Congress, while thousands of other cases are administratively adjusted, settled, dismissed or withdrawn.

This day-by-day work of the Board—much of which is subject to the review in the federal courts—is part of the broader picture of the agency's work which *Digest* readers have not been permitted to see. That many thoughtful and informed persons—judges, scholars, union and management spokesmen alike—believe that the N.L.R.B.'s administration of the law has made a large contribution to industrial peace and justice in our society is a point of view about which *Digest* readers have not been told.

FOOTNOTES

[1] *N.L.R.B.* v. *Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co.*, 388 U.S. 175; *National Woodwork Manufacturers Association* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 386 U.S. 612; *Price* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 373 F. 2d 443 (C.A. 9), cert. denied, 88 S.Ct. 2051; *Barker Bros. Corp.* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 328 F. 2d 431 (C.A. 9).

[2] 138 NLRB 550.

[3] *Timken Roller Bearing Co.*, 70 NLRB 500, reversed on other grounds, 161 F. 2d 949 (C.A. 6).

[4] *Order of Telegraphers* v. *Chicago & North Western Railway Co.*, 362 U.S. 330.

[5] *Fibreboard Paper Products Corp.* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 379 U.S. 203.

[6] *General Motors Corporation*, 149 NLRB 396, first supplemental decision, 158 NLRB 229, second supplemental decision, 169 NLRB No. 119.

[7] *Automobile Workers* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 381 F. 2d 265 (C.A. D.C.), cert. denied, 389 U.S. 857.

[8] *Westinghouse Electric Corporation*, 156 NLRB 1080, affirmed 369 F. 2d 891 (C.A. 4), reconsidered and reversed *en banc* 387 F. 2d 542 (C.A. 4).

[9] Meltzer, *Organizational Picketing and the NLRA*, 30 U. of Chi. L. Rev. 278, 281.

[10] Cox, *The Landrum-Griffin Amendments to the NLRA*, 44 U. of Minn. L. Rev., 257, 269.

[11] *National Woodwork Manufacturers Association* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 386 U.S. 612.

[12] *Local 248, U.A.W. (Allis-Chalmers Mfg. Co.)*, 149 NLRB 67, reversed *en banc* 358 F.2d 656 (C.A. 7), reversed 388 U.S. 175.

[13] *United Steelworkers of America (Pittsburgh-Des Moines Steel Co. and Richard C. Price)*, 154 NLRB 692, affirmed *sub nom Price* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 373 F.2d 443 (C.A. 9), cert. denied 88 S. Ct. 2051.

[14] 109 NLRB 727.

[15] *N.L.R.B.* v. *Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers*, 88 S.Ct. 1717.

[16] 150 NLRB 192.

[17] *United Mineral & Chemical Corp.*, 155 NLRB 1390, enforced in part 391 F.2d 829 (C.A. 2).

[18] *Garwin Corp.*, 153 NLRB 664, 374 F.2d 295 (C.A. D.C.), cert. denied 387 U.S. 942, on remand 169 NLRB No. 154.

[19] *Scott's Inc.*, 159 NLRB 1795, enforced in part and modified in part 383 F.2d 230 (C.A. D.C.).

[20] *N.L.R.B.* v. *Express Publishing Co.*, 312 U.S. 426, 438–439; *Art Metals Construction Co.* v. *N.L.R.B.*, 110 F.2d 148, 151 (C.A. 2).

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to be excused from attendance between now and November 7 if the House should still be seated.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

PROPOSED DEBATE BETWEEN SENATOR THURMOND AND VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I returned from home yesterday. I find that there is a great deal of consternation in my area about what happened in relation to this 42-hour marathon session we had in order to provide legislation so that the people of this Nation could hear from

their presidential candidates. I want to tell you that there is a real disturbance out in the hinterland about what happened to this legislation. The American people are about unanimous in demanding an opportunity to hear Vice President HUMPHREY, Richard Nixon, and ex-Governor Wallace clear the confusion and let the Nation's voters know where they stand on many of the important questions and problems confronting the people of this country.

Newspaper reports state that candidate Nixon refuses to participate in the debates. Whether candidate Nixon appears in person or is represented by someone selected by him is immaterial. The people want to know how he stands on these international and domestic questions, and they have not been able to find it out.

I am suggesting, Mr. Speaker—and I am going to contact Vice President HUMPHREY and Larry O'Brien, chairman of the national committee, and suggest that they get the consent of the Republican National Committee to have Senator STROM THURMOND of South Carolina represent the Republican candidate for President on this debate. He has had major experience as Governor of his State, Democratic candidate for President on the States rights ticket in 1948, and elected U.S. Senator in two elections.

I have made a survey and a study of Senator THURMOND's voting record as a U.S. Senator, and his political speeches and public record generally. On domestic and foreign policy issues generally I find there is not 10 cents worth of difference between the political philosophy of Candidate Nixon and of Senator STROM THURMOND of South Carolina.

The country witnessed on television Senator THURMOND escorting Mr. Nixon to the national convention platform when Mr. Nixon accepted the Republican nomination for President last July in Miami Beach.

For some reason or other in this campaign candidate Richard Nixon makes almost an identical speech in each city which he visits. This tendency is easily explained because he has publicly stated that he does not want to discuss international problems, and especially the Vietnam situation. The Vice President, when he was in the House of Representatives, and also in the Senate, consistently was one of the leaders of the so-called Republican Dixiecrat Coalition, and naturally in a presidential campaign he fears a debate because no doubt questions would be asked of him to explain why in his congressional and senatorial years he opposed such legislation as medicare, Federal aid to education, and necessary minimum wage increases, and as a member of the House Committee on Education and Labor he was one of the leaders in combating legislation which was sponsored by organized labor groups throughout our country.

I do hope that candidate Nixon and the Republican National Committee will cooperate with the overwhelming vote of the Congress when they passed the bill this week after almost 48 hours of continuous debate providing that the presidential candidates accept the offers of the networks for free time to meet and relieve the confusion and misunderstanding as to their platforms and policies in a broadcast to millions of voters over the Nation in the November 5 election.

THE $924,000 POVERTY ACCOUNT FADES

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the New York Daily News of today, October 12, carried another tale of antipoverty abuses in the New York City area. Here again, it is the poor people who pay through the nose, in not receiving funds that have actually been appropriated for their assistance. Here again is another in a long list of cases which causes many citizens to look askance at this program.

I place the article, "The $924,000 Poverty Account Fades," by William Federici, and appearing in the October 12 New York Daily News, in the RECORD at this point:

THE $924,000 POVERTY ACCOUNT FADES

(By William Federici)

Despite assurances by top officials of the Human Resources Administration that $924,000 had been set aside in "escrow accounts" to cover various tax liabilities, City Controller Mario Procaccino has discovered that no such accounts exist, THE NEWS was exclusively informed last night.

According to high sources in the Lindsay administration, the assurances were personally delivered to Procaccino by Mrs. Helynn Lewis, 38, the former chief fiscal officer for HRA, who is now under arrest for embezzling city funds, and HRA Deputy Administrator Carl McCall.

The pair met Procaccino Sept. 13 in his office assertedly to try to pressure him, First Deputy Controller John C. Carty and Chauncey E. Wilowski, Procaccino's coordinator for all anti-poverty funds, to release more money for the agency's summer programs.

RELEASED 4.9 MILLION ALREADY

High sources explained to THE NEWS that $4.9 million of the city's $6.3 million share for these programs had already been released to the agency for such activities as its scandal-ridden Neighborhood Youth Corps.

At the September meeting, Mrs. Lewis and McCall pleaded with Procaccino for release of the remaining $1.4 million, explaining that they had large bills and payrolls to meet.

Procaccino said, according to THE NEWS sources, that he understood the agency had reached an agreement with the city, state and federal governments as to taxes. These included withholding, social security and other taxes.

It was then that agency representatives assured Procaccino that $924,000 had been tucked away in "escrow accounts." As a matter of fact, according to THE NEWS informants, the same reassurances were delivered in writing to the controller, both before and after this meeting.

However, after assigning two investigators to check on the accounts, the controller found that they were as ghostly as some of the projects of the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Mayor Lindsay has been sitting on this brand-new scandal in his pet agency for a week, as Procaccino formally advised him of the situation in a letter dated Oct. 4.

The controller advised the mayor that he would withhold the $924,000 from the remaining $1.4 million, which would leave something more than $400,000 as a credit for the summer programs.

However, the same sources told THE NEWS that Procaccino still does not know how many bills may still be outstanding, as he has not received from the poverty agency a full accounting on the first $4.9 million.

On Thursday, Bronx Democratic City Councilman Bertram Gelfand had charged that most of a $30,000 allowance for certain poverty programs had actually been used to send yippies to Chicago during the Democratic national convention.

Yesterday the mayor asserted that "as near as we can make out, no yippie was funded by the city to go to Chicago." He said he would "welcome any legitimate investigation they want to make."

TRIBUTE TO CONGRESSMAN CECIL R. KING

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to be recognized to speak about a member of the Ways and Means Committee who is retiring, the Honorable CECIL R. KING.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, it is with a heart full of admiration and respect for a great man that I rise in the House to add my voice to these sincere accolades and expressions of highest esteem for CECIL RHODES KING.

CECIL KING has been a wise counselor, judicious adviser, and, most of all, a very warm and true friend to me, on the Committee on Ways and Means over almost a quarter of a century, 8 years of which he has been the ranking Democratic member on the committee. That committee will simply not be the same without him, for there will never be another man like CECIL KING in this House.

I have never known a more considerate, thoughtful and genuinely kind person than CECIL. Not only has he manifested, without exception, kindness, consideration and thoughtfulness for his colleagues in the House, on both sides of the aisle, but also to the staff members and employees as well. I have heard it said with sincere conviction by those who have served him that "Everyone knows and loves Mr. KING."

CECIL has been like a brother to me on the committee. Over the long period of our service, there have been times, of course, when we have disagreed on substantive matters, but reasonable men at times are apt to find themselves in disagreement and particularly so with respect to the far-reaching, complex, technical, and many-faceted issues that are characteristic of the jurisdiction of the committee. I can say very truthfully, however, as I look back over the many enjoyable years of our association together on the committee, that there never has been one scintilla of unpleasantness connected with any divergence of opinion we may have had. On the contrary, memory calls to mind instance after instance when CECIL'S rare wit, unduplicable humor, and sound legislative judgment have enabled the committee

to surmount serious difficulty and disagreement and reach sensible compromise to the benefit of all concerned and to the benefit of the country.

CECIL KING has been a very effective member of the committee in all of its fields of interest, responsibility, and authority. In the field of taxation, he has for many years not only served the Committee on Ways and Means, but he has been a very valuable member of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, as well.

All of us know of his untiring and devoted endeavor throughout his career to improve the social security system. His work in the field of medical care for the aged is famous the world over, and the medicare legislation finally enacted in 1965 is a monument to his skill and perseverance and successful labors to improve the lot of the elderly citizens of this country.

CECIL KING has been the acknowledged expert on the Committee on Ways and Means in matters of foreign trade. He served as one of the House of Representatives members of the U.S. Common Market negotiating team, and he was congressional adviser to the United Nations Conference for Trade and Development.

Mr. Speaker, CECIL KING, during his long and distinguished career, has made a remarkable contribution to the important legislation that has been developed and reported by the Committee on Ways and Means in that period—legislation that has been vital to the growth and expansion of the Nation's economy, legislation that has been of great benefit to the elderly, the poor, and the handicapped, legislation that has enabled the United States to become the greatest trading nation on earth. He has compiled a remarkable and unsurpassed record of service in this body.

Mr. Speaker, we use the term "gentleman" so often in this Chamber in referring to one another that I fear it sometimes suffers a loss of much of its meaning. I want to use it today, however, in application to CECIL KING in the full sense of its definition, for I can think of no other term that is more truly descriptive of CECIL, both in and out of this Chamber, than the word "gentleman." He is, indeed, a rare breed of man who, throughout his life and his career, has combined gentleness, dignity, decency and integrity with a keen mind, unswerving devotion to his country and profound and abiding concern and love for his fellow human beings. He is, in my judgment, one of the greatest legislators ever to walk the Halls of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, we wish for CECIL and Mrs. King much happiness and the very best in his retirement. He richly deserves it after having served his district, his State, and the United States so diligently, faithfully, and effectively for over 36 years.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES].

Mr. . BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, our colleague CECIL R. KING this year is concluding 28 years of distinguished service as Representative in the U.S. Congress. I have been privileged to serve with this outstanding man during 24 of these years. We have served together on the Ways and Means Committee for 20 years.

Congressman KING made many contributions to the works of the Congress during his years of service in the House of Representatives and on the Ways and Means Committee. His effective counsel through the years has been a contribution to the business of both the Committee and the Congress. He has handled difficult assignments with consideration, tact, and judgment. I served under his chairmanship of the subcommittee which conducted a nationwide investigation of the internal revenue laws in the early 1950's. Mr. KING showed great diligence and tact in this difficult assignment. His subcommittee's recommendations resulted in a complete reorganization of the Internal Revenue Service and many improvements in the procedures by which our tax laws are administered.

Along with our colleague from Missouri, Mr. CURTIS, Congressman KING was one of the two House Members appointed by his colleagues to serve as a congressional delegate to the Kennedy round of tariff negotiations. His distinguished service in this capacity as well as congressional adviser to the United Nations Conference for Trade and Development were recognized by all of the Members of the House. In these assignments, he met fully the responsibility entrusted to him by his colleagues.

But it was not just in the area of trade and taxes that Mr. KING made contributions. He was always particularly concerned with the problems of our aged citizens. Congressman KING was an early advocate of legislation to provide medical care for our elder citizens. His contributions in this field will be remembered by all.

Mr. KING will certainly be missed by those of us who have served with him on the Ways and Means Committee. His sense of fair play, personal integrity, and dedication to the people of the United States and traditions of the House of Representatives will serve as an inspiration for those who will serve after him. It is with a sense of deep personal gratitude for the years of cooperation that CECIL KING has given me and other members of the committee that we look back over the long years of service together.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. PEPPER].

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I wish in the warmest way to associate myself with every one of the eloquent and moving words in tribute to CECIL KING which have been uttered here today by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, the able gentleman from Arkansas.

There are some men who stand out because of what they are as well as what they do, and I was very much pleased to see the able gentleman from Arkansas emphasize what CECIL KING is as a man as well as what he has accomplished here as a Member of this House.

The debt which the senior citizens, the beneficiaries of social security, owe to CECIL KING alone would make his name one of those indelibly imprinted in the annals of this country to whom a debt of gratitude would ever be due by these beneficiaries.

CECIL KING is a noble man of lofty aspiration, of impeccable character, and, as the able gentleman from Arkansas said, a man who radiates that gentle quality of nobility which is rarely to be found among men.

I wish to extend with others of my colleagues here my wife's and my warmest wishes to him and his family for many, many happy years to come.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I yield now to our very distinguished Speaker of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MCCORMACK].

Mr. MCCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I join with my friend from Arkansas and the members of his committee and my other colleagues who have spoken here in honoring the outstanding service of our dear friend, CECIL KING. I accept the eloquent remarks of the gentleman from Arkansas and include them in my own thoughts and expressions.

CECIL KING has been a great stabilizer. He is not only possessed of outstanding ability and courage, a gentleman at all times, but he is possessed of commonsense and an understanding mind. On many occasions during his year of service when tension existed and a profound mind was necessary to stabilize the situation, CECIL KING always stepped into the picture and calmed things down. He talked with Members who were intensely moved one way or another. I think I can well term him as one of the great stabilizers that I have seen during all my years of service in this body. He is retiring voluntarily after many years of dedicated service, service which reflects great credit on the people of his district. During those years a strong and intense friendship developed between CECIL KING and myself, a friendship that I valued and which I shall always treasure.

I wish to extend to CECIL KING and his loved ones my very best wishes for their future happiness. I know they will have happiness, but I wish to extend to them my wishes for many years of happiness in retirement from the halls of Congress. I know that CECIL will lead an active life in connection with any activities that are beneficial to the sick, the afflicted, the underprivileged, the poor, and those who are persecuted. So, as CECIL KING leaves this great body he leaves with the profound respect and friendship of all who have served with him.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I rise to pay tribute to CECIL KING, dean of our California congressional delegation and a ranking member of the Ways and Means Committee. He retires from Congress this year, the respected friend of all of us who know him.

CECIL KING represents the finest traditions of congressional service. His devotion to his own constituents, to his beloved State of California, and to our Nation has been demonstrated repeatedly since he was first elected from Los Angeles County in 1932. This service has spanned the administrations of five Presidents and has witnessed the drafting of legislation that will benefit our country for years.

As humanitarians, we in Congress hailed the passage of the medicare program, so important to the health needs of our citizens. As legislators we admired, with genuine respect, the determination and skill with which this measure, as the King-Anderson bill, was guided through legislative channels and explained to the people of our country, until it finally won support, both in the Congress and with the general public. The benefits of this historic bill are being realized by young and old alike, and its contribution to the well-being of our people is a fitting tribute to the ability and dedication of a great man, CECIL KING.

I shall miss Congressman KING as a personal friend and counselor, as a wise leader of the California delegation and its Democratic caucus, and as a serious student and master of tax and social welfare legislation. Mrs. Cohelan joins me in wishing for him and his charming wife, Gertrude, many happy and rewarding years of enjoyment in their well-earned retirement from public life.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable CECIL R. KING has represented his district and his State for more than a quarter of a century, and it is not mere coincidence that these years have seen California and Mr. KING's home city of Los Angeles attain worldwide recognition as outstanding examples among all of our States and communities of the bountiful American way of life. CECIL KING is directly responsible for many of the great legislative advances that have combined compassionate assistance for those in need with an appropriate concern for the verities of the free enterprise system which has made this Nation so richly productive. CECIL KING with his keen, practical, and probing mind has worked unceasingly to help the human family, ranging from the individual requirements of a family living under one roof to the international problems that beset the world family of nations.

The phenomenal scope of our colleague's complex and incessant activities has not preempted his time or made him less attentive to requests for counsel from his fellow Members, all of whom have come to rely upon the amiable, genial, yet dignified dean of the California delegation for sage advice. With his wealth of experience and tremendous detailed knowledge of governmental procedures and operations, CECIL KING is always willing to listen to what a colleague has to say on any legislative subject.

Since 1942, CECIL KING has been my friend and coworker in the public interest. We also share memories of World War I and service in the legislatures of our respective States, and I am indeed reluctant that the bonds of our friendship should in any way be weakened by his retirement at the end of this Congress. I choose to think that CECIL KING will always be a constructive and meaningful companion to the continuing work of the Congress and all its Members.

It is a privilege to have this opportunity to offer my sincere personal congratulations to CECIL KING for the great service he has rendered to the Nation he loves so well. My best wishes go with him and his fine family upon their return to the great State of California.

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish that I could find words eloquent enough to express my respect and admiration for Congressman CECIL KING as I wish him a fond farewell from the Congress.

CECIL KING's kindness, generosity, his thoughtfulness and consideration have justly won him the esteem and veneration of every Member in the House and on both sides of the aisle. For myself, his retirement leaves a void that no one else can ever fill. When I came to the House as a freshman Congressman in 1961, his wise counsel and guidance were tremendously helpful to me. He helped make my transition from private to public life an easy one, and I have been the beneficiary of his generosity and wisdom many times since. The warm friendship CECIL KING bestowed upon me has grown with each succeeding year, and it has been an inspiration to me. If I am privileged to continue to serve in the House for the many years that CECIL KING has served, nothing would give me greater pride and pleasure than to be able to retire and leave behind me the reputation he enjoys.

One must speak of CECIL KING's legislative efforts in the same vein as one speaks of him as a friend. His service on Ways and Means Committee, for almost a quarter of a century, has been monumental. He worked hard throughout his career to strengthen the social security system, and his influence was felt in committee and in the House. Medicare legislation owes its enactment in great part to his ability and effectiveness as a legislator, and to his deep interest in and great concern for our senior citizens. He made important contributions to legislation in the areas of trade, tariff, and taxation—areas that have permitted our country to become the great nation that it is. His distinguished career is a tribute to the best that is in a person. His service to his country, to his district, and to the traditions of the House of Representatives will be an inspiration to those who now serve here and to those who will follow him in the Congress.

A few months ago when CECIL KING announced his plans for retirement, I was privileged to be elected to take his place on the Ways and Means Committee. I cannot hope to fill his shoes, but I can say that his personal integrity, his dedication to the people of this land, his concern for his fellow man, his wisdom and his capacity for hard work are an inspiration to me, and I can only hope that some day I may achieve his level of effectiveness.

While CECIL KING richly deserves a surcease from his untiring efforts of the past 26 years, the House of Representatives will not be the same without him. I shall miss him as a personal friend and as the wise dean of the California delegation.

Mrs. Corman joins me in wishing for Congressman KING and his lovely wife much happiness and many wonderful years of retirement.

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, I have asked for this time today so that the colleagues of CECIL KING in the Congress of the United States might pay fitting tribute to him as an outstanding American.

Congressman KING was a legend in California years before I came to the Congress. As California's man in Washington on the Ways and Means Committee it has been CECIL's job for 24 years to measurably assist his colleagues in their committees and their congressional career aspirations.

As chairman of the California delegation for the past 4 years he has exerted qualities of leadership, services, compassion and understanding that have maintained delegation unity on fundamental issues during troubled times.

CECIL KING was elected to the California State Legislature in 1932 and with his wit and intellect it was no wonder that he was elected majority floor leader there in his second term. In 1940 he was elected chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee. On August 25, 1942 CECIL KING became the first member of the California Legislature elected directly to the Congress. This example has since been followed in California nearly two dozen times.

After serving only 2 years in the House of Representatives he was elected by his colleagues to the Committee on Committees and the Ways and Means Committee in 1944 and has since risen to the ranking member of the committee.

He is a member of the permanent conferees of the House and Senate; a member of the Joint Committee of the House and Senate on Internal Revenue Taxation, the Joint Committee on Reduction of Non-Essential Federal Expenditures; and is a member of the Committee on Committees having the responsibility of assigning all Democratic Members of the House to the standing committees of the House of Representatives.

It was CECIL KING who sat on the Ways and Means Committee that enacted the 1954 Revenue Code modification—the most important overall tax revision before or since.

At the request of President Kennedy, Mr. KING sponsored the King-Anderson medicare bill which has now become law and he was selected by President Johnson as one of the two House Members appointed to the U.S. Trade Expansion Negotiating Team and, in addition, he was appointed congressional adviser to the United Nations Conference for Trade and Development.

This is a sketch of Congressman CECIL KING as we know him in the Congress. I have found that men who are truly great in many ways camouflage their fundamental capability and accomplishments. CECIL is no exception.

I personally have enjoyed knowing and working with CECIL KING. Many men

will be better men because of that fine association.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed an honor and a privilege to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the Honorable CECIL KING, who is retiring after 28 years of dedicated service to his constituents of Los Angeles County, the Golden State of California, and the Nation.

For 10 years I have been privileged to serve with this fine gentleman. As dean of the California delegation, and as a ranking member of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, he has been a friend and a counselor in the many complex affairs of state. He has handled difficult problems with tact, efficiency and judgment.

During his long and distinguished career he has made an outstanding contribution to important legislation handled by the Committee on Ways and Means, particulary the legislation that has been of great benefit to the elderly, the poor, and the handicapped.

His compassion, his warmth, and his great wit have made him a favorite among his colleagues and when the roll is called for the start of the 91st Congress he will certainly be missed by all who were privileged to know and serve with him.

His friendship and his guidance will certainly be missed by me, and Mrs. Johnson joins me in wishing for him and his lovely wife, Gertrude, many happy and prosperous years of enjoyment in their well-deserved retirement from the political arena.

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, it has been my great fortune to have CECIL R. KING as both a personal friend and colleague for many wonderful years. Representing adjacent districts in Los Angeles, we have become extremely good neighbors and have worked together in the House of Representatives with a special unity of purpose in representing our combined constituency.

CECIL R. KING'S political career has been a series of stunning victories. He was elected to the California State Legislature in 1932; and, in his second term, his outstanding abilities were so apparent that his colleagues elected him to be majority leader of the legislature. In 1940, he won further recognition upon his election as chairman of the California State Central Committee.

National service beckoned in 1942 when he was voted into Congress by a special election in the 17th District—the first Member elected to Congress directly from the State legislature. In 1944, CECIL KING was elevated to the powerful House Ways and Means Committee where he became one of the most distinguished members of this excellent committee. Indeed, his chairmanship of a special committee to investigate the Internal Revenue Service resulted in the complete reorganization of the IRS.

Representative KING'S legislative achievements are legion. In fact, for the King-Anderson bill alone—medicare—he has won a lasting place in history. Initiating the medicare bill on behalf of President Kennedy, CECIL KING devoted years of concerted effort to enact this monumental legislation—legislation that was, moreover, opposed by one of the most powerful lobbies in this country.

As dean of the California congressional delegation, CECIL KING proved a remarkable organizer. Under his commanding leadership, this large delegation was able to work in close cooperation to enact legislation to benefit the State of California.

Surely, the people of the 17th Congressional District, as well as the citizens of California and of this country, can be proud of CECIL R. KING'S record of 36 years of outstanding service. Few men can look back upon their retirement with such a sense of accomplishment. My wife Betty joins me in wishing Congressman and Mrs. King every happiness in the coming years.

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, with the closing of this 90th Congress, the House will lose one of its most esteemed Members, the Honorable CECIL R. KING.

In a large group of people whose general discussion is so serious and dour, it has been good to have among us such a congenial and blithe spirit. In committee sessions and on the floor where the tensions grow and partisanship rears its head, CECIL was usually a help and asset in getting us back to an attitude of proper judgment and direction. He was a favorite among the Republican Ways and Means Committee members as well as fellow Democrats.

CECIL has served with distinction on many committees in addition to the responsibility as second-ranking majority member of the Ways and Means Committee, and was a responsible congressional adviser to the GATT Conference in Geneva for many years.

It has been a privilege for me to have had the opportunity to serve with Congressman KING, and his wisdom, knowledge, and humor will be greatly missed. CECIL'S 26 years of dedicated service in the House has left an indelible mark upon the accomplishments of this legislative body and upon his colleagues who through the years have served with him.

I sincerely wish for Congressman KING the interesting and pleasurable term of retirement which he so richly deserves after having served his constituency and his country with diligence and honor.

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, we all mark with a large measure of sadness the retirement of our good friend and most able and distinguished colleague, CECIL KING.

Congressman KING has represented the people of the 17th District of California for almost three decades. His distinguished service as a member of the Ways and Means Committee and as chairman of the California delegation has been of the highest order. It reflects considerable credit on Congressman KING and the wise electorate which returned him to Congress for 13 terms.

The record of achievement Congressman KING has compiled would fill this volume twice over. I will mention only two. His service as a Presidentally appointed member of the U.S. Common Market negotiating team and his part as congressional adviser to the United Nations Conference for Trade and Development are two positions which will reflect the respect his accomplishments have won throughout our Nation and the world.

We will all miss CECIL KING. He has been an able legislator, wise leader and a good friend. I know and I speak for all my colleagues when I say we wish you, Congressman CECIL KING, all the best.

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, it has always been a custom in this great body to address a colleague as the "gentleman" from Maine, Alaska, Utah, or whatever his home State. Today we are bidding farewell to a true gentleman from California—our long-time colleague CECIL KING. His courtesies and fairplay will always be remembered by those of us on both sides of the aisle who have known and worked with him.

For those of us from California, his departure is even more significant because he has been our delegation dean for the past several years. We will miss him and we wish him well in the years ahead.

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, 35 years ago, I began a most pleasant period of service in the California State Assembly with my good friend, CECIL KING. CECIL preceded me to the House, but we have now served together for 16 years in the U.S. Congress, most of that time on the Ways and Means Committee. Our districts which we represent in California are geographically close, and they share many interests. CECIL has been most cooperative at all times in working for the best interests of our southern California area.

His expertise on tax matters is matched, if not exceeded, by his vast knowledge and understanding of the complexities of foreign trade. His advice and counsel will be sorely missed in trade conferences, as well as by the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, on which he served so ably.

At this time, when CECIL finds it advisable to terminate a long and distinguished career in public service, I am especially pleased to have the opportunity, provided by my colleague, BOB LEGGETT, to thank CECIL for the long and valued friendship, and to wish him many years of happy retirement—years that I know will be active and productive.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleagues in paying tribute to CECIL R. KING, of the 17th Congressional District of California, who is retiring after more than 26 years of service here in the House of Representatives.

CECIL KING has a long and distinguished record of public service to the people he has represented, the State of California, and the Nation. He has made many contributions as a legislator through his work on the Committee on Ways and Means.

I am certain that every one of us in the House of Representatives wishes to extend our best wishes to CECIL KING in his forthcoming retirement and I am grateful for having had the privilege of serving with him.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, upon his retirement at the end of this Congress our colleague, the Honorable CECIL R. KING, leaves a most enviable record of service to the State of California and the Nation. It was he who

sponsored the King-Anderson medicare bill, a milestone in social security legislation. He was appointed to the U.S. trade expansion negotiating team and served as congressional adviser to the United Nations Conference for Trade and Development.

As a Republican, I recognized him as a very friendly, extremely cordial person who has been very helpful to me during my service in the Congress. He was always willing to give impartially of his assistance and advice on matters helpful to the entire California delegation.

His key position on the Ways and Means Committee has been a benefit to all Californians. We must all recognize that one of the most outstanding qualities of the California delegation is the ability to work together in the best bipartisan fashion whenever matters of statewide interest are concerned.

CECIL's leadership as the dean of the California delegation has been able and dedicated, and will be sorely missed by all of us.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, with the announcement that one of our ablest colleagues will retire from Congress after 28 years of dedicated public service, it is a pleasure to add my voice in tribute to the gentleman who represents the 17th District of the Golden State of California.

The story of Congressman CECIL R. KING is the story of an American boy who rose quietly and steadily to the highest echelon of public service strictly by his own persistent efforts.

He was elected to the California State Legislature in 1932 and served there with such distinction that he quickly became its majority leader and retained this position until 1942, when the people elected him to represent the 17th District in the Congress of the United States.

It is here that he has served for 14 consecutive terms. In fact, he served his State and Nation so well that he has fully earned the title bestowed upon him by people of all political persuasions as "California's outstanding Congressman."

CECIL KING is an implacable foe of communism. In 1945, he was one of the first to realize that in the power struggle that was shaping up for control of Europe, the Balkans, and the Middle East, Greece was the keystone. If Greece fell, Stalin would have easy access to Turkey, to Italy, and to the Mediterranean. It appeared that nothing but a great miracle could help Greece restore her strength, and prevent a disastrous Communist military coup. And it was this miracle that CECIL KING helped to engineer. He was the first American Congressman to go to war-torn Greece. He came home to report his findings to Congress and President Harry Truman and make recommendations concerning the action he deemed necessary.

Shortly after this pioneering trip, the U.S. Government sent large-scale aid to both Greece and Turkey, a move which is credited by the entire free world with saving those countries from communism.

Perhaps our distinguished colleague is best known for his fearless work as chairman of a House committee which conducted a nationwide investigation of the administration of the internal revenue laws over a 2-year period and which resulted in a complete reorganization of the Internal Revenue Service and numerous improvements in the Treasury Department's policy and procedure. This brought him national acclaim. He has also supported many progressive programs to benefit all our citizens.

Here, indeed, is a fine gentleman in the full sense of the word, a dedicated and sincere public servant, an asset to the Congress; in short a great American and an effective legislator. He will leave a void that will be almost impossible to fill and he will be sorely missed as a Member of this body.

To this extraordinarily able Representative, that I am proud to call my friend, I extend my most heartfelt best wishes for health and happiness in the years to come.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, it is my honor as a relatively junior member of the California delegation to pay tribute to our retiring colleague and dean of the congressional delegation from California, the Honorable CECIL R. KING. The close-knit working relationship which has developed over the past few years within our delegation is due largely to the devotion and hard work of our dean, and our State has benefited under his leadership. The 17th District, our State, and our Nation are losing an effective public servant. CECIL KING leaves a career devoted to improving the lives of all Americans but I know he will continue this effort wherever he goes. It is a pleasure indeed to join my colleagues in paying the highest tribute today to our friend and colleague, CECIL R. KING.

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to extend a word of farewell to one of our colleagues from my State of California who is closing his congressional office after serving with distinction in the House for 25 years.

CECIL R. KING began serving the people of the 17th District in the 77th Congress. For over a quarter of a century, he has served on the House Ways and Means Committee with dedication. He has been a member of several joint House-Senate committees and has served on the United Nations Conference for Trade and Development.

It has been a pleasure for me to serve with him. Although we are on different sides of the political aisle, CECIL KING has been a gentleman I consider it a privilege to have known. I join my colleagues in wishing a long and happy retirement to a Member of the House who has devoted his career in public service to the people of Los Angeles County.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, I undertake at this moment the expression of an ambivalent view respecting a friend and a gentleman for whom I have the deepest affection and the highest regard, the dean of my delegation, the honorable CECIL KING.

I said I had an ambivalent position. Let me illustrate. This House will miss the quiet effectiveness of CECIL KING's presence. His skill as a legislator, his strong concern with humanitarian values. On the basis of past performance, on the basis of his capacity for compassion, he should not leave the House, but should remain with us in the interest of the Nation. However, CECIL KING, the individual, the husband, and the father, the warm friend, has earned the right to the luxury of privacy. He and his lovely wife, Gert, will have many years together, years which can be full of pleasure and enjoyment. I know of no one who more richly deserves that pleasure. For that reason I think CECIL should leave the Congress.

Every one of the California delegation views his retirement with the same sense of mixed feelings that I express. I could go on at great length, but it would be a case of "guilding the lily." Suffice it to say that I shall miss the ever-present counsel of a friend and confidant. I hope CECIL visits with us from time to time in the years ahead.

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, I am indeed sorry to see CECIL KING leave Congress. We need him. We need his gentle and penetrating sense of humor to keep our tempers subdued. As dean of our California delegation, he has accomplished the impossible—we actually work together in harmony. Anyone who succeeds in this respect is too valuable to not have in Congress.

But CECIL is leaving, and I wish him and his delightful wife, Gert, a long and happy retirement. But please, CECIL, when times get too tight here in Congress, come back and make us human again.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from California, the Honorable CECIL R. KING, has announced his intention to retire at the end of this session of Congress marking an end of 26 years of devoted service to the people of California and to this body. For most of the time he was a Member of the House of Representatives CECIL KING served on the House Ways and Means Committee and for the past 8 years he has been ranking Democratic member of that committee. His efforts there have been tremendous. He was among the leaders in the fight for medicare. He has worked continuously to improve other aspects of the social security system. He has also ranged far from that subject and become an acknowledged expert on taxation and foreign trade and, in addition to his Ways and Means duties, he was a member of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. CECIL KING was a rare combination, Mr. Speaker—a man of extremely sound legislative judgment and at the same time a warm, humorous being. More than just his skill will be missed. We wish CECIL and his lovely wife every happiness and good fortune in the coming years.

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, my very distinguished colleague from California, the Honorable CECIL R. KING, who has served in this House since 1942, has chosen not to seek reelection to the 91st Congress.

He retires after 27 years of service as a Member of this House to his district, State, and Nation. CECIL R. KING is a dedicated public servant, a man of courage and integrity and a man of dem-

onstrated concern for his fellow man. As a member of the House Ways and Means Committee he has repeatedly shown his special understanding and concern for the less fortunate in our society. His long struggle for medicare, and his continuing fight to liberalize our social security laws attest to this fact.

We Californians will miss CECIL KING. He has been chairman of the California congressional delegation. I should like to personally extend to him my warmest and my heartfelt best wishes upon his retirement.

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, there will be a vacuum in the House of Representatives when the Honorable CECIL KING'S resignation becomes effective.

It was my privilege to have first met CECIL KING when I became a member of the Assembly of the State of California in 1937. CECIL had been there and was a seasoned member when I arrived. His courtesy, helpfulness, and interest in me as a new member are as vivid today as they were 30 years ago.

This was repeated when I came to Congress 24 years ago. I still find him a tower of strength and a wise counsellor when advice is needed.

In paying my high respect and compliments to CECIL, I want to include his very charming and friendly wife, Gertrude.

CECIL KING served his country in time of war and his long service and contributions to her in time of peace is well known to all of us.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, CECIL R. KING, our respected and admired colleague on the Committee on Ways and Means, is leaving us when we end this session of Congress.

He will be sorely missed by his colleagues on both sides of the aisle. But those of us who have been privileged to work with him on the intricacies of revenue-raising legislation will especially miss his wisdom and understanding gained over the 26 years he served his Nation on our committee, on the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Expenditures, as a member of the U.S. Common Market negotiating team, and as congressional adviser to the United National Conference for Trade and Development.

CECIL KING has served his district, his State, and his Nation for 36 years. He deserves the rest retirement will bring. We all hope for him many years of happiness and success in his future endeavors.

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, the vigor and leadership of Congressman CECIL KING will be greatly missed in the House of Representatives when he retires after this session.

Mr. KING has been consistent and diligent in his efforts to advance the aspirations and prosperity of his constituents in California's 17th District.

His fight for responsible and progressive legislation has earned for him a well-deserved reputation as a dynamic and imaginative Representative.

For 26 years, CECIL has won the admiration and respect of his colleagues in Congress for his personality, integrity, and legislative ability.

He has been a good friend, considerate and generous. There is not one person who has not benefited from knowing and associating with Representative KING.

He has our congratulations on a long and successful public career. He has our warmest wishes for a happy and productive retirement.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep regret that we of the California congressional delegation accept the decision of Congressman CECIL KING to retire from the House of Representatives.

I have served in the House with CECIL KING for 26 years. During that entire time we have worked shoulder to shoulder in complete harmony. I am proud to call him my friend.

CECIL KING has been, in my opinion, one of the most dedicated and capable Representatives that California has ever had. He is a man of unquestioned talent and integrity. He has served his California district and his Nation for more than 26 years with efficiency and honor. For the past 24 years, he has served on the important Ways and Means Committee, with great distinction.

As a member of the committee on committees, it has been his responsibility to help the Democratic Congressmen of his western region of States attain assignment to the House committee of their choice.

Almost 8 years ago, Congressman KING sponsored the bill to give Federal hospital and medical aid to elderly citizens. It was known as the King-Anderson bill, named after Congressman KING and Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, of New Mexico. This bill focused attention on the plight of millions of elderly citizens who needed medical aid and hospital attention, but were financially unable to pay the cost for such services.

After many years of hard work on the King-Anderson bill and gradual assistance through other legislation such as the Kerr-Mills bill, the Congress finally passed the landmark bill commonly designated as "medicare." This bill would never have been passed if it had not been for the pioneer advocacy and long years of persistent hard work by Representative KING. Passage of the bill was one of Congressman KING'S great legislative accomplishments, and it earned him the gratitude of a nation whose older citizens now can live in dignity, and not despair.

Our California delegation will miss its dean, a capable and humanitarian legislator, and a good friend to each of us—the Honorable CECIL R. KING.

We extend to CECIL KING and his wife, Gertrude, our affection and esteem, and our best wishes for their health and happiness for many long years of pleasant retirement.

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, it has been an honor for me to have served in the U.S. Congress with such a distinguished and dedicated legislator as Representative CECIL R. KING, of California's 17th Congressional District.

Representative KING, on his retirement from a lifetime of outstanding public service, will be remembered by each of his colleagues for the tremendous work he has done, not only as the dean of the California delegation, but also as a lawmaker with legislative achievements of significant national scope.

Certainly, one example of CECIL KING'S great contribution to the welfare of all Americans is his original authorship of the famous King-Anderson bill—medicare—and his long and successful battle for its enactment into law.

But, personally, I will always remember Representative KING as the friendly, helpful senior Member of Congress who provided invaluable assistance and advice to his younger colleagues on Capitol Hill, and as the remarkable leader of a strong and united California delegation in Washington—organized effectively and held together in bipartisan fashion by the unique qualities possessed by CECIL KING.

His record of service to his district, to his State, and to his Nation will stand as a living monument to the exemplary career of Representative CECIL R. KING—a true friend and outstanding legislator.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members desiring to do so may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks at this point in the RECORD regarding the services of CECIL KING.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

LET US BE PROUD OF OUR SERVICEMEN, TOO

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I just today received a guest editorial in one of our newspapers by the mother of one of the *Pueblo* crewmen. She is Mrs. George T. Massie of Roscoe, Ill., which is located in my congressional district, and the mother of William Massie, known as Tom Massie, who was serving as a fireman apprentice aboard the U.S.S. *Pueblo* when it was captured by North Korean naval forces last January and taken into Wonson Harbor. This is a letter that was written with that special poignancy and feeling that only a mother can feel for her young son. In one of the concluding paragraphs of her letter she says:

> Let us all start being proud of them, too. And most of all, let us all, even if you don't have a son in service, or one to go, say daily prayers for these fine young men who are doing a job over there for you and for me.

I would hope that we would certainly not either as a Congress or as a nation ever forget the men of the *Pueblo*, and each of us use whatever powers of persuasion we have to urge our State Depart-

ment and those who are in charge of our diplomatic relations and foreign affairs to continue to pursue more vigorously than they have in the past the effort to gain the release of this ship and its crew.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include the entire editorial at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

GUEST EDITORIAL BY THE MOTHER OF A "PUEBLO" CREWMAN FROM ROSCOE: LET'S BE PROUD OF OUR SERVICEMEN, TOO

(The following was written by Mrs. George T. Massie of Roscoe, mother of William (Tom) Massie, who was serving as a fireman apprentice aboard the Navy intelligence ship U.S.S. Pueblo when it was captured by North Korean naval forces last January and taken into Wonson Harbor. The 72-man crew of the Pueblo is being held by North Korea, and at least one has died in captivity. American demands for release of the ship and its crew have been met with the communist reply that the Pueblo was inside North Korean territorial waters when the capture took place. North Korea has demanded that the U.S. acknowledge the violation and apologize for it, as conditions of return of the ship and crew. Thus far, the U.S. has denied a violation and refused to apologize. Meanwhile, the Massies and families of the other captive crewmen wait, hope, and pray and the slogan "Remember the Pueblo!" is printed and spoken with more frequency across the nation.)

In the past nine months I am sure there is no one who has read a paper more closely than I. The reason I read the news so closely is because our son, "Tom," is a prisoner of war in North Korea.

Tom was a fireman apprentice aboard the U.S.S. Pueblo until it was taken into Wonson back on Jan. 23, 1968, by the North Koreans.

In reading the papers each day I keep up on what's going on. We have each year in our fall festivals, fairs, schools, counties and what have you—even a Miss America—beautiful girls chosen to honor each of these events.

Being a mother, I can see the beauty in each of these girls, and I believe in electing a queen for each of these occasions.

Then I read of how proud our towns, and even states, are of these beautiful girls—to have them represent each of the communities.

Believe me, I am proud of them, too, and enjoy reading about them. But the thought I have running so strongly in my lonely heart is . . . why aren't we so proud of our servicemen who give so much? Why don't they get some of the high honors they so deserve?

You know, our fine young men in our United States armed services, when called to serve their country, weren't selected to do so because they were handsome. Nor are they entitled to vote. They are considered not old enough for that. But, yet, they are old enough to die for you and for me.

We read many times a week where one of our fine young men has answered a call to his country and ours, and has met death in the line of duty in Vietnam. But do we read in the papers that we've lost a fine young man from our town and community . . . one we were so proud of? Do we let the parents or wife of this man know we were proud of him? No, and I think we are all a little to blame on this. This includes our daily papers, too. It never says we lost a brave man. Believe me, these men are really brave. Some families have given two sons' lives in Vietnam.

Let us all start being proud of them, too. And most of all, let us all, even if you don't have a son in service, or one to go, say daily prayers for these fine young men who are doing a job over there for you and for me.

They did not ask to go over there; they were ordered to go. So let us all support them, and their families, with prayers and letters. They need them. I know.

God bless all of them.

WHAT HAPPENS IF THE ELECTION GOES TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES?

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, twice in the history of the United States, the House of Representatives has been called upon to select the Chief Executive Officer of the United States. In 1801 Thomas Jefferson was selected by the House. In 1825 John Quincy Adams was chosen by the House.

The 1968 presidential election could be thrown into the House if one of the major political contenders fails to achieve a majority of 270 votes in the electoral college. In such a case, the Members of the House would be asked to choose the President from the top three candidates on the electoral college's list of nominees. Congress is not at liberty to go outside this group of nominees in selecting a President.

As far as the procedure is concerned, the vote for President in the House is taken as follows:

Each State is given only one vote. Small States with only one Representative—Alaska, Delaware, Nevada, Vermont, and Wyoming—have a vote coequal to that of the most populous States, such as New York with 41 House Members. Therefore, a majority of each State's House delegation would determine the State's vote. A majority of 50 States, or 26 votes, is needed to elect a President. If a particular congressional delegation of a State has both Democratic and Republican Members and if the delegations are tied or otherwise cannot agree, then the State is not counted in the balloting for the President.

Aside from the bare constitutional facts about the general procedure which governs the election of the President by the House, speculations can be made on the possible outcome of such an occurrence in light of election year 1968.

How could the congressional election on November 5 affect a presidential contest in the House in January?

To begin with, the new Congress, elected on November 5 and taking office on January 6, 1969, will decide the outcome of the 1968 presidential election if it is thrown into the House of Representatives. A detailed study has been done which analyzes possible shifts in voting power in Congress as a result of the 1968 election. The present makeup of the House is 245 Democrats, 187 Republicans and three vacancies. The Democrats hold a majority in the delegation from 29 States with the Republicans claiming a majority in 18 States. Three States are evenly divided. In 15 States where Democrats now hold a majority, a switch of one House seat would mean either Republican control or a tied delegation. In 14 other States, Democrats control the delegations by a margin of three or four seats. Nine of these 14 States are in regions where Mr. Wallace is expected to collect his biggest popular vote. On the other hand, Republicans control 12 out of their 18 States by a margin of only one or two votes. A switch of one seat would mean either Democratic control or a tie.

One can see, from this study, that if the presidential election is thrown into the House, the congressional election on November 5 would have a profound impact on the final selection of the President. With this fact well understood, further speculations can be made about the final choice made by the House of Representatives, if this situation were to occur.

For example, if HUBERT HUMPHREY finished in either second or third place in electoral votes in November, as current public-opinion polls tend to indicate, and if the Democrats retained control of congressional delegations in 26 States or more, then the Democrats could elect Mr. HUMPHREY as the next President, without regard to size of either his popular or electoral vote. If George Wallace is among the top three presidential contenders in electoral votes, then his chances in Congress would depend upon putting together a majority coalition of both Democrats and Republicans, since there are no Congressmen now who wear the label of Mr. Wallace's American Independent Party. If Richard Nixon finished either first, second, or third in electoral votes, and if Republicans gained control of a majority of House Members from 26 States or more in the coming election, then presumably the Republicans would be able to elect Mr. Nixon as President.

As a final note, one must add that if the House failed to agree on a President by January 20, the date stipulated in the Constitution for the term of office to begin, then the Vice President, which is chosen by a majority in the Senate, would become "Acting President," serving until such time as either the House or Senate could decide on who should be the President or Vice President.

TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE PAUL JONES

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, we have properly paid tribute to many of our Members who will not be with us next year. I would feel myself remiss were I not to call attention to the fact that one of the bravest, one of the most courageous, and most independent Members that I have ever known is voluntarily retiring at the end of this term.

Mr. Speaker, Hon. PAUL CARUTHERS JONES, of Kennett, Mo., is, after some 20-odd years of dedicated service in this House, returning to his home. He will not be a Member of the next Congress.

Mr. Speaker, PAUL has been one of my closest personal friends, one with whom I have enjoyed a close association throughout the past 20 years. His family and my family have been friends. His wife, Ethel, and my wife, Frances, are close friends. PAUL and Ethel are great and fine people. But, Mr. Speaker, more than that PAUL JONES has been a member of the committee of which I am chairman, and a most valuable member, although I must say that there is probably no member on the committee on either side with whom I have had more differences of opinion than I have had with PAUL JONES. He and I have differed so many times that I almost expect to differ with PAUL on almost every piece of legislation. But his differences have always been sincere and of value to the committee. He has always been ready to work, to study, to attend, and to take part in the discussions, and to be an all-around valuable member of the Committee on Agriculture.

Mr. Speaker, PAUL JONES built no reputation as a peacemaker. But he has built an outstanding reputation as an honest, honorable, and courageous member of the Committee on Agriculture, and of this House of Representatives. Those of you who have not had the privilege of serving with him on the committee have seen him here on the floor of the House, because PAUL JONES has never circumscribed his interest to any one particular field. He is one of the best informed Members on agriculture that this House has seen, but he is also informed on other subjects. He is always ready to speak, to speak his mind—and he is always ready to form an opinion and always ready to defend that opinion, no matter who disagrees with him. He is always ready to take the side of the right as he sees the right and to do the right as he sees it. He has never been one to shrink from his duty no matter how unpleasant it might be. He is always ready to challenge those whom he thinks are in error at any time and at any place.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe we could operate this House with 435 Members like PAUL JONES. But I do not believe that this House will operate as well without PAUL JONES. I believe that he has rendered a service which very few men can render, and I do not know of anyone who can take his place in the coming sessions of this Congress.

He has had a unique ability and a unique courage of character. I admire PAUL JONES greatly, even when we are in violent disagreement.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the gentleman for taking the floor to say these words in behalf of our beloved colleague, PAUL JONES. As a fellow Missourian, I believe that our delegation has been amiss in not taking the lead. We thought yesterday that the dean of our delegation would be back to do this, and then his successor in line in seniority would hopefully have taken the lead, but this was not possible. We have honored PAUL JONES in some functions off the floor, but I believe it is most appropriate that we do take the time to give some flowers to the living inasmuch as we have just eulogized our dear departed former colleague from Texas.

The things that the gentleman from Texas says about our colleague, PAUL JONES, are certainly true, and the proof is the fact that they are being said by a man who has been more closely associated with PAUL JONES than any other Member of the Congress.

PAUL JONES sat at the side of the gentleman in the well, and in fact as his right arm. So this is not someone who is just imagining something. What has been said in behalf of PAUL JONES is true and, I say again, is firsthand information.

If I may, Mr. Speaker, I would like to elaborate on the importance of a person like PAUL JONES. I doubt if there are any of us here who have not been at times a little disappointed that he has held us here longer than we might otherwise have been able to leave on a particular day. He is a person who believes in detail, down to the last crossing of the "t" and the dotting of an "i." He does not slough things off or do things half way.

The thing the gentleman from Texas said that really defines the spirit and the heart and the soul of PAUL JONES is that he is a man of courage. I know there have been instances in which PAUL JONES has cast one of those rare votes in which there were only two or three voting along with him, or in some instances only one.

Courage is the mark of the character of PAUL JONES, and he has exhibited it fearlessly and without expediency or question as to what the consequences might be politically.

Mr. Speaker, I would appreciate it if the gentleman would yield to me for one further moment to say that some of the characteristics of PAUL JONES are that he is a gentleman, an honest man, and a decent man. Just in the last few days he has proven that all over again, because here we are right down at the end of this session, and there are those who are similarly situated, who are not seeking reelection themselves, who have not seen fit to come back when they are nearby to help make a quorum, or to help close up the business; but not so PAUL JONES. He was here on the floor yesterday and the day before, and he was here on the floor during that long, marathon 36-hour session when there were some 46 quorum and rollcalls. All during that long night he was here.

Mr. Speaker, this is the kind of man you take your hat off to salute, a man who is going out of office, but still is right here to the end to carry his part of the load—a real gentleman, a great Congressman—and we are going to miss him.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Missouri for his comments, and I simply want to add that it was not my purpose to seek to arrange any kind of testimonial meeting. I simply wanted to speak from my own heart for myself as an individual and as a personal friend of PAUL and Ethel JONES because I consider them among the best friends that we have had among the many fine friends we have made in this Congress, and as chairman of the Agriculture Committee I wanted to pay tribute to a fine and useful member.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND REMARKS

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days or such time as is permissible under the rules following adjournment of the House to extend their remarks with reference to Hon. PAUL JONES.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PATTEN). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, may I now say, with no intention of doing more than speaking as a friend of PAUL JONES and an admirer of a great Congressman and a great individual that I am going to feel the loss. I know the Committee on Agriculture is going to feel the loss and the House is going to feel the loss of this fine Representative.

The whole community is going to feel the loss of this fine family. They are going back of their own accord, without any pressure from the constituency, because PAUL could have remained here for a long, long time. They are going back, and I know they will serve Kennett, Mo., as outstanding citizens and the community will be the better for their return because PAUL and Ethel JONES are good people—the kind of people who make up good communities. I have traveled with both of them. I have traveled with PAUL in many, many places and I know how unostentatiously always on Sunday morning they find a way to attend the services of their church. They find a way to do those things that they should do. They find the way to be courteous, decent, and friendly with those with whom they are associated.

They are great individuals and I am sorry they are leaving Washington and the Nation is going to be poorer for having lost a great Representative. We wish them many years of happiness.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable PAUL C. JONES, who has so ably represented the 10th Missouri District in the House of Representatives since he was first elected in 1948, will retire from the Congress at the end of this session. Missouri and the Nation will miss him. He has been a dedicated worker and a superb representative for his people.

PAUL already had established a wonderful record of public service before his election to the Congress. A native of Kennett, Mo., he served as mayor of the city and as a member of the city council. He was a member of the Kennett Board of Education. In 1935 he was elected to the Missouri Legislature and for 8 years was a member of the State Senate, where he held the chairmanship of the appropriations committee. In 1945 he became chairman of the Missouri State Highway Commission and served in that capacity until his election to the House of Representatives.

In addition to his public service, PAUL has established a distinguished career as

a businessman. He was copublisher of the Dunklin Democrat for more than 25 years until 1953 and he was general manager of radio station KBOA until he sold his interest in the station in 1966.

This was the man southeast Missouri selected to represent them in the House of Representatives. And they chose wisely. It has been my pleasure to serve with PAUL on the House Committee on Agriculture. We both serve cotton, rice and soybean farmers and now both of our districts, which adjoin, have interests in sugarbeet production. Both of our districts have problems in soil and water conservation and our farmers face the same problems in financing their operations. So PAUL and I have worked intimately together on all of these legislative problems. You could not ask for a better man. PAUL has been diligent. He has given the most careful study to all aspects of the problems and his approach to the solutions always has been entirely fair and in the best interests of the people. He has been an outstanding member of the House Committee on Agriculture.

A man of highest integrity, he has worked to protect the integrity of the Government. He has fought waste and extravagance and worked to maintain fiscal responsibility. His has been an eloquent voice in defense of frugality and sound government operations.

I would not wish this Congress to adjourn without my acknowledging the debt we owe to this splendid Representative—one whom I am proud to claim as a friend. He will be returning to Kennett and I shall be going home to West Memphis. The miles are not too many that Tolise and I cannot look forward to seeing PAUL and his lovely wife, Ethel. Our very best wishes go with them and to their fine children as PAUL completes a remarkable service in the Congress.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with my colleagues in saluting the Honorable PAUL JONES whose retirement at the end of this session of Congress marks the completion of 20 years of service in the House of Representatives. His public service began long before coming to Congress as the people of his hometown of Kennett, Mo., saw fit first to elect him as their mayor then to the State legislature and State senate. While here he has represented his people well on the House Agriculture Committee and has fought persistently for what he thought was right. He has never stood aside when an unpopular or unpleasant task seemed to him to be the right thing to do. The gentleman from Missouri, is in short, Mr. Speaker, an honorable man. We wish him well.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to my dear friend and able colleague, the Honorable PAUL C. JONES, of Missouri, with whom it has been my privilege to serve in this House since 1948.

I have never known a more effective statesman or patriotic American than my friend, PAUL JONES. It has been my privilege to work with PAUL on matters of mutual interest to our constituents, and I would like to add that I have been the recipient of his wise counsel and unselfish cooperation and assistance on many occasions.

I was distressed when I learned that PAUL had decided to retire from the Congress. His departure from this body will be a great loss to his constituents, to the people of the great State of Missouri, to the people of America as a whole, and last, but not least, to his friends and colleagues in the Congress. Our country can ill afford to lose the services of this great patriot.

PAUL'S record of public service began when he was a young adult, and established him early as a leader. His outstanding accomplishments as a Member of Congress are of inestimable value to his fellow Americans. His record of public service is, indeed, unsurpassed, and will serve as a pattern for others who are desirous of devoting their life's work to the good of their country.

PAUL will be missed; I have enjoyed his warm friendship and benefited from his wise counsel. He has certainly earned retirement, and I wish for him and Mrs. Jones many, many years of continued good health, happiness, and success.

CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON FISH SPEAKS TO THE AMERICAN LEGION KINGSTON POST

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, our well-known alumnus, former Congressman Hamilton Fish, whose son will be a Member of the 91st Congress, recently addressed the 50th anniversary dinner of the Kingston, N.Y., Post of the American Legion.

As a member of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, I am pleased to bring his remarks on that occasion to the attention of my colleagues:

THE ORIGIN AND FORMATION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION PREAMBLE

(Speech of Hon. Hamilton Fish at American Legion Kingston Post 50th Anniversary Dinner, Governor Clinton Hotel, Kingston, N.Y., October 3, 1968)

It is a great honor and privilege for me to come here tonight as a member of the Kingston Post to receive a 50th anniversary decoration for membership in the American Legion, one of the greatest veteran and civic organizations in the world, dedicated to God, country and the preservation of the Constitution, freedom, justice and democracy. When I say Freedom, I mean free speech, free press, free assembly, freedom of religion, freedom from fear of concentration and slave labor camps, and totalitarian, despotic governments and the World Communist Conspiracy. That is the difference between Freedom and Communism.

The Legion, thank God, has always stood out openly and courageously against Communist and all subversive activities aimed to destroy our free institutions and Republican form of government. The preservation of freedom is the greatest issue in the world; greater than either the Democratic or Republican Party. There is no substitute for freedom.

Soviet Russia in desperation, crushed the birth of freedom in Czechoslovakia because wherever freedom exists, Communism is doomed.

I am very happy to come here as one of the founders of the American Legion and as chairman of the committee of three that wrote the preamble of the American Legion, which is still followed in every Post in the nation, and as chairman of the first Congressional committee to investigate Communism.

I have been asked to give you a brief account of the origin and formation of the American Legion preamble which took place at the St. Louis Caucus in May, 1919. I was a member of the Constitutional committee at the American Legion Caucus, and was designated by the chairman of that committee to head a committee of three to write the preamble, and empowered to appoint the other two members. I appointed Col. John Greenway of Arizona who had previously served in the Roosevelt Rough Riders and was one of the outstanding engineers and citizens of Arizona whose statue now stands in World War I uniform as one of the two men to represent the State of Arizona in Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington. The other was Judge George Davis of Oregon, later of Wilmington, Delaware, both of whom had been ardent supporters of Theodore Roosevelt, like myself. I knew that they would favor an outspoken, dynamic, patriotic preamble in the interest of all our veterans and our country. We held our sessions mostly behind closed doors for almost 36 hours, with very few hours for sleep, formulating what eventually was to be your preamble. It has been customary to give the chairman full credit as in the case of Thomas Jefferson who had a distinguished committee of 5 members that wrote the Declaration of Independence, but I think it is only fair for me to give the other two members their full share of credit in the final writing of the preamble. Each one wrote out numerous versions and then we would combine them and either extend or modify them until finally we agreed, word by word, sentence by sentence, to the whole preamble, which I presented to the chairman of the committee on the Constitution, which was approved with one slight amendment. It was adopted unanimously by the St. Louis Caucus and has not been changed since, except to put in the word wars instead of war.

One attempt was made at the first Legion convention at Minneapolis by Harry Fisher Wood, who persuaded Elihu Root, a great lawyer and statesman, to write an entirely new preamble. This was submitted to the committee on Resolutions at our first convention at which time I was a member of the Resolutions Committee and after Mr. Wood had made his presentation, I related the origin and formation of the American Legion Preamble, paragraph by paragraph and the vote was taken and our present preamble was reaffirmed unanimously with the exception of Mr. Harry Fisher Wood's vote. Since then, no other attempt has been made to change the preamble. It has been referred to by Gen. Pershing, President Truman and other of our highest officials as being one of our greatest American documents. The only part I want to emphasize here tonight is that which calls for community service and I believe every Legion Post should participate in that type of service and have public relations representatives who will give full publicity to the constructive Legion Community Service Program. If that is done, I am sure the membership of every Post will increase rapidly.

The American Legion will exist in the U.S. as long as it adheres to our preamble and to the preservation of freedom, but if freedom is ever destroyed, then the American Legion will cease to exist.

Let me conclude by saying that the Com-

munists, the Red, the Pinks, the fellow travelers and the Yellows, denounce everything as wrong, rotten and corrupt in America. Let me tell you that our wage earners are the best paid, the best housed, the best fed, the best clothed, the most contented and the freest in the world. These same Communists, Reds, and fellow travelers also tell the American people that the Constitution is a scrap of paper, outmoded and archaic. Let me tell you as one who served in Congress for 25 years, that the Constitution is the greatest charter of human liberty and freedom ever devised by the mind of man. It represents your rights as free, sovereign American citizens and as Al Smith justly said, "It is the civil bible of the minorities. It represents the rights and liberties of all racial and religious minorities." We Americans, Republicans and Democrats, do not propose to surrender one iota of our freedom or liberties for any foreign form of government, Fascism, Nazism, Totalitarianism, or Communism. If there is any country worth living in, any country worth defending, any country worth fighting for, or dying for, it is the United States of America. God bless Freedom and the American Legion.

DISCHARGE PETITION FOR REORGANIZATION ACT

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, so many times in the 10 years that we have been here we have been importuned to sign discharge petitions, and in almost every instance over these many years I have declined I think perhaps with one exception.

This is simply an announcement. Because of some of the mail we have been receiving, I wish to announce at this time that I have signed the discharge petition on reorganization. There was no coercion by any Member, but I signed the petition simply because I had hoped that this issue could be considered. I hope equally as well that it may be considered early in the 91st Congress.

SUPREME COURT JUSTICE SELECTION AMENDMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PATTEN). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, for almost 200 years, a cornerstone of our Government of three separate powers has been an independent judiciary. An independent judiciary, embodied in the Supreme Court and lower Federal courts, has been a vital protector of individual rights and essential to the preservation of impartial justice. This independence means not only dissociation by the Court from executive or legislative control of decisions, but also insulation from the political pressures that affect the President and Congress.

Throughout most of our history, the Supreme Court has earned much prestige and respect as an institution of unquestioned ability and integrity. But there is now widespread belief or concern that our land's highest court has forfeited its prestige and independence to become, among other things, a political instrument of the President. The recent nominations of Messers. Fortas and Thornberry may indicate the possibility of the use of seats on the Court as political rewards for friends of the President. Such concern about political manipulation has caused widespread public dismay. Clearly something is wrong with an appointment process which permits the possibility that the President would nominate Justices of the Supreme Court on the same political patronage basis as the President appoints postmasters.

We must remember that the quality of justice depends in large measure on the quality of judges. The best judicial minds are essential for settling small legal controversies in a municipal court, but especially in deciding crucial constitutional questions in the Supreme Court. Also, we must remember that the Supreme Court decisions have a tremendous long-range impact on the economic, social, and political life of the Nation, the very vitality of our Nation and possibly on its survival. Hence, such appointments also affect the world at large.

Because of the vast increase in the scope and complexity of modern law and because of the importance of Supreme Court decisions, the Justices of our highest court must be the best qualified to confront the awesome task. The nominating procedure must guarantee the selection of the best qualified Justices, and not merely the closest to the President or those most acceptable to him or the Congress philosophically.

Where does the fault lie for the failure of the appointment procedure? The answer becomes apparent upon examination of the present process.

The present selection system consists of Presidential nomination of a candidate and then Senate confirmation. The delegates to the Constitutional Convention debated over several methods before deciding on the present system. They discarded both popular election of the justices and selection by one or both Houses of Congress, because these methods emphasized political considerations and not the competence of the men. The scheme finally decided upon included several devices to free the Justices from political burdens. Life tenure was provided to insulate the members of the Court from temporary political influences and thus permitted the Justices to follow their own consciences. Also, the nomination was confined in a single person, the President, whom the delegates regarded as a responsible person and one who would be above politics. Remember, this was before the present popular vote for President. But, to place a check on Presidential discretion and to assist in his decision, the delegates added Senate advise and consent. Senate approval also provided for consideration of the views of the States. Apparently the Founding Fathers expected the President to consult with the Senate before appointing a Justice.

Despite all the careful planning at the Constitutional Convention, this selection process has failed to fulfill the objective of our Founding Fathers. The Presidents have often abused their powers of appointment. Instead of being guided by legal and judicial proficiency, Presidents too often have been motivated by political expediency. The Court has been used as a reward for political friends of the President. Often a President expects to perpetuate his political ideology by choosing men of similar thinking. Often, of course, he has been disappointed in the latter area. President Eisenhower reportedly has been very surprised by some of the decisions of the Warren Court to which he appointed a Chief Justice and three associate justices. President Johnson may have expected the ideals of the Great Society—whatever they may be—to be furthered by Justices Fortas, Thornberry, and Marshall, but who knows. Perhaps time and history are working against him.

Political friendship and party affiliation have not been the only factors influencing the President's nomination. A President also must heed geographical, racial, and religious demands. Each time a vacancy occurs, the President must decide which group to favor. The Court was certainly not intended to be a microcosm of all the factions in the country. Perhaps such considerations cannot be totally excluded. But they could become ridiculous when one man, the President, tries to compensate for all these factors involved in our complex melting-pot society. The importance of the job should be the factor which would determine the quality considerations and not the political aspects of the President's ambition for support from racial, religious, ethnic, geographic, or other factions in our society.

The confirmation procedure may also have become an anachronism in recent years in exercising the constitutional responsibility of checking the President's discretion. Contrary to their strong control of lower Federal court appointments, Supreme Court appointments have usually been left wholly to the President. Over 30 years have passed since a nomination of a Supreme Court Justice has been blocked until the Fortas case. Because of the nature of legislative responsibility at the Federal level today, Federal legislators, even though they may be lawyers, are not in a position to be continuously exposed to the best legal talent in the country. The same is true of the President, of course. Essentially, the other body could become the President's rubberstamp and be relegated to a role of opposing and delaying confirmations, but does very little to help select the most competent Justices. While its collective action may not be as directly motivated by factional considerations as the President's single selection, as I have outlined above, it must be suggested that partisan political or philosophical considerations could be a factor in Senate confirmation or rejection of a nominee from time to time, rather than a judgment as to legal competence or other more salutary factors.

For these reasons, then, I feel the original constitutional selection process may have proven ineffective to guarantee the best qualified justices and the highest

quality of justice in the U.S. Supreme Court. The President, supported by a confirmation procedure that does his will, can easily abuse his discretion of appointment and favor purely political nominees. A Court constituted of such political appointees cannot restore its own independence because of its inherent political bias. I believe that the product of the present selection process threatens this separation of powers and jeopardizes our Government system. I am firmly convinced that we must begin now to devise a new process to correct the faults of the present system. To insure that only the best qualified men serve on the Court, and to see that the people have a hand in their selection.

Many States and the Federal Government, confronted by similar failures in the selection of qualified public servants, have devised improvements on the old processes. Several States have bolstered the quality of men on their Supreme Courts by utilizing a judicial nominating commission, based on the plan originally devised in Missouri. This plan entails a commission, composed of laymen and lawyers, to select a list of candidates for the State supreme court. Then the Governor must appoint one person from the list who is then submitted to the State legislature for approval. This selection process, coupled with a periodic review of the judge's work by popular election has provided, I feel, more capable judges and a better quality of justice that was formerly the case in that State. The American Bar Association, the American Judicature Society, and the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration have endorsed this plan. The initiative of the States in this area is to be highly commended and serves as a kind of proven example for the Federal Government.

Improvements in inadequate selection procedures also are not foreign to the Federal Government. When experience demonstrates a fault in the original constitutional method, that document has been amended to correct the situation. Both the legislative and executive branches have been altered in this manner. The President is currently restricted to two terms by the 22d amendment, and the method of electing Members of the other body was improved by the 17th amendment. Presently, the electoral college, which elects the President and Vice President is under sharp scrutiny and many methods have been advanced in an attempt to improve it. History has demonstrated that the Congress will very willingly reexamine the executive branch and initiate reorganization. Sometimes, the Congress will even reevaluate itself. But very seldom is such scrutiny focused on the Supreme Court. There is no reason why the selection of Supreme Court Justices cannot also be improved, especially when inadequacies are present.

Keeping in mind the problems of abuse of Presidential discretion, and failure of the confirmation procedure to impose adequate checks on the President, I have introduced a joint resolution proposing a constitutional amendment to improve the selection of Supreme Court Justices. Using as a guide the examples of corrections of judicial deficiencies in the States and of executive and legislative faults in the Federal Government, I herewith submit a new method to confront the inadequacies of the present system. The new process would work as follows:

First. Every 4 years, a judicial nominating commission, consisting of the chief judge of the highest civil court in each of the States, would convene to select, by majority vote, 12 candidates for appointment to the Supreme Court.

Second. Whenever a vacancy occurs in the Supreme Court, the President shall nominate one of the candidates to fill the vacancy.

Third. If the other body advises and consents to the appointment of the candidate, that candidate shall fill the vacancy. If the Senate does not advise and consent to the appointment of any candidate so nominated, the President shall nominate another candidate from the list to fill the vacancy.

I believe that my proposed amendment would select the best qualified judicial talent and would restore the political independence of the Court.

Instead of licensing the President with unbridled discretion to select personal friends and favor political factions, my amendment would restrict his choice to a list of 12 submitted by the Judicial Nominating Commission. This Commission, composed of the chief judges of the highest civil court from each of the States, would greatly assist in selecting the most competent judicial talent in our Nation for the Supreme Court. The State chief justices are continuously exposed to the most capable members of the legal profession and are consequently in the best position to recognize and select qualified candidates. Also, by placing this important stage of the appointment process in State judges, the voice of the States will be reinstated in this crucial decision. Thus, the Judicial Nominating Commission will function to preserve the balance between the National and State governments.

The proposed amendment would require supporting legislation to complete the details of when, where and how the process of selection by the chief judges of the States would be accomplished. I expect the Commission to meet every 4 years between presidential elections to reduce political influence. Each candidate must gain approval by a majority of judges to guarantee national support. After being selected, the 12 candidates would continue to be eligible for a 4-year term and could be reelected. By providing a continual list of potential replacements, rather than meeting when a vacancy occurs, the President could quickly fill the position and insure an easy transition on the Court. Whenever the number of candidates falls to six or less by death or disability, the Commission would hold a special convention to elect the number of candidates necessary to bring the total number up to 12. Other details of this plan would be provided in appropriate legislation.

Following is the text of the resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States with respect to the appointment of Justices of the Supreme Court:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution only if ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

"ARTICLE —

"SECTION 1. The President shall, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint judges of the Supreme Court from a list of candidates for appointment prepared by the Judicial Nominating Commission.

"SEC. 2. (a) There is established the Judicial Nominating Commission which shall be composed of the chief judge of the highest civil court of each of the States.

"(b) The Commission shall meet in open convention every fourth year to elect twelve candidates for appointment to the Supreme Court. Two-thirds of the total membership of the Commission shall constitute a quorum. Elections of candidates shall be by secret ballot. No person may be a candidate unless he shall have received a majority of the votes of the total membership of the Commission.

"SEC. 3. Whenever the number of candidates for appointment on the list is six or less, the Commission shall hold a special convention to elect that number of candidates necessary to bring the total number of candidates to twelve.

"SEC. 4. The Congress shall have power to carry out, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.".

TRIBUTE TO U.S. SENATOR FRANK CARLSON

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SHRIVER] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, today the Members of the Kansas delegation in the House of Representatives are taking this time to pay well-deserved tribute to a living legend in our great State, Senator FRANK CARLSON.

This is a personal moment mixed with pride and sadness for those of us who have been privileged to know and work with Senator CARLSON through the years of his service to our State and the Nation. FRANK CARLSON was Governor of Kansas when I first began my legislative career in State legislature in Topeka. His towering integrity has been an inspiring example for all of us engaged in public service.

As the Senator ends a period of 40 years of unprecedented service to his State, it is worthwhile to look back at this record. He served in the Kansas State Legislature from 1928 through 1932. Leaving elective office for a brief 2-year period, he was chairman of our Republican State committee when Alfred Landon was Governor. He came to the House of Representatives in 1934 and served in this body with distinction for six terms. In 1946, FRANK answered the call and returned to Kansas to the office of Governor for two terms. Kansans have never forgotten the 4 years in which our State government was led by Governor CARLSON. His efforts in the fields of mental health, education, agri-

culture, and industry provided a sound base on which later improvements could be built.

Because of this outstanding record, FRANK CARLSON was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1950. Reelected twice, he has now served our State in Washington for 18 years. Thus, he became the only Kansan to ever serve as Representative, Governor, and Senator.

Senator CARLSON's efforts in the U.S. Senate are well-known both to the citizens of Kansas and to the Washington establishment. He has been responsible for important reforms and improvements in the fields of fiscal matters, Federal career service, agriculture, foreign affairs, veterans' benefits, and a host of others.

These accomplishments have not gone unnoticed. Senator CARLSON has been awarded honorary degrees of doctor of laws by no less than seven universities and colleges. He has served as chairman of the National Governor's Conference and of the Council of State Governments. He is a member of the Board of Governors of the Agriculture Hall of Fame, the Menninger Foundation, and the Institute of Logopedics, which is in my own district in Wichita, Kans. Because of his thorough understanding of the problems of agriculture, he has received awards from the Kansas Wheat Commission, the Kansas Wheat Growers Association, the Missouri Farmer's Association, the Future Farmers of America, the Kansas State Grange, and the Kansas 4–H Foundation.

If the legend of FRANK CARLSON can be summed up in a few words, perhaps he can be best described by the term "Christian Statesman." He is the man recognized as the founder of the annual Presidential Prayer Breakfast. He is a man of deep religious convictions, and this has been evident not only in his services to his church but in his every act of public service over the past 40 years.

Men like FRANK CARLSON are badly needed by our Nation today and I regret to see him leave Washington. But as he has chosen to return to the land he loves at this, the peak of his career, we all wish him and Mrs. Carlson a long and happy retirement. We will miss them. Kansas will miss the Senator's strong voice in Washington.

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have this opportunity to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the Honorable FRANK CARLSON, who, after 18 years of outstanding and distinguished service, has announced his retirement from the U.S. Senate.

Senator CARLSON belongs to a generation of Americans who believed in the ancient virtues of hard work, self-reliance, industry, thrift, and good citizenship. Let us hope that later on the world will get around to embracing the virtues his generation exemplified with so much fortitude, dignity, and good humor.

The long and distinguished career of Senator CARLSON in the interest of his State and the Nation has been given over to human betterment. His satisfaction must be very great. The average man, looking back, can always think of changes he would make in his life if he had it to live over again. If I were wearing the boots of Senator CARLSON at this minute I could think of none.

It is my fervent wish that Senator and Mrs. Carlson will enjoy a continued life of happiness, good health, and contentment.

HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHWENGEL] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, today I received a letter from the engineer of Clay County, Iowa, whose office is in Spencer, Iowa, in which he has enclosed a statement from the Santa Clara County building office in the department of public works in Santa Clara, Calif. The director, Mr. James T. Pott, has written a covering letter to a set of resolutions passed by the executive board of the Iowa County Engineers Association in which he endorses and expresses a feeling of a large cross section of people who are responsible for the building and maintaining of highways leading to Interstate Systems. This, Mr. Speaker, is very persuasive, well-written argument against S. 2658 and I place in the RECORD as further evidence in the hope all Members of Congress and those who read the RECORD will avail themselves of this valuable information and be persuaded that this whole subject needs much more study and research before we legislate on the questions that are raised in S. 2658:

CLAY COUNTY,
OFFICE OF THE COUNTY ENGINEER,
Spencer, Iowa, October 9, 1968.

Hon. FRED SCHWENGEL,
Member of Congress,
Rayburn Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SCHWENGEL: This is a much delayed thank you for the courtesies you extended me and the other county engineers from Iowa when we visited with you this summer about the "Big Truck" legislation. I also, appreciated receiving the autographed picture which you had taken of our group.

Since our visit, I have sent copies of the enclosed resolutions to all of the Iowa Congressmen and urged them to help you in your opposition of this bill. I have received a gratifying response from each one of them.

To show you that our visit and the resulting actions have had far reaching effects, I am also, enclosing a copy of a letter a California County Director of Public Works sent to his Congressmen and State Legislators after he read the report of the NACE action at our meeting in Washington.

Very truly yours,
ELDO W. SCHORNHORST, P.E.,
County Engineer, Secretary-Treasurer of NACE.

COUNTY OF SANTA CLARA,
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS,
San Jose, Calif., September 26, 1968.

To: Each board member.
Subject: S. 2658.

The September 1968 Newsletter from the National Association of County Engineers reported that in April of this year S-2658 was passed with a voice vote by the U.S. Senate with only seven members present. The bill is now pending in the House and it deals with the size and weight limits on the Interstate Highway System. S-2658 would increase the single axle weight limits from 18,000 pounds to 20,000 pounds. The limit on tandem axles would likewise be increased 2,000 pounds to 34,000 pounds. The proposal would also allow vehicles having widths of 102 inches (plus safety devices and tire bulges) to use the Interstate System. This could result in an overall width of nearly 9'. The act does not impose any legal length limit. Attached is a copy of the wording of a resolution adopted by the National Association of County Engineers. I thought perhaps you might be interested in how S–2658 affects Santa Clara County.

As you know, the people of our County have been engaged in the development of a multi-jurisdictional, high quality, moderate speed, high volume highway system on a cooperative basis with all the cities. This system is designed to provide essential circulatory support to the freeway system in Santa Clara County and will serve as an integral part of the total transportation system for the County. Some $94,000,000 will have been invested in this system by the end of next year. Needless to say, the cities as well as the County are also putting many millions of additional dollars into their respective street and road systems.

We all know that no trip starts or terminates on the Interstate System. All our local (and state) street systems support the Interstate Highway System and have been and are being designed for the current standards expressed in the California Vehicle Code (which are also nationally accepted). These are: 18,000 pound single axle limit and 32,000 pound limit on tandem axles. Our roadway widths, the lane width, the shy-away distances are all predicated on the 96" standard vehicle width. The passage of S–2658 will leave the many, many miles of the Interstate supporting system not only substandard but impose a tremendous burden on local resources to supply construction dollars to augment the required structural and geometric sections. Increased maintenance dollars will be required due to the shorter life of the pavements. The wider and longer vehicles will be the source of increased friction and the cause of many more accidents.

It seems unrealistic to abandon existing standards and allow heavier weights and wider vehicles when we can't even begin to bring our local streets that must support the Interstate System up to current and long standing standards. We continually fall farther behind by changing our goals—moving the carrot further away.

We are not unmindful that the 41,000 odd mile Interstate System will carry a large percentage of the total vehicle miles traveled each year. The problem of how to pay and who should pay for the construction work necessary to handle these increased widths, weights, and lengths on non-interstate roadways is ignored by this pending legislation. It could be a fantastic problem. In 1966 there were some 3,187,715 rural road miles and 510,235 miles of municipal or urban highways in the United States. This 3.6 million miles of roads will be traveled by the same vehicles that use the Interstate System. Remember, every trip begins or terminates on a local highway—no trip starts or terminates on the Interstate Highway System.

Yours very truly.

JAMES T. POTT,
Director.

RESOLUTION

Whereas: the Congress of the United States is considering the passage of S. 2658, which bill would amend section 127 of title 23 of the United States Code to increase the weight and length limitations of vehicles using the Interstate System of Highways, and

Whereas: Traffic using the Interstate System cannot confine its movement to such

system, since it must both originate and terminate its trip on another system, and

Whereas: The Counties of our Country are charged with the responsibility of the construction and the maintenance of the Secondary Road System, on which much of the traffic using the Interstate System originates and terminates, and

Whereas: Research and expert testimony show that the Secondary Road System is not designed nor constructed for the increases proposed in S. 2658, which would drastically overstress the majority of the surfaces and structures of the system, inflicting greater damage to the Secondary Road System than to other systems having greater resources, and

Whereas: We are now ten to twenty years behind in meeting the needs of highway construction, and lack the financing necessary to upgrade existing facilities, and

Whereas: The liability placed upon highway officials for shortcomings in highway safety and performance is increasing, and

Whereas: Accident records defy any increase in vehicle weight and dimensions:

Now therefore be it resolved by the National Association of County Engineers, meeting this 31st day of July, 1968 at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C., to strongly oppose the passage of S. 2658 and to urge all Counties to immediately contact their respective Congressmen to this effect, in the interest of safety and the protection of the public investment in our highways.

RESOLUTION

Whereas: The Congress of the United States is considering the passage of S. 2658, which bill would amend section 127 of Title 23 of the United States Code to increase the width, weight and length limitations of vehicles using the Interstate System of highways, and

Whereas: Traffic using the Interstate System cannot confine its movement to such since it must both originate and terminate its trip on some other system, and

Whereas: The Counties of Iowa are charged with responsibility of the Construction and Maintenance of the Secondary Road System on which much of the traffic using the Interstate System originates and terminates, and

Whereas: Research and expert testimony contained in the 1961 A.A.S.H.O. Road Test Report show that the Secondary Road System is not designed or constructed to accommodate the increases proposed in S. 2658, which would drastically overstress the majority of the surfaces and structures of the system, inflicting greater damage to the Secondary Road System than to other systems having greater revenue resources, and

Whereas: Iowa Counties are now ten to twenty years behind in meeting the needs of Secondary Road Construction and lack the finances necessary to upgrade existing facilities, and

Whereas: The liabiilty placed upon highway officials for shortcomings in highway safety and performance is increasing,

Now therefore be it resolved, by the Executive Board of the Iowa County Engineer's Association, meeting this 13th day of September, 1968, to strongly and earnestly oppose the passage of S. 2658 in the interest of safety and the protection of the public investment in our Secondary Highways.

Mr. Speaker, there are some people by the names of Hilda and Cecil Bruer whom I have come to know casually but recognize as conscientous citizens and competent to make judgment on public affairs and they have written to me about their opposition to S. 2658.

Mrs. Hilda and Mr. Cecil Bruer of Naples, Fla., who are permanent residents of Ohio have written an article "Welcome to Mayhem?" This is a preceptive analysis of the problem of the hazard to safety that would prevail if S. 2658 were passed. I believe, this article has some very important information observations that Members of Congress should read so I place it with these comments in the RECORD so Members and, indeed, all persons will read this very fine article:

WELCOME TO MAYHEM?

(By Hilda and Cecil Bruer)

Congress is in the final stages of considering a bill that would, at the option of the states, allow substantially wider (at least 8½ feet) and heavier (105,500 pounds or more) trucks and buses than are presently legal on interstate highways. It has passed the Senate and the House Public Works Committee. Its passage by the House is deemed so certain that at least one large bus company is already building bigger buses.

Individual states would have to submit their often overtaxed roads, streets, and bridges to such additional burdens, rebuild them to stand the strain, or hopelessly complicate the existing cross-country hodgepodge of regulations by denying passage to vehicles arriving from other states.

Greater length is not mentioned. But that might be an easy hurdle after these first two big ones.

The private motorist's position on this legislation is expressed by the authors, who have toured every section of the nation—the past seven years in a travel trailer:

Large trucks and buses have always represented a major hazard to the motorist. And his special concern, or actual fear, in meeting, passing, or being passed by them is well founded. The large space they occupy and the tremendous momentum of their massive weights do increase the possibility of collision which is present when any vehicles approach each other, and the catastrophe when it happens.

Many factors, including the proficiency and courtesy of most commercial drivers, better equipment, and wider, improved highways, tend to reduce such risk,—but there are more minus factors than plus.

There are untold thousands of miles of primary highway in the U.S.A. that are narrow (We were horrified to find it still being built, even in mountainous country), crooked, worn, and weathered below reasonable levels of safety at present-day speeds. Any idea of rebuilding all this would be fantasy.

At any rate, these speeds and the mushrooming volume of all types of traffic have already canceled out all our hard-won safety achievements and multiplied the horror of the smashups. In spite of much sincere crusading, our finest highways remain rendezvous with death and destruction. Where is the room for expanding super-giants in this picture?

All told, we consider buses the greatest nation-wide hazard on the highways, for three main reasons: first, they habitually travel faster than other large vehicles; second, they habitually approach, pass, and return closer to passed vehicles than others; and third, they almost never use a warning horn.

These practices have brought disaster to many. Our own first experience came on a secondary road in southern British Columbia. The "vacuum effect" of a bus passing much too close and too fast pulled the metal cover of the water heater right off the side of our trailer.

Then one day at a lunch stop on Florida's east coast we saw a travel trailer whose whole side had been torn off by a bus which had been able to continue without stopping. What it looked like we never knew. The trailerist was nearly hysterical.

Our worst encounter and the worst example we know of involved orange trucks in central Florida. We had hardly entered the main thoroughfare of the booming harvest when a long truck loaded high with oranges streaked by so fast a road crew could not get the license number; our car and trailer were pulled in behind it and headed for the left hand ditch; all efforts to recover control were in vain; the trailer swung us around and turned the whole outfit over beside the road, wrecking itself totally and the car critically. We escaped disabling injury, but suffered mental and physical torture unscrambling our belongings and waiting in extreme heat for a dilatory insurance settlement that left us with heavy losses.

During our vigil several other cars, with and without trailers, were upset nearby in the same way; we saw some, and talked with the driver of one standard automobile with six adult occupants which had been skidded on its side for some sixty feet before hurtling off the highway; he was searching for parts in a wrecking yard.

The problem was a subject of common talk and general concern at the park where we had rented a trailer and among mechanics. service station men, and others we met. The parents of one service station man had been overturned within a half mile of our wreck and were in the hospital, grievously injured; he was working earnestly for legislation to limit the speed of trucks to the legal 50 m.p.h.

A highway patrolman had been overturned in his own small car; he implied that restrictions and other handicaps hindering arrests had totally frustrated him; he was leaving the patrol.

Later when we were shopping in Michigan for better insurance, an agent told us his parents had been upset similarly a short time before.

Last June a couple of friends from Indiana were thrown off the highway and down a bank near Madison, Wisconsin, by a passing truck. The wife is still in the hospital awaiting plastic surgery on her mangled face.

We had numerous scares of like nature last summer between our winter quarters in Florida and home base in Washington, the worst during heavy winds in Montana and North Dakota, which can be fatal by themselves. Other trailer travelers and other motorists who have not had accidents assure us that they have scares, too.

The victims we have known have been experienced, conservative drivers in healthy, sturdy condition, with good equipment, traveling, they said, at moderate speeds. Yet in each case their vehicles instantly became uncontrollable.

Obviously part of the Florida problem was law enforcement, but that problem is universal, and it does dramatize what big, heavy rigs can do. There is no virtue in legalizing equipment that becomes lethal at speeds that are common, whether legal or illegal.

We see no hope for improvement in this regard. Both buses and trucks have rigid schedules, kept fast by economics and competition. Too many drivers take advantage of every opening to shave time from previous minimums, and practice the efficient, shortest-distance driving style which makes them so deadly. Exceeding the speed limits within estimated tolerances and avoiding actual contact quite successfully, they are seldom challenged. As long as they are only the cause of trouble for others, their own records are clear.

Senate Bill 2658 would make matters worse, principally because more bulk means more vacuum effect on vehicles passed. And with the upward trend of speed paralyzing and overriding good judgment, the danger would surely grow into something fearful.

It has been the history of our people to ignore such conditions until stricken personally by them. But if you haven't had your turn, you may be next, or your close relative or friend. How much does that mean to you? Do you care enough now to defend yourself?

Three steps are needed. Any one would help:

1. Defeat of this legislation;
2. Removal of large trucks and buses to rails or special, separate highways or lanes;
3. Effective, substantial reductions of all highway speed limits.

The time on S. 2658 is nearly gone. But Congressmen do listen to constituents, and this is election year. If you reach yours before he votes, he will listen to you.

REPORT OF CONGRESSMAN JOSEPH M. McDADE TO HIS CONSTITUENTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. McDADE] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, as is my custom, I intend to report to my constituents the results of the activities of the 90th Congress.

I would like to include my report in the RECORD at this point in order to share its contents with my colleagues:

DEAR FRIEND: As I write this report, the 90th Congress is coming to a close. I feel it is my duty to report to you on some of the significant legislation that came before the Congress. In each instance I have listed my position on the legislation. I also report to you on some other activities of my Congressional office.

I believe that the practice of sending such reports is important in keeping you well informed.

In closing, I want you to know that my attendance record in the 90th Congress was 94.4 percent.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH M. McDADE,
Member of Congress.

APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

As a member of the most powerful Committee in Congress, I worked in morning, afternoon, and evening sessions to examine closely every budget request we received. We saved the taxpayers large amounts of money by rejecting requests whose justifications seemed insufficient. We approved the funding of every program in which the Federal Government takes part, including a Defense budget to guarantee that our nation's strength will be undiminished.

My seniority on this committee has enabled me to sit on the House-Senate Conference Committees which work out differences between House and Senate versions of Bills. Here I can protect projects in our District from some who might not realize their importance to all of us.

One local program of importance approved and funded by my committee is the Resource Conservation and Development multi-county project in the 10th Congressional District. Under this project, a vast array of Federal programs will be made available for the people of these counties, and the people themselves will determine what projects they will pursue.

VIETNAM

In 1967 I joined with eight other Congressmen in proposing a plan to begin to bring an end to the war in Vietnam. Called the GRID plan—Graduated Reciprocal Identifiable Deescalation—it received widespread, thoughtful, critical acclaim. Basically, it called for each side in the war to take steps to reduce the level of conflict, with the other side answering with its own steps in reduction. During its implementation, it would guarantee complete military protection for our own troops, while opening greater channels for diplomatic negotiation.

The policy that brought the parties together in Paris, hopefully to negotiate, is remarkably similar to what we proposed in the GRID plan a year ago.

I hope, with every other American, that a just peace will soon occur and our young men may return home.

NEW LAW TO ATTACK CRIME

I spent many months consulting with experts to try to do something about the problem of crime in the United States. Much of my work centered about the problem of organized crime, which is a major contributor to street crime in our country. As a result, I submitted a series of anti-organized-crime bills to the Congress. The first of these was voted into law this year—a new law to make loan-sharking a federal crime.

Loan-sharking is a major source of income to organized crime. The new law, which I wrote, also contains an immunity statute to put teeth into it. The first indictment under this new act has just been handed down.

We cannot solve the problem of street crime without an all out attack on the problem of organized crime. I am deeply grateful to several highly trained men who gave of their time to help me write this new law.

OTHER ANTICRIME LEGISLATION

I voted for the Safe Streets Act under which new opportunities are opened for the States and cities of America to have their police receive new training and new equipment to fight crime.

Under the Defense Appropriations Act, which came out of my committee, surplus material from the Armed Forces will be made available to our local police forces.

I voted to establish criminal penalties for anyone crossing State lines to incite riots in the street.

I also voted for legislation to impose stiff penalties on those who use firearms to commit crime.

MINE FIRES AND BURNING COAL REFUSE

Two major mine fires were successfully attacked during this term of Congress. The Cedar Avenue mine fire threatened many near the city of Scranton itself; the Throop mine fire threatened the people of Dunmore, Throop, and our industrial park in Dunmore. I was able to secure the most rapid approval possible for both projects to fight these mine fires.

In Cedar Avenue, the top burning section is nearly completely cut off, and the work to isolate lower burning veins is progressing steadily. The Borough of Throop, Dunmore, and our industrial park have been saved from the fire, and there now remains the work of digging out the fire itself.

Because of the new law I wrote in my first term in Congress, those people who lost their homes or businesses because of the Cedar Avenue mine fire were paid full pre-fire value. So, too, have people whose homes or businesses were wracked by mine subsidence received full pre-subsidence value under my new law.

A major fight has been mounted to eliminate the burning coal refuse banks which deface the landscape and represent a serious health hazard. My amendment to an Appropriations Bill set aside $1.3 million to extinguish burning banks. Time should see the end of all of these burning banks, with the reclamation of the land for industrial or residential purposes.

CLEAR AIR, CLEAR WATER, AND CONSERVATION

I have consistently voted for legislation designed to attack the problems of air and water pollution in the United States. The nation has a great stake in achieving these goals, and in this Congress, I supported both the Air and Water Quality Acts.

I voted for two major conservation bills in this Congress. One ear-marked additional money for the Land and Water Conservation Fund. The other set up a Redwoods National Park.

AGRICULTURE

The farmers of our District found themselves in very difficult economic circumstances. Contributing greatly to this condition was the unchecked flow of foreign dairy products into this country. The coalition of northeastern Congressmen and Senators, which I formed here in Congress, joined with me in bringing this forcefully to the attention of the Secretary of Agriculture. He recognized the facts, and placed a ceiling on the foreign imports by administrative action. This will bear watching.

I opposed the proposed Farm Bill. In my opinion, it has not worked either for the American Farmer or the American Taxpayer.

SENIOR CITIZENS

I voted for higher Social Security and Railroad Retirement payments.

I voted for the extension of the Older Americans Act.

I have also proposed legislation to tie the payment of Social Security benefits to the cost of living index, to give our older people some protection against a spiralling cost of living.

CONSUMER PROTECTION

I voted for a series of bills designed to help the consumer, among them . . . the Wholesome Meat Act and the Wholesome Poultry Products Act to insure that meat and poultry sold in the state and in interstate commerce are safe and wholesome . . . the Flammable Fabrics Act to prevent the use of flamable material in items of clothing and household fabrics . . . the Truth-in-Lending Bill to require a disclosure of the cost of credit.

VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN

I voted for increased compensation rates for our disabled veterans, as well as for an increase in veterans' pension.

I voted to extend the eligibility for all veterans' benefits to those who serve in the Vietnam War.

Having voted for the Cold War G.I. Bill of Rights in the 89th Congress, I supported in this Congress an increase of benefits under this bill.

I voted to extend free mailing privileges to a greater number of our servicemen, and also supported a pay raise for these men in our Armed Forces.

MAJOR ADVANCES IN EDUCATION

During this Congress I supported many bills to improve the quality of our education in America—the Higher Education Amendments of 1967, to strengthen programs for the training and improvements of the qualifications of teachers; the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, to help the disabled, as well as the handicapped; the Higher Education Act Amendments to provide assistance for students faced with financial need; the Elementary and Secondary School Act, designed to strengthen and improve our elementary and secondary schools.

Because no child can learn while he is hungry, my committee wrote new guidelines for a better School Lunch Program and appropriated funds for the School Milk Program.

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ADDABBO] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, as soon as possible at the end of each Congress, I summarize the activities of the Congress for the 2-year period, reprint it from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at my expense and mail it to my constituents. This is my eighth such report.

In addition to sending a summary of the year's activities, each Congress I send to my constituents a questionnaire on the issues expected to come before the Congress. From the answers received to

the questions, from the mail received in my office, and from personal contacts in the district, I believe I learn the majority thinking of those whom I represent and, as I vote on the various legislative matters which come before us, I try to reflect the will of the people. I believe that I have been successful to a large degree.

This Congress I sent out 177,000 questionnaires and received a return of approximately 17 percent which, by any standards, is considered quite good. I am proud to say that I have an active and informed constituency. Following are the questions asked and the answers received:

[Results in percent]

1. What course of action do you favor for the U.S. in Vietnam? (Check one.)

Expand the war and seek a total victory	25.3
Persevere at current levels of fighting and bombing, until a satisfactory negotiated settlement is possible	52.1
Withdraw troops and advisors from South Vietnam	12.3

2. Do you support our policy of opposing admission of Red China to the United Nations?

Yes	62.4
No	19.7

3. Should the foreign aid program be—

Increased	0.
Decreased	37.2
Eliminated	20.4
Remain the same	39.6

4. Expanded trade with the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellite countries will probably be considered by the Congress this year. Would you agree that increased movement of nonstrategic goods will benefit the United States politically, economically, and lessen world tensions?

Yes	46.1
No	34.2

5. Should the House Committee on Un-American Activities be continued?

Yes	63.5
No	12.5

6. Should the "War on Poverty" be—

Increased	12.9
Decreased	14.6
Remain the same	41.6
Abolished	24.9

7. Do you believe our expenditures for space exploration should be—

Increased	28.2
Decreased	20.9
Remain the same	38.0

8. Do you agree that a surtax, as proposed by the President, is necessary for the economy of our nation?

Yes	29.4
No	63.1

9. Do you favor amendments to the Civil Rights Act to include—

Federal laws to prohibit racial discrimination in the sale and rental of housing as presently in New York State Law?

Yes	39.1
No	36.2

A Federal law prohibiting racial discrimination in the selection of juries in State courts?

Yes	43.6
No	24.1

You will note that many of the percentages do not total 100—the missing percent represents those who failed to answer and on which I have assumed that they have no opinion.

As of today, a few days remain in the session, but for all practical purposes the House has concluded its business and is just waiting for the Senate to catch up.

Of course, all of the hundreds of bills cannot be described, but at least the following are those of the most interest to the people of my district.

ANTICRIME AND ENFORCEMENT

Although the Constitution reserves police powers to the States and therefore severely limits the intrastate Federal legislation that can be passed, several anti-crime bills were passed dealing with the interstate aspects of crime and to help local governments to do a better job in the area that is reserved to them. They are as follows:

Public Law 90–351, the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, authorizes Federal aid to encourage State and local governments to do a better job of recruiting and training police officers, provide riot control training and secure more effective electronic equipment and nonlethal weapons. It also includes a prohibition against interstate mail-order sales of handguns except to licensed dealers, and over-the-counter sales to persons under 21. Convicted felons, the mentally incompetent, and aliens illegally in this country would be prohibited from possessing firearms. This bill also changes the laws interpreted by some recent Supreme Court decisions concerning confessions by suspects.

The National Crime Information Center was also implemented and funded with $1.4 million to provide local police officers with information within seconds from other parts of the country. Under the program, a policeman spotting a suspicious out-of-State car, for example, can determine if it has been stolen in time to take proper action.

The State firearms control assistance bill prohibits interstate mail-order sales of rifles, shotguns, and handgun ammunition to nonlicensed individuals and over-the-counter sales to persons under 18.

Public Law 90–445, the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act, authorizes Federal grants to States to assist them in developing programs to prevent juvenile delinquency and to rehabilitate delinquents.

Public Law 90–371 authorizes technical assistance to State and local governments in improving their criminal correctional systems.

The Dangerous Drug Control Act provides criminal penalties for the possession of illegally obtained stimulant, depressant, or hallucinogenic drugs, including pep pills, barbiturates and LSD, and increases penalties for illegal trafficking in drugs covered by the Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965.

Public Law 90–389, the Bank Protection Act of 1968, requires the installation, maintenance, and operation of security devices and procedures to discourage robberies and burglaries of national banks and federally chartered savings and loan institutions.

The Auto Theft Prevention Act prohibits the advertising and mailing of motor vehicle master keys except to persons with legitimate reasons for having such keys.

CONSUMER PROTECTION

Public Law 90–201, the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967: About 8.7 billion pounds of meat per year—15 percent of the slaughter and 25 percent of the processing—has not been federally inspected and much of it not inspected by any level of government. This act provides that unless the State provides inspection at least equal to Federal standards within 2 years, the meat must be federally inspected. The previous minimum Federal standards are also strengthened to prohibit mislabeling and to prevent rendering plants from selling meat from diseased and disabled animals to processors of prepared meat products. It also requires imported meat to have been slaughtered and handled under standards at least equal to our Federal standards.

Public Law 90–492, the Wholesome Poultry Products Act requires most of the 2,000 nonfederally inspected poultry processing plants to come up to Federal standards within 2 years or become subject to Federal inspection, and it provides the same protection against mislabeling and unwholesome products that is in the Meat Inspection Act.

Public Law 90–321, the Consumer Credit Protection Act, requires lenders and retail creditors to provide full disclosure of the terms and conditions of finance charges in most credit transactions.

Public Law 90–313 directs the Secretary of Transportation to conduct a study and investigation of the cost of auto insurance and the reason for delays in processing and paying claims. I was a cosponsor of this legislation.

Title XIV of Public Law 90–448, the Interstate Land Sales Full Disclosure Act, is designed to prevent fraudulent interstate sales of subdivided but undeveloped land.

Public Law 90–189 sets Federal safety standards to protect consumers in buying clothing, bedding, and other flammable fabrics which have been responsible for an estimated 3,000 deaths each year.

Public Law 90–146 creates a National Commission on Product Safety to study and recommend action to protect consumers from unsafe products for household use.

The radiation control for health and safety bill provides protection against radiation emissions from electronic products such as the new microwave ovens and color television.

VETERANS

Public Law 90–77 provides compensation, pensions, and educational benefits to veterans of Vietnam, widows, and surviving children.

Public Law 90–275 increases the income limitations which determine eligibility for the amount of veterans' disability pension. Pensioners will be able to receive more money from social security without a pension reduction.

Public Law 90–301 increases GI home loans from $7,500 to $12,500.

Public Law 90–429 increases the amount that can be loaned to community nursing homes for the care of veterans.

Public Law 90–431 allows disabled veterans to take part in vocational rehabilitation programs on a part-time basis, in order that they may work as they learn new skills.

Public Law 90–432 enables the Federal Government to increase payments to State veterans' homes to meet the rising costs for the care of former servicemen.

Public Law 90–493 provides increases in compensation for the 1.8 million veterans with service-connected disabilities.

The widows education-assistance bill makes education-assistance programs available to widows of veterans who died from a service-connected disability and to wives of veterans with a total permanent disability.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Public Law 90–274, the Jury Selection and Service Act, provides for random jury selection and precludes discrimination on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status in the selection of juries in Federal courts.

Public Law 90–284 would make it unlawful to intimidate or injure a person who is exercising such rights as voting, jury duty, school attendance, employment, or use of public facilities and accommodations. It also prohibits discrimination in the sale or rental of housing with more than four units and where the owner does not occupy any of the units.

EDUCATION

The Higher Education Act Amendments of 1968 extends the programs authorized under the National Defense Education Act, the program for college classrooms and loans and scholarships for colleges students, and loans to students to go to vocational and technical schools.

The Vocational Education Act Amendments of 1968 continues and expands the programs under the Vocational Education Act. It also consolidates several occupational training programs.

Public Law 90–35 provides for a Teacher Corps program through fiscal year 1970 to provide teachers some special training relating to problems of disadvantaged children.

Public Law 90–129, the Public Broadcasting Act, continues the authorization for Federal matching funds to help finance educational television stations and creates a new Corporation for Public Broadcasting to operate a nonprofit television network for education.

Money was also appropriated to start the program, which will include a domestic satellite, with educational programs beamed to the satellite and then received by local educational stations all over the United States. This is one way it hoped to increase the quality and reduce the per pupil cost of education.

Public Law 90–247, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1967, extends the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for 2 years. This program provides funds to local school districts to increase educational opportunities and to relieve pressure on local property taxes.

Public Law 90–538 provided for the development and implementation of preschool and early education programs for handicapped children.

HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Public Law 90–31 extends and expands the Community Mental Health Center Act passed in the last Congress.

Public Law 90–42 extends the Older Americans Act passed in the last Congress for community projects and demonstration research projects.

Public Law 90–99 extends for 2 years the authorization for Federal matching grants to States for vocational rehabilitation programs; establishes a National Center for Deaf-Blind Youths and Adults; authorizes projects for rehabilitation services for children of migratory farmworkers.

Public Law 90–170 extends for 2 years the authorization for Federal assistance in construction of centers for the mentally retarded; includes provision for 3-year program of research and training in physical education and recreation for mentally retarded children.

Public Law 90–174 amends the Public Health Service Act to authorize Federal assistance to State and local governments in planning and developing comprehensive health programs.

Public Law 90–248, the Social Security Act Amendments of 1967, provided a 13-percent across-the-board increase for all beneficiaries of the old-age survivors and disability insurance program. Minimum benefits were increased from $44 a month to $55. The amount a recipient can earn without a reduction in benefits was also increased. Additional aid for dependent children is also provided.

Public Law 90–489 establishes a National Eye Institute to conduct research for new treatment, cures, and training relating to blinding eye diseases. The Institute would also focus attention on the special health problems and other requirements of the blind.

The Public Health Service Act Amendments extend the program of regional medical centers for heart disease, stroke, cancer, and related diseases. A program for the construction and staffing of facilities for the rehabilitation of narcotics addicts and alcoholics is also authorized by the act.

Public Law 90–490, Health Manpower Act, extends for 2 years five major health programs under which health research is financed and hospitals, medical schools, student nurses, doctors, and technical personnel receive loans and assistance.

LABOR

Public Law 90–202, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, makes it unlawful to exclude applicants between 40 and 65 years of age from employment opportunities solely because of age. It also permits the employer to exclude them from their pension system in many cases and may need to be amended to avoid inequities in pension rights.

Public Law 90–391 continues Federal grants to States for training service and placement programs for disadvantaged persons as well as handicapped individuals.

The Manpower Development and Training Act Amendments extend various programs of the Manpower Development and Training Act for training persons automated out of a job or capable of being trained for a job that is available.

SMALL BUSINESS

It was my privilege and honor to be appointed by the Speaker of the House to membership on the House Select Committee on Small Business in this Congress.

I have sponsored, in the district, a crime awareness program for our small business people and a small business seminar, trying to show the small business community what facilities and services are available. I believe that small businesses are an integral and important part of our community and our economy.

Public Law 90–104 increases the authorization for the Small Business Administration's revolving fund and fixes new minimum requirements for small business investment companies.

TAXES

My vote against the 10-percent income tax surcharge was due to the fact that I believe that this was not the best way to increase Federal revenue nor the fairest. I am firmly convinced that increased revenue could more fairly be obtained through tax revision rather than through a surtax. The many tax loopholes, including oil and gas depletion allowances, should be closed. If this were done, revenue could be increased and needed revisions to benefit the lower and middle income brackets could be approved—more realistic personal exemptions, certain deductions for necessary repairs to one's personal dwelling, limited deductions for college tuitions, and full deductions for medical expenses, including prescribed drugs.

MISCELLANEOUS

Public Law 90–302 extends the school lunch program to also include children in child-care institutions from areas where poor economic conditions exist and to institutions which provide day-care service for handicapped children.

Public Law 90–222 continues the anti-poverty program until next year with maximum authorization at about the same level as last year.

LEGISLATION OF PARTICULAR LOCAL INTEREST

Public Law 90–411, which I have long fought for, authorizes the Federal Aviation Administration to set noise criteria and to certificate aircraft on the basis of noise as has been previously done on safety. It is heartening to realize that, finally, other areas of our country are becoming conscious of the aircraft noise problem as more and more jet aircraft are put into service.

Public Law 90–481, the Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act, of which I was a prime sponsor, provides for minimum Federal safety standards for gas pipelines. The gas pipeline explosion in Queens County, in the Seventh Congressional District, on January 13, 1967, prompted me to immediately introduce legislation in an attempt to avert a similar catastrophe in the future and focused attention on the great danger which exists, especially in densely populated urban areas, from the gaslines which underlie our cities.

BUDGET AND FISCAL MATTERS

Those of us who serve on the Committee on Appropriations spend considerable time studying budgets and trying to determine where cuts should be made

and the effect our actions will have upon employment and prices.

In the past I have included a table reflecting appropriations made by the Congress upon a basis of what is called the administrative budget. It is called the administrative budget because the Reorganization Act of 1946 defines what shall be in that budget. What it really has been is an itemization of the money going out compared to the money coming in to the General Treasury and also reflects the obligations incurred during the fiscal year. So when you hear that we have a deficit or surplus of a certain amount, it really does not mean what it sounds like. I am again showing this budget upon which we make appropriations or what could more accurately be called "authorized obligations" for this fiscal year, but I also am including some other tables which are needed to make a more intelligent assessment of the fiscal situation and the effect upon you.

The national income accounts budget is regarded by all economists as a better guide concerning the effect of Government financing upon prices. It includes money received and disbursed from trust fund accounts such as social security and highway construction. "Federal expenditures" are also considerably different than "Federal appropriations." For example, we will appropriate $72 billion this year to the Defense Department. Of that amount, a considerable percentage is really authorized to contract for weapons, some of which will not be delivered for 5 years nor paid for until delivery. Some of the expenditures made this year are from funds that were appropriated 4 years ago. At the beginning of this fiscal year, over $200 billion had been set aside from previous years to pay for goods that have not yet been delivered. It is the flow of expenditures that affects our economy this year more than appropriations. For example, a reduction of $12.8 billion in appropriations this year will reduce expenditures within this year by less than $5 billion. So the table showing the NIA budget lists the particular year in which the money was actually spent rather than when appropriated. The comparison of such expenditures together with receipts of all taxes taken from the economy better shows the net effect that would have upon inflation or deflation or growth in the economy. Of course, in considering these figures one must keep in mind the growth in the population and in the total national product.

"Gross national product compared to taxes" is another pertinent question quite often discussed. How much of our gross national product is collected by the Federal Government and redistributed to State and local governments and used for defense, loans, investments, welfare, and cost of administration in some measure both of Federal activity and the ability to pay for it. The total dollars during the past 15 years have ranged from 17 to 21.1 percent of the gross national product.

"Debt compared to gross national product" is also used as a measure to determine the relative ability to pay debt. Obviously those with greater income can pay a debt easier. For example, General Motors Corp. owes far more money than any other company, but they are not financially worse off because they also have greater income and ability to repay. One table also shows debt compared to gross national product and that has decreased from 62.8 percent in 1958 down to 43.0 percent last fiscal year.

Some people expound their own pet theories of gloom or glee and use whichever statistics support their preconceived conclusions. I am setting forth some of the pertinent data that we on the Appropriations Committee used in considering fiscal matters, so you can give it your own interpretation and arrive at your own opinion:

TABLE 1.—APPROPRIATION BILLS, 90TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION

	President's request	Amount appropriated	Reduction
Treasury-Post Office	$8,337,709,000	$8,158,477,000	$179,232,000
Agriculture	6,923,979,800	5,531,296,650	1,392,683,150
Independent office-HUD	16,953,717,300	13,820,395,000	3,133,322,300
Interior	1,432,342,300	1,284,989,300	147,353,000
State, Justice, Commerce, and judiciary	2,291,993,900	1,986,721,500	305,272,400
Public Works (and AEC)	4,908,657,000	4,608,421,000	300,236,000
Labor-HEW	18,101,525,000	17,464,789,500	636,735,500
Legislative	308,897,533	298,151,396	10,746,137
Transportation	1,637,032,000	1,429,266,000	207,766,000
District of Columbia (Federal funds)	176,961,000	148,755,000	28,206,000
Defense	77,074,000,000	[1] 72,063,296,500	5,010,703,500
Military construction	2,031,500,000	1,758,376,000	273,124,000
Foreign assistance	2,920,000,000	[1] 1,775,725,000	1,144,275,000
Agencies related to foreign affairs	734,911,000	[1] 723,911,000	11,000,000
Total, 1969 bills	143,833,225,833	131,052,570,846	12,780,654,987

[1] Estimated Oct. 7, 1968.

TABLE II.—GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT COMPARED TO RECEIPTS (MOSTLY TAXES) AND DEBT

[Dollar amounts in billions]

	GNP	Debt as a percent of GNP	Receipts	Percent of receipts to GNP
1953	$358.9	74.1	$69.3	19.3
1954	362.1	74.9	65.8	18.2
1955	378.6	72.5	67.2	17.7
1956	409.4	66.6	75.8	18.5
1957	431.3	62.7	80.7	18.7
1958	440.3	62.8	77.9	17.7
1959	469.1	60.7	85.4	18.2
1960	495.2	57.8	94.8	19.1
1961	506.5	57.1	95.3	18.8
1962	542.1	55.1	104.2	19.2
1963	573.4	53.4	110.2	19.2
1964	612.2	51.1	115.5	18.9
1965	653.5	48.8	120.6	18.5
1966	718.7	45.0	132.9	18.5
1967	763.1	42.8	147.6	19.3
1968	817.0	43.0	161.1	19.7

TABLE III.—NATIONAL INCOME ACCOUNTS BUDGET

[Dollar amounts in billions]

Fiscal year	Expenditures	Receipts	Surplus or deficit of receipts over expenditures	Percentage of surplus or deficit to expenditures
1953	$75.8	$69.3	−$6.5	8.6
1954	74.2	65.8	−8.5	11.5
1955	67.3	67.2	−.1	.1
1956	69.8	75.8	+6.0	8.6
1957	76.0	80.7	+4.7	6.2
1958	83.1	77.9	−5.1	6.1
1959	90.9	85.4	−5.5	6.0
1960	91.3	94.8	+3.5	3.8
1961	98.0	95.3	−2.7	2.8
1962	106.4	174.2	−2.1	2.0
1963	111.4	110.2	−1.2	1.1
1964	116.9	115.5	−1.4	1.2
1965	118.3	120.6	+2.3	1.9
1966	131.9	132.9	+.9	.7
1967	155.1	147.6	−7.5	4.8
1968 (estimate)	171.1	161.1	−10.0	5.8
1969 (estimate)	185.0	182.5	−2.5	1.4

LOCAL ISSUES

Although Public Law 90–411 has been enacted, noise and aircraft congestion at John F. Kennedy International Airport continue to be one of the most pressing problems in the Seventh Congressional District. With the ever-increasing air traffic, both commercial and private, and with the advent of the so-called superjet and the supersonic jet, it is obvious that Newark, La Guardia, and Kennedy cannot continue to serve adequately the Metropolitan New York area.

For years I have been urging the Governors of New York and New Jersey to proceed forthwith on the selection of a site and construction of a fourth jetport to serve the metropolitan area, but we are no closer than we were in 1959. On August 5, 1968, my Queens colleague, Congressman BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, and I held ad hoc hearings in New York City on this and related problems. We prepared a comprehensive report, copy of which has been sent to the civic organizations in my congressional district, dealing with the crisis we face and action which needs to be taken to meet it. We have cosponsored legislation requiring the Federal Government to acquire a site and construct a fourth jetport to serve the New York metropolitan area. We have further recommended: First, removal of the New York Port Authority from the aviation field and replacing it with a new Federal-Metropolitan Aviation Council with broad policy and operational powers; second, new restrictions on general aviation—private—planes over New York and other large cities under an "explicit" priority for airliners in the major terminals of those cities; third, compensatory facilities for general aviation at satellite airports around New York which both the airlines and private aircraft would finance jointly by users taxes; fourth, overhaul of the Nation's air traffic control system with the airlines paying the largest part of the users fees which would finance part of the equipment cost; fifth, specific legislative authority to the Civil Aeronautics Board to restrict flight schedules at certain airports to insure safety and efficiency of air operations.

With further reference to Kennedy Airport, I have fought vigorously against the suggestion that runways be constructed in Jamaica Bay to increase the capacity of the airport. I shall continue to fight this suggestion until it is "buried."

Jamaica Bay has great potential as an outstanding recreational and conservation area, and I am supporting State legislation which has been introduced to create a Jamaica Bay Commission. This commission could be used as the vehicle to coordinate the many studies and proposals advanced to make Jamaica Bay again a proper recreational and livable area. There are numerous projects and studies being conducted in which the Federal Government is involved, as follows:

First, the Public Health Service's study relative to dredging matter and its effect on shellfish;

Second, the Corps of Engineers' project relative to the collection, removal, and disposal of drift and debris;

Third, the Corps of Engineers' navigation study;

Fourth, the Corps of Engineers' flood control project entailing floodgates, dikes, and so forth, which is in the preconstruction planning stage;

Fifth, the current study by the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration to determine the effectiveness of chlorination of sewage treatment plant affluences on the bay; and

Sixth, the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration's demonstration grant for the purpose of studying the improvement in water quality which might result from the impoundment of storm water overflows, being conducted in the Spring Creek area.

ADMINISTRATIVE WORK

I continue to deem it a very great privilege and honor to have served the people of the Seventh Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives for 8 years and, if reelected, it will be my pleasure to serve them in the 91st Congress with the same diligence and attention I have heretofore given. If the people of my district approve the service I have given to them and the representation I have given to them here in Washington and at home, it will be my honor to return to the 91st Congress to continue the programs I have started, programs to alleviate the problems of the people of my district and our Nation.

Since coming to Congress, I have attempted to be available at all times to any constituent who wishes to talk with me. As time permits, I attend meetings and social functions of civic, veterans', religious, and fraternal organizations, where I can talk with the people. For the convenience of my constituents, I maintain a full-time district office and my office in Washington is always open. The addresses are, as follows: District office, 96–11 101st Avenue, Ozone Park, N.Y. 11416; Washington office, 1727 Longworth Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

PROTECTION OF THE CITIZENS BY THE GLASS-STEAGALL ACT OF 1933

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, it is fitting in the last hours of the 90th Congress to call attention once again to the Glass-Steagall Act of 1933, and to the protection it has afforded the citizens of this country for the past 35 years. Before 1933 there was no clear-cut division between commercial banking and investment banking. And economists, searching for causes of the great depression of 1929, have consistently faulted the large banks whose habit it was to confuse their fiduciary responsibilities with their day-to-day commercial welfare.

Glass-Steagall ended this unfortunate conflict. It removed commercial banks from the investment banking field and, during the succeeding decades, it remained as a strong bulwark against bank aggrandizement. Franklin D. Roosevelt called Senator Carter Glass after the 3-year fight for bank control had finally ended successfully with the Glass-Steagall Act to tell him that this was "the best banking law since the Federal Reserve System was created." And then Comptroller of the Currency J. F. T. O'Connor, said that "with the Glass-Steagall Act the United States will have "the finest financial structure it has ever had."

But, today, our large financial institutions are more and more bent on moving into the investment banking field. Their arguments sound plausible at first reading, but behind them lurks the ever-increasing danger of the pyramiding of financial control and power. Their advance into the investment banking field occurs whenever they can find an opening.

Sometimes, in fact, it takes place even in the absence of any clear opening. This was the case with S. 3497, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, which this body approved and which has now become law. There is a small section of that law, contained in section 1705(h) that the banks can now use to move into large areas of housing and university development clearly beyond the intent of Congress.

I think it is perfectly clear that this Congress did not intend to make major amendments in a financial policy of three decades by amending a minute section of S. 3497. And I have previously said that I was on the floor when S. 3497 was approved and had no idea that this apparently inoffensive language would permit the banks to make a wide end run, beyond the lines of defense that Glass-Steagall had set up in defense of public interest.

This is hardly the time or the place to analyze the development and drafting of that language. But it is the time and the place to point out clearly that it should be more fully examined on another day. That is why I have risen to make these comments, and to inform my colleagues that we should see to it that the 91st Congress, as one of its first areas of interest, takes it upon itself to examine fully the present status and significance of the Glass-Steagall Act of 1933. We cannot afford to let this remarkable piece of legislation suffer atrophy by inaction and misunderstanding. In an era when more and more attention is being paid to consumer protection, especially in the financial fields, how strange it is that this Congress can sit by and see one of the most venerable safeguards hacked into bits.

It is, therefore, my intent, early in the next Congress, to call for hearings that will fully examine this picture with a view toward shoring up protections that a wise Congress established in 1933, reaffirming them, and even strengthening them if necessary in order that the public interest can best be protected.

EXTENSION OF THE MEDICARE HOSPITAL INSURANCE PROGRAM TO THE VERY SERIOUSLY DISABLED

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, in order to provide a basis for study before the next Congress, I am introducing today legislation which would extend the medicare hospital insurance program to the very seriously disabled on the social security rolls.

It is estimated that in 1969 there are about 1.7 million persons under age 65 who will receive social security or railroad retirement benefits because they are seriously disabled. These people are usually dependent on their social security benefits to support themselves and their dependents. But in addition, they generally have high medical expenses and inadequate health insurance protection.

The House Ways and Means Committee, of which I am a member, has attempted to deal with the medical needs of America's disabled citizens in the past. The committee considered extending medicare protection to the disabled last year, but encountered difficulties with respect to the voluntary supplementary medical insurance part of the program because of the high premium rates that would have had to have been charged. The social security bill last year, therefore, provided for an advisory council to study the need of the disabled for medicare and how this protection should be financed.

Yet partial action which will be of great assistance to the disabled can be taken now. The basic hospital insurance part of medicare, which is paid for out of contributions during the working years, can be extended to the disabled immediately.

The need of the disabled social security beneficiaries for hospital insurance is clear. These persons are hospitalized more often and for longer periods of time than the aged. They generally have less insurance than the aged had before medicare, and they almost always have reduced incomes. The mechanism for providing health protection is at hand—it is the social security system, which can be readily extended to meet this need.

Although it is unlikely that there is time remaining in the 90th Congress to enact this proposed legislation, it should certainly be one of the first orders of business in the new 91st Congress.

BACKGROUND

This bill would provide the protection of medicare's hospital insurance program to the very seriously disabled persons on the social security benefit rolls. In 1969, an estimated 1.7 million persons under 65 will receive social security or railroad retirement benefits because they are seriously disabled. These people are typically dependent on their social security benefits to support themselves and their dependents. In addition, they generally have high medical expenses and inadequate health insurance protection.

You will recall that we in the Ways and Means Committee considered extending medicare protection to the disabled but we encountered difficulties with respect to the voluntary supplementary medical insurance part of the program because of the high premium rates that would have had to have been charged. The social security bill last year, therefore, provided for an advisory council to study the need of the disabled for medicare and how this protection should be financed. My bill does not attempt to solve the problem faced by the Council of finding the best way to finance medical insurance for the disabled, but there is, I submit, no need to wait to extend to them the basic hospital insurance part of the program, which is financed, like the rest of social security, by contributions during the working years.

The need of the disabled social security beneficiaries for hospital insurance is clear: they are hospitalized more often and for longer periods than the aged; they have less insurance protection than the aged had before medicare; and, like the aged, they have reduced incomes. The mechanism for providing this protection—the social security system—is at hand and can readily be extended to meet this need.

We have, in these last days of the 90th Congress, the opportunity to give these people a deserved helping hand by freeing them of the fear and financial burden of an extended hospital stay. I hope that a majority of this body will agree with me that it is right and proper for us to extend the protection of medicare's hospital insurance plan to these people.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. MOSHER (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), on account of illness.

Mr. HOLIFIELD, for October 11, 1968, on account of business in the district.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. RUMSFELD) to address the House and to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. BROWN of Ohio, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. SHRIVER, for 10 minutes, today.

Mr. SCHWENGEL, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. MCDADE, for 30 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Iowa) to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. ADDABBO, for 20 minutes, today.

Mr. GONZALEZ, for 10 minutes, today.

Mr. VANIK, for 15 minutes, today.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. BENNETT in three instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. MADDEN and to include an editorial.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin and to include tables in two instances.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. RUMSFELD) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. UTT in five instances.

Mr. QUILLEN in five instances.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania in five instances.

Mr. LATTA.

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho in five instances.

Mr. MINSHALL.

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts in four instances.

Mr. FINDLEY.

Mr. TALCOTT in five instances.

Mrs. DWYER in 10 instances.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin in two instances.

Mr. CLEVELAND in two instances.

Mr. LAIRD in five instances.

Mr. BRAY in five instances.

Mr. HORTON in four instances.

Mr. HOSMER in four instances.

Mr. MCDADE.

Mr. ROTH in five instances.

Mr. MCCLURE in five instances.

Mr. KUPFERMAN in five instances.

Mr. REINECKE in six instances.

Mr. ESCH.

Mr. ASHBROOK in four instances.

Mr. ADAIR.

Mr. RUMSFELD in six instances.

Mr. BUCHANAN in five instances.

Mr. DUNCAN in three instances.

Mr. MORTON in two instances.

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland in two instances.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio in two instances.

Mr. GOODLING.

Mr. SHRIVER in two instances.

Mr. BERRY in four instances.

Mr. GUDE in seven instances.

Mr. SCHERLE in three instances.

Mr. MIZE.

Mr. WYMAN in three instances.

Mr. DERWINSKI in two instances.

Mr. WHALEN in five instances.

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts in six instances.

Mr. RIEGLE.

Mr. WATSON.

Mr. REID of Illinois.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin in four instances and include tables.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.

Mr. MCEWEN.

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio.

Mr. CAHILL.

Mr. CRAMER in two instances.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois in five instances.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Iowa), and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. RESNICK.

Mr. STEPHENS.

Mr. FRIEDEL in two instances.

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI.

Mr. PUCINSKI in six instances.

Mr. WHITENER in six instances.

Mr. CAREY in two instances.

Mr. OTTINGER.

Mr. MOORHEAD in two instances.

Mrs. KELLY in 20 instances.

Mr. GRIFFIN in two instances.

Mr. RIVERS in five instances.

Mr. PATTEN in two instances.

Mrs. MINK in two instances.

Mr. HELSTOSKI in two instances.

Mr. WOLFF in two instances.

Mr. JOHNSON of California in two instances.

Mr. ALBERT in two instances.

Mr. RODINO in three instances.

Mr. ABERNETHY.

Mr. FOUNTAIN in two instances.

Mr. RARICK in four instances.

Mr. BINGHAM.

Mr. MARSH in two instances.

Mr. UDALL in two instances.

Mr. VANIK in eight instances.

Mr. MCCARTHY in five instances.

Mr. PERKINS in three instances.

Mr. LONG of Maryland.

Mr. CULVER.

Mr. ZABLOCKI in two instances.

Mr. COHELAN.

Mr. ROYBAL in six instances.

Mr. FLOOD in two instances.

Mr. GONZALEZ in three instances.

Mr. WRIGHT in two instances.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee in two instances.

Mr. DADDARIO.

Mr. DENT in five instances.

Mr. BOLAND in two instances.

Mr. BRASCO in two instances.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania.

Mr. KASTENMEIER in four instances.

Mr. IRWIN in three instances.

Mr. STRATTON in three instances.

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico in three instances.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida in five instances.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD.

Mr. BOGGS in six instances.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa in three instances.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois in three instances.

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois.

Mr. RANDALL in two instances.

Mr. JACOBS in three instances.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED

Bills of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 2584. An act for the relief of Ludger J. Cossette; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2721. An act to amend section 2 of the act of February 11, 1903, relating to appeals in certain antitrust actions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 3289. An act for the relief of Dr. Francisco A. Aviles; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 3373. An act for the relief of Dr. Andres Raul Fernandez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 3440. An act for the relief of Dr. Pedro Sarduy Brito (Pedro S. Sarduy); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 3464. An act for the relief of Dr. Kenneth Siu; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. FRIEDEL, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 18707. An act making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. FRIEDEL, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 653. An act to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on certain nonmalleable iron castings, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2263. An act for the relief of Henry E. Bullock;

H.R. 2282. An act for the relief of certain employees of the Naval Weapons Center, Concord, Calif.;

H.R. 3865. An act for the relief of Mauritz A. Sterner;

H.R. 5677. An act for the relief of Robert L. Miller and Mildred M. Miller;

H.R. 7417. An act to prescribe administrative procedures for the District of Columbia government;

H.R. 7735. An act to continue for 3 years the existing suspension of duties on certain alumina and bauxite, and for other purposes;

H.R. 14096. An act to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to increase the penalties for unlawful acts involving lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD) and other depressant and stimulant drugs, and for other purposes;

H.R. 17324. An act to extend and amend the Renegotiation Act of 1951, and for other purposes;

H.R. 17735. An act to amend title 18, United States Code, to provide for better control of the interstate traffic in firearms; and

H.R. 18248. An act to amend the act of August 9, 1955, relating to certain common carrier operations in the District of Columbia.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 6 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until Monday, October 14, 1968, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2271. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a report on records proposed for disposal, pursuant to the provisions of 57 Stat. 380, 59 Stat. 434, and 63 Stat. 377; to the Committee on House Administration.

2272. A letter from the Acting Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting a report of claims settled under the Military Personnel and Civilian Employees' Claims Act of 1964 for the fiscal year 1968, pursuant to the provisions of section 3(e) of the act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee of Conference. S. 944. An act relating to the establishment of parking facilities in the District of Columbia (Rept. No. 1974). Ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

Mr. PEPPER introduced a bill (H.R. 20577), to amend the Social Security Act to increase OASDI benefits and raise the earnings base, with subsequent adjustments as the cost of living rises, to increase widows' and widowers' benefits, and to liberalize eligibility for disability benefits; to make disabled beneficiaries eligible for medicare without regard to age, to finance the medical insurance program entirely from general revenues, and to cover prescription drugs; and to provide for a study of child health care, which was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

CHROMITE

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, on July 31, 1968, I expressed my concern in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pages 24564 and 24565, that the United States may be becoming overly dependent on the Soviet Union for its supply of chromite ore. I have since received further information that makes the situation appear even more dangerous.

The U.S.S.R. supplies more than one-half of the U.S. imports of chromite ore. Imports from the U.S.S.R. are to "increase significantly" in 1968 according to the U.S. Department of State. As the United States produces no chromite ore of its own, the United States is totally dependent on imports and its stockpile for its needs. The stockpile situation will be covered more extensively later.

Through 1965, Rhodesia was the main source of U.S. chromite imports although the U.S.S.R. was already an important supplier. Each country provided over 40 percent of the U.S. supply of chromite ore. Since the imposition of sanctions against Rhodesia in January 1967 the U.S.S.R. has become the single largest supplier—with the United States importing more chrome ore each year from the U.S.S.R.

There are several questions these facts raise:

First. If we refuse to buy chromite from Rhodesia for political reasons, what about the U.S.S.R.?

Is Rhodesia a greater "threat to the peace" than the U.S.S.R.? Why are we increasing trade with and our dependence on the invader of Czechoslovakia and still refusing to trade with Rhodesia which threatens no other country?

Is it in our "overall national interest," as the State Department has told me, to not import chromite ore from Rhodesia and to increase imports from the U.S.S.R.? Why are we increasing our single-source dependence on the U.S.S.R.? Is this really in our national interest?

Second. What about price and assured supply?

Although the U.S.S.R. has stated it will make 450,000 to 475,000 tons of chromite ore available to the United States next year, there is no assurance that the U.S.S.R. will supply any ore. Also the price the ore will sell at is also unknown.

If the U.S.S.R. should decide not to supply the United States, the United States would lose its only remaining source of high-quality chrome ore necessary for making charged chrome for stainless steel. Without chrome ore from the U.S.S.R. or Rhodesia, stainless steel cannot be made in any quantity. And 70 to 73 percent of chromite ore imported is used for stainless steel.

Obviously the United States needs chrome to make stainless steel. The State Department assures domestic users of assured supplies and says their needs will be met. But what is the definition of "need"? One domestic user ran out temporarily a few weeks ago. Evidently even zero availability does not constitute need in the eyes of the State Department.

As to price, without Rhodesian competition the U.S.S.R. is able to raise prices with impunity. Prior to 1967, chrome ore sold for about $32 a ton. It is now about $42 a ton, and 1968 U.S.S.R. prices are predicted at around $45. This, of course, makes all goods using chrome in them more expensive.

I thought the administration was concerned about inflation and rising prices and the balance of payments, but evidently not in this case. By putting ourselves into single source dependence on the U.S.S.R., we are putting prices exclusively in the hands of the Soviets.

Russian chromite ore is being sold at premiums today and prices for the future are forecasted in excess of what they would normally command were the ore in competition with Rhodesian ore in a free market. Prices, in the absence of competition, will only go up.

The United States is now dependent for high grade chrome ore on the U.S.S.R. at a price $7 to $10 a ton in excess of what the Rhodesian equivalent would be.

Third. Cannot other countries other than the U.S.S.R. and Rhodesia supply the chromite ore the United States needs?

Other countries do produce chromite ore. Among them are Turkey, Iran, and India. However, they do not produce the quantity needed by the United States and their ore is of poorer quality. Ore

from these countries has a lower chrome content. As previously stated, only ore from Rhodesia and the U.S.S.R. is of high enough quality to make the charged chrome necessary for stainless steel. Only Rhodesia and the U.S.S.R. can accommodate the needs of the principal consuming nations for high grade chromite ore.

Although these other countries are attempting to increase production, neither quantity nor quality will be sufficient to meet U.S. needs.

Fourth. Does the United States have a sufficient stockpile of chromite ore available to meet needs without having to rely on the U.S.S.R.? The Office of Emergency Planning—OEP—maintains two stockpiles—a national stockpile and a supplemental stockpile.

U.S. Government inventory

[In net tons]

NATIONAL STOCKPILE	
Chrome Ore:	
High grade	2,373,000
Medium grade	777,000
Low grade	---
Total	3,150,000
Ferroalloy: 285,000 tons (ore equivalent)	600,000
SUPPLEMENTAL STOCKPILE	
Chrome Ore:	
High grade	---
Medium grade	---
Low grade	1,295,000
Total	1,295,000
Ferroalloy: 491,000 tons (ore equivalent)	1,100,000

The 1,295,000 tons of low-grade ore in the supplemental stockpile is available for purchase, but being low grade is not too desirable to potential users.

The national stockpile represents the reserve fleet necessary to maintain by the Government. Therefore it is not currently for sale.

One proposal advanced since the sanctions against Rhodesia is to transfer the 491,000 tons of ferroalloy in the supplemental stockpile to the national stockpile thus releasing the ore equivalent of 1,100,000 tons of chromite ore from the national stockpile—491,000 tons of ferroalloy is equivalent to 1,100,000 tons of ore. This proposal has been blocked by the State Department which says there is no need for this additional ore. But if domestic users cannot obtain access to this additional stockpile ore, they will have to buy more Russian ore which hurts the U.S. balance of payments.

The question is whether the United States will release chromite ore from the national stockpile to meet domestic demand. The State Department assures U.S. users that their needs will be met but still currently forces U.S. users to buy ore from the U.S.S.R. The U.S.S.R. remains the single supplier in the world of high grade chromite ore for the United States.

Fifth. What about U.S. mining interests in Rhodesia and the U.S. Government action's effect on them?

Two U.S. companies have extensive chrome mine interests in Rhodesia. They are no longer permitted to export their production to the United States because of the economic sanctions imposed against Rhodesia. Both companies made application to the U.S. Government to bring in ore which had been mined prior to imposition of sanctions. Although the Treasury Department was agreeable, this effort was killed by the State Department.

The United States actually did import 100,000 tons of Rhodesian chromite ore in 1967, after the imposition of sanctions. This ore had been stored in Mozambique prior to sanctions. However, another 150,000 tons of ore mined prior to sanctions, but stored in Rhodesia, is not allowed to come into the United States. This ore has already been paid for and its effect on the balance of payments has already occurred. This is the ore that Treasury is agreeable to letting into the country but which the State Department refuses to let in.

At least one of the U.S.-owned mines has been in Rhodesia for over 40 years. Inventory is now piling up and very little ore is going out. Economic distress for these companies is obviously apparent.

Sixth. Where is the chromite ore really coming from?

Earlier this year various reports raised the possibility that chromite ore imports from the U.S.S.R. were really Rhodesian ore but transshipped through the U.S.S.R.

The Treasury Department has reported to me that it has checked South African and Mozambique shipments of chromite ore to the United States and that none of it was Rhodesian ore. This seems a bit odd as Mozambique has no chromite ore mines of its own and all ore shipped in the past from Mozambique has been Rhodesian ore.

The Treasury has never analyzed U.S.S.R. chromite shipments to determine their origin as they "have not had reason to believe that such a procedure was necessary" for U.S.S.R. ore.

As a result of my inquiries the Treasury sent a circular to customs officials at U.S. ports on August 19 asking them to obtain samples of chromite shipments from the U.S.S.R. for the purpose of analysis to determine their true origin. However, according to the Treasury, no shipments of chromite ore have arrived in the United States since that date, therefore no analysis could be made. When shipments do arrive, samples are to be sent to the customs laboratory in Baltimore to identify by chemical analysis their true origin.

But can chemical analysis definitely determine the origin of chromite ore?

The Treasury Department says "yes," that the chrome-iron ratio can determine origin. Industry sources, however, have told me that although Rhodesian ore can be distinguished from low-quality ore of certain countries, there is no way to identify a Rhodesian-U.S.S.R. mixture of ore. Moreover, there is no way to prove whether ferroalloy imports from various countries were or were not made from Rhodesian chromite ore.

SUMMARY

Thus we have a number of issues that must be carefully considered.

First. The United States is growing more and more dependent on the U.S.S.R. for its supply of chrome ore. Is this in our best national interest?

Second. The United States refuses to buy chromite ore from Rhodesia for political reasons, but does buy from the U.S.S.R., the invader of Czechoslovakia. Does this make sense?

Third. Supply availability of chrome ore and price are now exclusively in the hands of the U.S.S.R. Does this give the United States real assurance as to future availability of ore? Do we really profit from paying higher prices for the ore than we would in the absence of competition?

Fourth. Are U.S. stockpiles of chromite adequate to meet future needs? If the U.S.S.R. stopped supplying the United States then the stockpile would be our only last resort.

Fifth. Is it equitable to penalize U.S. companies for wishing to operate overseas mines and to sell ore to the United States cheaper than the U.S.S.R. will?

Sixth. Where is chromite ore the United States buys really coming from?

I think these are serious questions that should be answered. They are the type of questions that would not have to be raised if politics did not interfere with international trade. Political preferences should not be allowed to change flows of U.S. trade, particularly when they could place this country in a very dangerous situation. The only reasonable policy is to buy products we need where we can get the best quality and the best price.

A PRESIDENTIAL CLASSROOM FOR YOUNG AMERICANS—A PROGRAM TO BROADEN KNOWLEDGE OF OUR GOVERNMENT

HON. WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, at a time when a number of the Nation's young people are disposed to be intolerant of our institutions of government, it is a pleasure to take note of any effort to buttress faith in and knowledge of our governmental processes.

I, therefore, wish to take this opportunity to commend an organization named, "A Presidential Classroom for Young Americans, Inc.," which aspires to accomplish the following:

To give American high school seniors an opportunity for in-depth study of the intricacies of the United States Government at Washington, D.C.; to enlighten these seniors, through personal involvement, by showing them what the Government is doing in various fields; to encourage dedication to and understanding of the American system, which all too often seems remote, bureaucratic and inaccessible to today's young people.

This nonpartisan, nonprofit organization intends to bring high school students to Washington in groups not to exceed 350 to observe for 1 week the operations of our Government. Every American high school, public and private, will be invited to participate. It is appropriate that the first class is scheduled to arrive on Washington's birthday, February 22, 1969.

The tentative program includes a variety of activities which will acquaint

students with every facet of the Government, and hopefully will broaden their understanding of the Nation's problems.

The board of directors of A Presidential Classroom for Young Americans includes Charles G. Allison, president of the Heritage Cavaliers Corp.; Jack R. Jones, president of the George H. Rucker Realty Corp.; John R. Sims, a partner in the law firm of Sims, Shiffman & Miniberg; John Golden, director of the Stanford Research Institute, and N. Sidney Nyhus, chairman of the board of Travel Consultants, Inc.

Mr. President, the tentative weekly program of A Presidential Classroom for Young Americans will be of interest to every Member of the Senate, and I ask unanimous consent that it be inserted in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the tentative program was ordered to be printed in the Extensions of Remarks, as follows:

A PRESIDENTIAL CLASSROOM FOR YOUNG AMERICANS

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

Saturday

All students arrive by 4 p.m.; welcome and orientation; dinner; evening seminar—preparation for next day.

Sunday

Breakfast; introduction to Washington—A survey of major governmental areas of operation in Washington; lunch stop; dinner; evening seminar—Film "Journey to Greatness"; review of the day's activities; introduction to next day's subject; informal hour.

Monday

Breakfast: the legislative government; visit to the individual Congressman's office; visit to various congressional committee hearings; lunch—House of Representatives Cafeteria; lecture—Senate Caucus Room—"Legislation and How it Works"; visit to House and Senate visitors galleries; dinner; evening seminar—Film "Congress and the Passing of Bills"; review of the day's activities; introduction of the next day's subject; informal hour.

Tuesday

Breakfast; the executive government; White House congressional tour; visit to Cabinet-level offices; Department of Justice; Department of the Treasury; Bureau of Engraving and Printing; Federal Triangle area.

Lunch; lecture—Department of State auditorium—"The State Department at Work"; dinner; evening seminar—Split classes (two guest speakers; one from the women's press corps and one from the men's press corps)—Subject "Areas of National News and How They Are Handled"; review of the day's activities; introduction to next day's subject; informal hour.

Wednesday

Breakfast; The establishments—The military, the Diplomatic Corps and the Fourth Estate; Excursion trips to Fort McNair (War College), Fort Myer and the Pentagon; Lunch; Choice of: Visit to a foreign embassy; visit to a major newspaper; visit to a major television news program.

Dinner; Evening seminar—Guest speaker (an Ambassador) Subject "Relations with a Foreign Country"; Informal hour.

Thursday

Breakfast; The judicial—Supreme Court; Special speaker—"The Law and the Courts"; Lunch; Visit to Peace Corps Lecture Hall—"What the Government is Doing with its Young People"; Evening seminar: Total review of week's programs; Informal hour.

Friday

Breakfast; National Student Body Test—all students; Lunch; Afternoon—free; Graduation banquet—major guest speaker—diplomas; Entertainment.

Saturday

Breakfast; Class dismissed.

CAMPAIGN AID SERVICE FOR SALE

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, if true democracy is to live up to its full potential, every citizen has an obligation to elect to public office those men who are most qualified to serve and most capable to lead.

Unfortunately this ideal is often submerged beneath the harsh realities of politics. The harshest reality of all is the high cost of political campaigns which too often denies the most capable people an opportunity to serve because they cannot afford the cost of running for public office. As a consequence, any activity which helps reduce the cost of campaigning or which makes every campaigning dollar more efficient is not merely a service to the candidate or his party but is, in fact, a service to the country.

In this connection I insert into the RECORD, under unanimous consent, several reprints of newspaper articles describing the activities of an organization known as Campaign Communications, Inc., a unique company which attempts to streamline the political campaign process and provide the candidate with timesaving as well as moneysaving advantages. I have personally familiarized myself with the unique services of this company during my most recent political campaign, and I think that other candidates, present and future—particularly those on low budgets—might benefit by interesting themselves in services such as this which attempt to apply business principles and techniques to political campaigns.

The articles follow:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Mar. 28, 1968]

CAMPAIGN AID SERVICE FOR SALE

(By David Holmstrom)

NEW YORK.—History could come to look upon Murray Roman with an affectionate eye. Maybe not this year, but within a few years he could become to political campaigning what Eli Whitney was to cotton.

It was the high cost of political campaigning that got him started.

"In 1964," explains Mr. Roman, a communications consultant, "the cost of the presidential campaign for each major party was about $15 million. For a senator from a large state it could have been anywhere from $750,000 to $2 million. For a Congressman from an urban district it could have been $35,000 to $250,000. This year it will be even greater."

What struck Mr. Roman was that a candidate—all the way down to the novice running for city council—had no one source to go to for his campaign needs.

So Mr. Roman organized the Campaign Communications Institute of America, Inc. (CCI), and compiled a complete single-source catalogue of creative materials, equipment, and techniques to help a candidate win an election—and do it more economically and efficiently than in the past.

CATALOG CIRCULATED

"A candidate suddenly gets into politics," said the energetic Mr. Roman, who has been organizing volunteers and fund raising for the past 25 years, "and he doesn't know how to get his message to the voters. It's a frantic, hectic business."

Last month Mr. Roman sent his catalogue to candidates around the country. It lists more than 300 specialized services and products offered by companies throughout the United States and by CCI in New York. Many of the items are new to political campaigning.

"If a candidate's credit is good, he could even finance his campaign by credit card," said Mr. Roman, smiling and pointing to a page in the catalogue that says, "Charge it . . . a historic first."

While other pages tell a candidate where to get the "usual billboards, balloons, and baloney," as Mr. Roman puts it, the value of the catalogue "is as good as the candidate's imagination."

PORTABLE DEVICES

A candidate in Texas, said Mr. Roman, was enthusiastic about a pocket projector (portable) capable of projecting a huge picture of a candidate on a wall. "For only $39.95 he could see his picture on the wall of the [Houston] Astrodome," explained Mr. Roman.

Under a section on "How to Use Volunteers Effectively" the catalogue offers an aid for door-to-door canvassing—a portable tape recorder with a handful of cartridges to be inserted so the prerecorded candidate can speak for himself on civil rights, taxes, Vietnam, or whatever issue the voter might want. Or the volunteer could insert a cartridge of an endorsement by a party leader.

Other communications devices include a self-contained automatic 8-mm. sound projector to be used in homes or meetings; recorded messages for telephoning; flexible records for giveaways; life-sized cutouts of a candidate for store windows or lobbies; and CCI can arrange a closed-circuit TV program for a candidate who wants to reach everybody in a large apartment building.

"What we are saying to the candidate," said Mr. Roman, "is that here are ways to extend yourself to all the voters. If the devices are used efficiently it will cost him less. In short, we're telling him to put his dollars where the votes are."

Under a section on "Nationwide Services to Help You Win," Mr. Roman has compiled, among others, the following sources for a candidate to use: a course in practical politics through the United States Chamber of Commerce, organization to advise and direct a campaign from start to victory, campaign research through political polling, extensive Western Union campaign services, where to get campaign letters produced by computers, and a voter-profile analysis for any district in the United States. Telephone campaigns can be conducted that not only inform on issues but also poll and survey.

TELEPHONE SPECIALIST

As a specialist in telephone marketing, Mr. Roman has conducted telephone campaigns for the Ford Motor Company, United Air Lines, Standard Oil, and others. He applies the same methods to political campaigning.

In 1964 he set up a telephone "volunteer-recruiting" program for the Democratic and Republican National Committees. "The first tests showed so decisively that President Johnson was unbeatable" that the Democratic committee saw no need to continue the program. And a similar program in Illinois showed that Sen. Barry Goldwater had

little chance of winning because "less than 1 percent of the Republicans were willing to work for him."

Through his contacts built up over the years in cities across the United States Mr. Roman can almost overnight muster a small army of telephone canvassers (shut-ins, students, blind people, actors out of work) who can survey or "get out the vote" for a candidate in a saturation method.

"If a candidate realized the cost efficiency he could achieve with a telephone method that concentrates on just those voters who are favorable to him," said Mr. Roman, "he wouldn't waste his time and money trying to reach voters who are opposed to his candidacy, who will not vote, or who do not even live in his area."

In 1967 New Jersey Republicans used his techniques in their statewide legislative upset victories. In another telephone campaign his team reached 50,000 voters on election day, urging support for an incumbent congressional candidate who won by an upset landslide.

[From the New York Times, June 20, 1968]

ADVERTISING: LOLLIPOPS FOR THE POLITICIANS

(By Philip H. Dougherty)

"We've proved that candidates can use the techniques of business to win elections," said Murray Roman. "We've become involved in the business of elections."

Murray Roman is the creator of the Campaign Communications Institute of America and in a big room near his office on the seventh floor of 52 Vanderbilt Avenue on the eve of primary day his people were busy on the phones for clients.

The way he explained it, with his wife, Eva, by his side, was that "it's not much different than communication between industry and prospect. You take an area and find out where a candidate is likely to get votes, then you concentrate on the most likely voters." He was able to do this, he explained, with the help of the massive computer and mail list facilities of the Reuben H. Donnelley Corporation.

Few mousetrap inventors, no matter how good their product, have collected as much publicity as Mr. Roman when he announced to an unsuspecting world that he had prepared a catalogue of all the goods and services needed by an eager office seeker. Buttons, balloons and lollipops; bull horns, projectors and tape players; car rental through Hertz, Telex through Western Union—all these things and many more are in handy catalogue and all chargeable on a friendly American Express credit card.

Well, the very thought of 5,000 of these booklets in the hands of politicians, fired the imagination of many an editor. And, Mr. Roman keeps close by a pile of reprints from Newsweek, The Christian Science Monitor and The Washington Evening Star as well as a collage of other blurbs in a mailer whose cover picture catches Mr. Roman with Edwin L. Newman, the news man, on an N.B.C. network special.

"The publicity has been the key to success," he explained, "it's gone crazy." As of this point, he figures, C.C.I. has done better than $500,000 in sales.

Asked if any of his organization's activities would sort of cut in on the work of a candidate's ad agency, Mr. Roman noted, "I could tell you any number of guys who have shopped and shopped for agencies and couldn't get one."

His work is not toward creating an image for a man. "I'm not interested in that," he said, "I'm talking about making him more effective as what he is."

Mr. Roman went through the catalogue pointing out the fast-moving items. There was the $39.95 pocket slide projector, and the $19.95 Telo/Play tape player that allows a candidate's voice to go anywhere. It has a phone hook-up so that it can be used by telephone canvassers.

"My husband is a very creative person," interjected Mrs. Roman. "What he doesn't invent, he adapts."

[From the Cincinnati (Ohio) Enquirer, May 27, 1968]

A CREDITABLE GIMMICK

Something new on the political scene this year is a four-color catalogue, put out by a marketing firm called Campaign Communications Institute of America, Inc., from which a candidate can choose almost any sort of gimmickry needed to get his name and campaign before the public.

Well suited for the campaigner on a low budget, the catalogue offers the routine bumper stickers, buttons, matchbooks and posters. But CCI also offers a $19.95 tape recorder that enables the candidate to get his message into voters' homes over the telephone; rental cars with bullhorn sound systems; a $39.95 portable projector that can flash slides, pictures, slogans and what-have-you.

For the candidate with more affluent backing, there are telephone campaigns at 1½ cents a call, state-wide polls and campaigns by Western Union wire.

Murray Roman, who started CCI in his apartment with the help of his wife, now has a 10-man staff and the possibility of grossing $5 million this year. "Our job" he says, "is to enable the low-budget candidates to get the most votes for his bucks."

You have to give a lot of credit to Mr. Roman for his enterprise in dreaming up something new in this weird election year.

And credit should go, too, to the candidates who have the foresight to stock up on some of the items that CCI offers.

But someone already has taken care of that. A candidate may order any of CCI's catalogued items and services with his American Express credit card.

A PERSPECTIVE ON AMERICA'S ILLS—A CORRESPONDENT-EXPATRIATE COMES BACK TO FRANKLIN, IND.

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, in this political year, a year of cataclysm, violence, and uncertainty, the ills of this great Nation—and they are many—tend to convey a message and an impression that belies and denies the conscience, compassion, and adaptability of the redoubtable American spirit. George Melloan, a roving correspondent returning home to Franklin, Ind., after 2 years in the Middle East, Europe, and Africa, has captured the sense of America's current inner turmoil with perspective and insight. Perhaps only a journalist preoccupied for an extended period in other parts of the world can truly comprehend and give explanation to our current domestic problems. Writing in the Wall Street Journal of Tuesday, October 8, Mr. Melloan observes:

In many ways the present climate of soul-searching and self-doubt looks healthier and more in keeping with the country's finest traditions than the smug self-content that seemed so evident two years ago.

Mr. Melloan wisely notes:

Whatever the country's problems might be, they are problems brought on by ambitions, not a lack of them. And although the attempts to fulfill these ambitions may be fraught with trouble, the degree to which they are succeeding is impressive to someone who has been away awhile.

Mr. Melloan finds that people in this country—the people in the countryside of rural Indiana—are responding, are doing, are participating, each with a feeling that he is doing something socially important. Mr. Melloan finds parallel between the call for social and racial justice today and the call for economic justice that characterized the blue-collar labor movement of the 1930's. Potentially explosive in both instances, he foresees that Americans are capable of adaptability and have a genuine willingness to respond and correct social injustice.

Finally, Mr. Melloan finds that in comparing the health of the United States with, say Europe, the difference is that the people in Franklin, Ind., appear to be "participating." The serious-minded, responsible adults among the participants in the French strikes this spring sought, according to Mr. Melloan, just this type of American-type "participatory involvement" from an autocratic government insensitive to such involvement.

Melloan notes that the price of participation is high. He cites meeting an expatriate American housewife in Rome who was rather grateful for the fact that "no one—in Rome—ever asks me to do anything." But most Americans are willing to pay the price in energy and time, Melloan finds, and the price of not participating, he cogently observes in viewing the rigid, unresponsive power structures of some European countries, is much higher than the price of participation.

Mr. Melloan's article is insightful and tempering in these troubled times. I commend it to Senators and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

IS THIS COUNTRY REALLY IN A MESS?

(By George Melloan)

FRANKLIN, IND.—Here in this abundant-looking countryside where the corn is tall and the autumn sun beats down, the rural charm is likely to be shattered by a discordant note.

The middle-aged man sitting in a green yard beside a comfortable house says in a troubled voice, "This country is in a hell of a mess."

The words sum up a mood that can be found all around the American landscape, in its cities, its rich suburbs or its small towns, in the introspective period that precedes a Presidential election.

But is the country really in a mess? To a roving correspondent, returning home after two years of preoccupation with the troubles of Europe, the Middle East and Africa, this country's condition seems far less disturbing than it looks, apparently, to many of the home folks and to critics of the U.S. abroad.

America's deep problems with an unpopular war abroad an insurrection of sorts at home and a pervasive climate of violence hardly need reviewing. They are analyzed just as endlessly in Pietro's Trattoria in Rome or the Lord Nelson pub in London as they are in Short's tavern here in Franklin.

But what do these problems really signify? Do they mean that American society is gripped with a sickness that must inevitably

lead it to ruin? For this expatriate, who has seldom been accused of chauvinism, the answer would be no. In many ways the present climate of soul-searching and self-doubt looks healthier and more in keeping with the country's finest traditions than the smug self-content that seemed so evident two years ago.

Analyses of the American conditions frequently overlook some fundamentals that come into sharper focus, perhaps, for a returnee. One is that whatever the country's problems might be, they are problems brought on by ambitions, not a lack of them. And although the attempts to fulfill these ambitions may be fraught with trouble, the degree to which they are succeeding is impressive to someone who has been away awhile.

Perhaps the most impressive are the attempts to introduce greater racial and social justice into the life of the U.S. Here in Franklin, three old friends, as it happens, work in cities, doing personnel work for sizable companies. What are they up to these days? All three, it turns out, are engaged in all-out efforts, directed by top management, to find places for Negroes in their companies, particularly Negroes who are unskilled. In the descriptions of their problems and frustrations in these efforts, one also senses an enthusiasm that perhaps stems from a feeling that they are doing something socially important. All three are optimistic that in responding to black grievances in this way they are contributing to a better social and economic order.

One suspects from this that the country has not lost its capacity for adaptation, for responding to the important grievances of citizens in a way that will prevent those grievances from tearing the country apart. To be sure, one sage elder hereabouts argues that accommodation to revolutionary movements may feed rather than dampen their ardor, but even he admits that he favors accommodation where a real question of social justice is involved. And he observes himself that the country was indeed successful in meeting the demands and needs of the blue collar labor movement that were potentially explosive in the 1930s.

All of this suggests a point of some importance to someone who compares the health of the U.S., with, say, Europe. The people of Franklin appear to be participating.

The participation is both psychological and physical. It may involve mere reflection on who should be President. It may involve leading a PTA fight for a new junior high school. It may involve raising money for the United Fund. It may involve leading a strike. It may also involve anti-social behavior, of course, such as burning down a building in Detroit.

While the scope of this activity is commonplace to Americans it is not almost anywhere else. The serious-minded, responsible adults among those who participated in the French strikes this spring want a larger role in the society they are part of and less dictation from a paternalistic government in Paris.

There is a price to be paid for the ability to participate and enjoy some power in the shaping of institutions and events. One recalls an expatriate American housewife in Rome who was rather grateful for the fact that "no one here ever asks me to do anything." The price of participation, obviously, is a considerable expenditure of time and energy and it appears that most Americans still are willing to pay it. The price of not participating is higher, one suspects, when one views the rigid and unresponsive power structures of some European countries.

A Frenchman, Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber, believes that it is this broad diffusion of power and initiative that is the inner source of America's great ability to create wealth. Perhaps the most striking feature of the country to a returnee is its enormous wealth. A factory worker friend relaxes after a hard day's work in his $30,000 home, which has color TV and two cars outside, and discusses a European trip for his daughter.

With its wealth the country has been accused of materialism, and there is no doubt some truth to the charge. But a materialistic psychology is by no means unique to America. One recalls the Intourist girl guide in Moscow who yearned for "pretty things" in a culture that is essentially drab and repressive.

The broad middle class wealth of America has benefits beyond the mere materialistic. It frees people to think less about their own condition and more about the human condition of those around them in a world that has become a village. The charming white-haired schoolteacher who stops for a chat here in Franklin has just returned from a Peace Corps stint in Peru. She brims with satisfaction in the feeling that she may have been of some help to an Indian village.

If all this seems to neglect the preoccupying problems of the country—race riots, youth rebellion, crime, war—it is done deliberately. These are questions for another time and place. The main message that Franklin conveys to this visitor is that there still is more right with the country than wrong with it and that whatever its troubles might be, it has a problem-solving capacity to be found in few other places on earth.

As long as it keeps this capacity, doesn't sink into cynicism and doesn't lose sight of its real values, one has the feeling that things will get better.

INFLATION: A SYMPTOM OF WHAT AILS AMERICA—ADDRESS BY GEORGE CHAMPION

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by George Champion, chairman of the board of the Chase Manhattan Bank, at the American Mining Congress, in Las Vegas, Nev., October 7, 1968.

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

INFLATION: A SYMPTOM OF WHAT AILS AMERICA

As much as I appreciate the opportunity of appearing before your fine group, I should tell you in all candor that several of my associates had reservations about my coming to Las Vegas.

Some feared I might run into Howard Hughes and find him in a mood to buy out the Chase bank!

Others suspected that if I were given any leisure time, the bank's assets might wind up on the roulette table!

Finally, though, we compromised. My associates agreed to the trip, provided I didn't stray too far from the mining industry's "friend at Chase Manhattan," George Kruger!

Now I know how Frank Sinatra must feel walking around The Strip here with his bodyguard!

None of us, I'm sure, can look with indifference on the signs of social unrest and upheaval so much in evidence in our country today. As concerned citizens, all of us are groping for answers to the insistent question: "What's wrong with America?"

For anyone to pretend he has all the answers to this puzzling query would be a foolhardy exercise indeed. But I'd like to suggest that in reaching for answers, we should thoughtfully assess the economic aspects of the problem because I believe they contain clues that can help us see the whole more clearly.

Historically, a nation's problems are frequently mirrored in the economic and financial area and such surely is the case today. Among the manifestations of our national malaise are widespread pockets of poverty amid plenty, continuing balance-of-payments deficits, loss of gold, substantial federal budget deficits, high interest rates, seemingly endless tax increases.

All these reflect the gap between our soaring aspirations as a nation and our vast but hardly unlimited capacity for accomplishment. Our failure to make the difficult choices required to balance the demands on our economy with our available resources has led, inevitably, to inflation. And inflation, in my view, underlies and symbolizes many of the fundamental problems that beset us. It also concerns you and me, directly and intimately, as businessmen, as consumers and as citizens.

So I think it is worth considering briefly how much inflation we have these days, what's so bad about it, and what if anything can be done about it.

When you talk about how much inflation we have, almost everyone can counter with a favorite example. To some of you, inflation may be a $95-a-day hotel room here on The Strip; to others, a dollar bill that has shrunk to 56 cents in purchasing power since 1946; to housewives, a market basket in which lamb chops cost 5 to 10 cents a pound more than a year ago, and most other food items are up that much or more; to parents, a bill for college tuition, room and board running up to $4,000.

These sharply rising costs are a relatively recent phenomenon. From 1958 to 1964, the American economy followed a fairly stable growth pattern. Inflation amounted to less than 1½ per cent a year. In mid-1965, however, the combined stimulus of public and private demand for goods and services began to overload the economic system.

The cost-of-living moved up 3 per cent in 1966, another 3 per cent last year, and indications are that the rise will exceed 4 per cent this year, the highest since the Korean War. In New York City, the cost of the most common items in a typical family budget has increased 5 per cent over the past twelve months.

Now 5 per cent inflation may strike you, at first glance, as a modest figure but that is far from the fact. A 5 per cent price rise every year would amount to almost 65 per cent on a compounded basis over the next decade. That's far more than a nation can afford and still remain economically strong.

Well, say some people, when you get right down to it, what's so bad about a little inflation?

Let me tell you what's "bad" about it—socially, psychologically, politically, and—most important—morally.

From a social standpoint, inflation is a particularly vicious and discriminatory form of taxation. It falls most heavily on those who, in good faith, have put their money into Government bonds and other savings instruments, and those who depend for a living on pensions or Social Security. As one commentator put it, "inflation makes suckers out of the thrifty." To the extent that food prices are affected, it hits low-income families especially hard. The intolerable suffering of the working man in Germany during that country's super-inflation is still not forgotten.

Psychologically, inflation is "bad" because it undermines the critical element of confidence on which so many economic decisions rest. When people expect inflation, they do their best to hedge against it. In so doing, they often overreact. They build inventories too high, expand capacity too fast, grant larger-than-justified wage increases, and speculate wildly in land, commodities and securities. In short, they do all the things that fuel a boom-and-bust cycle. Nothing is more

destructive than this to confidence in the dollar at home and abroad. A few months ago, when foreign holders of dollars became concerned over inflationary trends, we had a dollar crisis that required drastic measures.

Politically, inflation is "bad" because the drastic steps taken in the name of halting it usually mean more government controls over our free-market system. Such was the case this time, too, when we were saddled with controls on direct overseas loans and corporate investments. It is one of the galling ironies of our times that government, after having pursued highly inflationary policies, then invariably decides that only government intervention in the private economy can halt inflation.

What Federal administrators don't seem to comprehend is that controls, in and of themselves, don't solve any problems. At worst, which is frequently, they complicate the solutions by distorting economic activity. At best, which is seldom, they succeed in buying a little time to put our financial house in order if we have the will to do so.

Beyond the social, psychological and political evils of inflation which I have mentioned, there is the vastly important moral aspect. Inflation as a way of life corrupts a nation's economic morals and wears down the basic integrity of its citizens. The under-the-table payoff becomes part of the inflation avoidance scheme. Individuals, to protect themselves against inflation, lie about their income. They cheat one another and their Government because they are convinced that the Government, through inflation, is cheating them.

I'll never forget a comment made some years ago by an astute Far Eastern banker who had traveled all over the world. One of the most profound lessons he had learned, he said, could be capsuled in four words: "Sound money, healthy people." He went on to explain that in those countries where the national currency was buttressed by responsible fiscal and monetary policies, people tended to be diligent and hard-working, confident that if they laid something away it would not be eroded through inflation. But in those places where inflation ran wild, there were widespread economic dislocations, black markets and public immorality generally.

"Sound money, healthy people." There is a great lesson for us in that simple expression, and we should not lose sight of it.

Since World War II, our economy has gone through four damaging bouts of inflation—early in the postwar period, during the Korean War, in the mid-1950's, and now since 1965. The three previous inflations ended in general business recessions. But recession is not the only way to stop inflation—and it certainly isn't the best way.

There is no secret about the best way. It takes two things: an understanding and a determination on the part of the people that price stability is essential, and a willingness on the part of labor and business and government to do what is necessary. If labor would produce more and so earn every dollar of wage increases, if business would respond by holding prices in line, and if government would eliminate waste and duplication and work toward a balanced budget, then inflation could be stopped in the right way.

Let's look at the labor side.

About 65 per cent of the cost of all the products turned out by American industry is attributable, directly or indirectly, to labor.

For example, under the new price schedules of the automobile companies that have been so much in the news lately, a $3,000 car represents roughly $2,000 worth of labor that has gone into steel, rubber, glass and other materials as well as into the final assembly.

For some industries, of course, the labor component is even higher than this.

Over the past decade or so, productivity has been going up at a rate of about 3 per cent a year, attributable almost entirely to capital expenditure.

Simple arithmetic shows that a 6½ per cent wage increase over a three-year period, which is becoming the standard pattern in manufacturing, could add some 20 per cent to labor costs.

Even if half of this were offset by gains in productivity, labor costs would still go up by some 10 per cent.

It is obvious that an increase in wages of this magnitude could not be absorbed from profits. Realistically, the rate of return on stockholder equity has already been squeezed to such an extent—from 13 per cent in 1965 to about 11 per cent now—that the flow of capital so greatly needed for future expansion and modernization is threatened.

So it is all but inevitable that higher wages, not matched by higher productivity, must be reflected in inflation—and that's what has been happening.

The consumer ultimately pays the bill.

How this works out in practice may be seen from a Labor Department study of the effect of price hikes on a typical American worker with a wife and two children. During the past summer, his weekly earnings rose to a record $109, but taxes and inflation have taken all the recent gains. The average worker has seen his weekly earnings rise by $13 in the past three years, yet in terms of purchasing power he is no better off than he was before.

I am sure a good many responsible labor leaders know the futility of a wage-price spiral as well as anyone does. But they have not managed to persuade their membership. We have seen many instances where union members refused to accept agreements that their own elected leaders had reached in good faith. I am afraid that union leadership has now seen the point: never mind sound economics—get as much as you can. And, since this is a game that speeds up as it goes along, this also means that you had better get more than the last fellow, regardless of the consequences.

Although recent wage settlements in steel, aerospace and other major industries have attracted nationwide attention, the little-publicized developments in the construction field have been even more startling.

In Dayton, Ohio, bricklayers have won a 72 per cent pay increase over the next two years. This boosts their hourly pay to $9.75, or $19.50 if they work overtime.

In Toledo, iron workers have negotiated a raise of $2.10 an hour over two years which brings their hourly pay to $7.63.

In Detroit, after a three-month strike, the building-trades unions have won new contracts which provide wage raises plus fringe benefits equivalent to 30 per cent more for bricklayers, 32 per cent for carpenters, and 33 per cent for plasterers.

The magnitude of these increases points up the dilemma confronting union leaders. When their members venture out into Detroit's residential suburbs now to buy a house, they are finding that costs have advanced by as much as 18 per cent. So while organized labor presses for more and better housing as a social objective, the building-trades unions are making such housing increasingly hard to come by.

Apparently, though, the man-in-the-street does not think that labor union decisions have any impact on him personally. In response to a pollster's recent question: "Have you, yourself, or your family been hurt in any way by strikes or labor troubles?" 83% of those questioned said they had not been hurt a bit. They obviously saw no connection between union practices and demands, and the inflationary surge we are now caught up in.

This represents a serious failure of communications on the part of business. If we could develop an informed public, we would not need any guidelines to curb runaway inflation, and this is a job that business can and should take on.

The inescapable fact is that the business community has not made itself understood. We have failed to convince union leaders of the inevitable results of excessive wage demands. We have failed to make as many trips as we should to our Senators and Representatives to explain why Government spending must be curtailed.

Most serious of all, we have failed to get across to our own people and to the public the delicate balance that exists between the prosperity which everybody wants and the spiral of inflation which nobody wants.

The typical American overestimates the profits of business and underestimates employee compensation. He thinks U.S. firms average in the neighborhood of 20 per cent profit on sales, about double what he feels would be a "fair" return. The fact, of course, is that, after taxes, manufacturers make about 5 per cent profit on sales.

Only when business succeeds in getting across its message will the public understand the relationship between wages and company earnings and the costs of doing business. Only then will people understand why wages cannot increase faster than productivity without causing inflation.

Standing up against unreasonable union demands is likely at times to lead to costly strikes, as it did not long ago in the copper industry. The industry deserves our gratitude for fighting as it did for a principle. When the alternative to a strike is higher operating costs, lower profits and loss of markets to competing goods—often imported goods—it frequently means that in the long run a strike costs far less than an inflationary wage settlement.

But even the best of intentions on the part of labor and management will fail to solve the inflation problem unless our national government follows sound fiscal and monetary policies.

Government must develop a comprehensive program of planned budgeting to ration the funds available for our domestic and foreign needs. It must limit spending to whatever level we, as citizens, are prepared to finance with our tax dollars. To run a $25 billion deficit in a full-employment economy, as we did last year, is simply to invite inflation.

This means that we must face up to some tough decisions. Demands for public funds are enormous. We must either get up the courage to choose among the many appealing spending programs that are proposed, or accept a steadily rising tax burden. As it is now, the average individual works all day Monday and half of Tuesday each week just to pay the tax collector.

In the end, the only acceptable answer is that America, on which the whole Free World depends, must behave responsibly—drastically reducing its payments deficit, restraining the growth of private credit, and bringing its Federal budget into balance through genuine economies rather than through the budgetary gimmicks of the recent past.

It is interesting to note that of the $6 billion spending cuts Congress ordered as part of the surtax legislation, more than $1 billion will stem from sales to private investors of loans previously made by the Government. While budgetary bookkeeping makes this look like a reduction in spending, it actually amounts to fresh Government borrowing. This fact was not lost on a perceptive copy editor who headlined a recent news story: "How To Succeed in Budget-cutting Without Really Crying."

I'm convinced that something can be done about inflation if—but only if—we as businessmen, consumers and citizens get stirred up enough about it, and get Government and labor similarly committed.

If we can work together toward the stimulation of individual incentives rather than

their frustration; toward enhanced productivity so that there will be more for all; toward freedom and personal responsibility as the ideal goals rather than timidity before an all-powerful state—then and only then will we be exercising a constructive influence in our society, and also serving the best long-term interests of all the people including ourselves.

In the same spirit of creative collaboration, I'm convinced that with economic discipline and responsible policies, we can simultaneously achieve price stability, high employment and sound growth for human betterment.

There are some, I suppose, who will say that this is nothing but a dream.

In one sense, they are right.

It is a dream—the American dream!

ADDRESS BY POSTMASTER GENERAL W. MARVIN WATSON

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, Postmaster General W. Marvin Watson told the national convention of the American Legion, held in New Orleans a few days ago, that the Post Office Department will join in a tribute to the Legion's 50th anniversary.

Along with fellow Legionnaires, I am very pleased with the Postmaster General's announcement that the Department plans to issue a commemorative postage stamp honoring the American Legion's golden anniversary next March 15.

As a member of the Adam Plewacki Post in Buffalo, which is one of the largest Legion posts in the Nation, I am well aware and very proud of the American Legion's 50 years of service to our country and its veterans.

The text of General Watson's address to the convention follows:

ADDRESS BY W. MARVIN WATSON, POSTMASTER GENERAL, AT THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN LEGION, MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM, NEW ORLEANS, LA., SEPTEMBER 10, 1968

My fellow veterans.

I am deeply privileged to have the opportunity to be with you and to wish you continued success in an organization which I think is a magnificent example of all that is great about America.

As you gather here, you are once again a true expression of modern America for your history encompasses all those times which symbolize what we are today.

I also come here pleased that I may present more than just spoken recognition of your service to this country.

Recognizing that this is your 50th anniversary, the Post Office Department will join in tribute by creating an American Legion stamp, which will be issued on your anniversary date next March 15.

I know that many of you have long campaigned for this stamp and I want you to know that it gave me very great pleasure last week to meet with our Stamp Advisory Committee as we made this decision.

So, it's a little early, but let me be the first to wish you a happy 50th anniversary, both on behalf of the United States Post Office and all citizens everywhere in our great land.

That stamp and that anniversary will continue to remind all of us that your membership harkens back to the campaigns of World War I . . . and that you have shed your blood for this nation and this world on a thousand battlefields since that first war to end all wars.

And still the wars go on—for the nature of man, it must appear, is to use the tools of war rather than words of wisdom.

But it is also the nature of man to satisfy that inner yearning to be free—and you who have known war know also that America still remains free and remains the one steadfast nation that fulfills the ultimate hopes of man.

Our dream of a better world is not impossible.

Our dream of a better America is daily being achieved.

And despite the dissenters—despite the frantic minority who preach no faith and hide behind the shield of no hope—despite those who discount what we have done and deny that we can do more—it is a fact that we Americans still carry the best hope for this world.

America is not in desperate condition, my friends.

And America is not a nervous, searching nation.

It is only those who preach despair who are desperate and only those who preach no faith and no hope who are nervous.

There is a whole other land—the whole vast majority of this land—which is constant, which is vital, which is growing, which is stable and which is the true America that we have always known and loved.

And it is people such as yourself who are this America.

People such as yourselves who have honored the contracts of our country in time of war. . . . and honored your own personal contracts in time of peace.

For your organization was born out of war, but is dedicated to peace and progress.

Later today, I know you are hopeful—as am I—that another great American may take the time to fly here to address you.

He, too, is a man who had a contract—a contract to lead selflessly, a contract to create dreams which people would call impossible and then to conquer the insurmountable heights and make the dreams reality . . . and, yes, a contract in the form of the word of this nation given by Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and himself, Lyndon Johnson, to support other nations who wish to remain free.

In the past five years, Lyndon Johnson rallied this nation from the shock of assassination, then pulled us forward by the sheer will-power of his drive and his dreams for a better and greater society. In 1964, as he received the greatest electoral mandate in our history, he campaigned on a platform. From 1964 to this very moment he has not forgotten these promises. . . . and 94 per cent of everything he promised in 1964 is now written into the law of this land.

He has honored his contract with the American people here at home and he has honored the contract of the American people abroad.

To me that is greatness. . . . American greatness. Just as this organization as well is the symbol of an America others would tell us no longer exists.

You, my friends and fellow veterans, put the lie to those who claim that we are failing.

For you—and countless millions like you—are not acquainted with failure and are alert to the false notes of those who cry out that we falter and are failing.

For you are of those who do have faith . . . and do have hope . . . and in the final essence, you are the very cornerstone on which all our great country is founded.

And for this I congratulate you—and am proud to be here with you, the American Legion.

THE COMMUNITY SELF-DETERMINATION ACT OF 1968

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, some weeks ago I joined with Senators NELSON, HARRIS, and PERCY as one of the four primary sponsors of the Community Self-Determination Act of 1968. There are now over 35 Senators cosponsoring this bipartisan measure, which was printed as both S. 3875 or S. 3876, and its basic concepts have been endorsed by both party platforms and both major presidential candidates.

Briefly speaking, the bill is built around three objectives: First, it seeks to bring major financial and technical resources from the private sector into activities which will combat urban and rural slum conditions; second, it aims at opening up opportunities for ownership and management of business enterprises to poverty area residents in order to give them a stake in the economic life of their communities, both as a means of stabilizing the community and of increasing the impact and pace of antipoverty efforts; and third, it hopes to create a new source of funding for community service activities, such as Headstart and day care, which is independent of appropriations.

The first goal is met by creating a new set of tax incentives for the operation of what we call "turnkey economic development." Under this approach, which has proved successful abroad, a major corporation would take on the job of building and getting on its feet a plant or other business facility in a ghetto area, with the idea of turning the facility over to local ownership and management after the shakedown period. This way, the financial, managerial, and technical resources of an established business are brought fully into play, rather than attempting to start from scratch with the resources present in the poverty area alone.

The second goal of spreading business ownership and management among ghetto residents is accomplished by setting up development corporations which serve as community-owned holding companies to receive the turnkey-developed plants.

Through these development corporations, profits from the turnkey and other community-owned businesses are channeled into service activities, meeting the third objective. And in this manner, the economic strength of the economic development process is brought into play as a means of aiding the community organization process which is inherent in the establishment of the development corporation.

In one respect, in particular, this bill reflects my own work. In October 1967, I introduced legislation to establish a new banking institution at the national level to channel private funds into economic development activities in urban and rural poverty areas. This "Domestic Development Bank" was patterned closely on the

World Bank, and sought to apply lessons learned abroad to our own domestic poverty needs. That bill has now been integrated into the Community Self-Determination Act as title III of that bill, with the name of "the United States Community Development Bank." Several important improvements were made in this redrafting process, which will be apparent from the descriptive memoranda I will insert after my remarks.

Mr. President, this bill will be extremely important next year, relating intimately to the future of and the role of private enterprise in the urban crisis and the entire war on poverty. I hope that it will be closely studied both in and outside of the Congress, with a view to its early enactment into law.

The following materials include: First, the joint statement of the sponsors at the introduction of the Community Self-Determination Act of 1968; second, an explanation of that bill; third, a projection of the costs of that bill prepared by three young economists from MIT; fourth, a memorandum describing a project conducted by the E.G. & G. Corporation of Bedford, Mass., which tests certain of the concepts in the bill; and fifth, excerpts from my remarks of October 23, 1967, upon introduction of the Domestic Development Bank legislation, describing the need for that bill and explaining its operation.

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

JOINT STATEMENT BY SENATORS NELSON, PERCY, JAVITS, AND HARRIS ON COMMUNITY SELF-DETERMINATION ACT OF 1968, JULY 24, 1968

It is apparent that the United States is confronted with poverty on a massive scale. Its continued existence, in this the most affluent nation on earth, makes a mockery of our highest ideals. We used to refer to "pockets" of poverty; however, it is now clear that the metaphor is too limited. For poverty does not simply occur in pockets; it devastates huge segments of our cities and cripples vast areas of our countryside. We can no longer afford to think only in terms of prosperous America; we must face the fact that submerged America has dimensions that we are only now beginning to realize.

The past and present efforts of government, business and charitable institutions have had significant effects in certain localities, but they have not diminished the crisis proportions of the problem as a whole. Clearly, our response to poverty has been inadequate, not only in scale, but also often in direction.

We feel that a new approach is needed. Such an approach must take into account a number of basic facts:

Poverty stricken people do not wish to be guinea pigs, being constantly probed and tested, but without ever finding their trapped condition altered. Like everyone else, they want the chance to influence their own destinies—to be participants in the effort of building a more prosperous America.

Poverty is not an isolated phenomenon that can simply be cured from spot to spot. It does little good to raise employment and standards of living in the cities if new floods of migrants pour in from an economically devastated countryside. For an anti-poverty effort to be successful, it must be comprehensive. It must affect all occupational and ethnic groups in all areas of the country.

At the same time, we must recognize that every area has its own unique problems. A solution in St. Louis might be a disaster in Detroit, if applied rigidly and insensitively. The approach that we are espousing this morning solves this problem by leaving decisions on specific problems to people who live in, and intimately know, the areas involved.

Finally, it is clear that we do have the resources to overcome this problem. The question is not just one of quantity, though we must not shrink from necessary costs. It is also a question of establishing a system that will enable existing resources to be made available where they are most needed.

We feel that we have such a plan in the Community Self-Determination Act, which we and other Senators of both parties are introducing today.

This bill owes its existence to the dedicated efforts of nonpartisan citizen groups. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), in conjunction with Mr. Gar Alperovitz and Mr. John McClaughry while at the Harvard Institute of Politics, and distinguished lawyers and businessmen from many areas all worked diligently to produce a workable, effective proposal. More recently, this plan has earned the enthusiastic support of political leaders of both parties.

The Community Self-Determination Act is a comprehensive proposal to meet poverty wherever it exists. It is a program of business and finance that promotes the initiative of local residents and of the business community.

Any poverty community would be able to establish a Community Development Corporation to own and manage productive business enterprises. Any profits would be used to finance needed community social services. These corporations would be certified by a national Board established by the President, but decisions would be made by those with the greatest stake in the project: the local citizens themselves. It is a complex measure and will require thorough hearings and perhaps some modification. But citizen response in early community efforts of this kind shows the practicality of the project. Areas as diverse as Crawfordville, Georgia, and Rochester, New York, have demonstrated that local residents are eager to establish community enterprises.

But these early efforts also show the difficulties of each community acting only on its own. The Community Self-Determination Act would provide necessary help.

One element of assistance would be a network of Community Development Banks. Through these new banks, the Community Corporations would receive necessary investment funds. A new national development bank, patterned on the Domestic Development Bank which was previously introduced by Senator Javits and other Senators, would be created to serve as a secondary institution and to provide financial assistance directly where no community bank or corporation is in existence. A Federal tax incentive program would encourage the private business sector to enter into Turnkey agreements with the local Community Corporations. In this way business and industry would be established in poor communities, with the community itself assuming the major portion of responsibility and direction.

The Communty Self-Determination Act is a bold new step along an unfamiliar path. But we must not fear the innovative and prefer the established. For if this nation is to fulfill its great promise, it must never fall back on whatever happens to exist. It must never remain content with the present but must always step forward confidently into the future.

THE COMMUNITY SELF-DETERMINATION ACT

The Community Self-Determination Act is a fundamentally new approach to the problems of lower income comunities. It is based not on governmental paternalism, but on local self-help, ownership, and decision-making. Instead of creating new government agencies, the Act creates a new institutional structure so that the people of poor communities can achieve economic development and the ownership of productive resources through their own efforts and under their own control.

The basic element in the program is the Community Development Corporation (CDC), a stock business corporation formed by the residents of any area which is substantially below national norms in income or employment. Every over-16 resident may become a stockholder by buying a $5 share or by earning it through contributed labor; each, however, is limited to one share and one vote.

The formative process, supervised by a Community Corporation Certification Board, involves pledge cards, escrow deposits, and community referendums, so that competition is preserved and the will of the community freely expressed.

The CDC owns and manages subsidiary businesses in the community, and conducts a broad range of social service programs as desired by its stockholders. It thus resembles both a modern conglomerate corporation and a charitable foundation. Its subsidiaries channel their profits to the CDC to finance both additional investment and the service programs.

Financing business requires capital and credit. The Act creates a system of CDC-owned Community Development Banks (CDBs). The CDBs resemble the National Land Bank Associations which for fifty years have been an important part of the national Farm Credit System. They are capitalized and owned by the CDCs themselves, and their initial capital is multiplied by the sale of income bonds backed by a special Federal Reserve escrow fund. A U.S. CDB is also created to serve as a secondary financial institution, similar to the Federal Home Loan Banks.

The plan contains a number of tax incentives to encourage outside companies, like GE, Safeway Stores, or Xerox, to come into the area, establish a new plant, train local people to manage it properly, then sell it at a profit to the CDC as a new subsidiary. Other provisions reduce taxation on profits utilized for necessary community services. An important provision authorizes SBA grants to CDCs to enable them to contract for competent management training.

Experiments are already under way in many parts of the country which embody some or all aspects of the proposed program. Notable are Arthur Fletcher's Self-Help Cooperative in East Pasco, Washington; Randy Blackwell's silk screen factory in Crawfordsville, Georgia; EG&G-Roxbury in Boston; and the Xerox-backed Fighton Company in Rochester. The program is adaptable to urban ghettos, depressed rural areas, and Indian reservations alike.

Total cost of the Act is estimated to be under $1 billion for Fiscal Year 1970. Benefits will phase out as communities develop economically. The basic legislation has been sponsored by a large number of Republican and Democratic Congressmen and Senators. It was developed through the initiative of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), with the cooperation of legislative technicians representing views from conservative to radical.

FINDINGS

Section 2. The Congress hereby finds that—

(a) despite the unsurpassed affluence of the United States, there exists today a nation within a nation composed of millions of Americans in urban slums and declining areas of the countryside who live in poverty, misery and despair. The United States cannot achieve its full potential until all of its people have a full and fair opportunity to earn, own, and enjoy their share of America's growth and prosperity, and to exercise effective control over their life situations.

(b) programs and policies which tax some to support others offer no hope and no opportunity to those who have the capacity to become productive, contributing citizens. Handouts are demeaning; they do violence to a man, strip him of dignity, and breed in him a resentment toward the total system. The nation must find ways, instead, to help presently non-productive citizens achieve the independence, self-respect, and well-being enjoyed by their more fortunate fellows.

(c) the people of poor urban communities and declining rural areas should be assisted in their efforts to achieve gainful employment and the ownership and control of the resources of their community, including businesses, housing, and financial institutions.

(d) the problems of our cities cannot be solved without dealing with the inseparably related problems of rural America. Special help should thus be offered for efforts which improve the economic conditions and standard of living of the people of declining and depressed rural areas, and which reduce their out-migration from such areas to the overcrowded and explosive urban centers.

(e) the private enterprise system and the independent sector should be offered new incentives to join with the people of a community in a partnership for individual and community improvement, especially in providing technical and managerial expertise, offering training for jobs with a future, providing investment capital, and building productive plants and facilities for sale to members of the community. Such a program should be designed to permit the people of a community to utilize a share of the profits of community-sponsored enterprises to provide needed social services, thereby reducing the burden of taxation upon the rest of society.

(f) programs designed to achieve these ends should also aim to restore to the people of local communities the power to participate directly and meaningfully in the making of public policy decisions on issues which affect their day to day lives. Such programs should aim to free local communities from excessive interference and control by centralized governments in which they have little or no effective voice.

(g) order, stability, and progress can be achieved only when the people of a community actively participate in, and are responsible for, their own affairs in such areas as education, neighborhood planning, economic development, recreation and beautification, and social services and welfare.

(h) to achieve these ends, the people of a community must organize for responsible action, in such a way as to reduce fragmentation, create order and stability, make optimum use of community resources, and maximize the opportunity for creative leadership and self determination.

(i) the role of government at all levels should be to reinforce, guarantee, and support individual and mutual self-help efforts to make their maximum contribution to the strength and wealth of the nation. As that goal is approached, government incentives should be correspondingly phased out and government investment repaid, leaving the once dependent people to make their way as independent, unsubsidized participants in our national life.

PURPOSE

Section 3. It is therefore the purpose of this Act to provide for the establishment of community development corporations, community development banks, and other supporting programs and provisions, in order to mobilize the talents and resources of the people of this "nation within a nation" to help them play a more meaningful and rewarding role in building a better, stronger, and more confident America.

Title I—Community development corporations

This title creates the basic mechanism for the community self-determination program, the Community Development Corporation, and outlines its organization process. .

Part A—National Community Corporation Certification Board

This part establishes an independent agency of the Federal Government, to supervise the organization of Community Development Corporation—"CDC's". In many respects the Board will perform functions similar to those of the National Labor Relations Board in conducting union certification procedures.

The Board is composed of five members, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate for staggered 5-year terms. Board members are to be compensated at the same rate as members of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

The Board is empowered to perform a number of specified functions relating to the process of organizing community development corporations. These functions include: issuing provisional and final corporate charters, conducting and supervising referenda, providing counsel and technical assistance in the organization process, collecting and disseminating relevant information, developing appropriate forms for corporate charters and bylaws, and requiring annual reports of corporations so chartered. The Board also acts as a ministerial agent in releasing an initial seed-money grant to a CDC upon its final chartering, but does not administer a program in the usual sense.

A National Advisory Committee on Community Development is created to advise the Board on its policies and operations, and to exert a critical review of the Board's activities and the activities of CDC's chartered by it. The Board is required to make an annual report to the President and Congress.

Part B—Community Development Corp.

The Community Development Corp.—CDC—is a corporation organized by the people of an urban or rural community "for the purpose of expanding their economic and educational opportunities, increasing their ownership of productive capital and property, improving their health, safety, and living conditions, enhancing their personal dignity and independence, expanding their opportunities for meaningful decisionmaking, and generally securing the economic development and social well-being and stability of their community area."

The CDC is a regular stock corporation having the usual powers incident to a business corporation. The community area in which the CDC functions may range in population from 5,000 to 300,000 residents aged 16 and above, of whom 10 percent must be CDC shareholders.

Any resident of the community area may become a CDC shareholder by buying CDC stock, which is priced at $5 par value. "Sweat equity" may be accepted in lieu of cash purchase of stock. Each stockholder has one vote in the affairs of the corporation, as do class C stockholders of the Federal Banks for cooperatives.

FUNCTIONS OF THE CDC

The functions of the CDC would fall into six categories:

First. Neighborhood services and community improvement: basic education, child welfare, day care, preschool training, health, consumer education, home-ownership counseling, college placement asisstance, job finding, recreation, legal aid, and so forth.

Second. Owner of stock of business enterprises in the CDC area.

Third. Sponsor, owner, or manager of housing in the community.

Fourth. Advocate planning for neighborhood renewal, model cities, and so forth.

Fifth. Representation of community interests in other areas of public policy and concern.

Sixth. Encouragement of business, labor, religious and other voluntary participation in the self-help efforts of the community.

FINANCING OF THE CDC

The CDC would, once in operation, be financed by—

First. Earnings from affiliated businesses;

Second. Contracts for services, with private sector and government agencies, on a cost-plus-fixed-fee basis; and

Third. Grants from the community development fund, earmarked for charitable and educational purposes, which would not be subject to Federal tax.

In the initial stages of CDC operation, before any substantial ownership of commercial businesses is achieved, primary reliance would be on the contract mode, due to its lower capital requirements guaranteed profitably, and generation of capital. Later dividends from commercial businesses could become the primary source of CDC income.

DIRECTORS

The stockholders would choose nine CDC directors—plus two more for each 10,000 stockholders in excess of 25,000—for 1-year terms, or for staggered 2-year terms, as specified in the CDC charter. The charter would include provisions for insuring fair and democratic operation, such as secret balloting, adequate notice, open and regular board meetings, and proxy procedures. At the option of the community, it could also provide for a Federal structure of representation for distinct groupings within the area.

Regular open meetings of the entire CDC stockholding membership would be held at least twice a year, and a petition of 20 percent of the membership could force a special meeting.

All records of the CDC would be open to inspection by members and the disclosures of related transactions would be required. The directors would appoint the executive officers of the CDC and the members of the business management board and the directors of the Community Development Bank. The directors would be required to make an annual report to stockholders—and also file with the NCCCB—covering the CDC activities and operations of the previous year.

BUSINESS MANAGEMENT BOARD

The function of the business management board is to provide overall management to CDC-owned businesses. It will be required to set and maintain reasonable standards to insure that they avoid both excessive retention of earnings and irresponsible distribution of required operating funds. That is, the BMB would exercise the rights of CDC as stockholder for each business, but would insulate business management decisions from immediate interference by CDC directors and stockholders. The responsibilities of the BMB, and the area in which it would have full management discretion, would be set forth in the CDC charter, as approved by the NCCCB.

The board would have nine members, appointed by the CDC directors to serve staggered 3-year terms. No more than three of the board members could simultaneously be CDC directors. The members would be bonded for faithful performance of their duties like any other persons with comparable fiduciary responsibilities.

The board, acting for the CDC, would purchase and hold the stock of community businesses, elect directors, and exercise general stockholders' prerogatives on CDC's behalf. The funds to finance the acquisition of stock would be transferred to the CDC for its use, in accordance with the CDC charter. The board could distribute income to the CDC or allocate it to reinvestment, provided that no more than 80 percent or less than 20 percent is distributed to CDC.

Part C—Organization of Community Development Corps

A CDC may be organized in any geographic area, if the residents of the area so desire, so long as the area has between 5,000 and 300,000 residents 16 years of age or older and has either a rate of unemployment that is proportionately greater than the national average or a median family income that is proportionately lower, as provided in section 138.

Any five or more residents of the community area—the "incorporators"—may apply for a charter as a CDC by filing articles of incorporation and certain other documents with the National Community Corporation Certification Board—the "Board."

The act's organizational provisions are designed to guarantee to all the residents of any area in which a CDC is proposed, and to all representative groups thereof, a full and fair opportunity to participate in the process of organizing the CDC and influencing the direction that it will take once it has been finally chartered. Accordingly, the act provides that once one set of incorporators has taken the initial step toward the establishment of a CDC within a particular area a 60-day initial organization period must elapse before those incorporators may complete their application for a charter. During this initial organization period other sets of incorporators may take the initial step toward the establishment of competing CDC's within the same or any larger or smaller overlapping area and with the same or different goals. In this fashion, the act insures that all elements within an area will have equal opportunity to define the community and the objectives of the CDC that is proposed to be established.

Once the 60-day initial organization period has elapsed any such set of incorporators may complete its application for a charter as a CDC by filing its articles of incorporation and organizational certificate that will provide essential economic data with respect to the community proposed, and pledge cards personally signed by at least 5 percent of the residents of the proposed community.

The requirement that any such set of incorporators must at this stage submit pledge cards signed by 5 percent of the residents of that community is one of several organizational provisions designed to insure that there is community support for a CDC in any area in which one is proposed and that the residents of such an area actually consider themselves to be part of a community. Manifestly, any proposed CDC that cannot meet this threshold, 5 percent requirement should be eliminated at this stage and the act so provides.

Any and all CDC's proposed to be established in the potential community so-called, which is defined by section 135(a) as "the geographic area included within the combined perimeter" of the community proposed by the first set of incorporators and any other larger or smaller area proposed that includes any portion of the area first proposed, that satisfy the threshold 5 percent requirement and have otherwise submitted a proper application to the Board will ordinarily receive conditional charters not more than 30 days after the expiration of the initial organization period.

In order to further guarantee that there is support for a CDC in its community, the act contains further organizational requirements that all CDC's so conditionally chartered must pass. These further requirements are designed to disclose the largest geographic area in which there is community support for a CDC and to permit the residents thereof to determine by referendum which of the CDC's proposed to be established therein shall receive a final charter. If only one CDC has qualified to receive a conditional charter, it alone will be authorized to attempt to comply with the further organizational requirements of the act. However, not infrequently conditional certificates will be issued to more than one proposed CDC in more than one overlapping community and the act must provide a method of permitting the residents of these overlapping communities to determine the boundaries of the community that will yield a CDC with the broadest popular support.

The act's further organizational requirements can be best understood by observing that they are designed simply to permit the community to define itself and to create a CDC as it sees fit. These provisions may be summarized as follows:

First. A further 45-day organizational period follows the issuance of conditional charters to one or more proposed CDC's, during which they are required to submit, first, additional pledge cards to total 10 percent of the over-16 residents of the proposed community area; and second, satisfactory proof that at least 500 residents have actually paid in $5,000, in aggregate, for stock in the CDC. The act provides that sums so paid in to any conditionally chartered CDC are to be held in escrow by a State or National bank pursuant to an arrangement that will guarantee the return of such sums to those entitled thereto if the CDC does not receive a final charter. Any conditionally chartered CDC that fails to satisfy these requirements within the time allotted is forthwith to be dissolved by the Board.

Second. While this process is underway, the NCCCB assembled data and computes the development index of the area. This number, which is a measure of the economic development of the area, is the lesser of two ratios, either the ratio of national unemployment rate to the area's unemployment rate times 100, or the ratio of the Nation's median family income to the area's median family income times 100.

Thus, for example, if the unemployment rate in a proposed CDC area was 12 percent, and the national average was 6 percent, the first ratio would be 50—six-twelfths—times 100. If the Nation's median family income is $7,000, and that in the area only $4,000, the second ratio would be 57—4,000 to 7,000—times 100. The lesser of these ratios, 50, would be the development index of the area. A special bonus of five points would be subtracted from the computed development index of rural areas to provide special consideration for areas from which outmigration is contributing to urban tensions.

If the development index of a conditionally chartered CDC is greater than 90, the NCCCB would dissolve the corporation, as being too close to the national norm—100—to deserve special assistance.

Third, if only one such CDC satisfies these further requirements the Board, upon the expiration of the 45-day period, orders an election in the community the CDC has proposed at which the residents, whether or not shareholders, are asked whether they approve the final certification of that CDC. If a majority of those voting so approve that CDC receives a final charter; if not it is dissolved.

Fourth. If more than one such CDC satisfies the act's further organizational provisions a series of elections must be held in order to disclose an area in which a majority of the residents approve the establishment of a CDC and to determine which of the CDCs participating in such a referendum commands the greatest community support. The act is designed so that the first such referendum is held in the potential community and subsequent referenda, if any, are then held in the next largest community proposed by a conditionally chartered CDC participating therein. Such referenda continue until a CDC is finally chartered or it becomes clear that community sentiment opposes the establishment of a CDC in any of the proposed communities, in which case all are dissolved.

All such referenda are required by the act to be by secret ballot, and any resident who is 16 years or older is eligible to vote. The act states that no such referenda shall be valid unless at least 10 percent of the eligible residents actually participate. Clearly, if less than 10 percent of those eligible take the trouble to vote it can safely be assumed that real community interest in the establishment of a CDC is absent.

Subsequently, particular areas within or overlapping an area already served by a CDC may organize their own CDC, although the organizational requirements for such a latecomer are somewhat more stringent. The possibility of such subsequent organization should tend to encourage business aggressiveness and reponsiveness to community desires.

Upon final incorporation, the CDC receives a one-time seed-money grant equal to its paid-in capital at the time of incorporation. This both provides initial operating funds and equity capital for a community development bank, and an incentive for the broadest participation in the community.

Part D—Authorization of Appropriations

This part authorizes appropriations for the expenses of the National Community Corporation Certification Board, and for the initial matching grants to newly organized CDC's.

Title II—Community Development Banks

This title adds a new chapter 19 to the National Banking Act, authorizing the creation of community development banks—CDB's—to provide the financial services required by CDC's and the independent businesses in CDC areas.

ORGANIZATION

CDB's would be organized by one or more CDC's in a manner similar to that of ordinary national banks. The participating CDC's would hold all the voting stock and appoint the bank's directors. The banks could be chartered only in CDC areas with a population of 25,000 or more. They would not offer a full range of banking services, but would concentrate on business financing in the area and the provision of ordinary consumer credit to CDC stockholders.

EQUITY CAPITALIZATION

The equity capital of the CDB would be provided by the sale of the bank's stock.

Class A nonvoting stock could be sold to the Secretary of the Treasury as authorized in appropriation acts. It is contemplated that this would be done only in extraordinary cases, however. A franchise tax payable out of net earning, would afford a return to the Treasury on any investment of Federal funds. Class A stock would not yield dividends.

Class B stock could be issued to any purchaser except the Federal Government and CDC's. It would also be nonvoting, but would be eligible for up to 6 percent noncumulative dividends. It is expected that private organizations, churches, foundations, associations, and businesses, and perhaps state and local governments, would purchase stock in this category. Class B stockholders would have an option to redeem their stock at par over a period of 5 years, after having held it for 5 years.

Class C stock could be sold only to CDC's. It would be voting stock, but would not be eligible to receive dividends. The CDB thus becomes a financial mechanism, but not a source of income, for CDCs.

DEBT CAPITALIZATION AND SECURITY

In addition to equity capital represented by stock sales, the CDB would raise further capital through the sale to the public of income bonds on a 20-to-1 ratio to paid-in capital and surplus. It is contemplated that this will be done through the U.S. Community Development Bank created by title III, which would have authority to issue consolidated CDB bonds much as the Fed-

eral intermediate credit banks issue consolidated farm credit obligations.

In addition to normal banking reserves and a guarantee fund, CDB income bonds would be further secured by CDB's option to call bond retirement funds from a special Federal Reserve guarantee fund. This fund would be capitalized from the excess earnings of the 12 Federal Reserve banks, as was the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation in 1933. The Federal Reserve surplus would be deposited into the fund each year and invested in long-term U.S. Treasury securities.

The amount of the Federal Reserve surplus added to the fund each year would be sufficient, when carried forward at compound interest, to cover the aggregate income bond obligations of all CDB's at maturity on a 1 to 4 basis. If a CDB's financial position precluded immediate satisfaction of its obligations to bondholders when due, the CDB could call in capital from the fund, just as the World Bank can call in subscriptions from member nations to meet emergencies. This right would assure private creditors of prompt payment of obligations when due.

Assuming CDB's issue an aggregate $2 billion in income bonds in 1969, and that the Treasury securities held by the fund bear 4 percent interest compounded quarterly over 20 years, some $236 million of the Federal Reserve System's excess earnings would suffice to produce $500 million in capital—1 to 4 coverage—in 1989. The estimated Federal Reserve excess earnings for fiscal 1969 is in excess of $2 billion, of which the amount put into the fund would be approximately one-eighth. The entire $2 billion, if similarly used, would cover aggregate CDB income bonds of about $17.7 billion.

In case the aggregate amount of CDB obligations exceeded the amount that the Federal Reserve surplus could legally cover, and assuming Congress did not appropriate additional funds to extend the coverage, priorities would be established to insure that the bonds of the CDB's located in the poorest areas would be covered before those of more affluent areas.

EARNINGS

At the end of each fiscal year each CDB would apply its earnings in excess of operating expenses during the year to—in order: First, making up any losses in excess of its reserves and bad or doubtful debts; second, restoring the amount of impairment, if any, of its capital; third, creating and maintaining a reserve account for bad and doubtful debts; fourth, paying a franchise tax to the Treasury of up to 25 percent of the net earnings then remaining, not to exceed a rate of return on Treasury holdings of class A stock equal to the average annual rate of interest on all public issues of public debt obligations of the United States issued during the fiscal year ending next before such tax is due; fifth, paying dividends to other class A stockholders, at a rate not in excess of 6 percent; and sixth, purchasing stock in the U.S. Community Development Bank, the proceeds of which shall be used to retire any Government capital of that bank.

LOANS AND ELIGIBLE BORROWERS

The CDB may make loans and extend credit to eligible borrowers in a number of categories:

First, individual CDC stockholders—but not the general public—for normal consumer credit;

Second, small businesses in the community—partnerships, proprietorships, or corporations—which are at least 75-percent owned by resident CDC stockholders;

Third, small business concerns in the community owned less than 75 percent by CDC stockholders but whose owners have agreed to give the CDC the right of first refusal if the business is to be sold;

Fourth, subsidiaries of the CDC itself—at least 51 percent CDC owned;

Fifth, an outside corporation which has entered into a turnkey agreement with a CDC;

Sixth, a cooperative, at least 75 percent of the members of which are CDC stockholders; and

Seventh, a nonprofit, limited dividend or cooperative housing sponsor operating in the community.

LOAN TERMS AND LIMITATIONS

Business loans may be made only to eligible borrowers, and only when such borrower has demonstrated his capacity for managing the business—as evidence by previous business performance—or has entered into a satisfactory technical assistance and/or training contract, under a turnkey arrangement or otherwise. Such loans may be made up to 90 percent of required capital, with up to 20 years for repayment. Housing sponsors in the community could obtain short-term, market-rate financing for front money, and where funds are not otherwise available for construction loans.

The CDB charter would include a statement of policy emphasizing CDB's responsibility to make capital available to promising but inexperienced borrowers, or for unorthodox business ventures, which would, if successful, yield significant benefits to the community.

The CDB would be fully authorized to make participation loans with regular commercial lenders to eligible borrowers, and its policy would be to seek to arrange such participations wherever possible.

The CDB would not be authorized to issue or deal in securities, engage in acceptable financing, sell insurance, offer credit cards or make credit guarantees. Its main purpose is to channel capital to businesses; its secondary purpose is to provide normal banking services to individual depositors within the community. It is not expected that the CDB would tie up its capital in mortgage loans, except under extraordinary circumstances.

CONFORMING AMENDMENTS

Sections 202 to 206 of the bill amend various provisions of other acts to facilitate the operation of the community development banking system.

Title III—U.S. community development bank

The purpose of this title is to create a U.S. Community Development Bank to serve as a secondary financial institution and as a source of technical, managerial and financial expertise to CDB's, and to promote the economic development of communities and areas where no CDB has been established. In the former respect, the USCDB would stand in relation to local CDB's as a Federal intermediate credit bank stands to production credit associations, or as a Federal home loan bank stands to local savings and loan associations. In the latter respect, the bank would resemble the World Bank and International Development Association.

This title would authorize the incorporation of the USCDB, which would not be an instrumentality of the U.S. Government. The President of the United States would appoint the incorporators and first board of directors. Six directors would always be Presidential appointees; the remaining twelve, initially Presidential appointees, would later be elected by CDB's holding stock in the bank. A community advisory committee, composed of from 15 to 21 persons from CDB and similar areas served by the bank, is created.

CAPITALIZATION

Class A stock of the USCDB would be purchased by the Secretary of the Treasury. It would be nonvoting stock and would not be eligible for dividends. Of the $2 billion of class A stock the Secretary is authorized to purchase, $1.5 billion would be specifically authorized by appropriation acts. The remaining $500 million could be purchased by the Secretary out of public debt proceeds only upon call of the bank to meet an emergency situation. This $500 million call feature, analogous to similar provisions in the Federal home loan bank statute and the World Bank charter, provides the security to creditors.

Class B stock in amounts up to $2 billion may be bought and held by any person or organization other than the Federal Government. Dividends of not to exceed 6 percent can be paid on this stock which shall have voting rights. At the end of each fiscal year, each CDB would be required to buy class B stock in the USCDB in an amount equal to its entire net earnings after meeting other requirements of title II. Whenever a CDB purchases such Bank stock, the Bank is directed to redeem an equal amount of class A stock held by the Secretary of the Treasury, at the Secretary's request. From the funds so received, the Secretary is directed to retire an equal amount of public debt.

BONDS AND INDEBTEDNESS

The Bank is authorized to issue and/or guarantee bonds, debentures, and other certificates of debt, up to an amount equal to five times its paid-in capital and surplus. In addition, it is authorized to issue consolidated bonds backed by CDB bonds, up to an amount equal to 10 times its paid-in capital and surplus. In addition, it is authorized to issue consolidated bonds backed by CDB bonds, up to an amount equal to 10 times its paid-in capital and surplus; this authority is intended to relieve local CDB's of the problems associated with entering the securities market.

FUNCTIONS

The USCDB is authorized to—

First, serve as a secondary banking institution for CDB's, through discounts, notes, loans, advances, and so forth;

Second, make, participate in, or guarantee loans for business and commercial facilities, or public development facilities, in low-income areas designated as "investment areas" by the Secretary of Labor;

Third, provide interim financing for construction of such facilities;

Fourth, plan, initiate, own, and manage such facilities until a suitable buyer can assume ownership;

Fifth, provide management training and technical and other supportive assistance to CDB's and other borrowers; and

Sixth, create investment opportunities by bringing together facilities, capital, and management.

The USCDB may establish branch offices to facilitate its activities.

EARNINGS

The net earnings of the USCDB shall be applied as follows:

First, to restoring any impairment of capital;

Second, to creating and maintaining a surplus account;

Third, to paying a franchise tax computed with reference to the amount of class A stock outstanding;

Fourth, to establish contingency reserves;

Fifth, to declare dividends on class B stock, up to 6 percent; and

Sixth, to retire class A stock held by the Treasury.

This retirement feature, built into the Federal farm credit system as early as 1916, assures that eventually all Government stock will be retired and the banks will be wholly owned by CDB's and other private stockholders.

MISCELLANEOUS

A number of operating principles are set forth, along with certain limitations on financing. An annual audit and report by the General Accounting Office is required, as is an annual report to Congress and the President. Technical amendments permit the participation of national banks as CDB stockholders.

Title IV.—Tax amendments

Part A—Community Development Corporations

Community development corporations, as business corporations, are subject to the provisions of the Internal Revenue Code. Since the purpose of the Act is to permit the use of business profits for social service programs under the control of the people of the community, instead of routing the tax revenues to Washington and then back in the form of grants, three special amendments are added to the Code. These amendments liberalize the tax treatment of CDC's until such time as the CDC area achieves a development index equal to the national average and maintains it over a period of 5 years.

First. Under present law a corporation pays a basic 22-percent income tax rate on all its taxable income. In addition, the Code imposes a surtax of 26 percent on taxable income in excess of $25,000. The $25,000 amount is known as the surtax exemption. A group of corporations, all of which are owned by a parent corporation—in this case, the CDC—have a choice in filing their returns: they can either file a consolidated return and use only one $25,000 surtax exemption for the group; or they can claim the exemption for each member corporation and pay a basic income tax rate of 28 percent, 6 percent over the normal rate. This bill would amend section 1563 of the Code to permit a group of CDC subsidiary corporations to retain all the individual surtax exemptions without paying the additional 6-percent tax.

Second. To effect the purposes of the act, the tax rates and surtax exemptions for CDC subsidiaries are liberalized, depending on the development index of the CDC area—see title I, part C. This tax treatment is available only to corporations wholly owned by a CDC or by an employee trust; hence no benefits from the tax treatment flow into individual pockets. In the case of an area at the national norm for unemployment and family income, no tax advantages would accrue. At the other extreme, CDC subsidiaries in a desperately poor CDC area would be eligible for a basic tax rate of zero percent on the first $50,000 of taxable income, 6 percent on the second $50,000, 12 percent on the next $50,000, and 22 percent—the basic rate—on amounts in excess of $150,000. In addition, CDC subsidiaries in the desperately poor area could claim a surtax exemption of up to $200,000. Less-poor areas would get reduced benefits in accordance with their development level. The surtax would remain at 26 percent for all corporations.

Third. Ordinarily, subsidiary corporations can pass dividends to their parent corporation, which can then deduct 85 percent of such dividends from its own gross income. An amendment to section 243 of the code permits the CDC to deduct a full 100 percent of its dividend income from subsidiaries.

Part B—Turnkey Tax Provisions

The purpose of these amendments is to encourage major businesses to establish profitable plants or facilities in CDC areas, to train community residents to manage and work in them, and eventually to divest them entirely to CDC ownership and management.

The outside company and the CDC would enter into a turnkey contract, specifying the obligations of both parties, and setting forth such items as a description of the productive facility, the training of CDC personnel to manage the business, the timetable for sale, and so forth. To make a turnkey contract attractive to an outside corporation, six amendments are made to the Internal Revenue Code.

First. The turnkey contractor can elect rapid amortization of the turnkey facilities, depending on the development index of the CDC area involved. This provision parallels the rapid tax amortization program for defense investment during and after the Korean war, and the similar provisions for amortization of grain storage facilities, reenacted by Congress in 1953. In desperately poor areas, turnkey facilities could be amortized in as little as 36 months.

Second. Ordinarily, when a corporation claims an investment tax credit toward the cost of machinery and equipment, and then sells the machinery or equipment, the corporation is subject to a tax credit recapture provision. A turnkey contractor, however, could sell the turnkey facility to a CDC and not be subject to recapture of the investment credit.

Third. The turnkey contractor could claim an additional tax credit of 10 percent of the wages and salaries of CDC stockholders employed in the turnkey facility. This credit, patterned after the Human Investment Act now before Congress, would extend to investment in employees the same tax advantage given to investment in machinery. The higher rate of the credit—10 percent versus 7 percent—is due to the impermanence of the investment in human skills as compared to that in tangible property owned by the company.

Fourth. Upon selling the turnkey facility to a CDC, the turnkey contractor would normally incur a capital gain subject to tax. Under the bill, if the proceeds of the sale are reinvested in another turnkey operation or in class B stock of a CDB, the capital gains are not recognized for tax purposes. This provision, designed to encourage continuous investment in turnkey projects, is analogous to transfer of basis upon selling an old home and buying a new one.

Fifth. When a turnkey contractor has elected rapid amortization of depreciable property, and then sells the property to the CDC, he would ordinarily be subject to a tax recapture of the benefits of the rapid amortization. The bill provides that when a turnkey sale results in nonrecognition of capital gain, by virtue of reinvestment in another turnkey project, then the recapture of depreciation is limited to the recognized gain only.

Sixth. To encourage the turnkey contractor to continue to assist the management of the turnkey facility even after its divestiture of CDC ownership, the bill provides for a sustained profitability tax credit, equal to 15 percent of the profits generated from the operation of the turnkey facility for 5 years after sale to the CDC.

Part C—Miscellaneous Tax Provisions

An additional tax feature of the bill includes three changes to facilitate the financing of CDC subsidiaries by employee benefit trusts. One would make it clear that an employee trust may borrow funds to purchase the stock of a CDC subsidiary without jeopardizing the trust's "exclusive benefits" status or conflicting with present tax regulations. A second would permit such a trust to distribute income currently to its employees, as an immediate profit-sharing incentive. A third change would protect the tax deductible status of CDC subsidiary contributions to employee trust, notwithstanding the fact that the contributions are used to repay a bank loan.

Finally, reporting requirements are included to facilitate Treasury analysis of the actual costs in foregone revenue of the turnkey and the CDC programs. The purpose of this is to ensure the availability of subsequent cost-benefit studies as needed for congressional review.

Title V—Miscellaneous amendments

Part A—Small Business

This part makes two minor amendments to the small business title of the Economic Opportunity Act, and adds an important new section to provide technical and management assistance and training to CDC and turnkey facility personnel.

Section 501 amends the purpose clause of title IV of the Economic Opportunity Act to include CDC's among the business concerns to be strengthened and aided by the act.

Section 502 provides for the coordination of loan applications by business borrowers located in CDB areas. It adds a proviso to subsection 402(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act which prohibits economic opportunity loans to borrowers in CDB areas until their loan applications have been turned down by the CDB. The purpose of this amendment is to require business borrowers to work through the local CDB wherever possible.

Section 503 adds an important new section to the Economic Opportunity Act. It authorizes the Small Business Administrator to make grants of up to 90 percent of the costs of technical and management assistance and training programs contracted for by CDC's or their subsidiaries. The grants may be made for, among other things: First, the identification and development of new business opportunities, joint ventures, and turnkey agreements; second, market surveys and feasibility studies; third, organizational planning and research, including analysis of capital structure and requirements, costs and taxes, labor force availability, site evaluation, local government relations, and available governmental assistance; fourth, plant or facility design, layout, and operation; fifth, marketing and promotional assistance; sixth, business counseling, management training, and legal and other related services, with special emphasis on management training using the resources of private business, and of sufficient scope and duration to develop management expertise within the corporation; and seventh, encouragement of subcontracting to CDC's by established businesses, and cooperative efforts to train and upgrade CDC personnel.

Using the proceeds of the grant, the CDC would enter into a contract with a firm, company, organization, educational institution, or governmental agency of its choice to obtain the specified assistance and training. The Small Business Administration could itself provide the assistance on a reimbursable basis, using its own personnel, if the CDC so decided. Provision is made for careful evaluation of the management or technical assistance provided by the contracting firm or agency. The President is authorized to transfer the program to the Department of Commerce if he sees fit, as with title IV of the Economic Opportunity Act.

Part B—Other Provisions

Section 511 requires the Secretary of Labor to collect and compile statistics on subemployment in the Nation, with the goal of eventually using this more sophisticated concept in the computation of the development index used in this act.

Section 512 amends section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954 to permit State planning agencies to provide assistance to CDC's in urban area planning, using 75 percent Federal matching funds.

Section 513 amends section 312 of the Housing Act of 1964 to permit the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to make home and business rehabilitation loans in CDC areas, as well as in urban renewal areas and concentrated code enforcement areas, retaining the present provision that funds must be unavailable on reasonable terms from local sources.

Section 514 amends the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to permit the designation of CDC's as community action agencies, but prohibits community action grants to CDC's which have elected to be treated as normal business corporations, distributing dividends to stockholders.

A Projection of Costs for the Community Self-Determination Program

(Prepared by Matthew Edel, Peter Bohmer, and Chester Fenton, Department of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

These cost estimates and projections are based on the proposed Community Self-Determination Act, introduced in July, 1968 by a large group of Republican Congressmen. The program is designed to raise the economic levels, the local initiative, and the degree of local control of decision-making in low income communities. This paper constitutes an attempt to estimate the costs associated with the program, using three sets of assumptions.

I. Method of estimating costs

An approximate estimate of the costs of the Community Self-Determination Program to the public sector during the first three years of its operation can be made, based on a limited number of considerations which will be presented here. These considerations include the magnitude of the program, which might be limited either by a curtailment of the financial or structure incentives included in the present proposal, or by the "absorptive capacity" of the target communities—their ability to form community corporations and prepare plans for income producing enterprises which could be undertaken. They also include the approximate capital requirements for projects of different sizes (with size defined by estimates of jobs to be created), the administrative costs of the program, and the extent of Federal participation. An additional consideration may be the extent of job-training investment by the government.

These estimates do not include the possible losses to the government of tax revenue from businesses formerly owned by private corporations which may be purchased by community corporations and thereafter at lower rates, nor do they include estimates of offsetting revenue from lowered welfare payments or increased tax revenue stemming from newly-created employment in enterprises originated by community development corporations. These two items become large only after the first three years of the program, and, as illustrated by the long-run calculations in the second part of this paper, the increased revenues are likely to exceed the revenues losses, so this item need not be considered an additional cost.

In table 16, three possible three-year projections are made. The accompanying instructions permit alternate projections by the use of varying the assumptions.

The first line of the projection gives the number of new Community Development Corporations expected to be created in each year. A breakdown by urban and rural corporations is given. The first projection assumes the establishment of 450 corporations in the first three years. We regard this as an optimistic prediction, but one which would be entirely possible if the community development program were enacted at the beginning of FY 1970, with full national discussion having made most poor communities aware of the program by that time. Certainly in the two hundred or so cities where CAP programs are operating, and within these sometimes in several separate neighborhoods (eg, in New York, Harlem, Spanish Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, South Bronx, Lower East Side, etc.) there are some self-help organizations already functioning which could become the nucleus of community development corporations. We presume, in this estimate, that there would be a slump in the number of new CDCs the second year, after the obvious neighborhoods organized, and then a new increase the third year as low-income White neighborhoods began to take advantage of the program as well, and as CDCs also formed in smaller cities.

Rural development will obviously begin more slowly. In the long run, several hundred more communities than we have indicated might form community corporations, but, if anything, the estimate we give might be an upper limit. Accordingly, projection II assumes a smaller program during the first three years, Projection III uses the same absorptive capacity limit as projection I, but as will be seen, suggests that if costs are higher capital limits may limit the number of jobs. The reader may try other projections.

The second set of items projected is the number of jobs. We suggest that this number be loosely related to the number of communities in which it is expected that corporations can be formed. Obviously programs of different neighborhoods will vary in scope, but we feel that in many of them, up to five thousand jobs (maybe more in Harlem or Watts) may be projected. Rural projects and some urban ones will be much smaller. So we suggest that the projection, during the first year, be for fewer than 1,000 jobs per community (jobs including the eventual number of persons to be employed in businesses constructed or purchased that year, and including also therefore both new employment and employment of people in pre-existing jobs transferred to community ownership.) In the second and third years, up to 2,000 jobs for new CDC might be estimated, but some of the jobs would be provided for in CDCs formed in earlier years. In the three-year period, in total, we suggest the total number of jobs estimated not exceed 1,500 per CDC. (The projections we use are (I): 650,000 jobs for 450 boards; (II): 350,000 jobs for 300 boards; and (III): 433,333 jobs for 450 boards. This low third projection corresponds to a projections of limits on funding available, given higher costs.)

The third estimate made is of capital costs, either in new investment or in purchase of pre-existing assets by CDC enterprises. We make the following assumptions: Annual value added per man in the private sector varied in 1965, between 6,600 dollars in services and 22,000 dollars in finance. The figures for trade and manufacturing are $7,700 and $9,400 respectively (computed from *Survey of Current Business.*) It is a safe estimate that value added per worker employed on a full-time equivalent basis in the CDC enterprises will be $10,000 at maximum. The ratio between capital and value added may be multipled by value added per worker to give capital requirements per worker.

This capital output ratio we discuss in some detail in section IV of this paper. It is a crucial figure for these estimates. If careful selection of investments is made, it can be kept as low as 2.0 or even lower. This estimate is used in projections I and II, where multiplying this ratio by the $10,000 value added worker figure, a capital requirement of $20,000 job is estimated. In projection III, however, we take account of the possibility of a higher capital/output ratio of 3.0, which would require up to $30,000 investment per job. Given this higher cost, and the estimate that total investment not exceed that of projection I because more private investment might not be forthcoming, we arrive at the figures for the number of jobs projected in the third set of estimates.

The remaining lines of the estimates depend on the estimates of investment and of employment already made. They are computed in the following way.

Escrow Contributions: $114 million per $1 billion of new capitalization. This money is sequestered by the Federal Reserve out of its excess earnings to hold in government bonds earning interest at 4% over a twenty-year period. At the end of this period the sum will have grown, using annual compound interest, to $250,000,000 coverage of one-fourth of the private investment, as required in the proposed legislation.

USCBD: The contribution Federal Government to the U.S. Community Development Bank takes the form of stock subscription which will be returned in later years. Two hundred million dollars a year is estimated; this figure might be increased or decreased depending on Congressional action.

Matching Grants: The government will initially match the amount of CDC capital raised by community shareholders. We assume the contributions will be close to a million dollars per CDC organization, since there does seem to be something of a pool of capital available in the majority of major urban neighborhoods (note the experiences of groups like NEGRO.) However, this figure might be much lower. For legal recognition, at five dollars a head from 10% of the adults in a neighborhood being organized, as little as ten thousand dollars per CDC might be all that is mobilized.

Administration: This costs OEO seventy-five million dollars a year. Our estimate is that the Community Corporation Certification Board will cost no more than ⅔ of the amount. Even this might be an overestimate of costs, since the CCCB is a ministerial board and not an operating agency like OEO.

Management On-the-Job Training: Government will have to support training for personnel for community development enterprises. The cost of management OJT has been about three thousand dollars per man in some existing operations; we estimate it as higher in the CDC case, and predict a five thousand-dollar per man figure. It is necessary to make some estimate of what proportion of the jobs created will be managerial. Due to the high number of small firms within some parts of the program, especially in services, the number may be as high as ten percent of total number of jobs. So this figure is equal to number of jobs *times* one-tenth *times* $5000 in each year.

Worker OJT: The cost of MDTA on-the-job training will be about $1500 per man. It is necessary to make some estimate of the percent of workers requiring this training. We estimate twenty percent of the workers, but the reader may wish to recalculate using higher figures.

Conclusion: On the basis of these costs, and the assumptions already made that new tax revenues and diminished welfare expenditure will approximately offset tax losses, we estimate the total government expenditure in each of the first three years (FY's 1970, '71, & '72) as never exceeding $1.5 billion. In each of the first two years, under all three projections, it is less than $1 billion. Under the projection of a smaller program, it is less than $1 billion even in the third, most expensive year. Under the assumption of Projection I which we term optimistically large, but remotely possible, the cost to the government would be $658 million, $966 million, and $1478 million in the three years. We elaborate this projection further in later sections of this paper. Other estimates with a higher capital/output ratio would involve less government spending for a given amount of private investment (Projection III), but would have lower benefits. (See Table 1.) The reader may substitute other assumptions to deprive alternate figures. We doubt that any reasonable figures could, however, yield an estimated cost much above $1.5 billion to the Federal government in any year, and the cost would almost certainly decrease in succeeding years.

TABLE 1.—COST PROJECTIONS

	Projection I—Optimistic but possible			Projection II—Smaller program, same cost per job			Projection III—Same investment as I but more capital per man required		
Year	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Number of CDC's:									
(New)	150	125	175	75	100	125	150	125	175
Urban	100	75	75	50	50	50	100	75	75
Rural	50	50	100	25	50	75	50	50	100
Number of jobs worth of investment	100,000	200,000	350,000	50,000	100,000	200,000	66,666	133,333	233,333
Capitalization:									
At $20,000 per job (billions)	$2	$4	$7	$1	$2	$4	$2	$4	$7
At $30,000 per job									
Escrow contributions (millions)	$228	$456	$798	$114	$228	$456	$228	$456	$798
USCDB	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
Matching grants	100	100	150	50	75	125	100	100	150
Administration	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Management OJT	50	100	175	25	50	100	33	67	117
Worker OJT	30	60	105	15	30	60	20	40	70
Total cost (millions)	658	966	1,478	454	633	931	531	913	1,385

E. G. & G. ROXBURY, INC.

(Prepared by Dean R. Ericson, Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

EG&G Roxbury, Inc. (ERI) represents an effort by a large non-ghetto corporation to contribute to the solution of the unemployment and underemployment problems in Boston's ghetto. ERI also represents a response to the needs of the ghetto community for self-determination by including provision for management and staff from the Black Community, employee ownership, and, over a specified period of time, EG&G's reduction of its interests in ERI to that of a minority shareholder.

I. PROJECT HISTORY

EG&G, Inc., is an electronics research and engineering corporation, operating in Boston for 20 years, whose diversified activities include electronic and scientific instrument and product development, a broad range of technical services, and field operations management. EG&G employs over 9000 people.

EG&G's extensive background and involvement in training programs for the unemployed, military customers, and its own employees, its position as an equal opportunity employer, and its participation in the Plan for Progress give it a very real awareness of the problems of ghetto unemployment. As a result of this background and the attention focused on the urban ghetto after the Summer 1967 disturbances, a number of EG&G personnel became convinced that EG&G should augment its existing efforts at promoting the economic development of ghetto residents.

Thus, in the fall of 1967, an eight man "new venture" committee was formed, four of its members from the White Community and four from the Black Community, to consider the establishment of an EG&G subsidiary in the Roxbury area, along with related questions concerning product, ownership, skills, development, and employee career progression.

As a result of a number of format meetings, seven dozen informal meetings with leading representatives of the ghetto community, and trips to observe the operations of existing ventures throughout the country, it was decided that EG&G would make a significant investment of time and money to establish a ghetto-based subsidiary.

To this end, and after determining that utilization of existing EG&G product capabilities was not possible, EG&G on February 19, 1968 purchased the E. Van Noorden Company, a metal products manufacturer with plants in Roxbury and Quincy, Mass. The existing Roxbury personnel and operations were consolidated in Quincy and the Roxbury manufacturing subsidiary was remained EG&G Roxbury, Inc.

At this point, the prominent characteristics of this enterprise were, as they had evolved through the efforts of the "new venture" advisory committee:

1. the business was located within the ghetto community.

2. ghetto residents participated in the enterprise from its inception and throughout the initial planning stages.

3. there was provision for equity participation with the prospects of eventual majority ownership for ghetto residents.

4. management and staff came from the ghetto community.

5. strong emphasis was placed on the employment of the unskilled, hard-core unemployed, and programs for their training and upgrading of their skills. In this respect, unemployables were screened in rather than screened out.

II. OWNERSHIP

EG&G announced its acquisition, on Feb. 19, 1968, of the name and assets of the E. Van Noorden Co. for an undisclosed amount of EG&G common stock. EG&G then established its Roxbury branch of Van Noorden as EG&G Roxbury, Inc., including options therein for an initial offering of 20% of ERI stock to employees and management. In addition, EG&G's involvement in ERI is expected to diminish as follows: after 5 years, 50%; after 10 years, 40%; after 20 years, 25%.

The first public sale of stock will be at the five-year point. It is anticipated that, at this time, ERI will be economically viable and that the citizens of Roxbury, as well as ERI employees will be willing to increase their interest in the company.

Bertram Lee, Vice President and General Manager of ERI, estimates that ERI must take in $3 million in sales during its first year of operation in order to show satisfactory potential and, thus, motivate the desired community interest and investment.

III. MANAGEMENT

Following the concepts of self-determination and independent economic development, ERI is managed and staffed almost entirely by residents of the black Community.

The single exception is ERI's President, Mr. Edward J. Finn, EG&G's corporate director of administration and the man responsible for EG&G's overall ghetto improvement activities. His is a temporary appointment and, as he states, "The success of the company will dictate the speed of my departure as president."

From March, when it announced the formation of ERI, to June 1968, EG&G concentrated on recruiting managerial talent for ERI. This effort met with considerable success as competent Black businessmen were placed as Vice President and General Manager, Operations Manager, and Manager of Personnel and Training.

In addition, Black members of both EG&G and Van Noorden are being given the opportunity to participate in ERI.

IV. MANAGEMENT TRAINING

The development of the ERI management team will be through a Management Intern Program.

To this end, additional EG&G and Van Noorden staff members are initially providing managerial, marketing, and technical skills, advice, and training for ERI staff and management. No formal program has been set up and assistance is given on a "need" basis and only when asked for.

V. PRODUCTION WORKERS

ERI is presently training the first of two groups of 64 men who will eventually become full-time ERI employees in drafting, welding, or metal working.

These trainees are chosen from a labor pool created through the efforts of Action for Boston Community Development, Inc., and other local community organizations. A trainee will be selected from this pool using the following criteria:

1. He must meet the definition of hard-core disadvantaged.

2. he must possess the ability to be a trainee and thus be amenable to training.

Criterion #1 is very easy to fulfill since a definition of hard-core unemployed has been explicitly delineated by the Department of Labor.

Criterion #2 will be applied to the individual through subjective staff evaluation recommendations, the individual's expressed desire to participate, and performance throughout the training period. Previous work experience, education, and arrest and conviction records will not be considered in this selection process.

VI. TRAINING

Each trainee will participate in a six-month training program, the goals of which are to elevate the educational and social level of the trainee, provide and sustain training in drafting, metal working, and welding, and furnish the counselling and guidance necessary for each employee to continue his development toward his maximum vocational potential.

The program is designed to meet the diverse needs of the trainees by accommodating itself to each man's academic abilities and skills level. In addition, basic and continuing classroom instruction will interact with vocational instruction to strengthen both and to make the entire program more meaningful to the trainee.

EG&G has received a training grant from the Department of Labor under the MA2 program which will pay about $2000 per man for training. With the anticipated attrition rate, 150–180 will be trained for the 128 places available. If more than the estimated 128 complete training, jobs will be made available for them. The $2000 figure covers training costs for each man until he reaches a satisfactory level of productivity and is put on the regular company payroll and, in addition, will pay each man $80 per week while he is trained.

VII. PRODUCT AND MARKET

ERI's product choice was limited to one with a high labor/sales ratio in order to supply the needed community employment opportunity. In this regard, it was determined that the light to medium metal fabricating industry afforded the type of career growth environment necessary for the success of the venture. This choice subsequently led to the acquisition of E. Van Noorden & Co.

Generally, a company which establishes a ghetto-based operation has been in a position to purchase a significant portion of the firm's output thereby providing a guaranteed market during the firm's start-up period. EG&G, being a non-consumer oriented operation, unfortunately cannot offer this initial mar-

ket advantage. Thus, ERI, at this point, is in a very critical position while seeking large, profitable markets for its products.

Negotiations presently under way with three major companies which are expected to result in the establishment of the needed markets for ERI's products. In the meantime, ERI is working on part of a Van Noorden order backlog and EG&G will buy a limited amount of product.

Bertram Lee commented that there are three big problems which they continually encounter in trying to sell ERI to these potential customers:

1. Customers are loath to contract with an untried, inexperienced supplier. They would rather let someone else be the first ERI customers and contract with ERI themselves once it has a reputation and experience.

2. Government and certain industry contracts contain very rigid design specifications and tolerances which might be difficult for a new firm to meet.

3. ERI has to be careful not to jeopardize Van Noorden's product line.

ERI *does* have one advantage in negotiating with potential customers. This is its flexibility (ability to adjust to customer needs) as a result of its not yet being in operation.

THE GENESIS OF EG&G'S INVOLVEMENT

EG&G's involvement has proceeded in stages.

(1) EG&G complied with the Equal Employment Opportunity Act and, along with many other corporations, included the customary "We are an equal opportunity employer" in their recruiting efforts.

(2) This "neutral" action on the part of industry was replaced when it became obvious that an affirmative corporate commitment was needed. In this regard, EG&G actively solicited disadvantaged people and ghetto residents in its recruiting efforts.

(3) In addition, preferential treatment (in the form of in-plant training programs) was attempted. Problems arose here, though, because employees in many instances could not get to the suburban plant sites.

(4) The next step was to put the plant where the people were. This natural culmination of the evolutionary process outlined above was hastened by a new awareness of the increasingly critical nature of the situation. In particular, EG&G saw that Aerojet General's efforts in Watts had an ameliorative effect and the conclusion was reached that EG&G might do the same thing.

EG&G officials stress that the company's involvement was not the idea of one man but a distillation of many diverse ideas within a flexible organization.

SUMMARY

As a state of the art company EG&G wants to be a leader in applying business and industrial techniques to contemporary socio-economic problems.

EG&G has found that the ghetto is receptive to a company which wants to operate at a profit there and it expects to earn a profit from its involvement with ERI, although, admittedly, not as great as it could earn elsewhere.

The challenge for EG&G is to show that a company *can* earn a profit in the ghetto and that there is a great untapped and productive labor force among the ghetto residents.

An understanding of the mentality of EG&G is, naturally, important to an understanding of their decision to undertake this project. As a scientific, state of the art company they have a strong will to solve current problems.

In summary, then, EG&G is not investing in ERI out of purely altruistic motives. It *does* expect to earn a profit but this desire is tempered by altruism and, more importantly, the EG&G problem-solving mentality.

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS OF SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS ON OCTOBER 23, 1967, IN INTRODUCING S. 2572, A BILL TO ESTABLISH A DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I introduce, for myself and Senators ALLOTT, BOGGS, BROOKE, CARLSON, CASE, COOPER, DOMINICK, GRIFFIN, HATFIELD, JORDAN of Idaho, KUCHEL, MURPHY, PEARSON, PERCY, PROUTY, SCOTT, TOWER, and YOUNG of North Dakota, a bill to establish a Domestic Development Bank to assist in the development of employment and business opportunities in certain urban and rural areas.

* * * * *

THE DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK

First. The heart of the problem—unemployment and lack of business opportunity. The problems of unemployment and lack of business opportunity are the touchstones of this legislation.

We have been aware of massive and chronic unemployment in this country for some time, but a series of 10 Labor Department slum surveys conducted in November 1966, gave us a first clear idea of the staggering dimensions of the problem. These surveys showed that the unemployment rate in these areas was about 10 percent, or three times the average for the rest of the country, and that "unemployment—or subemployment—in city slums is so much worse than it is in the country as a whole that the national measurements of unemployment are utterly irrelevant." Moreover, there is evidence that the situation is deteriorating—the Labor Department reports that "social and economic conditions are getting worse, not better, in slum areas."

The second fundamental problem, one which we have tended to overlook in terms of Federal programs, is the lack of involvement of the rural or urban poverty area resident in the ownership and management of the business community which serves him. The riots have shown us the depths of this alienation and resentment in the cities as white-owned stores were burned and looted while "soul brother" establishments were spared. Though he is tragically mistaken, the slum Negro sees himself as having no stake in the economic life of his community and no realistic possibility of becoming a part of it—hence there is no community morality against destroying it.

We pride ourselves on our system of private enterprise, secure in the belief that where everyone shares in the responsibilities and benefits, all will remain guardians of the system and will prosper. We must now ask what we are prepared to do to insure that all groups do in fact participate and have a stake in the preservation of the economic system. We must now seek to train and assist men to become owners and entrepreneurs in our society with as much vigor as we are now training them to become other people's employees.

Nor is small business ownership important only for the city slum residents—in depressed rural areas too, the development of small business opportunities would aid to stabilize the local economy, check outmigration, and offer a kind of economic opportunity heretofore denied to the rural poor.

Statistics on this problem of lack of business opportunity are hard to come by, particularly in rural areas, but the Interracial Council or Business Opportunity, which provides technical assistance to minority group businessmen, has developed the following data:

New York City, with a Negro population of about 1,100,000, has only about a dozen Negro-owned or managed enterprises employing as many as 10 persons;

Over half of Newark's 400,000 residents are Negroes, but only a little over 10 percent of its 12,172 licensed businesses are Negro owned;

In Los Angeles, with an estimated 600,000 Negro residents, there are 131,039 licensed businesses of which almost an invisible fraction is owned by the Negro minority;

In Washington, D.C., where 63 percent of the citizens are nonwhite, only 13 percent of the businesses are owned by Negroes;

The Department of Labor's statistics show that of the 3,000,000 self-employed persons in the United States, only 70,000 or less than 3 percent, are nonwhite;

According to a Fortune article, from 1950 to 1960 there was actually a decline of one-fifth in Negro ownership and operation of business enterprises.

The Interracial Council for Business Opportunity concluded, after reviewing this data, that "violent appeals will be less likely to occur in communities where the stabilizing influence of a successful Negro business class exists."

Second. The role of economic development: It is apparent that if the forces that stimulate business formation and location could be put to work in or near poverty areas, we would have a technique which at one time strikes at both unemployment and lack of business opportunity. Under such an economic development strategy, the aim would be to create businesses which would be both job producing and which would open presently closed doors to business ownership for residents of urban and rural poverty areas.

We cannot, however, rely upon present private market forces and the continued growth and prosperity for the average citizen to solve the problem of rural and urban poverty. For, as the Department of Labor slum survey concluded:

"No conceivable increase in the gross national product would stir these backwaters."

And, in fact, present trends in economic development are contributing to a worsening of the situation, for businesses are leaving the core cities and the depressed rural areas.

Between 1954 and 1965, almost two-thirds of all new industrial buildings and a little over half of all new stores were constructed outside the central cities. In some cities, the flight of new construction was even greater—rising in Los Angeles to 85 percent of the new industrial buildings and 63 percent of the stores.

A report entitled "Program Planning for Economic Development," prepared by the Economic Development Administration, projected employment, income and population changes for each county in the United States and concluded that by 1975—

"Even if all the labor force absorbed by expanding job opportunities in suburban and outer-ring counties comes from the central cities, 9.8 percent of the population of the 25 largest metropolitan areas still must either migrate to smaller, rapidly growing counties or find jobs at home not projected by our analysis. This 9.8 percent is an enormous figure in absolute numbers—7.1 million persons (or 2.9 million jobs)."

The situation in the depressed rural areas is just as serious, and can be measured by the migration statistics. Some 11,000,000 Americans migrated from rural to urban areas between 1950 and 1960 and there is every indication that the trend will continue at least through the mid-1970's. The effects in individual cities are startling: for example, it is estimated that 1,000 displaced farmworkers pour into Watts every month. The magnitude of the in-migration trend is staggering: between 50 and 60 percent of nonwhites in those six Northern and Western cities of greatest Negro population—New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Washington, and Los Angeles—are in-migrants, and about 80 percent of those came from the South.

A new strategy of economic development, balanced between rural and urban areas, is urgently called for. This strategy must be carefully developed, in my view, so that it does not point irrevocably toward black core

cities surrounded by white suburbs. Great care must also be taken to insure that, in the cities, this strategy focuses upon the right kind of business development and ownership. Certain kinds of establishments are typically more able than others to thrive in the core cities. These urban industries include service companies, office buildings, construction firms, distribution companies, and light manufacturing—enterprises which do not require extensive land and/or produce massive displacement, and which do not have substantial air and noise pollution attributes.

Third. The leverage of financing: For these kinds of business, a key inhibition to location or development in a rural or urban poverty area is an inability to get financing for the construction or purchase of fixed assets or for working capital. This is particularly a problem for minority group business men. At the present time no significant amount of long-term, low-interest mortgage money is available from public or private sources for such industrial and commercial projects; a particularly severe problem is the lack of financing for most of project costs; for example, 90-percent mortgage loans. Typically, the only mortgage loans for commercial purposes which are now available would be on the order of 15- to 20-year loans of 50 percent of project costs at a "constant factor"—interest plus amortization of principal—of 9 or 10 percent. Such loans would be available in poverty areas only to well established, credit worthy borrowers. At these terms, there is no incentive to locate facilities in a poverty area and no opportunity for any other than the most credit worthy businessman to get financing.

By far the larger number of potential borrowers in poverty areas cannot get loans at all, despite the fact that a great many are excellent credit risks. Virtually no loans are available to "speculative builders" who would construct office or loft buildings without previously leased or sold all of the space. The fact is, quite simply, that the banks, insurance companies, and other lending institutions have better risks elsewhere, given the demand for money in this tight credit market. Perhaps the only companies which would not have these credit problems on moving into a slum area are the large corporations—the General Electrics and U.S. Steels—who tend to finance their expansion activities from internal capital or by selling their own notes on the market.

This analysis suggests, of course, the provision of long-term, low-cost credit as a vehicle for producing the desired economic development. An alternative approach has been suggested in two bills which would use tax incentives for economic development. Both of these tax incentive bills have been coauthored by my colleague, Senator PEARSON, of Kansas, and I myself am a cosponsor of one of them. I want, for a moment, to sketch out the connections and distinctions between this and a tax approach. I am convinced that they are not mutually exclusive. In the first place, a tax incentive will only stimulate the development or location of a business in a rural or urban poverty area if the businessman already has the credit to become established. Tax deductions and credits come into operation only after the business is established and is making a profit; such incentives do not aid the businessman to get his initial mortgage money or working capital. Since only the biggest and most credit worthy companies are eligible in today's money market for credit to establish facilities in these poverty areas, a tax incentive approach alone would tend to favor only the larger and more established corporations. But an economic development strategy for the core cities must also appeal to other than such corporations, for large manufacturing plants with large land requirements are not always well suited to urban location. Aside from air and noise pollution problems, they would tend to produce severe relocation difficulties for displaced residents and may not be physically desirable in most ghettos, which are essentially residential areas. Moreover, they would almost always be absentee owned operations, and typically would not provide the important psychological advantages of local ownership which a small- and middle-sized business assistance program might produce. Finally, important questions arise as to the relative effectiveness of a tax approach. Tax incentives tend to be on inflexible instrument, and cannot be readily tailored to fit the needs of individual industries, businessmen, or geographic areas. Moreover, because of the size of the incentive has to be determined in advance, it may later prove to be a windfall for some businessmen or too small to provide adequate incentives for others.

At any rate, the tax incentive approach should be coupled with the credit approach so that there is encouragement both at the establishment stage and during the ongoing operation of the business. The target of these two approaches tends to be different, both in terms of the point in time at which the incentive comes into play and the nature of the business to which it is most appealing.

Credit for plant construction and purchase of machinery is just as serious a problem in rural areas as it is in the cities. Many communities have issued industrial revenue bonds to finance land purchases and plant construction, but such bonds depend on the credit worthiness of the company and hence tend to be a source of financing only for the largest and best established corporations. Moreover, this use of tax-exempt bonds is under strong attack in the Congress and may itself be eliminated. In short, the provision of long-term, low-interest financing is also a keystone of rural economic development.

An economic development approach stressing credit would not, of course, eliminate the need for Federal programs in other areas. Small business management counseling and training programs must accompany any effort to provide credit, and I am hopeful that the new small business technical assistance program which I have authored under title IV of the Economic Opportunity Act will be approved by the Congress and will help to fill that need. Manpower training programs must also be continued and expanded, for it makes no sense to induce the location of job-producing industries in areas of high unemployment unless assistance is available to employers to upgrade and train those poverty area residents.

Fourth. The Domestic Development Bank legislation: The first bill that I am introducing today would propose the establishment of a Domestic Development Bank as a source of needed low-cost financing in high-risk areas. Aside from financing, it would also provide supportive technical assistance, insurance, and the opportunity for borrowers to avoid the redtape of a governmental program. In essence, it would be very much like the highly successful World Bank in its purposes, operations, and structure. The World Bank has demonstrated that the provision of attractive credit is a powerful development tool in underdeveloped areas and that such a venture can be economically sound—the Bank earned $169 million in net profits in the year ending June 30, 1967, and has never been required to call upon its reserves of government guarantees. The World Bank has made over $10 billion in loans and has raised over $3.4 billion from private investors for its development activities.

Another example of a banking institution of this type is Pridco—the Puerto Rican Industrial Development Company. Pridco has grown from a modest beginning to a $150 million organization with a gross income of $9.6 million in 1966, and has successfully sold several bond issues. It provides industrial facilities for sale or lease to industry, develops tourist facilities, grants short- and long-term loans to industry and engages in promotion and research activities. With the help of Pridco as the financing and real estate arm of its economic development program, Puerto Rico has attracted over 1,300 manufacturing enterprises to the island.

The Domestic Development Bank would be established by an act of Congress as a profitmaking corporation authorized to finance business and commercial projects where capital is not otherwise available on reasonable terms. The Bank would be empowered, in connection with such projects, to make loans, guarantees or participate in loans for plant, equipment, and working capital, and would be authorized to undertake insurance arrangements in connection with such facilities.

Such insurance arrangements might take the form of self-insurance on a project by the Bank, coinsurance between the Bank and the borrower, or reinsurance arrangements concluded by the Bank with insurance companies to protect the facility against casualty loss. Construction loans could also be made to construction companies in connection with the development of such business and commercial facilities.

Loans could go to businesses and projects of all sizes, both the large and middle sized job-producing enterprises and small business establishments which would tend to be locally owned. With small business loans, the Bank might choose to operate through guarantees to local banking and financial institutions or by using local banks as agents in handling the loans. Financing could also be made available to public or private organizations for essential infrastructure, such as transportation or power facilities, which could not be financed through other sources and which are needed to support private development, but this would not be the major purpose of the Bank. Mortgage loans, for example, would be on the order of 30-year terms for 90 percent of project cost at rates of about 6¼ or 6½ percent interest—or 7½ percent including amortization of principle. As a condition on financing the Bank would have to be satisfied that the borrower had adequate equity or other financial interest in the facility to insure his careful and business-like management of the project and to guard against fly-by-night operations; the share which the borrower would have to put up would vary according to conditions.

The Bank would not be authorized to make mortgage loans for residential facilities since Government agencies—FHA—are now engaged in such housing financing programs on terms which the profitmaking Bank probably could not better. But where housing is integrated with business facilities, as on the upper floors over retail stores, the mortgage loan could cover the entire project.

The Bank could take the initiative in bringing management and capital together for projects and could itself act as developer or owner of the particular facility until such time came when a private purchaser could be found. Unlike a tax incentive economic development scheme, which is essentially passive, the Bank approach would provide an active entrepreneurial agent.

The primary condition on all loans, would be that the project would have to be first, located in urban or rural poverty areas designated by the Secretary of Labor as an area having a high proportion of concentration or unemployed or low-income persons; or, second, generate new jobs of which at least 25 in number and not less than 50 percent are to be held by persons who prior to such employment were unemployed or low-income residents of eligible poverty areas. Indian reservations would qualify as eligible areas.

I think it is important to offer this alternative for at least two reasons:

First, it makes little sense to insist that a plant be located in a slum area if it could be

located, at less cost and at less disruption to the community, outside that area and still provide the needed job opportunities. Transportation assistance for workers can be provided as necessary under existing Government programs.

Second, and more important, it is probably unwise in the long run simply to focus on the slum itself by bringing jobs and plants within those areas. Efforts to improve the ghetto must be matched with efforts to open opportunities for its inhabitants outside. Otherwise, we only increase the magnet of the central city for the rural migrant, and we point resolutely in the direction of Negro occupied cities surrounded by white suburbs. At the present time, the tax incentive proposals are not drawn up in a manner which offers this option and opportunity for integration, and I am hopeful that the authors of those bills will accommodate this strategy. Certainly, to take the case of New York City, it does not make sense to insist that a large manufacturing company be located in Harlem if land is available in a nearby industrial park and if transportation can be arranged to get the workers from the ghetto to the job.

The borrower would have to be certified by appropriate local officials regarding acceptability of its proposed location, architectural design, and the provision of adequate relocation assistance for any families or businesses displaced. Further conditions would require that the Bank consult with and encourage the participation of local banking institutions, that it emphasize financing for facilities which will be owned by residents of eligible areas or in which opportunity for such ownership is made available, and that unemployed and low-income persons resident in the eligible area would be given preference in employment in the facility and in its construction. Other benefits, such as the generation of new small business opportunities in the supportive service trades and the esthetic benefits of new construction, would automatically accrue to the area.

The Bank would issue $2 billion in capital stock subscribed by the Federal Government. As was true of the World Bank, 20 percent of the Government subscription would be paid in initially—$400 million—with the Bank having a call on the remaining 80 percent—$1.6 billion—as a reserve to meet the Bank's liabilities on its own borrowings on the private bond market. In this manner, there would be a guarantee or reserve for private investors in the Bank's bonds. It would sell bonds at market interest rates, just like the World Bank, in order to raise the bulk of its loan funds; expected interest rates on the bonds would be approximately 6 percent. The initial $400 million paid in by the Government would be raised by the Secretary of the Treasury through sale of United States obligations on the market, so that there would be no draw on tax revenues to finance the Bank. This is the manner in which most of the U.S. Government contributions for the international development banks have been raised, including the World Bank, the Inter-American Bank, and the Export-Import Bank. Through this technique, only the credit of the United States is called upon; all the funds for the Bank's activities would come ultimately from private investors without burden on the taxpayer. The Government stock would earn dividends for the Treasury which should more than offset the cost to the Government of paying the interest and principal due on the Treasury bonds sold to finance its subscription to Bank stock.

This method of financing, using the sale of U.S. Government bonds rather than congressional appropriations, is necessary to insure private bond holders that the Government guarantee will be made good on the Bank's bonds. Otherwise, the Bank would have to go through the risky appropriation process whenever it called upon its reserves of Government stock.

The Bank would be organized through the establishment of a commission which would appoint incorporators. The Commission would be composed of the Vice President, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, the Director of the Office of Economics Opportunity, and the majority and minority leaders of the Senate and House of Representatives. The Commission would appoint incorporators, who would serve as the initial board of directors, two-thirds of whom would be representatives of the private sector and one-third Government officials or employees. The President would thereafter appoint the 18 directors, with the advice and consent of the Senate, for 4-year terms on a staggered basis—nine directors appointed every 2 years. Two-thirds of the directors would be from the private sector—six from business and finance, two from organized labor, two from private social welfare organizations or foundations which deal with the problems of poverty, and two representing the general public. The remaining six directors would be from government, including Federal, State, and local government.

The economic incentive provided by the availability of low-cost credit would be enormous. On the one hand, it would allow rents in business and commercial facilities to be up to one-third less than in areas where this financing was not available. Moreover, by providing a substantial percentage of project costs, the Bank would enable developers and industrialists to get their equity back within a very few years by use of the deductions presently available under the Internal Revenue Code. The Bank's bonds would be sold at competitive rates and I would hope that they would be particularly attractive investments for labor-management pension funds, foundations, insurance companies, and other investing organizations would like to put their capital to work in a socially useful as well as profitmaking manner.

THE POSTAL TRANSPORTATION ACT OF 1968

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, our Nation's transportation modes and patterns have changed drastically over the past 30 years, but the laws regulating the transportation of mail have remained relatively unchanged. The result is that the Post Office Department is unreasonably restricted in the type of transportation it can purchase to move the mail and in the flexibility it needs to obtain the best possible contract arrangements.

The Postal Transportation Act of 1968, introduced last week by the distinguished chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, would provide for long-overdue modernization of our postal transportation laws.

Among other things, this legislation would give the Postmaster General authority to contract for mail transportation services with regulated motor carriers and freight forwarders. The Post Office would be able to make arrangements with these contractors on the same basis as it now does with the railroads.

The present restrictions on use of regulated motor carriers and freight forwarders to transport mail severely handicaps the Post Office in making efficient use of the nationwide network of freight services provided by the rapidly growing trucking industry.

The bill would also give the Postmaster General authority to negotiate transportation rates with scheduled air carriers as well as with railroads.

The Postal Service should have the flexibility to make whatever transportation arrangements meet its needs. Efficient, economical mail delivery depends, in large measure, on the Department's authority to make full use of the complete range of services offered by our country's versatile transportation industry.

The Postal Transportation Act of 1968 would make this possible.

THE INSTITUTE OF COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, our Nation is faced with a massive shortage of qualified personnel in the computer industry.

Industry, educational institutions, government, in fact, most segments of our Nation have turned to the computer for efficiency and improved operations.

During this period of vast growth, the critical shortage of individuals who will operate this equipment has grown severe, with the result that there is a genuine threat to the continued expansion of our economy and essential services.

In our State, a number of schools have been developed to train high school graduates for this field.

One of the leading schools is the Institute of Computer Technology.

This school, founded in February 1965, is recognized by the State of New York and the Veterans' Administration, and is the only State-approved school on Long Island with IBM computer facilities.

The instructors are licensed by the State and have broad supervisory experience.

The school has offered scholarships to needy students and is conducting a widespread campaign to assist talented, underprivileged youngsters. They have done much to further the cause of equal opportunity in this field.

The course provides 260 hours of theoretical and practical instruction. Once a student completes his studies, he or she is able to be placed in industry with an excellent starting salary. After 3 to 4 years, a capable person with ambition can earn between $8,000 and $10,000 a year in this computer field. I would like therefore to compliment the founders of the Institute of Computer Technology, Martin Lerner, president, and Seymour Pack, secretary, who are making such an important contribution to this vital industry.

According to the U.S. Department of Labor, by 1975 a shortage of half a mil-

lion computer programers will exist in our country. It is essential that we encourage high-quality and ethical schools in order to meet this crisis.

AN ALL-OUT EFFORT FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM MUST BE MADE

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, throughout the 90th Congress which is rapidly coming to a close, the overriding issue which has governed virtually all our decisions both in domestic affairs as well as international matters, is that of Vietnam.

This war has required the Congress to appropriate for the current fiscal year some $70 billion for national defense in the largest, single appropriation bill ever enacted by the Congress of the United States. I should point out that today our national security is costing this Nation almost as much as did the operations of all Federal agencies of Government did 10 years ago when I first came to Congress.

This war also is serving as a catalyst for some of the violent dissension and disruption which we have been experiencing here at home, although in fairness to that vast majority of our young people who are accepting their responsibilities to serve in the defense of this Nation and a free world, it must be emphasized that these who violate the Nation's laws to express their opposition to the policies of their Government constitute a small minority of the younger generation. We have now in uniform, 3.5 million Americans. Nearly 3 million of these are volunteers who have enlisted in the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard of their own free will in order that they may meet their obligations to their Nation. These young Americans are serving their Nation without complaint, quietly but efficiently doing their job—this is the younger generation I am proud of.

Most important, however, is the tragic toll the war in Vietnam is taking in death and injury to our American servicemen. This is a loss that cannot be replaced. And it is for these young men that I give my fervent hopes and prayers that an honorable peace can be achieved as a result of the preliminary discussions that are now going on in Paris.

We were in Vietnam when I first came to Congress 10 years ago. We had become involved as a result of the conviction that it was in our own national interest that subversion and aggression should not succeed in Southeast Asia. Our presence there increased over the years under the administrations of Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and President Johnson, as these Presidents recognized the importance to this Nation of freedom and stability in this distant part of the world, and all the evidence indicated that successful aggression in Vietnam would greatly increase the danger of even worse involvement in other Southeast Asian areas. Many in this country have questioned the wisdom of our involvement in a land and people so far away from our own shores. We must remember, however, that the world really is a small place. Living around the Indian Ocean in an arch extending from Southeast Asia through India and Africa are approximately a third of all the peoples who live in this world. What happens to one of every three individuals on this earth must be of tremendous importance to the rest of us American citizens and the others in the free world and also those vast number of people who live in the Soviet Union and Communist China.

The basic fact of life is we are in Vietnam. The question we face today is: What do we do next?

As one who has always supported this Nation's efforts to reach a peaceful solution in this costly war, I hailed the decision earlier this year to halt the bombing of most of North Vietnam in what proved to be a successful attempt to bring this issue to the negotiating table. We all hope and pray that these preliminary talks will lead to a cease-fire in all of North Vietnam and that this will be followed by a true peace under which all peoples of South Vietnam will be allowed to follow a course of self-determination and our American servicemen and those of our allies soon will be able to return home.

Yesterday marked the 25th regular meeting in Paris between the representatives of the United States and North Vietnam. These discussions still are in a most preliminary stage. However, they do continue, so I feel that the road to peace still is available to us in spite of the apparent lack of progress which has been made since mid-May when the discussions first started.

Whether or not the discussions have had the impact on the military operations in Vietnam is problematical for the fighting sometimes appears to have slackened somewhat and yet on other occasions it increases in its intensity. I do not believe, however, the fact that we have not achieved a cease-fire during the past 5 months during which the talks have continued does not mean that these Paris meetings have been ineffective. To the contrary, I believe that we have established negotiations which have given us a foundation from which to build a true peace.

The preliminary talks have served to bring into better focus the key problems which are to be met if we are to restore peace in Vietnam. We on one hand, I think, better understand the positions which the North Vietnamese are maintaining. At the same time, I am quite sure they can appreciate the U.S. position which emphasizes three fundamental points:

First. The end of the bombing of the North should be accompanied with some sufficient reciprocal restraint on the part of the North Vietnamese regulars who are in South Vietnam in substantial numbers. The demands for reciprocity in the deescalation are justified in order to protect the American forces and especially those in the immediate vicinity of the demilitarized zone.

Second. A progressive reduction in the level of conflict throughout all of South Vietnam should be the next step toward deescalation. This would include the reestablishment of the demilitarized zone as a truly demilitarized area patrolled by neutral forces. But this cannot be done unilaterally by this country if the North Vietnamese continue their heavy infiltration of the regular forces. Deescalation, of course, would lead to the progressive withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Vietnam as the level of violence subsides.

Third. Any political settlement which is achieved must, in the eyes of the United States, be acceptable to the legally constituted Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

The North Vietnamese insist upon complete cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam without conditions of reciprocal restraint on the part of the North Vietnamese or the Vietcong. On several occasions in the past, we have halted the bombing without any sign of slackening of the infiltration, subversion, or aggression by the forces of Ho Chi Minh. The North Vietnamese also insist that any political settlement to be achieved in South Vietnam must be negotiated with only the National Liberation Front. While on the surface these positions may appear to be irreconcilable, there is room for give on both sides. Certainly the North Vietnamese sooner or later must recognize publicly that its regular forces are in the south and that there are many South Vietnamese spokesmen other than the Vietcong. They include the present Saigon government, the many religious groups, the professional and political groups now in and outside the Saigon government. The United States should also recognize the presence of political factions not presently a part of the duly constituted Saigon government, but who do speak for many of the peoples of South Vietnam. This includes, in all honesty and reality, the National Liberation Front, which is in truth, composed largely of citizens of South Vietnam.

Our ultimate goal in South Vietnam is self-determination for these people. This can best be expressed through truly free elections—balloting influenced by neither Hanoi nor Washington—but truly free elections in which all citizens, including members of the National Liberation Front and other dissident groups, may participate in peace and without fear, if they are willing to abide by lawful processes and to honor the results.

The United States should also recognize what is obvious every Thursday morning when the casualty lists are published. We are carrying the heavy burden of the war. Without minimizing our national interest in a peaceful and stable Southeast Asia, I am hopeful that in the near future the troops of the Republic of Vietnam will take on an ever increasing share of the burden of the fighting for freedom in their own country. Their forces have been strengthened, equipped and trained to do the job so that we can de-Americanize the war.

This, it would seem to me, could be followed by the next and logical step;

consolidation and concentration of U.S. military effort in the south which could, in turn, permit us with safety to halt the bombing of North Vietnam, especially if the border between North and South Vietnam were truly demilitarized with United Nations or other international body supervision. Such a step, I am confident, could lead to a complete cease-fire during negotiations which, I would hope, could be expanded by the reconvening of the Geneva Conference or a similar conference which would draw from many nations of the world the international resources needed to achieve a true settlement to bring peace and security not only to Vietnam but also to Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and all Southeast Asian nations who desire and deserve, as did we nearly two centuries ago, independence from outside aggression.

Our goals in Southeast Asia are limited. These limitations have made this war most difficult for us to prosecute and for many to understand. Our goal is not unification of the north and south of Vietnam. Our goal is not destruction of North Vietnam. Our goal is to repel aggression against South Vietnam and to demonstrate that aggression is not a legitimate extension of foreign policy and cannot be tolerated against a free world nation.

Attainment of these goals is in sight, I am confident. With wisdom, patience and dedication we can achieve an honorable and lasting peace in Vietnam which will serve the national interests of this Nation and also of the free and independent nations of Southeast Asia.

COLUMBUS DAY

HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on June 28 of this year President Johnson signed into law H.R. 15951, the uniform Monday holiday bill to become effective in 1971. This was a memorable day for all of us in the Congress who had worked so hard to establish Columbus Day as a national holiday. This new law contained a provision that the second Monday in October be set aside in memory of Christopher Columbus, the man who discovered this great country 476 years ago.

I have introduced legislation several times in the past to secure this day as a national holiday, and so this law marks the fulfillment of a dream which I have shared with many proud people throughout this Nation.

Christopher Columbus was a complex man, courageous and eager for adventure, yet at the same time, a singularly sensitive man with a deep religious faith. Clearly, these are not the characteristics of one man alone, but also the characteristics of the countless millions of immigrants who have followed Columbus to the shores of this Nation. His bold and daring venture has become symbolic of the ventures made by those of many countries in their search for "a new world" here in the United States.

The late President John F. Kennedy, my close personal friend and himself the son of an immigrant family, rightly called us "a nation of immigrants" and in honoring Christopher Columbus we will be honoring not only "the father of immigration" but all those who have come here seeking the promise of freedom and liberty. We are a nation strong in our heritage and it is in recognition of a significant part of this heritage that we, as a nation, honor Christopher Columbus and all that he has come to stand for.

Columbus Day will now be a special time to honor immigrants of all nationalities and to acknowledge their contributions to the building of a strong, just, and prosperous United States. I am pleased to have been chosen by the National Columbus Day Committee to receive their citation for my efforts in this area. It is a deep honor for me.

COMPARISON OF PARITY WITH WAGES

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, in 1962, the base years for computing farm parity were changed, which had the effect of lowering the ratio on feed grains and some speciality crops, and of raising it on livestock. This change would not of itself been damaging except for the fact that the U.S. Government had made price support commitments to farmers and the level of activity on the part of the Federal Government is based on trying to maintain the market price at or near the congressional intent. The level established by law for feed grains ranges between 75 and 90 percent.

Therefore, with the new parity computation in effect for corn, a very interesting comparison has developed over the years which in itself explains why there has been a multibillion dollar loss in farm income in the 12 Midwest States during 1967 because of the lower support level on this important feed grain.

The following chart and explanation has been prepared by Carl Wilken, analyst, here in Washington, and is presented for my colleagues' study:

	Farm price for corn (per bushel)	Farm price for wheat (per bushel)	Hourly wages in manufacturing industries
1943	$1.12	$1.36	$0.957
1944	1.09	1.41	1.011
1945	1.27	1.50	1.016
1946	1.56	1.91	1.075
1947	2.16	2.29	1.217
1948	1.30	1.99	1.328
1949	1.25	1.80	1.378
1950	1.53	2.09	1.440
1951	1.66	2.11	1.560
1952	1.52	2.09	1.650
Average	1.446	1.763	1.265
Average, 1946–60	1.52	2.02	1.287

Source of data for farm prices, 1955 Statistical Abstract, U.S. Department of Commerce, p. 666.

Source of data for wages, 1968 President's Economic Report to Congress, p. 245.

In July 1968 the price of products used by farmers was 355% of 1910–1914 as a base of 100. The true parity for corn should have been using the old formula 355% X 64.2 cents per bushel or been $2.23 per bushel instead of $1.60 the parity now being used.

In 1946–1950 the average price of corn was $1.52 and at an average of 100% of true parity. Since that period the consumer price as of July 1968 had increased 51%. Therefore an honest parity for corn at present should be 151% X $1.52 a bushel or $2.295.

With a 90% price support used successfully for 10 years to keep farm prices and the income of rural areas in balance with other segments of the economy the current support price would be 90% of $2.295 or $2.06 per bushel. Instead of this by using a dishonest parity equation the support price of corn is $1.05 or approximately 50% of what it should be to operate a solvent economy.

With such a support level for corn and other prices in comparison local banks would have ample funds to finance the agricultural industry independent of other financing. Rural America would be able to buy the goods and services which must be sold to earn current wage and capital costs.

A simple comparison of an average wage of $1.287 an hour in industry as compared to an average of $1.52 a bushel for corn with the current situation of $1.05 support price and $3 an hour for industrial wages proves how the income of rural America has been reduced to offset the costs for consumers in industrial areas. It represents very skillful exploitation with people in rural areas unaware of what has taken place.

The next President and Congress must restore economic balance between rural and industrial America or find themselves picking up the ruins of a complete collapse of our economy.

REPORT TO THE PEOPLE OF MINNEAPOLIS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, as the end of the session approaches I want again to report to the people of my district, Minneapolis, Minn., on the actions taken by this 90th Congress, and on my own position on major bills.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Passage of fair housing is the major accomplishment of this Congress in the civil rights field. If we now vote adequate appropriations to administer this law, the way will be open to make discrimination in housing a thing of the past.

CONGRESSIONAL MATTERS

The requirement for disclosure of outside income of Congressmen is an important feature of the standards of official conduct resolution put into effect by the House. The code of conduct spells out standards to be followed by both members and their employees.

These are welcome improvements in the official procedures of the House.

CONSERVATION

In these 2 years this Congress has taken action to preserve the precious heritage of our natural resources. The Redwood Park bill, the wild and scenic rivers bill—which includes the St. Croix River—the national trails system bill, and the Air Quality Act of 1967 are among the solid achievements we have made in the field of conservation.

In Minnesota we are looking forward to adoption of the Voyageurs National Park bill which has been introduced by all members of our State delegation from both sides of the aisle.

CONSUMERS

The truth-in-lending law will enable buyers and borrowers to know the actual interest rates being charged. The Wholesome Meat Act and Wholesome Poultry Act will help insure that clean, safe meat and poultry products are being sold in our grocery stores.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

The Federal grants made available by this Congress will help local law enforcement agencies meet the rise in rates of crime. Research, planning, equipment, and training will help professionalize our local police departments.

Special training for work with juveniles is provided in the new Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act. In addition, Congress has voted to restrict mail-order sales of guns.

EDUCATION

A $9 billion, 2-year continuation and expansion of our aid to local schools certainly has been justified. In addition, the new Vocational Education Act will be especially helpful with its added emphasis on reaching the disadvantaged.

The GI bill for Vietnam veterans will bring a college degree within reach of thousands of young men and women returning from the service. Student aid and college construction grants and loans totaling more than $3 billion a year have been continued by this Congress.

The Health Manpower Act extension will make available assistance in training nurses and other health personnel who are in critically short supply.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

The 13-percent increase in social security benefits that went into effect last winter was badly needed.

Other important legislation passed by this Congress includes the National School Lunch Act and the half-billion dollars for flexible support of health programs, including rat control, under the Partnership for Health Act.

HOUSING

Districts such as Minneapolis will be helped by the $5 billion Housing Act passed last summer. Homeownership for low- and moderate-income families will be made possible through subsidies that lower mortgage interest costs.

Flood and riot reinsurance programs will cut down the unusual risk and hardship suffered by some property owners.

TAXATION

The need for the 10 percent surtax to halt inflation and meet the costs of the Vietnam war is generally understood by the people of the United States, although the delay in enactment was unfortunate. In 1964, when our economy needed the stimulation of more consumer buying, taxes were cut by 20 percent.

The Revenue and Expenditure Control Act adopted last winter requires a reduction of $6 billion in expenditures during fiscal year 1969.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I would like to place in the RECORD a table which lists major legislative proposals before this Congress and my position on these bills and resolutions:

REPRESENTATIVE DONALD M. FRASER'S 1967-68 RECORD IN CONGRESS

Bill	Date of House action	Representative Fraser's position	Final status
CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES			
Civil Rights Commission, Public Law 90-198	July 11, 1967	Supported	Adopted.
Federal Jury Reform Act of 1968, Public Law 90-274	Feb. 26, 1968	do	Do.
Civil Rights Act of 1968, Public Law 90-284	Aug. 16, 1967	do	Do.
CONGRESSIONAL MATTERS			
Standards of Official Conduct, H. Res. 1099	Apr. 3, 1968	do	Do.
Standards for Congressional District, Public Law 90-196	Oct. 17, 1967	do	Do.
Special Committee on Campaign Expenditures, H. Res. 1239	Aug. 1, 1968	do	Do.
Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967, S. 355		Supports	In committee.
Election Reform Act, H.R. 11233		do	In House.
CONSERVATION			
Air Quality Act of 1967, Public Law 90-148	Nov. 2, 1967	Supported	Adopted.
Nuclear Desalting Plant, Public Law 90-18	Apr. 20, 1967	do	Do.
National Trail System Act, H.R. 4865	July 15, 1968	do	Do.
Redwood Park bill, S. 2515	do	do	Do.
National Water Commission, Public Law 90-515	July 12, 1967	do	Do.
Scenic Rivers, S. 119	Sept. 12, 1968	do	Do.
Colorado River Basin project, Public Law 90-537	May 16, 1968	do	Do.
CONSUMER			
Consumer Credit Protection Act, Public Law 90-321	Feb. 1, 1968	do	Do.
Clinical Laboratories Act, Public Law 90-174	Sept. 20, 1967	do	Do.
Flammable Fabric Act, Public Law 90-189	Nov. 27, 1967	do	Do.
Fire Research and Safety Act, Public Law 90-259	Feb. 8, 1968	do	Do.
National Commission on Product Safety, Public Law 90-146	Nov. 6, 1967	do	Do.
Wholesome Meat Act, Public Law 90-201	Oct. 31, 1967	do	Do.
Automobile Insurance Study, Public Law 90-313	May 7, 1968	do	Do.
Interstate Land Sales, Full Disclosure, Public Law 90-448	July 10, 1968	do	Do.
Wholesome Poultry Products Act, Public Law 90-492	July 1, 1968	do	Do.
Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act, Public Law 90-481	July 2 1968	do	Do.
CRIME			
Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act, Public Law 90-351	Aug. 8, 1967, and June 6, 1968.	Supported House bill; opposed Senate amendments.	Do.
Commission on Obscene Materials, Public Law 90-100	Aug. 7, 1967	Supported	Do.
Juvenile Delinquency Act, Public Law 90-445	Sept. 26, 1967	do	Do.
State Firearms Control Assistance Act	July 24, 1968	do	At White House.
Committee To Investigate Crime, H.J. Res. 1	July 12, 1968	do	In Senate.
Drug abuse amendments, H.R. 14096	do	do	Do.
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT			
Appalachian Regional Development Act, Public Law 90-103	Aug. 14, 1967	do	Adopted.
EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND ANTIPOVERTY			
Public Broadcasting Act, Public Law 90-129	Sept. 21, 1967	do	Do.
Elementary and Secondary Education, Public Law 90-247	May 25, 1967	do	Do.
Teacher Corps, Public Law 90-35	June 27, 1967	do	Do.
Vocational Rehabilitation Act, Public Law 90-99	Aug. 21, 1967	do	Do.
Vocational Rehabilitation, Public Law 90-391	May 6, 1968	do	Do.
National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, Public Law 90-348	Feb. 27, 1968	do	Do.
Economic Opportunity Act, Public Law 90-222	Nov. 15, 1967	do	Do.
Higher Education, Public Law 90-460	July 25, 1968	do	Do.
Vocational Education, H.R. 18366	July 15, 1968	do	At White House.
Food Stamp Act, H.R. 18249	July 30, 1968	do	Do.
Manpower Development and Training, H.R. 15045	Sept. 5, 1968	do	In Senate.
Guaranteed Employment Act of 1968, H.R. 12280		Supports	Hearings held.
FEDERAL EMPLOYEES			
Postal Revenue and Federal Salary, Public Law 90-206	Oct. 11, 1967	Supported	Adopted.
Federal Employee Protection Against Invasion of Privacy, S. 1035		Supports	In committee.
FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY			
Peace Corps, Public Law 90-175	Oct. 23, 1967	Supported	Adopted.
Emergency Food Aid to India, Public Law 90-7	Mar. 9, 1967	do	Do.
Inter-American Development Bank, Public Law 90-88	July 26, 1967	do	Do.
Export-Import Bank, Public Law 90-267	Feb. 7, 1968	do	Do.
Selective Service, Public Law 90-40	May 25, 1967 and June 20, 1967.	Supported House version; opposed conference report.	Do.
Uniform Services Pay Act of 1967, Public Law 90-207	Oct. 26, 1967	Supported	Do.
Military Base Construction, Public Law 90-408	April 25, 1968	Opposed	Do.
Foreign Assistance, H.R. 15263	July 18, 1968	Supported	At White House.
Military procurement, Public Law 90-500	July 11, 1968	Opposed	Adopted.
Foreign Military Sales Act, H.R. 15681	Sept. 10, 1968	Supported	In Senate.
Arms Control and Disarmament Act, Public Law 90-314	Mar. 6, 1968	do	Adopted.
HEALTH AND WELFARE			
Social Security, Public Law 90-248	Aug. 17, 1967	do	Do.
Older Americans Act, Public Law 90-42	June 19, 1967	do	Do.
Mental health amendments, Public Law 90-31	May 17, 1967	do	Do.
Mental Retardation Act, Public Law 90-170	Sept. 20, 1967	do	Do.
Partnership for Health, Public Law 90-174	do	do	Do.
National Eye Institute, Public Law 90-489	Aug. 1, 1968	do	Do.
Health Manpower Act of 1968, Public Law 90-490	do	do	Do.
Occupational Health and Safety, H.R. 17748		Supports	In House.
Public Health Service, H.R. 15758	July 12, 1968	Supported	In conference
National School Lunch Act, Public Law 90-302	July 1, 1968	do	Adopted

REPRESENTATIVE DONALD M. FRASER'S 1967-68 RECORD IN CONGRESS—Continued

Bill	Date of House action	Representative Fraser's position	Final status
HOUSING			
Housing and Urban Development Act, 1968, Public Law 90-448	Aug. 10, 1968	Supported	Adopted.
LABOR			
Monday Holidays, Public Law 90-363	May 9, 1968	do	Do.
Situs Picketing, H.R. 100		Supports	In House.
Coverage of Agricultural Workers Under NLRB, H.R. 16014		do	Do.
PUBLIC WORKS			
Federal Aid Highway, Public Law 90-495	July 3, 1968	Supported	Adopted.
Rivers and Harbors, Public Law 90-483	July 15, 1968	Opposed	Do.
Accessibility of Federal Buildings to the Physically Handicapped, Public Law 90-480.	June 7, 1968	Supported	Do.
TAXATION			
Revenue and Expenditure Control Act, Public Law 90-364	Feb. 23, 1968	do	Do.
Interest Equalization Tax, Public Law 90-219	Mar. 15, 1967	do	Do.
Investment Tax Credit, Public Law 90-26	Mar. 16, 1967	do	Do.
Interstate Taxation Act, H.R. 2158	May 22, 1968	do	In Senate.
Foreign Travel Tax, H.R. 16241	Apr. 4, 1968	do	Do.
VETERANS			
GI Bill for Vietnam Veterans, Public Law 90-77	Mar. 20, 1967	do	Adopted.
Veterans Mortgage Insurance Act, Public Law 90-301	Mar. 26, 1968	do	Do.
Service-Connected Compensation Increase for Veterans, Public Law 90-493.	June 6, 1968	do	Do.

STATUS OF KEY BILLS SPONSORED OR COSPONSORED BY CONGRESSMAN FRASER

Number	Subject	Status
H.R. 2858	Redwood National Park	Adopted.
H.R. 6041	Social Security Amendments	Do.
H.R. 6635	Nationwide system of trails	Do.
H.R. 7422	D.C. Crime Reduction Act of 1967	Do.
H.R. 7745	Institute of International Affairs Act	Hearings held.
H.R. 9862	Reclassify positions in postal field service	Adopted in part.
H.R. 10557	Child day care centers	Hearings held.
H.R. 10913	Davis-Bacon Act for leased buildings	Pending.
H.R. 12281	Guaranteed Employment Act	Hearings held.
H.R. 13042	D.C. Elected Board of Education Act	Adopted.
H.R. 13196	New Jobs Act	Pending.
H.R. 13847	Aircraft Noise Abatement	Adopted.
H.R. 13926	Revenue Sharing Act	Pending.
H.R. 14942	Arms Control and Disarmament Act	Adopted.
H.R. 15533	Bulk mail rates for neighborhood associations	Pending.
H.R. 15675	National School Lunch Act	Adopted.
H.R. 15690	Wild and Scenic Rivers Act	Do.
H.R. 15799	Selective Service Reform	Pending.
H.R. 16125	Federal Employee Labor-Management Act	Do.
H.R. 16291	Stronger neighborhoods	Adopted in part.
H.R. 16461	Vocational education	Adopted.
H.R. 17708	State Firearms Control Assistance Act	At White House.
H.R. 17145	To establish a Commission on Hunger	Passed House.
H.R. 17722	Food Stamp Act	Adopted in part.
H.R. 17781	Joint Funding Simplification Act	Hearings held.
H.R. 17914	Gun Crime Prevention Act	Defeated in House.
H.R. 18242	National Foundation for Social Science	Pending.
H.R. 18339	Employment Incentive for AFDC	Do.
H.R. 18761	Voyageurs National Park	Do.
H.R. 18976	Community Self-Determination Act	Do.
H.R. 18982	Prohibiting switchblade knives	Do.
H.R. 19196	Social Security increase of $7.50	Do.
H.R. 20189	Graduate Education Act	Do.
H.R. 20407	More Effective Schools Act	Do.
H.R. 20408	Commission on Reorganization of Executive Branch	Do.
H.R. 20410	Sharing Federal tax revenues	Do.
H.R. 20411	Medicare to include drugs	Do.
H.R. 20412	Tax Reform Act	Do.
H. Con. Res. 747	Repeal Gulf of Tonkin resolution	Do.
H.J. Res 391	Convention of North Atlantic nations	Passed by committee.
H. Res 424	Committee on Standards of Official Conduct	Adopted.
H. Res 1303	Condemning invasion of Czechoslovakia	Pending.

REPORT SUMMARIZES THE PRINCIPAL ISSUES WHICH OUR NATION FACED

HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, by leave granted me to revise and extend my remarks, I am inserting my 90th report into the RECORD today for the information of my colleagues in the House.

This report summarizes the principal issues which faced our Nation over the past 2 years and details the legislative program I have begun in seeking solutions to our country's problems.

In addition, I have included a questionnaire in which I ask the constituents of the Fourth Congressional District of Georgia to share their views with me so that I may more intelligently cast their vote in the Congress.

The material follows:

NINETIETH REPORT: FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS OF THE 90TH CONGRESS

FOREWORD

In 1966 and now in 1968, the issues that face our nation are the same; only the opportunity to resolve them has changed.

In this report, I have listed the most important bills and resolutions I have introduced over the past two years. I feel they are positive assertions of a new approach in Washington.

Recently, I reviewed the position paper I issued on Friday, September 9, 1966, when I announced my candidacy to represent the people of the Fourth Congressional District in the Congress of the United States. I was not surprised to find that the issues facing the nation in 1966 are the same as those that face us in 1968.

You would think that an Administration, knowing two full years in advance that their programs were wasteful and inefficient would honestly seek to change them.

You would think that spending programs which were severely damaging the national economy, creating inflation and reducing the value of the dollars we earn each day, would be voluntarily curtailed.

You would think that a foreign policy which has caused America to lose its friends and prestige abroad would be reviewed and new directions taken.

Certainly, the ill-advised and self-defeating policy of "gradualism" in Vietnam should have been changed long ago.

However, with all of these storm warnings repeatedly displayed, the Administration used its control of the House and Senate to ask for more of the same.

The mood of the American public is one of restlessness and dissatisfaction with the tired policies of the past.

I feel that I have offered positive programs for solving the major problems facing our country. Many programs I have supported have become law, while many of them have been sidetracked in favor of Administration proposals, continuing and extending programs doomed to failure and a waste of the taxpayers' dollars.

During the past two years, I introduced some 50 bills and resolutions. This legislation represents, on the main, the new approach that will restore our government to the people, reduce the over-riding influence of Federal agencies; and set better goals, efficiently and properly adminstered, for programs designed to assist those who need our help in these years of affluence.

The American people will repudiate the drift of the past seven years and will call for new direction at all levels of the Federal establishment.

Prior to the recess for the two national conventions, my attendance record was 87%. Needless to say, due to increased activity in the District for purposes of campaigning, my attendance record has suffered. In one 24-hour period alone, there were 40 quorum calls, a device used to apply pressure upon the House leadership to bring up a bill for much needed reforms of the operation of the Congress itself. I missed that 24-hour period, along with a number of other Congressmen in like circumstances. Quorum calls, per se, do not reflect a person's support of specific legislation, although they can be used as a parliamentary device, as in this instance, to apply pressure to the leadership. Because I am very much in favor of Congressional reform and have indicated my support for such reform by public statements and writings in recent months, I feel that these tactics are thoroughly justified.

PROBLEMS WHICH FACE GEORGIANS AND ALL AMERICANS IN 1966 AND 1968

In 1966, I stated "every citizen is aware of the problems we face as a nation". The first of these is "the unending war in Vietnam thousands of miles from our shores—a war which the administration pledged to avoid . . ." and a war in which "loyal Americans are united in support of our troops in Vietnam".

There are no clear-cut answers to the Vietnam war, but I didn't feel that I could resolve any conflict of ideas concerning it un-

less I visited the scene itself. In September, 1967, I visited Vietnam; to discuss with our troops the merits of the arguments pro and con concerning this war. I found our troops and their military leaders with high morale, confident they could win this war, *if allowed to fight to win.*

I found, also, that our men felt this was the place to stop international Communism, stating it was better to fight it here than closer to home. I determined through discussions with top-ranking American officers, and later with top-ranking Chinese officials on Formosa, that the Communists seek the rich rice-growing regions of South Vietnam to feed the hungry millions in China and elsewhere. I found that, almost universally, our military men felt we should blockade Haiphong; that we should also stop the flow of military supplies up the Mekong River to Cambodia and Laos; and that the protection given to vital military targets in North Vietnam should be removed so that our pilots could destroy them.

The young men we send to fight are constantly running the risk of losing their lives and we, as a nation, do not have the right to ask them to give a 100% commitment of themselves while we do less than give them full support.

I have long felt that our failure to permit military men to handle the military decisions of the war has protracted the struggle with continuing losses of our own men and treasure.

The continuing refusal to blockade the port of Haiphong, accompanied by the present partial bombing limitation, has vastly improved the capability of the North Vietnamese to supply their troops with war material in South Vietnam.

There is some comfort in the much-publicized increase in effectiveness of the South Vietnamese army units. We continue our hope that these units can assume more of the burden of ground fighting and relieve American units.

There are those who propose indefinite negotiations under present conditions and are apparently willing to accept the loss of 200 to 400 American lives each week, and thousands of wounded for years on end.

This visit left me with one major conclusion concerning the Vietnam war: At the present time, if our military leaders say we cannot win this war, we should seek a means to withdraw with honor. However, if our military leaders say we can win, then let's win it.

I am absolutely opposed to any compromise with the Communists that will call for a surrender of the cause for which our young men have been fighting. I cannot believe the American people will be willing to see their young sons killed and maimed in Vietnam for years on-end following a shadowy policy of gradualism which has proven to be self-defeating by its very nature.

OUR NO. 1 DOMESTIC PROBLEM: CRIME AND A GROWING DISRESPECT FOR LAW AND ORDER

In 1966, I said, . . . "all Americans and certainly, we in the greater Atlanta area, are appalled at the growing disrespect for the processes of law and order . . . the recent riots have indicated that the spreaders of hate can strike even here . . . and we find our courts and police authorities hampered by decisions of the Supreme Court which seem more designed to encourage lawlessness than to punish law breakers".

It is more than coincidence that the major crime rate has increased over 88% in the past seven years, while during the same time the growth of the population has been only 10%. *Crime is growing nine times faster than our population!*

Many Americans are afraid to walk public parks by day and neighborhood streets by night. PTA meetings and church programs are not fully attended if held at night. Public libraries and museums are under used. Poor people spend money they cannot afford on taxis because they are afraid to use public transportation. And homes are literally barricaded at night by all manner of locks, bars and protective devices.

This is not in unfounded fear. The FBI reports a murder is committed every 48 minutes, a forcible rape every 21 minutes, a robbery every 3 and one-half minutes, and aggravated assault every 2 minutes, and a burglary every 23 minutes. *On the average, a serious crime is committed every 10 seconds.*

A first and fundamental responsibility of government is protecting the life, property, and liberty of its citizens. The responsibility requires that all appropriate steps necessary be taken to prevent and control crime.

There has been an appalling lack of leadership and support for the development of a nationwide attack on crime from the present Administration and its representatives in the Justice Department.

In fact, everyone is aware of public statements by these men advocating resistance to laws with which one does not agree, creating a widespread belief that violation of law is to be regarded as right and proper.

I felt one of the most important pieces of legislation needed immediately was a bill to assess heavy penalties upon those who use guns in the commission of felonies which have traveled in interstate or foreign commerce.

Under my bill, conviction the first time carries a *mandatory penalty of 10 years.* A second conviction carries a *mandatory penalty of 25 years' imprisonment.* FBI facts indicate hardened criminals avoid committing acts which involve mandatory penalties upon conviction. The substance of my proposal was incorporated into the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. It is under the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act that Federal funds have been made available to assist police departments in the purchase of modern police equipment. It was proposed that the Department of Justice directly administer these funds and directly subsidize local police units. Anyone who has been alert to the degree of control which is inherent in direct federal subsidies (local school systems find themselves harrassed by Federal red tape and regulations when Federal funds account for as little as 1% of school operating costs) will be in agreement with the position adopted by me and the majority in the Congress that such funds should be administered through the states. When our Attorney General has publicly admitted that he doesn't understand the term "law and order", I prefer that he not have any voice in the operation of our local police departments.

The crime problem is much too widespread to be resolved by single pieces of legislation, however. Needed is a nationwide policy and legislative package to develop and expand the role of the states in crime control; provide for a nationwide crackdown on organized crime; prevent and control juvenile delinquency; make reforms and improvements in the administration of criminal justice; and move to eliminate the underlying causes of crime.

BEN B. BLACKBURN'S LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

H.R. 4582: The Human Investment Act. This bill provides a tax credit to those industries that establish plants in blighted or "poor" areas.

H.R. 7608: Increase Income Tax Deduction. This bill will raise the standard deduction on Federal income taxes from $600 to $1,000 per person.

H.R. 9135: The Home Ownership Foundation Act. This bill provides assistance to low-income families in securing homes.

H.R. 11385: War on Waste. This bill states that there is a great deal of waste and duplication within the Federal government, and it instructs the President to set up an executive commission to study waste that is occurring and make recommendations on how to eliminate it.

H.R. 11602: The Truth-In-Lending Bill. This legislation calls for the disclosure of the full amount of interest charged by banks and retail establishments so that consumers may see exactly what their interest charges will be.

H.R. 11636: Social Security amendments. This proposal would require that Social Security benefits be increased automatically as the cost of living increases. This would take Social Security out of the political realm and make the benefits more realistic for those dependent upon them.

H.R. 13313: Diploma School of Nursing. This bill provides that Diploma Schools of Nursing may share in present Federal grants designed to assist in expansion of libraries and other teaching facilities. Nationally, 65% of nursing graduates come from Diploma Schools of Nursing.

H.R. 13419: Removing import duties on Cuprophane. This bill removes the tariff on a cellophane membrane, Cuprophane, used in artificial kidney machines. This legislation resulted from conversations with Dr. John Sadler, Atlanta Artificial Kidney Center.

H.R. 13503: Tax credit for higher education. This bill provides a tax credit of up to $675 for anyone to attend colleges, business, technical and other types of vocational schools.

H.R. 13753: Gun bill. This bill provides a mandatory sentence of 10 years upon conviction of a felony in which a gun is used which has been transported in interstate or foreign commerce. Second offenses incur a mandatory penalty of 25 years in prison.

H.R. 13917: Economic Crusade Act. This is the Republican alternative to O.E.O. It provides for funneling of poverty funds through the state, abolishes the Job Corps; sets up neighborhood job centers; increases funds for the Head Start Program; abolishes the Office of Economic Opportunity and transfers its functions to various departments already in operation.

H.R. 13978: Overruling of confessions by the Supreme Court. This bill provides that the Supreme Court cannot overrule or review a decision by any lower court in a case where a confession has been obtained, unless this confession was obtained through the use of coercive force.

H.R. 14699: The L.S.D. Bill. This bill makes it illegal to compound, sell or transport L.S.D. without a doctor's prescription. It increases penalties for selling L.S.D. to minors.

H.R. 14953: Highway Trust Fund. This legislation would provide that any stoppages or delays in fully utilizing funds collected for the construction of the interstate highway system would be unauthorized as a matter of law. The purpose of this bill was to compel the executive branch of the government to not interfere further with the speedy completion of this system.

H.R. 16066: Right of American citizens to purchase gold. This bill provides that upon the passage of any measure to remove the 25% gold cover, the Secretary of the Treasury must sell gold to any American citizen who desires to hold gold.

H.R. 16256: A national system of trails. This bill instructs the Secretary of the Interior to place certain trails under the National System of Trails; instructs him to investigate other areas of historical and recreational interest; and instructs the Secretary of HUD to investigate and form trails in metropolitan areas.

H.R. 16257: Clean Lake Act. This instructs the Secretary of the Interior to make grants and to contract with local or state governments in cleaning up public lakes.

H.R. 16258: Tax Credit for Air and Water Pollution Facilities. This bill provides a tax credit on the cost of any pollution control facility installed by private industry or an individual.

H.R. 16306: Manpower Development and Training Act of 1968. This bill is part of the Republican Human Renewal Fund proposal. It provides a tax credit for industries locating in blighted areas; it provides a program to give public works contracts to citizens on relief; sets up corporations to coordinate and provide technical assistance to employees who hire "hardcore unemployed".

H. Res. 708: The Mid-East War. This resolution asks that Israel be recognized by the Arab nations and that all nations in the Mid-East area should work together for their mutual benefit.

H. Res. 911: *The Effects of East-West Trade.* This resolution creates a select committee, to investigate the effects of East-West trade.

H. Res. 961: Highway Funds. This resolution states that the intent of Congress was to have the interstate highway system completed within 13 years and that all highway systems were to be completed at the same time. It is illegal for the President to regulate or otherwise distribute the funds which have been placed in the highway trust fund. Also, it states that in the interest of saving lives, the highway trust fund should be released immediately.

H. Res. 1109: Diplomatic Relations with U.A.R. This resolution states as the sense of Congress that as long as Nassar refuses to recognize Israel and continues his anti-American moods, diplomatic relations should not be resumed and we should not grant economic aid to the U.A.R.

H. Con. Res. 392: Panama Canal. This concurrent resolution states that the sense of Congress is dedicated to the defense of the United States and that the Panama Canal should remain under the jurisdiction of the United States.

H. Con. Res. 524: The Overthrow of Fidel Castro. This concurrent resolution provides that the U.S. should urge and promote the overthrow of the Castro regime in order to prevent the spread of Communism in this hemisphere and to prevent further subversive activities by Cuban Communists.

H. Res. 483: Prosecution of Draft Violators. This resolution instructs the Attorney General to prosecute all persons who are willfully violating the Selective Service laws of the United States.

H. Res. 665: Anti-Riot bill. This resolution brings the anti-riot bill before the House for consideration.

H.J. Res. 759: This resolution provides presently that cities will be encouraged to have the inhabitants of slum areas patrol these areas in order to prevent civil disobedience.

H.J. Res. 900: Commission on Economic Development. This joint resolution sets up a commission to study the economy of the U.S. at the present time and to make recommendations on how the government could improve the economic life of the U.S.

H.J. Res. 984: National School Safety Patrol. This joint resolution designates the second week in May as National School Safety Patrol Week.

H.J. Res. 1095: Territorial Limit. This joint resolution states that any country's ships or nationals whose country's territorial limits extend beyond three miles, the U.S. territorial limits will extend out as far as 12 miles or equal to the territorial limit of said nation.

H. Con. Res. 773: Sale of Computers. This concurrent resolution expresses the dissatisfaction of Congress with any sale of computer equipment to Communist countries.

H.R. 17411: Freedom of Choice Act of 1968. This bill provides that Federal Employees have the right to refrain from joining labor unions if they choose.

H.R. 18525: Federal Government and Private Employer's Partnership Act of 1968. This bill would subsidize the wages of persons who lack sufficient job skills to earn the minimum wage. The purpose of the subsidy is to encourage small businessmen to hire such unskilled persons and place them in training programs with a view toward opening more job opportunities for persons now unemployable, train them for jobs for which vacancies now exist and give such unemployables the realistic assurance that upon completion of training, meaningful employment will be available. This proposal would represent a small fraction of the cost per trainee of the present ineffective Job Corps program and would serve as a substitute for that program.

H.R. 18574: Executive Reorganization and Management Improvement Act. This bill provides for the establishment of the Commission for the Improvement of Government Management and Organization.

FOURTH DISTRICT QUESTIONNAIRE

Once again, I need your opinions regarding many of the vital issues facing our nation today. Your views have been of great value to me over the past two sessions as I have cast your vote during the 90th Congress. I hope you will complete this questionnaire and share once again in the legislative process.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. In dealing with civil disorders, do you believe there should be stricter handling of rioters and looters by police? Yes___ No.
2. Do you think Supreme Court Justices should be reviewed every 6 years by a joint session of the House and Senate? Yes___ No.
3. Should the U.S. stop all aid and subsidies to countries trading with North Vietnam? Yes___ No.
4. Would you favor a Federal law requiring the registration of all firearms by all Americans? Yes___ No.
5. In general, do you believe we have lost the war in Vietnam? Yes___ No.
6. In view of the administration's acceptance of a $6 billion cut in spending, do you think a tax increase was justified to preserve the strength of the dollar? Yes___ No.
7. Do you believe the American people are receiving sufficient information from the administration on vital foreign and domestic issues to allow them to vote intelligently? Yes___ No.
8. Do you favor returning a percentage of the tax money collected by the Federal Government to State and local governments for use as they see fit? Yes___ No.
9. Do you approve of the open housing law recently passed by Congress? Yes___ No.
10. Do you think Federal assistance should be granted to small businesss for training "hardcore" unemployed who otherwise must be supported by government? Yes___ No.
11. In general, do you believe that crimes now increasing nine times faster than the population, is a result of a "permissive" attitude by the present administration? Yes___ No.

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

NOTE.—Please fill out the following information. It will be helpful in determining the relative importance of your responses with relation to those received from others.

(1) Sex: (a) Male ☐, (b) Female ☐.

(2) Age: (a) Under 21 ☐, (b) 22–36 ☐, (c) 37–65 ☐, (d) Over 65 ☐.

(3) Income: (a) Under $3,000 ☐, (b) Under $10,000 ☐, (c) Under $20,000 ☐, (d) Over $20,000 ☐.

(4) Political affiliation: (a) Democrat ☐, (b) Republican ☐, (c) Independent ☐.

Please cut off, place in a stamped envelope and mail to: Congressman Ben B. Blackburn, 1019 Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

OBSERVANCE OF PULASKI DAY

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, General Pulaski is more than the pride of the Polish people—he is the pride of people in every land where freedom is cherished.

He fought and died for the cause of American liberty 189 years ago, but his great love for freedom lives on as a permanent inspiration to all who oppose tyranny.

Son of a count, he could have enjoyed a comfortable and safe life, but instead chose the hard and dangerous life of fighting for what was considered by some to be "a hopeless cause"—the American Revolution.

When Benjamin Franklin persuaded Pulaski to come to America and join the battle for independence, the forces of freedom were strengthened and chances for achieving victory were brightened.

After arriving in Philadelphia in 1777 and serving as a volunteer in the militia, he distinguished himself at the Battle of Brandywine and was commissioned a brigadier general, a rank he earned with his ability, leadership, and valor.

In the fall of 1779, General Pulaski commanded the American and French cavalry at the siege of Savannah, where he was wounded, dying 2 days later. A monument was erected by the people of the city, with the cornerstone laid by another great patriot, Lafayette.

Then in 1935, Congress adopted a resolution authorizing the President to issue a proclamation every year, calling on the American people to observe October 11 in commemoration of the date of General Pulaski's death.

Mr. Speaker, the gratitude of Americans for General Pulaski's sacrifices and bravery is deep and strong, for he helped make the birth of this Nation possible.

CONGRESSIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, late in August I sent a questionnaire to my constituents in order to measure their views on certain selected subjects. I am happy to report that many questionnaires have been returned and they have been tabulated.

In order to keep the House informed and my constituents informed as to the results, I include at this point in the RECORD a copy of the letter I intend to mail to my constituents. The letter follows:

OCTOBER 1968.

DEAR FRIEND: Tabulation has been completed on the questionnaire that I sent you in August. In the table below are the results.

There has been a great deal of interest in this questionnaire and many persons have written detailed letters expressing their views.

Your interest and comments are appreciated.

Sincerely,

SAM M. GIBBONS,
Member of Congress.

[In percent]

	Yes	No	Undecided
Do you favor—			
1. A negotiated settlement of the Vietnam war?	57.9	28.3	13.7
2. Remaining in Vietnam until a complete military victory has been achieved?	39.8	41.1	19.1
3. Removing restrictions on earned income for social security beneficiaries?	76.7	15.2	8.1
4. Electing the President by popular vote instead of through the present electoral college system?	86.5	7.9	5.6
5. The Headstart child development program?	53.3	28.3	18.3
6. Reducing substantially the 27½ percent income tax depletion allowance permitted oil and natural gas producers?	62.4	18.4	19.3
7. Legislation licensing gun owners, prohibiting use by insane, felons, and alcoholics?	56.8	34.1	9.2
8. Additional U.S. assistance for schools?	46.5	41.0	12.5

	Humphrey	McCarthy	Nixon	Wallace	Undecided
9. For president	16.3	6.3	29.0	39.9	8.5

Note: Some figures may not total 100 due to rounding.

TRAGEDY IN NIGERIA

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, the long tragic crisis in Nigeria has deeply troubled many Americans. Countless hours have been spent in considering what we can best do to help heal the mental and physical hurts.

In order to help, we must first understand the situation from both sides of the conflict. A recent interview of the Nigerian Ambassador to the United States by editors of the Christian Science Monitor reveals some of the thinking on this very complex matter. Under unanimous consent I submit the text of the interview for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, so that other Members may read and ponder it:

A 12-SIDED PROBLEM

(NOTE.—Nigerian Ambassador to the United States Joe Iyalla believes the war with secessionist Biafra could end at any moment. He sees normalizing the country as the next urgent need. Ways this would be done are discussed in this interview with editors of The Christian Science Monitor.)

EDITOR. How near are we to a denouement in this problem? What is the immediate outlook?

AMBASSADOR. Generally speaking, the immediate outlook is far better than it has ever looked since the tragic sequence of events began.

We hope that it will not be too long now before we are able to remove the military resistance. We all recognize, of course, that bringing the military phase to an end is one thing.

Facing the problems, some of which have been accentuated rather than minimized by the military conflict, is entirely another thing.

EDITOR. What is your government's position on allowing planes or vessels carrying food and relief to Biafra? One sailed from Ireland recently for Biafra. Is it your feeling that this is a means of prolonging the resistance?

AMBASSADOR. Let me say that all material aid—food, medicine, clothing and other things necessary for the local population affected by the fighting on either side of the combat lines—is welcome, and provided that they are offered in a genuine spirit of assisting in the situation, they are very much appreciated. Unfortunately, too many interests seem to have gotten involved in this because of the concern that a lot of these [news] accounts—some of them not very honest—have aroused in various parts of the world.

The federal government had arranged with all the aid-giving agencies which operate in Nigeria that all the aid should be coordinated through the International Committee of the Red Cross. In addition to the International Committee of the Red Cross, the United Nations Children's Fund is playing a very effective role.

Now you did say that an Irish organization or concern has sent a ship from Ireland to what you refer to as Biafra. Of course, I don't know what Biafra in that context means.

Biafra, as far as we are concerned, is a state of mind. It is not a geographical location. Of the three states in the east of Nigeria and the eastern part of Nigeria which Ojukwu [Lt. Col. C. Odumegwu Ojukwu] tried to claim as his Biafra, two have been completely retaken by the federal government and reintegrated into the federal system.

They have their own governors, their own local people, their own councils, their own county officials, their own judges. And they are trying to get life back to normal.

Now the third state, which is the Ibo-speaking state, inside the area of the East-Central State, has had more than two-thirds of the territory retaken by federal forces already. What territory is left in Ojukwu's hands is shrinking.

The area Ojukwu controls has no seaport or airport, is very far away from the shores of the littoral areas of Nigeria.

Some of these ships and aircraft I understand carry supplies to either of the Spanish or Portuguese islands off the coast of Nigeria in the Atlantic. Where these supplies are handed over to the Red Cross, the federal government from time to time arranges with the Red Cross—especially from the island of Fernando Poo—to airlift these supplies into one of the two makeshift airstrips still left in the hands of Ojukwu and his supporters.

Unfortunately, for reasons best known to them, for reasons that I can guess, Ojukwu has announced they aren't going to allow the Red Cross to bring in this food, even airlifted in from Fernando Poo.

EDITOR. Any explanation as to why?

AMBASSADOR. No. I have seen comments in the British papers that Ojukwu's representatives have said that that is the airstrip from which they receive all their arms—surreptitiously flown in the night from Libreville and Gabon. Handing that to the Red Cross would cripple them.

EDITOR. What about these worries about extermination or tribal genocide? What can be done once the war is over to bring the other side together again with the government?

AMBASSADOR. Well, this is a very complex problem. As you know the Nigerian problem is not on two sides, but on 12 sides. The creation of these 12 states are very real things. They are not just paperwork. They are very, very real.

We must separate the propaganda which Mr. Ojukwu and his associates put out, from reality. There are millions of Ibos in the other parts of the country—38,000 in Lagos alone, registered; half a million and over in the Midwest, where Ojukwu's troops overran for six weeks, set up a vicious puppet government, and then were thrown back.

Even in the far northern states, which are largely Muslim and Hausa and Fulani, Ibos are back. The Governor of Kano has on his staff a very, very senior Ibo man, who has Cabinet rank and who is in charge of all the property of the Ibo people and others who left Kano in these disturbances.

I, myself, saw Ibo people in Kano in the markets and their shops, going about their normal business two weeks ago. Now they're all over the place. So the problem of solving these difficulties is not as hopeless as might appear.

This idea that the rest of the country is trying to crush Ibos—this is sheer madness. There are today—as of the last week in August—646 Ibo police officers in the Nigerian police.

The permanent secretary of the Federal Ministry of Industries, who ultimately decides the pattern of industrial development in the whole country is an Ibo officer. The executive secretary for the federal inland revenue department, is himself an Ibo officer. Our Ambassador in Brussels is an Ibo man. Our Ambassador in India is Ibo.

I saw a directive from General Gowon, head of the military government in Lagos, that a certain number of senior posts in the government vacated by Ibo officials should not be filled and that as many of them as wish to come back should be allowed to return.

We have offered them, as you know, the facility of having their observer teams of foreign troops introduced into the area, into the Ibo-speaking area, as a guarantee that the federal forces would not massacre them.

We have asked the Organization of African Unity to authorize the consultative committee of six heads of state to send observers—additional observers from their own country—not only to stay in the Ibo speaking area, but to go everywhere to see that we are not victimizing Ibos.

We have gone further. We have now invited the UN Secretary-General, the Organization of African Unity, Britain, Poland, Canada and Sweden to send military and civilian observers to move along the front lines with our troops as we move into what is left of the rebellious area.

The federal army will not control that [Ibo-speaking] area but it will be policed by an entirely Ibo contingent of the Nigerian forces. What else can we do?

EDITOR. What are the surrender terms which you will now be expecting?

AMBASSADOR. Briefly, I repeat again that we have gone as far as we know how. We have even said that there shall be no surrender.

There shall be a joint declaration expressing belief in the unity of Nigeria.

There can be no surrender in a fight among brothers. We are not fighting a foreign enemy or trying to acquire a new territory. All we want is to say the secession is over. How can we say it to the best of our ability without, you know, a loss of face on either side?

As you know, they turned around and said what they want is sovereignty of Biafra. We should hand over 5¼ million non-Ibos in the two other states to them—to be in subjection to them? We should move our troops away after one year of fighting to prewar boundaries? They are not serious!

EDITOR. What about Port Harcourt? Are you prepared to let them have an outlet to the sea?

AMBASSADOR. This is a ridiculous question, I say with your kind permission, if you don't mind my saying so. Are you prepared to give

Oklahoma an outlet to the sea? We're one country.

EDITOR. And the revenues from the oil?

AMBASSADOR. The revenues from the oil go to the federal government.

EDITOR. And how is it to be distributed thereafter?

AMBASSADOR. We have been waiting for our Ibo brothers, and have been holding up meetings of the ad hoc committee on revenue allocation to work out a new formula which we would put before a future constituent assembly, to decide how revenues are to be distributed.

EDITOR. Do you feel the oil revenue is something which perhaps influences French policy?

AMBASSADOR. Well, I would be very bold to try to say that I know the things that are responsible for the oracular pronouncements that come out of the Elysée Palace from time to time.

I believe that in the last press conference of General de Gaulle, Nigeria and Canada had the rare distinction of being lumped together as areas in which the French have not given up their idea of encouraging separatist movements and separate states.

We love the Canadians. We are in close collaboration with them. We did not dream, of course, that we one day would be lumped together on this particular issue.

So, we don't know really what General de Gaulle is after, but we watch with . . . well, we watch.

EDITOR. Ibos often talk at great length about the Russian threat in Nigeria. Do you feel there is a threat?

AMBASSADOR. My first reaction is to ask, threat to whom? And how is this threat manifested?

As far as I can recall, comments about the prominence or the increase in Soviet influence in that part of Africa, coincided or rose from the fact that the Nigerian government decided, after trying to buy a number of warplanes from its normal friends and normal sources of arms supply, to buy a number of Russian MIG planes. I do not understand how the purchase of six planes for which we paid spot cash can be regarded as an increase in Russian influence Mr. Ojukwu had acquired a number of American-manufactured planes through third parties and was the first to introduce aerial bombing into a war, which we had hoped, would be limited to the fighting of troops on either side, and devastatingly bombed civilian establishments, including the Catholic church in Lokoja one Sunday, killing the worshipers.

EDITOR. Would you comment on American public reaction to the Nigerian war?

AMBASSADOR. First of all, Mr. Ojukwu has concentrated and spent fantastic sums of money on propaganda. For a long time the federal government, as you know, said and insisted that this is an internal problem and we still insist it is. Mr. Ojukwu says it isn't and therefore went out of his way to feed to the public all over the world fantastic and lurid accounts and distortions of what was going on. Furthermore, he has tried to enlist sympathies of organizations and interests whose own concern in the matter would ordinarily be limited to a small aspect of it.

For instance people do not like to see pictures of starving children—they are interested therefore in seeing what can be done. People in this country are very compassionate people. Now this has been exploited. Food is piling up around the area controlled by Ojukwu—large quantities of food. If only he gives the word "go" the Red Cross will roll in this food. The trucks are there.

Ojukwu's Biafra, to show you the fraud of it all, left out more than half a million Ibos in the Midwest. He didn't include them in the Biafra. If he was there to save the Ibos, why didn't he say at least those districts in the Midwest which are predominantly Ibo should join him?

EDITOR. What is the starvation rate, as you know it, in Biafra or the Ibo-held areas and outside?

AMBASSADOR. I am glad that you added the two last words. Because the people suffering privation and shortages of food are by no means limited to the small area left in Ojukwu's hand. Ojukwu's troops contributed considerably to the devastation of certain areas when they were withdrawing, and in the non-Ibo areas when they were in occupation.

It is very difficult, let me say, to know what is the truth. How do you count people in villages and in the bush? One thing is certain—these numbers are widely exaggerated.

I also agree that it is not a question of numbers. Even if one Nigerian child dies, it is bad enough. And we should do everything to stop it, but to use this terrible human situation, which is very un-African, for political complaint is terrible.

It may not have occurred to people, but most of the people in the refugee camps now under Ojukwu's control are not Ibos. They are people Ojukwu carried away and drove in front of his troops from the non-Ibo areas and prevented on pain of death from returning. My own relations are in those camps. I have their names. So it cannot be that we are deliberately trying to starve our own people.

EDITOR. You have referred frequently to Colonel Ojukwu. What would the federal government have in mind for Colonel Ojukwu when this war is over?

AMBASSADOR. Well, we should not deviate our efforts on the whole matter to the individual level. We are talking of the future of 56 million Nigerians. We have already indicated in Kampala [Uganda], and in Addis Ababa [Ethiopia] that we'll have a general amnesty for the general public.

I saw plans in Lagos on my recent visit, extensive plans, for rebuilding that [Ibo] area. I saw extensive plans for giving free education to all children who lost their parents in these disturbances and in the civil war. I saw plans for rehabilitating soldiers fighting on Ojukwu's side. Ojukwu's own personal fate is not to me an overriding issue.

But Ojukwu was a colonel in the Nigerian Army. He spoke sacred oaths to defend the integrity of Nigeria even with his life. Not only did he fail to do this, he tried to break up the country and declared secession. The man goes and declares war on his fatherland, a soldier—well, he knows the consequences of that.

We must remember that we are dealing with the process of history. Suppose another one says, "Ojukwu did it and got away with it, so in another small province we start a new flag and say we are independent and we start another war."

FEDERAL ECONOMY DRIVE IS NOT BEING DERAILED

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to draw my colleague's attention to an interesting analysis of our current economic situation. The article appeared in the September 30 edition of the Wall Street Journal, and it offers a timely overview of the efforts to cut back Federal spending.

I, therefore, Mr. Speaker, would like to insert at this point in the RECORD, "Federal Economy Drive Isn't Being Derailed Despite Surge in Spending," by Mr. Richard Janssen:

FEDERAL ECONOMY DRIVE ISN'T BEING DERAILED DESPITE SURGE IN SPENDING, OFFICIALS SAY

(By Richard F. Janssen)

WASHINGTON.—A surprise surge in Federal spending doesn't mean the economy drive is being derailed, Johnson Administration officials say. But the possibility of bureaucratic sabotage further down the line isn't being dismissed.

Budget outlays in August, officials concede, were at an annual rate of $196 billion, which would be well above the $184.4 billion they projected a few weeks ago as complying with the Congressional mandate for $6 billion of rollbacks in many programs. This is in sharply adverse contrast, they note, from the welcome July pace of about $172 billion at an annual rate.

The annual rates are derived by multiplying a month's outlays by 12; the actual August figure was $16.3 billion, the Treasury reported, up from $14.3 billion in July and from $15.2 billion a year earlier.

"If you just look at those totals, you get scared," Budget Director Charles J. Zwick said in an interview. But, he contended, it's more meaningful to average July and August together, which shows an annual rate of not quite $184 billion—"right on target"—with the goal for the fiscal year started July 1.

And when the accounts are examined agency by agency, Mr. Zwick said, "You relax." The only "big problem," he said, is that unexpectedly large crops this summer are pouring grain into the Agriculture Department's price-support programs in far heftier volume than anticipated. Instead of the net $2.9 billion budget drain planned last January for this fiscal year, he reported, it appears that these Commodity Credit Corp. outlays—even after allowing for sales later in the year—will reach $3.8 billion.

NEW ROUND OF TALKS

Unless Congress acts to exempt the Commodity Credit Corp. from the overall spending ceiling (such major programs as the Vietnam war and Social Security already are exempt), the excess outlays will have to be offset by deeper cuts in the budgets of other agencies. The Senate last week voted to remove the ceiling from the OCC, but as the same bill also would force the Government to give states as much as $500 million less than they're expecting for "medicaid" to the poor, it's believed the Administration will oppose the surprise measure in the House.

Aside from the CCC, Mr. Zwick said, the only other covered agency exceeding its budget target is the Army's Corps of Engineers; this is only by about $200 million and may be mostly a seasonal problem, he said.

But while the budget situation in August "wasn't as bad as it looks at first blush," Mr. Zwick said, he will shortly start a new round of talks with agency heads to "reiterate the need to keep things under control." President Johnson is determined, the budget director added, to "do his fair share" toward meeting his half of the savings goal before a new Administration takes over in January.

To date, other officials say, they have every evidence that most individual agencies are hewing to the spending patterns prescribed by the Budget Bureau. But they also have been finding a good deal of evidence that individual agency representatives are seeking to bypass Administration channels and coax Congressional committees into being more liberal with them.

This is frequently part of the Washington way of life, observers say, but they suspect that the phenomenon is becoming particularly pronounced now that Mr. Johnson heads a "lame-duck" Administration. Especially in the nearly three-month span between the early November election and the

late January inauguration of a new President, these analysts say, the discipline in the bureaucracy is apt to degenerate much more markedly.

UNCOORDINATED LOBBYING

Already, they suspect, many of the Congressional moves to exempt specific agencies from the job-cutback portion of the economy mandate represent the uncoordinated lobbying of the agencies themselves. "Congressional committees don't just come up with those ideas out of thin air," one observer chides. He finds that "each agency head is looking out for himself" without regard for how others have to cut back harder when one gets relief.

Last week, for instance, the Senate took up, but then killed bids to spare the Internal Revenue Service, the Housing and Urban Development Department and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board from job reductions and to exempt public-assistance outlays from the spending ceiling.

If September budget figures suggest that agencies are successfully squirming out from under the outlay limits, the Budget Bureau may take stronger action.

Generally, the bureau apportions to each agency every quarter a sum equal to one-fourth of its budget for a full year; it is only within this quarterly apportionment that the agency can obligate funds, such as committing itself to spending for payroll or outside contracting purposes. If necessary, officials say, the budget director could decide to reduce the apportionment for the quarter starting Oct. 1 to less than one-fourth of the total, thus forcing agencies to retrench on obligations and before long to retrench on actual spending as well.

The lag in getting September data will mean the quarter would be well under way before a revised apportionment could be issued, thereby making any bite all the more painful. Such a retroactive reduction has never been ordered, observers add, but say they think it is legally feasible.

In an assessment of the tax-boost side of the fiscal restraint program, Federal Reserve Board member Andrew F. Brimmer said he is "personally convinced" that it will eventually slow economic growth "despite the delayed response" of consumers. In a speech to the National Association of Business Economists in New York, Mr. Brimmer offered these reasons for a lag in damping of consumer spending: The "short" time since the mid-July rise in withholding rates, the exemption of many low-income taxpayers and the "magnitude of increases in personal income" since then.

Although the surtax will help check inflation during 1969, Mr. Brimmer said, "the road ahead of us will be especially difficult to travel" because inflation "was allowed to progress so far before an effective combination of fiscal and monetary restraint could be exercised."

RESOLUTION OF APPRECIATION TO J. J. "JAKE" PICKLE, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 10TH DISTRICT, TEXAS

HON. W. R. POAGE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, Hon. JAKE PICKLE, of Texas, enjoys great esteem in his own district as a man who knows about the farmer and who works to promote the interests of the farmer.

Recently, at the annual membership meetings of the Texas Electric Cooperatives, Inc., in Dallas, JAKE was unanimously recognized in a resolution of appreciation. In light of the strong stand JAKE took with me on such matters as the REA financing bill, it is no surprise that he was named for this honor, and at this point in the RECORD, I include the resolution in full:

RESOLUTION OF APPRECIATION TO J. J. "JAKE" PICKLE, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 10TH DISTRICT, TEXAS

Whereas the rural electric program has long been indebted to those staunch supporters in Congress who continue to fight for this program;

Now, therefore, be it resolved that we, the representatives of the rural electric cooperatives in Texas, express our thanks and appreciation to our friends in Congress for their support of the rural electric program, for their continued opposition to curtailments and limitations on the exercise by the REA Administrator of his duties under the Rural Electrification Act, and for their support for appropriation of loan funds adequate to meet the growing needs of rural America for electric power. We are proud and fortunate to have such friends and we earnestly solicit their continued support.

Adopted by unanimous vote of Delegates to the 28th Annual Membership Meeting of Texas Electric Cooperatives, Inc., Dallas, Tex., Aug. 22, 1968.

Presented by Miss Texas Rural Electrification, Barbie McMillan, to the Congressman at a Program in his honor at Northington Farm, Wharton County, Texas, on August 30, 1968.

U.S. ARMY MILITARY RESEARCH COLLECTION AT CARLISLE BARRACKS, PA.

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, on September 28, 1968, I had the privilege of attending the opening of the U.S. Army Military Research Collection at Carlisle Barracks, Pa.

Gen. Bruce Palmer, Jr. made the principal address at this proceeding, and because General Palmer's remarks make reference to some salient aspects associated with this research collection, I insert his comments into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I also insert, as a post reference to General Palmer's remarks, some background information on the U.S. Army Military History Research Collection:

REMARKS BY GEN. BRUCE PALMER, JR., VICE CHIEF OF STAFF, U.S. ARMY, U.S. ARMY MILITARY RESEARCH COLLECTION, ARMY WAR COLLEGE, CARLISLE BARRACKS, PA., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1968

Returning to Carlisle Barracks is like coming home as I have had three tours here. Mrs. Palmer and I have roots here, where our only son was born, and we have very pleasant memories of Carlisle and the Cumberland Valley.

And so it is both a privilege and pleasure to dedicate the U.S. Army Military History Research Collection. If I had the entire United States to choose from, I couldn't select a finer place for this collection than the Carlisle area. This is as historically rich an area as there is in our whole country. In this connection, I commend to you one of my favorite source books—given to me by the local citizens of Carlisle—a book called, *Two Hundred Years in Cumberland County*. It was brought together by the Hamilton Library and the Cumberland County Historical Association.

Carlisle dates back to 1731, before the French and Indian Wars. The town was a historical trade route center in those days. At this site where north-south and east-west Indian trails crossed, the earliest settlers established the westernmost outpost of civilization in the Cumberland Valley. The Army came here initially to protect the settlers. The first Army camp at Carlisle was established by Colonel John Stanwix in 1757; it was later known as Washingtonburg. Today it bears the name of Carlisle Barracks—after the city of Carlisle. In those early days, the primary mission of the Army was to cover the movement of our settlers as our people moved west to carry out our "manifest destiny" in this great country. . . . Today, as in the past, the Army's mission is the same: to protect the people.

It is also very appropriate that we selected the Army War College at Carlisle Barracks as the site for this Research Collection because it is the senior institution in the Army's military education system. The Army has a comprehensive educational system, and we are quite proud of it. We believe it is the finest of its kind in the world. We strive to develop and educate our people in the Army on a continuing basis. We feel that we never stop learning. I am sure those of you in the audience who are in the academic field will agree with me. The day when you think you can no longer learn something, you are mentally dead.

The Army War College has always had a keen awareness of the importance of a sense of history. Ever since moving to Carlisle, the College has sought to bring to light the local historical lore of this beautiful Valley. You have seen some of the results—the plaques, the Hessian Guard House Museum, and other landmarks on the post. This very colorful Color Guard we witnessed this morning is typical of what has been done at the Army War College. The uniforms and arms of the Color Guard are from our Artillery branch—vintage of 1814.

The College has also led the way in exploiting as an historical asset the Gettysburg Battlefield. The annual Gettysburg skit has become known all over the world. The battlefield tour that the faculty conducts is probably the most professional one of its kind in the world. It is known internationally. And so I commend the Army War College for being far-sighted enough to establish this Research Collection here.

The military profession is like any other profession; if it doesn't have adequate research facilities, it cannot flourish. And so we feel that there is a very real and significant need for such a collection.

There are many military libraries in our country, but there is none that is dedicated solely to perpetuate the history and the traditions of the United States Army. That is the purpose of this collection. Moreover, it is a great boon to the scholar, the researcher, and the professional soldier to have ready access to such historical material at one location. That, of course, is why we have established this center. We hope that various Army museums, local post libraries and individuals, who may jealously guard their one or two first editions or some very old diary, will be kind enough to give up some of these treasures and present them to this collection. We hope, too, that our civilian friends will likewise see fit to contribute to this collection.

I want to stress at this point that this is a collection for the entire Army; it is not just intended for the Army War College. Of course, when I say for the entire Army, I am speaking for our country because the his-

tory of the United States Army is part of the history of our country—a most significant part.

Now some salient facts about this collection. It is a descendant of the old War Department Library, established back before 1800—about 1795. It grew to about 3,000 volumes by 1840. Then, during World War I, it was combined with the library of the old Army War College, then located in the District of Columbia at an Army post called Washington Barracks, known today as Fort McNair. After World War II, the Army gave up its old facilities at Fort McNair and turned them over to the National War College, later reestablishing the present day Army War College at Carlisle Barracks. The National War College has been kind enough to give up most of the old library and return it to the Army. Our Chief of Military History has also donated a large collection of old military histories and papers from his office.

Some of the books in our collection here go back to the 15th and 16th Centuries. The oldest—1494—is one on *Roman Tactics* by an author known as Vegitius. We are very proud of some of the original source materials here. One that comes to mind is Emory Upton's original manuscript of the *Military Policy of the United States,* a landmark in its particular field. Incidentally, this hall is named after Emory Upton.

One of the most interesting books in the library is one which was kept in the outer office of the then Secretary of War from 1795 to 1811. It is entitled, *Stores of the Army.* It has, in great detail, everything the Army owned—every flintlock, pistol, horseshoe, and horseshoe nail. The Secretary really had a handle on his resources in those days. Would that we had this system today. Now it takes batteries of magnetic tapes and data banks for any Service Secretary, much less the Secretary of Defense, to keep track of the enormous inventory we have today—end items of hardware, engines, spare parts, and so on.

In addition to the thousands of books, there are hundreds of papers available, and we hope that as this collection grows, there will be many more important papers donated. Some of the papers already donated include those of General Paul Carraway and of Generals Guy Henry, father and son, two of our truly great cavalry leaders. We have the diary of General Crook written during our Indian Wars in the West. Another interesting document is the diary and operational log of a Colonel Bill Bradley, who fought in the seige of Corregidor until he was imprisoned by the Japanese during World War II.

One of the most important acquisitions are the papers of our recently retired Chief of Staff, General Harold K. Johnson. These papers I think some day will be of great historical significance. General Johnson served during both the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations during days of far-reaching decisions—he played important roles in several crises—Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Vietnam. General Johnson was the first Chief of Staff of the Army to recommend that we commit U.S. ground power on the mainland of Asia—truly a historic decision, but one that only history some day can judge.

The collection now has over 100,000 volumes. Some day, soon I hope, it will become the main center of military historical research and forward looking thought, taking advantage of the lessons of history for our Army and for our country.

History, of course, like real life, is the good and the bad; the joys and the sorrows; the noble deeds and the crimes; the important, exciting events and the trivialities; the courage and the cowardice . . . both sides—this is true history. Original manuscripts are the flesh, blood and bone of history. Only with the original manuscript can you go back and get the feel of the situation as it was. Manuscripts speak with authenticity; they bring you back in immediate and intimate touch with the past.

A study of the past, it seems to me, can throw a lot of light on the Army and its mission. I am a great believer in the study of the historical past. Not only can we get a feel for the present and what we should or shouldn't be doing, but we can also focus on the future and more wisely chart our course through history. If this collection can help guide the Army and its leaders of the future, it will more than pay its way.

So I charge you, General McCaffrey, to make this collection grow and flourish. On my part, I pledge to support you in any way possible. I want to thank you all, particularly our civilian guests, for participating in this dedication.

THE U.S. ARMY MILITARY HISTORY RESEARCH COLLECTION

The U.S. Army Military History Research Collection has the primary purpose of preserving historical materials relating to the history of the United States Army. The Research Collection, however, is not intended as a storage facility but is designed to be a working Collection available for research by both civilian and military scholars.

Included in the Collection are books and official documents brought to Carlisle Barracks from many Army posts. These trace not only the development of the Army but also many related national activities which had an effect upon the growth of the Army or in which the Army has participated. Many works also relate to military activities of other nations since the U.S. Army has always studied the activities of foreign powers in an effort to improve its own capabilities.

In addition to printed materials, the Research Collection includes the personal papers of many officers. Letters, diaries, and other personal writings provide original source material often not available in the formal printed history. Photographs and art work of various types are also a part of the Collection.

One of the unique features of the Research Collection is the 1840 War Department Library. Through fortunate circumstances, the inventory ledger of that library has survived the years. The present Research Collection includes approximately two-thirds of the books and documents which were in the 1840 library.

Although still in its organizational stage, the Military History Research Collection totals approximately 100,000 bound volumes. Ultimately, it will become one of the outstanding research facilities of its kind, particularly as materials arrive from Army posts throughout the world.

TRY PARTICIPATION

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, citizen participation in politics and government has been one of the major issues of the 1968 campaign. We have heard calls for replacing the conventions with a national primary. Surveys show that many Americans feel powerless to make changes in our society.

An article in the Milwaukee Journal of September 4, 1968, makes a suggestion worthy of note—"perhaps a plunge into precinct politics is in order."

The Journal points out:

Even in defeat, a well-waged effort can have a strong impact on government affairs. It also can give ordinary citizens a feeling of relevance never found in an easy chair.

At this point in my remarks I include the Journal article:

FRUSTRATED ABOUT POLITICS? TRY PARTICIPATION

What can I do? The plaintive question is heard often these days as a nation tormented by war abroad and discord at home sweeps toward a climactic presidential election.

The standard answers—write your congressman, send a check to the party of your choice, be sure to register and cast an informed ballot—do little to ease the sense of helplessness, the feeling of disconnection from powerful forces that are shaping the fate of a sprawling nation of 200 million souls. Perhaps the taste of a different elixir is needed; perhaps a plunge into precinct politics is in order.

Even for the policital neophyte the opportunities are endless. Every candidate in a real race—from assemblyman to presidential contender—needs volunteer toilers to carry the campaign door to door, raising funds, distributing pamphlets, answering questions, arguing issues.

Headquarters need help, too—arranging candidate appearances, creating and preparing advertising and campaign material, recruiting other workers, conducting training sessions, compiling voter lists for solicitation purposes, answering phones, greeting visitors, stuffing envelopes.

Then there's the vital stretch drive—the final telephone campaigns, efforts to get absentee ballots cast, arrangements for baby sitting and transportation to the polls on election day.

There can be no assurance of ballot box triumph. But the rewards for personal involvement in a political campaign are not confined to winning. Even in defeat, a well waged effort can have a strong impact on government affairs. It also can give ordinary citizens a feeling of relevance never found in an easy chair.

AN INDEPENDENT DEMOCRAT SPEAKS FROM BERLIN

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine and a friend, John E. Voudoukis of Berlin, N.H., recently wrote an interesting letter to the editor of the Boston Herald. It is a thought-provoking letter and although my colleagues may not agree with some of its observations, because of its timeliness I feel that it should be made a part of the RECORD at this point.

The letter follows:

THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND THE ELECTIONS

Time—1964, Election Year . . . "We are not going to send American boys 9,000 or 10,000 miles away to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves!" Lyndon Johnson (1964 campaign)

Because of this "pledge", millions of Republicans joined the Democrats and made the Johnson-Humphrey ticket a "landslide". After they were elected, they did the opposite. They involved us in a shooting war in Vietnam, which war it is to this day the number one painful subject in every American family.

What are we fighting for in Vietnam? The officials give this explanation: "We are in

Vietnam not only for Vietnam but beyond . . . If we pull out of Vietnam, the whole Southeast Asia will fall into Communistic hands."

If this is the real reason for sending 550 thousand American boys "to save Southeast Asia", why, then, do we have to fight such a jungle war on a Russian choice location? No one seems to know the answer except the officials.

This we all know . . . That on this Vietnam location, according to our own official weekly reports, we have lost thousands of American boys, dead and wounded, every single week for four years.

During these four years, according to our own official reports, the Russians have lost not one single Russian soldier, dead or wounded . . . neither have the Chinese.

Time—1968, Another Election Year . . . The war in Vietnam is still going on with no end in sight, as our President stated just recently. The Democrats are deeply divided on Issues at home and the war in Vietnam, with no "Party" or "Leaders". The Party is broken in small groups and each group is working on their own. Even our President and Vice President are in odds in the open—contradicting each other. One says partly "Yes", the other says "No".

Unfortunately, "Yes" or "No", nobody believes us. Our Democratic Party leaders in Washington, right or wrong, have lost the confidence of the People. The Democrats need a new leader to re-unite them. Vice President Humphrey is a fine man, but being a co-partner on the doings in Vietnam, is not the one to do the unity job.

In a private breakfast with Governor King, I did predict the results of New Hampshire Primaries. What the American People will do in November, I don't want to predict.

History Repeats Itself . . . We may see millions of Democrats do in 1968 what millions of Republicans did in 1964.

JOHN E. VOUDOUKIS,
An Independent Democrat.

BERLIN, N.H.

ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR RAYMOND P. SHAFER OF PENNSYLVANIA AT THE NATION'S FIRST STATEWIDE CONFERENCE ON SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT

HON. ALBERT W. JOHNSON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in 1966 the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania became one of the first States of the Nation to apply for and to receive a Federal grant to conduct a 3-year study on which to develop a statewide waste management plan.

At the Governor's Conference on Solid Waste Management at Hershey, Pa., October 8, 1968, Governor Raymond P. Shafer delivered the following address to the first statewide conference of its kind in the Nation:

REMARKS BY GOVERNOR RAYMOND P. SHAFER, GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE ON SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT, HERSHEY, PA. TUESDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1968

We are here today to begin the first statewide conference of its kind in the Nation—a conference to discuss what we are going to do with the flood of junk and other solid wastes that is flowing over our land.

Who in Pennsylvania realizes that every year we produce 30 million tons of discarded bottles, cans, automobiles, garbage and the other junk that in a way measures our great affluence?

I am certain there are not many citizens who stop to think about how we dispose of this refuse.

Fortunately, the leadership of Pennsylvania is thinking about it. And because we are, Pennsylvania's General Assembly has enacted the nation's first Solid Waste Management Act.

This act, along with the other major conservation and environmental laws enacted during the past year and a half in our Legislature clearly shows that we are creating a Golden Age of Conservation in our Commonwealth, as I proposed we should in a special message to the General Assembly on April 4, 1967.

We now have a $500 million land and water fund to accomplish pace-setting programs to wipe out mining blight, clean our air and water.

We are now establishing the first air pollution monitoring network in the Nation to help us begin the control of air pollution on a state-wide basis.

We have two new river basin compacts—the Susquehanna and Wheeling Creek—to help us plan for the wise use of water in two major industrial areas.

We now have strong legislation to help us preserve open space in urban areas by taking easement rights now to farm land that has the potential of being eaten up by urban sprawl.

These are programs that show we are planing for our future and the kind of healthy environment we must leave to our children if they are to fully enjoy life.

We have called this conference today to specifically discuss solid waste because not enough attention has been given to the mismanagement and dumping of junk indiscriminately on our land.

Through the Solid Waste Management Act, Pennsylvania has become the first state in the nation to form a partnership with local government to plan and execute a good solid waste management program.

We can now take the steps necessary to curb land pollution.

We can undertake the measures needed to stop scenic blight across our countryside.

We can reduce and possibly eliminate the addition to our air of tons of gases, fly ash and other particulates resulting from open burning solid wastes.

Additional pollution of our waters can be prevented by the proper disposal of solid wastes.

However, in order for Pennsylvania to continue in a leadership role and to protect and restore the inherent beauty of Pennsylvania, your support and the support of the organizations you represent is needed.

There can be no question that the solid waste problem of Pennsylvania will grow more critical before steps to moderate it can become fully effective. However, the problem will not overwhelm us as long as we recognize the need for acting cooperatively. Therefore, state and local government cooperation was made an integral part of the Solid Waste Management Act.

Financial assistance will be provided to local government to match up to fifty percent of the costs incurred by local government in preparing plans for solid waste management systems.

I am asking this Conference and the Advisory Committee which I have appointed, to give particular emphasis to developing areawide plans for solid waste management. Only by combining into regional groupings can we, in many cases, achieve our goals effectively and economically.

It is possible that the need for assistance will continue beyond the planning phase of the Act because the responsibility of local government to implement an adequate waste system will certainly strain the financial structure of many municipalities. We are embarking on an orderly, cooperative program to plan ahead and to determine jointly what these needs will be. When these steps have been taken, State Government will want to work with local government to determine how they can be met. Also, we are hopeful that the Federal government, which has initiated activities in waste management, will also provide financial assistance as it has in other areas of pollution control.

In 1966, Pennsylvania became one of the first states to apply for and receive a Federal grant to conduct a three-year study on which to develop a statewide solid waste management plan. The inventory of solid waste storage, collection and disposal practices of 2,559 municipalities (100%) has been completed and an inventory of the practices of Pennsylvania's industrial and agricultural establishments is now in process and approximately 25% completed.

Our aim is to devise solutions for the problems of land pollution which will incorporate the latest technology and best economic techniques.

We are encouraging researchers and manufacturers of pollution control devices and systems to develop their industries in Pennsylvania with the new jobs and millions of dollars they will add to our economy.

We plan to encourage the recycling of wastes back into beneficial uses to conserve our natural resources and reduce the load on the environment.

If we act wisely now the preservation of our natural resources and the creation of a cleaner, healthier environment will be assured.

I, therefore, charge this Conference to conference to consider carefully:

1. How local government can most effectively undertake its responsibilities under the Pennsylvania Solid Waste Management Act.
2. How industry, agriculture, local and state government can mutually bend their joint efforts to resolve solid waste problems as part of their overall environmental protection program.
3. How local jurisdictions can cooperate together in forming areawide systems.
4. What further steps the Commonwealth should now take in embarking on its solid waste management program.

The goals we will strive for are:

Pennsylvania must repair the damage to the environment resulting from the mismanagement of solid wastes.

Pennsylvanians must preserve our natural resources of air, water and land from further pollution due to solid wastes.

Pennsylvania must guard the health, comfort and well-being of its citizens by implementing effective and economical solid waste management.

We must provide the leadership necessary to show Pennsylvanians what we must do to restore the quality of our environment. This Conference, I am sure, will accept the challenge.

POLL RESULTS, OCTOBER 1968

HON. JOHN P. HAMMERSCHMIDT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, in August I sent a questionnaire to residents of the Third Congressional District of Arkansas. To each person who responded and indicated a desire to know the results of the poll, I am sending the following letter and summary of findings:

DEAR FRIEND: Below is the statistical report on our second Questionnaire to residents of the Third Congressional District.

The result is based on 14,635 responses and includes all cards received by October 1.

Your participation is deeply appreciated. In this way, I am better able to know the thinking of the residents of the District on critical problems of the day. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN PAUL HAMMERSCHMIDT,
Member of Congress.

Question	Yes		No		No response	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Should Congress remain silent on present administration policy in Vietnam so long as the Paris talks continue?	4,211	28.8	9,390	64.2	1,034	7.1
2. Should the minimum voting age be reduced to 18 years as requested by the President?	5,592	38.2	8,766	59.9	277	1.9
3. Do you favor giving tax credit for tuition paid for son or daughter in college?	10,017	68.4	4,176	28.5	442	3.0
4. Would you favor a constitutional amendment to allow Congress to override a Supreme Court decision by a ⅔ vote?	12,245	83.7	2,066	14.1	324	2.2
5. Do you think present laws and court rulings seriously hamper law-enforcement officials?	13,246	90.5	1,174	8.0	215	1.5
6. Should the Federal Government try to slow the population migration from rural to urban areas through programs of economic incentives and aids to private industry to help create jobs in rural areas?	9,580	65.5	4,241	29.0	814	5.6

	Number	Percent
7. What steps should be taken to stop riots?		
(a) Put more money into improving slum living conditions	882	06.0
(b) Provide government jobs, if necessary, for the unemployed	1,417	9.7
(c) Give police and troops freer hand in early stages of disorder	9,649	65.9
(d) Strengthen antiriot laws	2,456	16.8
(e) No response	230	1.6
8. The Federal Government should guarantee—		
(a) A minimum annual income to every American family	387	2.6
(b) Work which will produce a minimum annual income for every American family	5,173	35.3
(c) No sort of annual income	8,546	58.4
(d) No response	529	3.6
9. Do you think the foreign aid program should be—		
(a) Continued as is	163	1.1
(b) Reworked to meet the times	7,732	52.8
(c) Discontinued	6,373	43.5
(d) Expanded	45	.3
(e) No response	322	2.2

THE ROGER ZION REPORT

HON. ROGER H. ZION

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. ZION. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following report to my constituents on the 90th Congress from my regular newsletter entitled "The Roger Zion Report":

THE 90TH CONGRESS

The 90th Congress and its record is about to take its place in history. Probably only the passage of time and events will determine the quality of this Congress, the impact of its action, and its contribution to the American society. Probably only time will determine whether the 90th Congress was the shaper of events or whether it, conversely, was shaped by these events.

As all Congresses are, the 90th moved with an ear to the electorate and the ever-present approaching election campaign. That campaign has already emerged as one with great surprise and great tragedy. It is an indisputable fact that much of the activity of Congress, especially that centered around the issue of gun control, stemmed from the assassination of two major political leaders, Martin Luther King and Senator Robert Kennedy. This issue of gun control produced more mail in most Congressional offices than can be recalled by all except a few very old hats on the Hill. But beyond this extraordinary issue, created by extraordinary events, we might best characterize this Congress as a "braking" Congress. Its makeup of new faces of a more conservative orientation, finally announced to the Administration that the honeymoon was over.

In 1964 the President had been elected by landslide proportions. The magnitude of his victory gave him a Congress heavily liberal and amendable to the various Great Society programs that he proposed. The President was denied very little in this two-year period and historians will compare it with the famous "100 days" of the first term of Franklin Roosevelt. Government spending programs multiplied, and along with the rapid escalation of a major land war in Asia, produced serious inflationary trends in the American economy. The cost-of-living index skyrocketed. Taxes at every level of government increased. Great Society programs to attack the many problems of our nation began to falter, often proved unworkable in spite of great cash outlays, and became bogged down in bureaucratic mismanagement.

America watched in frustration and dismay as our military effort in Vietnam seemed to proceed through quicksand. The cost of this war, both in terms of human life and in dollars, mounted at an alarming rate. Voter reaction in the November '66 elections was predictable. A great many of the new young architects of Great Society programs were summarily retired from Congress, to be replaced by new faces of a more conservative complexion, enough change, in fact, to alter the entire power structure in the 90th Congress.

Although the 90th Congress remained heavily Democrat in its majority, the Administration could no longer count on an actual majority for its own programs. It was a "let's take another look" Congress. Many White House specialties, such as Model Cities, The Office of Economic Opportunity, the Foreign Aid budget and highway beautification were heavily restricted, while other programs envisioned by the President were either denied the light of day or enacted only at great cost and compromise by the President. His demand for a surtax, for example, was only granted after concessions had been obtained for overall budget spending reductions, and was obtained at a lesser level than requested. For the first time in history, the Senate balked at giving approval to a Supreme Court chief justice nominee. In a surprising action an increase in the debt ceiling was denied.

The Republican minority of both houses, its batteries charged with fresh new leadership, advanced many alternatives to Administration proposals. Some of these were in the fields of housing, law enforcement, education, welfare and poverty spending and called for a Congressional reassertion of its responsibility to review the progress of our military commitment in Vietnam. Thus it was a constructive minority in the best tradition of the "loyal opposition." Republicans did not act with the intent of obstructing good programs simply because they were Democrat-sponsored. Instead, the minority moved to improve upon programs, changing the emphasis to include the private sector of the economy as opposed to reliance on Federal direction from Washington.

The 91st Congress will convene in January. Its make-up is uncertain, although the winds of dissent are still blowing with gale force in our land. President Johnson will leave the White House as the New Congress convenes. New leadership by a new Chief Executive will point different directions. If the President has a friendly Congress America can make rapid strides in meeting its most critical problems. It will be an exciting time, a challenging time. I sincerely hope that I am a part of the history that will be made.

ROGER H. ZION.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SAFETY BOARD

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month, the National Transportation Safety Board of the Department of Transportation, released an aircraft accident report on the accident involving a Trans-World Airlines Boeing 707 which crashed in an aborted takeoff at Greater Cincinnati Airport on November 6, 1967. Because I believe that the questions raised are of interest to the public generally and the Members of Congress in particular, I am putting in the RECORD the entire report, including the concurring and dissenting opinion of member McAdams, and appendices C and D.

As is pointed out in the dissenting opinion, the report of the majority seems fragmentary in a number of respects and raises questions about the value of such reports of the National Transportation Safety Board. In particular, the majority report fails to discuss the role of the FAA controller in the tower. One almost gets the impression that this was intentional. Relating as it does to the question of liability of the Federal Government under the Federal Tort Claims Act, the failure to assess the controller's response in the situation is unfortunate.

Other shortcomings pointed out by the dissenting opinion were the failure of the majority report to comment on the landing of a third airplane on the runway after the abort and before assurance that the runway was clear, and failure to discuss the inadequacy of the present standard operating procedures with regard to abort decisions.

Other information not covered by either opinion, but made available by the Airlines Pilots Association, indicate a failure to note or comment upon the fact that lights on taxiways off the main instrument runway were inoperative and that, if they had been operative, the Delta DC–9 would not have become mired off the runway and thus cause the aborted takeoff.

The Airlines Pilots Association has also raised serious technical questions about

the validity of present V–1 speeds insofar as they relate to the abort decision.

It is impossible to review this report without coming to the conclusion that further and more complete study and comment on the crash and the procedures followed would be appropriate.

The report follows:

[SA–401, File No. 1–0029]

NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SAFETY BOARD DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION AIRCRAFT ACCIDENT REPORT—TRANS WORLD AIRLINES, INC., B–707, N742TW, THE GREATER CINCINNATI AIRPORT, ERLANGER, KY., NOVEMBER 6, 1967

Adopted: September 11, 1968

SYNOPSIS

Trans World Airlines, Inc., Flight 159, a B–707, N742TW, crashed while attempting to abort a takeoff from Runway 27L at the Greater Cincinnati Airport, Erlanger, Kentucky, at approximately 1841 e.s.t., on November 6, 1967. The 29 passengers and 7 crewmembers all escaped from the aircraft. Eleven occupants were treated for injuries and one died 4 days later.

The first officer of Flight 159 was making the takeoff. In the takeoff roll, he heard a loud report from the right side of the aircraft, and experienced a yaw and movement of the flight controls as his aircraft passed a Delta Air Lines DC–9 which was mired adjacent to the runway. He concluded that his aircraft had struck the DC–9 and attempted to abort the takeoff. Just previous to the abort, he had checked his airspeed and believed that he was at or near V_1. The flight ran off the end of the runway approximately 421 feet. The main landing gear was sheared, and the aircraft was extensively damaged by the ground slide and fire.

The Board determines that the probable cause of the accident was the inability of the TWA crew to abort successfully their takeoff at the speed attained prior to the attempted abort. The abort was understandably initiated because of the first officer's belief that his plane had collided with a Delta aircraft stopped just off the runway. A contributing factor was the action of the Delta crew in advising the tower that their plane was clear of the runway without carefully ascertaining the facts, and when in fact their aircraft was not a safe distance under the circumstance of another aircraft taking off on that runway.

1. INVESTIGATION

1.1 *History of the Flight.* Trans World Airlines, Inc., B–707, N742TW, operating as Flight 159 (TWA 159) from New York to Los Angeles, with an intermediate stop at the Greater Cincinnati Airport, departed the ramp at Cincinnati at 1833.[1] As TWA 159 was approaching Runway 27L for takeoff, Delta Air Lines, Inc., DC–9 N3317L, operating as Flight 379 (DAL 379), was landing. At 1838:16, TWA 159 advised the tower that they were ready for takeoff, and they were instructed to ". . . taxi into position and hold." The takeoff performance information, derived from previously computed company data by the first officer, who made the takeoff, was as follows:

V_1	V_R	V_2
132 knots	140 knots	150 knots

As DAL 379 was completing the landing roll, they requested and received clearance for a 180° turnaround on the runway in order to return to the intersection of Runway 18–36 which they had just passed. The captain of DAL 379 assumed control of his aircraft during the final stages of the landing rollout. He testified that he commenced the turn from the center of the runway, and stopped the turn after approximately 90° to check the position of the nosewheel in relation to the runway edge. After judging that approximately 1 foot remained, he again added power, but instead of the turn continuing, the aircraft's nosewheel slipped off the paved surface and the aircraft moved straight ahead off the runway. The throttles were retarded to idle, and power was not increased again. The aft-most part of the aircraft was approximately 7 feet off the edge of the runway.

At 1839:05, as DAL 378 was in the process of clearing the runway, TWA 159 was cleared for takeoff.[2] The local controller testified that before TWA 159 began moving, he observed that DAL 379 had stopped. He stated that although DAL 379 appeared to be clear of the runway, he was uncertain and asked, "Delta three seventy-nine you're clear of the runway, aren't you?" DAL 379 replied, "Yeah, we're in the dirt though." Following this report the controller stated, "TWA one fifty nine he's clear of the runway, cleared for takeoff, company jet on final behind you." They advised, "Okay, we're rollin'," at 1839.35.

The first officer of DAL 379 testified that when the controller inquired about their position, he looked to the right rear and observed the relationship of his position in the cockpit to the runway lights. He testified ". . . in my opinion and judgment I called clear of the runway." The captain of DAL 379 testified that several seconds later he confirmed the first officer's appraisal of their position, "I looked out and in my judgment we were well clear of the runway." About 4 seconds prior to TWA 159 passing to the immediate rear of DAL 379, the Delta crew advised the tower that ". . . we're stuck in the mud." At 1845:57, or approximately 5 minutes after TWA 159 had passed behind DAL 379, one of the Delta pilots remarked, "I guess we're off the runway, I don't know."

The captain of TWA 159 testified that, "We were cleared into position and subsequently cleared for takeoff. As we began to roll, I got an additional assurance that Delta was clear of the runway. I didn't have any idea of his position close to the runway until he began to loom up in my landing lights. I fully expected to see him taxiing in." He added, "I could see that he was off the runway. It may not have been far, but in my position I could measure it was five, six, seven feet or something of that nature." He stated that the normal procedure for a takeoff abort is to "Get the power off, get on the brakes and spoilers first, and then begin the reverse interaction"; however, in this case, once the first officer initiated the abort, "I tried to join him in every way possible, especially on the brakes, seeing that the reverse throttles were up as far as they would go . . . I gave him the spoilers as soon as he called for them. That may have been when I first realized an abort was taking place. I don't know." The captain also believed that he had called out V_1 as they passed that airspeed, but acknowledged that the cockpit voice recorder (CVR) negated this impression. (See Appendix C.)

The first officer of TWA 159 indicated that he did not notice DAL 379 until the captain commented on its proximity to the runway. Shortly thereafter, they passed abeam DAL 379, and he experienced a movement of the flight controls and the aircraft yawed. Simultaneously, he heard a loud bang on the right side of the aircraft. Assuming that he was at or near V_1, and that a collision had occurred, he elected to abort the takeoff. He testified that 120 knots was the last airspeed he observed. He closed the throttles, placed them in full reverse, applied maximum braking, and called for the spoilers which the captain extended. Although directional control was maintained, the aircraft ran off the end of the runway.

The consensus of witness statements and those from passengers on TWA 159 indicates that a loud bang and accompanying flash of fire occurred on the right side of the aircraft as they passed DAL 379.

Statements obtained from the passengers of DAL 379 revealed that after the aircraft completed the landing rollout, it commenced a right turn. After the aircraft had turned approximately 90°, the nosewheel left the paved surface. Tire scuff marks made by the aircraft were evident on the runway and formed a semicircular arc beginning near the runway centerline and terminating at the start of the nose gear rut. The aircraft then moved straight ahead, became mired, and power was reduced to idle. No further power applications were made. The engines of DAL 379 were at idle when TWA 159 passed behind DAL 379.

The accident occurred at approximately 1841, in darkness, at 39°03′ North Latitude and 84°40′ West Longitude.

1.2 *Injuries to Persons.*

Injuries	Crew	Passengers	Others
Fatal	0	1	0
Nonfatal	2	8	0
None	5	20	

1.3 *Damage to Aircraft.* The aircraft was substantially damaged by the ground slide and subsequent fire.

1.4 *Other Damage.* None.

1.5 *Crew Information.* All crewmembers were properly qualified for their respective assignments. See Appendix A for details.

1.6 *Aircraft Information.* The aircraft had been maintained in accordance with Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) requirements, and was properly loaded at takeoff. See Appendix B for details.

1.7 *Meteoroligical Information.* The 1800 Weather Bureau surface weather observation for the Greater Cincinnati Airport was: "Measured 7,000 feet overcast, 15 miles visibility, temperature 34°, dew point 19°, wind from 190° at 5 knots."

1.8 *Aids to Navigation.* No navigational aids were involved in the accident.

1.9 *Communications.* There were no reported problems with communications.

1.10 *Aerodrome and Ground Facilities.* Runway 27L is 7,800 feet long and 150 feet wide, of concrete construction. At the time of the accident, the runway surface was dry, and the high intensity lights were on.

1.11 *Flight Recorders.* TWA 159 was equipped with a flight data recorder and a CVR; both were recovered in satisfactory condition.

The flight data recorder was a Lockheed Aircraft Service Model 109C, Serial No. 197. The flight record medium did not show any mechanical damage, and all parameters were recording.

Since the flight recorder medium does not reflect the takeoff roll initiation point, the record was presented on a graph with a time scale of 70 seconds which included a period of time preceding the takeoff through that point where the traces became aberrant. The airspeed trace began increasing at a relatively uniform rate from approximately 10 to 15 knots at 21 seconds, to a maximum of 145 knots at 61 seconds. At this point, the airspeed decayed to 140 knots in 1 second, to 111 knots in the next 2 seconds, and finally decreased to 59 knots where it became aberrant at 70 seconds. The heading of approximately 270° was relatively constant until 61 seconds at which point it shifted momentarily to 265° and then returned to 270° at 64 seconds. The vertical acceleration trace also remained fairly constant until 66 seconds at which point accelerative forces were recorded ranging between +0.3 g and +2.2 g. The altitude trace varied between a log of 790 feet

[1] All times herein are eastern standard, based on the 24-hour clock.

[2] The local controller testified that this clearance was issued in anticipation of departure separation as provided in AT P7110.8 Par. 412: "ANTICIPATING SEPARATION—takeoff clearance need not be withheld until prescribed separation exists if there is a reasonable assurance it will exist when the aircraft starts takeoff roll."

just prior to the maximum airspeed and a high of 930 feet which was recorded during the period of peak vertical acceleration forces.

The CVR was a Fairchild Model A100, Serial No. 1514. There was no evidence of damage to the recorder and the readability of voice transmissions was good. See Appendix C for excerpts.

DAL 379 was equipped with a flight data recorder and a CVR; both were recovered in satisfactory condition.

The flight data recorder was United Data Control Model F-542, Serial No. 1975. All parameters were functioning properly.

The CVR was a Fairchild Model A100, Serial No. 1230. The recorder was undamaged, and the quality of recorded voice transmissions was good. One unusual finding was the absence of normal recorded signals on the tape for the first 5 minutes 18 seconds of the recording. Although this portion appeared to be void of recorded data, amplification with maximum gain control of the readout machine revealed several extremely weak, but intelligible, transmissions. These were identified as the radio transmissions from the tower to DAL 379 after the flight had completed the landing rollout. According to the manufacturer, this condition is indicative of the bulk erase feature[3] of the recorder having been applied.

1.12 *Wreckage.* TWA 159 overran Runway 27L, rolled across the terrain for approximately 225 feet to the brow of a hill, and became airborne momentarily. It next contacted the ground approximately 67 feet further down the embankment, the main landing gear sheared, and the nosewheel was displaced rearward which forced the cabin floor upward approximately 15 inches.

The aircraft continued sliding down the embankment and came to rest straddling a road approximately 421 feet from the end of Runway 27L. During the ground slide, the fuselage upper structure ruptured just forward of the wing root, and the right wing failed inboard of the No. 4 engine. Engines Nos. 1 and 2 partially separated and engine No. 3 separated from the wing structure. The right wing area surrounding the break was damaged by ground fire.

All control surface attachments were intact, and cables which were separated failed in tension except the right outboard aileron cable, which failed from overheat. The flight spoilers were intact except for the right outboard spoiler, which was fire damaged. The spoiler control handle was in the "spoiler extended" position and cable continuity was confirmed from the cockpit to the operating mechanisms.

The clamshell doors for all engines were in the reverse thrust position and the fuel controls were in the "maximum reverse" position.

1.13 *Fire.* Ground fire occurred in the area of the right wing separation and the Nos. 3 and 4 engines. The two firemen on duty at the airport responded with the crash truck and a rescue vehicle. The fire captain instructed the crash truck driver to park the truck approximately 75 feet from the fire area, and they, along with two off-duty airport employees, began foam application with the turret nozzle and a side line. Nearby volunteer fire departments with two additional trucks responded and aided in extinguishing the brush fires in the area.

1.14 *Survival Aspects.* This was a survivable accident, although one of the eleven injured occupants died 4 days after the accident.

The forward galley door and aft main door were both opened by the assigned hostesses, but they were unable to inflate the slides before being forced from the aircraft by passengers. The hostess assigned to the main passenger loading door was unable to open it due to buckling of the cabin floor. After determining that there were no passengers in the area, she jumped from the forward galley door, which was approximately 7 feet above the ground. The aft galley door was opened by the assigned hostess, but she closed it because of the fire on the right side of the aircraft. She then assisted people to the aft main loading door and exited when no one else was in sight. This door sill was about 20 inches above the ground. The left aft overwing exit was opened and utilized by two passengers.

After closing the fuel shutoff valves, the flight engineer proceeded to the forward main loading door, attempted to help the hostess there, and then instructed her to go to the forward galley door. After a few moments he followed her, but finding no one in the area, he returned to the cockpit to make certain that the other crewmembers had escaped. He then exited through the captain's sliding window which was approximately 10 feet above the ground. The first officer went directly to the forward galley door and carried a crippled woman to safety. The captain also went to the forward galley area and inflated the slide at that door. Although the slide was doubled back under the aircraft, two or three passengers utilized it for descent to the ground. When no one else was seen or heard, the captain left the aircraft through the galley door.

Emergency lighting within the cabin was reported as satisfactory. However, several passenger service unit doors and oxygen masks were hanging down, and the chain locks on 84 of the drop-down tables failed to restrain the tables in the stowed position.

1.15 *Tests and Research.* In order to evaluate the performance of TWA 159, and to obtain a clearer understanding of the events surrounding the takeoff, a correlation of the flight and cockpit voice recorders was made. The time base for this correlation was predicated on 80 knots, and the callout of that airspeed, occurring simultaneously. Other occurrences were measured in time from this point, and plotted on a common time scale.

The CVR-flight recorder airspeed curve was then compared with a predicted performance curve provided by Boeing. (See Attachments 1 and 2). This comparison, utilizing the takeoff clearance as a time reference, revealed an apparent disparity between the predicted and recorded performance of the aircraft in both the acceleration and deceleration phases of the takeoff. Further study of the evidence prompted selection of the engine noise reaching its highest peak as the time reference for the takeoff roll initiation point. This resulted in closer comparison of the two airspeed traces at the higher, more accurately recorded values, and still provided exceptional correlation with the physical evidence. In addition to the time base reference point, there were three other factors affecting the compatibility of the predicted and recorded performance. First, the airspeed values during deceleration are apparently depressed due to static position error induced by disturbed airflow while reverse thrust is utilized. Second, the airspeed values depicted by the flight recorder in the lower regimes, below 80 knots, tend to be less accurate than at the higher values. Third, the flight recorder tape drive system was malfunctioning. While this had no effect on the airspeed values recorded, it did result in irregular tape advance prior to the accident, and may have caused some minor distortion of the time scale during this takeoff.

The final CVR-flight recorder correlation indicates that the first reference of the crew to the position of DAL 379 occurred at approximately 115 knots. At this point, TWA 159 had progressed about 3,350 feet along the runway in 31.5 seconds. Five seconds later, at 4,400 feet (200 feet prior to passing DAL 379), the flight reached V_1. Acceleration continued as TWA 159 passed DAL 379 at approximately 135 knots, the sound of a "pop" was recorded at 139 knots, the sound of the engine power cut was at 143 knots, and finally the airspeed peaked at 145 knots. During this time interval, between 36.5 seconds and 40.5 seconds, the flight traveled approximately 950 feet to 5,350 feet from the takeoff roll initiation point. The airspeed then dropped in the next second to 140 knots. At 42.5 seconds the sound of engine power resumed, followed at 43 seconds by the command of the first officer for spoilers. At this point, the aircraft was approximately 5,900 feet down the runway and a marked increase in the deceleration began. The sound of impact began at 7,575 feet.

1.16 *Other.* The JT8D-5 engines installed on DAL 379 would produce jet exhaust at idle power as follows:

Distance (feet)	Temperature (degrees)	Velocity (feet/second)
82	97	55
63	108	75

The distances selected would correspond to the centerline of the Nos. 3 and 4 engines respectively, if the aircraft centerline of TWA 159 were in the middle of the runway.

Pratt and Whitney studied the effect of the ambient atmospheric conditions and the jet exhaust on the JT3C-6 engine. They concluded, ". . . there is a possibility that JT3C-6 engine compressor stall could have occurred due to the flow disturbance at the JT3C-6 engine inlet which could have resulted from the combined effects of the temperature and the velocity of the JT8D exhaust." Additionally; their representative at the hearing testified that, under the conditions of the accident, he could not think of any other factors which would have generated a compressor stall. He also indicated that a short duration high power stall of the type being discussed may not even be reflected in the engine instruments.

DAL 379 came to rest on a heading of 004° 4,600 feet from the takeoff end of Runway 27L. The aft-most point of the aircraft was approximately 7 feet north of the runway edge. However, the aft-most exterior lights, located on the wingtip, and the upper and lower anti-collision lights were approximately 45 feet from the edge. Because of the proximity of this aircraft to the runway, the crews of TWA 159 and DAL 379 and the local controller were asked for their personal interpretations of the phrase, "clear of the runway." The definitions included, "clear for use," "well clear", and ". . . no part of the aircraft on the runway or hanging over the runway." Neither the Federal Aviation Regulations nor the Terminal Air Traffic Control Procedures Manual of the FAA defines this expression. However, guidance for establishing criteria in the future can be inferred from Advisory Circular No. AC 150/5340-1A dated June 30, 1966. This circular describes runway and taxiway markings required to qualify under the Federal-Aid Airport Program. It states in part, "A taxiway holding line marking should be placed a distance of not less than 100 feet and not more than 200 feet from the nearest edge of the runway. . . ."

2. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

2.1 Analysis

The elements which are pertinent to this accident include the proximity of DAL 379 to the edge of the runway, and the action of this crew; the performance of his duties by the tower controller; and the actions of the crew of TWA 159 during the takeoff.

The captain of DAL 379 testified that the turning radius of his aircraft was 72 feet, and that he attempted the 180° turn within the 75 feet of runway to the right of the

[3] The captain of DAL 379 testified that he instructed the first officer to activate the bulk erase feature of the CVR because of the profanity used when they became mired.

centerline. Where he stopped the aircraft after approximately 90° of turn in order to check the clearance of the nosewheel, he was unable to re-establish the turn before the thrust of the engines, almost on the centerline, forced the aircraft forward off the runway.

When DAL 379 finally came to a stop, the rearmost extremity of the aircraft was physically clear of the runway by 7 feet. However, the engines were operating at idle during the period TWA 159 was attempting to takeoff, and jet exhaust was being directed across the runway. Notwithstanding the variations in testimony as to the meaning of "clear of the runway," this phrase is generally construed by controllers and pilots alike to mean that the runway is available for unrestricted use by other aircraft. Since DAL 379, under the circumstances, constituted a hazard to other aircraft taking off on Runway 27, it was not "clear of the runway" within the generally accepted meaning of that phrase.

When DAL 379 was queried by the tower concerning their position, the first officer estimated from a cursory glance that their aircraft was clear of the runway. It is the conclusion of the Board that an airline crew in these circumstances should determine by physical means whether they are physically clear of the runway. Despite the fact that their aircraft was physically clear of the runway by 7 feet, it is highly unlikely that the crew could have ascertained this fact, under the circumstances at the time. Accordingly, safety required that before the crew advised the tower of their position relative to the runway, they should have taken the time to open the cockpit windows to get a better view, or even have utilized the air stairs to make an "on the spot" determination if that were necessary. The crew should also have advised the tower immediately that the aircraft could not be moved any farther without assistance.

The Board recognizes that there was no definitive standard, in terms of distance, to judge whether or not the aircraft was clear of the runway. In this regard, the Board considers it appropriate to recommend that the FAA establish, and appropriately publicize to pilots and controllers alike, meaningful standards of safe clearance from runway edges for aircraft, as well as for ground-based vehicles, which will permit reasonable assurance to all concerned that no interference with flight operations on the runway will be caused by the presence of such movable obstructions.

The Board is of the view that such standards of safe clearance should take into account not only an intruding aircraft as an "obstruction," but also the fact that jet exhaust from a parked or moving aircraft perpendicular to the operating runway may well create the type of hazard (compressor stall) encountered here *even though* the intruding aircraft is more than a given number of feet physically "clear" of the runway.

In this connection the FAA issued a report [4] in 1965 which contains a quantity of valuable information as to velocities of jet engine blasts at varying levels of thrust and at varying distances, and forms a usable base from which meaningful conclusions in this area might be derived.

Interestingly enough, despite the known facts about wind velocities generated by the thrust of jet engines, we are not aware that any official cognizance has been taken of them in terms of the environment they create under circumstances akin to those present in this case.

In reviewing the Air Traffic Control aspects of this accident, it is apparent that the provision of additional equipment and/or the establishment and following of certain procedures for airport traffic control would have reduced materially the probability of this occurrence. However, there are other considerations which enter into the picture when this general area is explored.

The equipment referred to, which is not installed at the Greater Cincinnati Airport, is Airport Surface Detection Equipment (ASDE), a short-range K-band radar which is utilized at a few airports in adverse visibility conditions to provide tower personnel with data concerning the occupancy status of runways and taxiways beyond their range of effective vision. This is expensive equipment which requires continuous maintenance and which at present is not designed for daylight display, thus requiring the controller desiring data from the scope during daylight hours to view the scope through a hood.

Operational limitations are thus placed on the controller's capacity because his full time and attention must be directed toward determining the position of one aircraft to the detriment of his attention to the overall traffic flow. Further, if more than one aircraft is involved, which is usually the case at high activity airports where ASDE is presently installed, the controller has no immediate means of identifying the target of the aircraft of specific concern. In addition, ASDE is subject to precipitation interference which severely limits its capability at a time when it is most needed—namely, during periods of low visibility associated with precipitation.

The controller in the subject instance, because of his physical relationship to the location of DAL 379 (low angle of vision, nighttime, distance, etc.), was unable to make an unassisted determination as to the distance from the closest extremity of the aircraft to the runway edge when the aircraft stopped moving. In order to arrive at this determination, he enlisted the assistance of the Delta crew who, notwithstanding their visual limitations due to cockpit visibility angles, were closer to the scene and thereby better equipped to make this critical assessment. Their reply that they were clear of the runway, no matter how determined, was the critical factor influencing the controller against instructing TWA 159 to abandon takeoff. The Delta crew's remarks ". . . we're in the dirt, though," was not in itself sufficient to cause the controller to cancel the takeoff clearance since there is no prohibition against taxiing aircraft out of such areas. No other indication of their own situation was communicated to the tower until about 4 seconds prior to TWA 159 passing the immediate rear of DAL 379 when the latter crew stated ". . . we're stuck in the mud."

The final consideration bearing on the accident is the action of the captain and first officer of TWA 159. The captain testified that at the start of the takeoff he was only vaguely aware of the location and predicament of DAL 379. Although the captain testified that he was not consciously aware of the lights on DAL 379, the aft-most exterior lights, as well as the anticollision lights, were approximately 45 feet from the runway edge, which might have created the impression that the aircraft was farther from the runway than it actually was. The first officer was not aware of any cause for concern until the captain commented during the takeoff roll on the proximity of the aircraft. Meanwhile, their aircraft continued its acceleration in a normal manner to beyond V_1 (132 knots).

TWA 159 passed behind DAL 379 at a speed of approximately 135 knots, and the jet blast perpendicular to its path generated a short duration compressor stall in the No. 4 engine. Although the stall resulted in a loud noise and the jet blast apparently moved the flight controls, the performance capabilities of the aircraft were not affected. However, the first officer, convinced that a collision had occurred, and believing he was at or near V_1, elected to abort the takeoff. He reduced power on all engines at 143 knots, 1 second after the sound of the compressor stall which triggered his decision. As the airspeed peaked at 145 knots, his next action was to call for assistance in holding the yokes forward, preparatory to the application of reverse thrust. His command was given 1 second after the power was reduced; however, the actual reverse thrust was not applied for an additional 2.5 seconds. During this 4.5-second interval, the only decelerative device applied was the brakes, and their effectiveness is appreciably reduced when the spoilers are retracted. One-half second later, or 5 seconds after the stall occurred, the first officer finally called for the spoilers which should have been extended as soon as the power was reduced. The captain was admittedly surprised when the abort occurred, and though he stated that he assisted the first officer with the braking effort, he did not extend the spoilers on his own initiative. Rather, he took no action until the first officer ordered the spoilers. Once the spoilers were extended, a sharp increase in braking effectiveness was indicated by the rapid deterioration in airspeed. However, there was insufficient runway remaining in which to stop the aircraft.

The significance of the crew's slow implementation of the abort procedure is apparent in the Boeing performance data. (See Attachments 1 and 2.) It shows that at an abort-decision speed of V_1 (132 knots), the total accelerate-stop distance of the aircraft is approximately 6,560 feet. The accelerate-stop distance for an abort-decision speed of 143 knots is approximately 7,850 feet. Although these data reveal that the overrun was inevitable, it is interesting to note that, even allowing for positioning of the aircraft on the runway, if the abort had been executed properly the aircraft would have stopped either prior to the brow of the hill (225 feet from the runway end) or at least would have arrived there at a sufficiently reduced airspeed so that it would not have become airborne as it did. Consequently, the resultant damage would have been greatly reduced.

The preceding discussion serves to illustrate that the outcome of any attempted abort is heavily dependent on the pilot's knowledge of the sequences in which actions must be taken, especially when the abort is executed at velocities near V_1 and the stopping distance is limited. In this instance, the company manuals indicate that aborting a takeoff at high speed is potentially dangerous, and should not be attempted unless an actual engine failure occurs prior to V_1. Such a position could not only mislead and prejudice the pilot and his thinking toward aborted takeoffs, but also fails to consider the likelihood of other emergencies which would require an abort. Additionally, the specific instruction for execution of the abort lists as the second step, "Extend spoilers and apply reverse thrust." Although this provides the correct sequence, it fails to stress the importance of the sequence or the consequences of either delayed or improper actions by the crew. The Board believes that the circumstances of this accident dramatize the need for a major reappraisal of the current training manuals and instruction provided by all airlines. It is abundantly clear that a new, positive approach toward abort procedures, with amplification and clarification of such procedures, including safety margins provided and the need for prompt and proper sequencing of each action, is needed.

In connection with a reappraisal of abort procedures, the Board believes that a reassessment and clarification of the respective duties and responsibilities of the captain and first officer during critical phases of flight would be in order. It is a common practice among airlines for the captain and first officer

[4] "Effects of Jet Blast," AC 150/5325-6, April 1965. See, in particular, pp. 2-5.

to alternate piloting the aircraft on various legs of a flight when several stops are made en route. In such instances, the first officer often makes the takeoff and subsequent landing, although the captain is still in command of the aircraft and may elect to "take over" from the first officer when the situation may warrant or dictate such action. Accordingly, when the first officer is flying the aircraft, the captain must be alert and in position to counteract actions of the first officer which are not in accordance with his own best judgment. To discharge effectively this responsibility, the Board believes that the captain should follow through on the flight controls and should either have his hands on the thrust levers or in a guarding position.

The foregoing discussion assumes that the "captain in command" concept is effective even under circumstances such as those involved in the subject accident. It may be that this assumption—*viz.*, that a captain can effectively, and in timely fashion, countermand a decision of the first officer to abort a takeoff—is worth reexamination. It is at least arguable that the virtually split-second action required for implementation of the abort procedure near V_1 dictates that the pilot at the controls should also have the final decisional authority with respect to an abort. If a captain believes it is inadvisable to delegate the decisional authority in any given case, he can execute the takeoff himself.

In accordance with the Board's rules of practice, Parties to the Investigation were invited to submit to the Board their recommended conclusions to be drawn from the facts derived in the investigation. Accordingly, Delta Air Lines, Inc. (DAL) submitted a list of 15 conclusions to be drawn from the evidence gathered during the investigation. One of the substantive differences in their findings and the Board's report of the accident concerns the question of a compressor stall. DAL stated that, "The evidence is inconclusive as to whether TWA Flight 159 experienced a compressor stall . . . or what point in time and relation to Delta's Flight 379 such stall occurred, if in fact it did take place." In addition, they stated that the length of time which TWA 159 was in the jet exhaust wake of DAL 379 was not sufficient to cause a compressor stall. However, the Board believes that, notwithstanding the duration of exposure to the jet exhaust, the temperature rise and velocity were sufficient to disturb the airflow at the engine inlet and generate a momentary compressor stall.

DAL also maintains that the crew of TWA 159 could have successfully effected an abort when their landing lights illuminated DAL 379, thus enabling the TWA crew to observe visually the position of the Delta aircraft. Effective illumination would have occurred when TWA 159 reached a point within 500 to 700 feet of DAL 379, or about 3 seconds prior to passing abeam of it. Even though an abort initiated at this stage of the takeoff might have been completed successfully, the Board does not believe that the TWA crew acted unreasonably in continuing the takeoff. They had been advised DAL 379 was clear of the runway and both TWA pilots testified that they were convinced it was clear when it loomed up in their lights. Moreover, they could not have ascertained that the DC-9's engines were operating and that jet exhaust was being directed across the runway before they reached a point abeam of DAL 379. Another consideration is the fact that an abort initiated just prior to passing DAL 379 would have run the risk of causing TWA 159 to veer away from the runway centerline, possibly toward the DC-9, thereby increasing the possibility of a collision. Finally, to suggest that the TWA crew should have begun an abort *before* reaching DAL 379 not only imposes an unreasonable burden on the TWA crew but also concedes that the DAL aircraft *did* present a hazard to the flight.

DAL also contends that the attempt to abort the takeoff constituted pilot error on the part of the TWA first officer. For the reasons set forth below, however, the Board is of the opinion that the first officer's decision to abort was reasonable under the circumstances.

The Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) recommended that this accident should ". . . direct the government's attention to the compromise of safety in runway length requirements and accelerate-stop computations for jet transport aircraft." The Association indicated that they believe the means of computing the V_1 takeoff speed and the accelerate-stop distance are not realistic.

However, it is the view of the Board, and ALPA agrees, that the concept of V_1 is not directly relevant in this particular case. That concept is intended to provide the crew with a decision speed at which they may either abort or continue the takeoff if they should lose power on an engine. However, in this case, the first officer who was making the takeoff believed that his aircraft was physically damaged by a collision and that it might not be capable of flight. It is the opinion of the Board that his decision to abort the takeoff, regardless of the air-speed, was reasonable under the circumstances.

Despite the lack of relevance of V_1 to this case, the Board recognizes that this accident has engendered a considerable degree of interest in that general subject. Accordingly, there is appended to the report a detailed discussion of V_1, with particular emphasis on those points raised by the ALPA recommendation. (See Appendix D.)

CONCLUSIONS

(a) Findings.

1. The aircraft was airworthy and properly certificated.

2. DAL 379 was mired 4,600 feet from the takeoff end of Runway 27L, and the aft-most part of the aircraft structure was approximately 7 feet from the runway edge.

3. The local controller was unable to determine without assistance whether DAL 379 was clear of the runway.

4. The crew of DAL 379 should have made a greater effort to ascertain their position with respect to the runway and should have been more explicit in reporting their exact circumstances to the controller.

5. Although the phrase "clear of the runway" is generally construed by pilots and controllers to mean that a runway is available for unrestricted use, there is no definitive criterion, in terms of distance, against which to judge whether such clearance exists, nor is there any standard which takes into account the effect of the exhaust from jet engines.

6. The captain of TWA 159 failed to announce V_1.

7. TWA 159 sustained a compressor stall in the No. 4 engine as it passed behind DAL 379 due to the jet blast from the idling engines of DAL 379.

8. The first officer of TWA 159, believing his aircraft had collided with another plane, aborted the takeoff.

9. The abort procedure was not accomplished in the correct sequence, nor was it completed in a timely manner.

10. The takeoff was aborted beyond V_1, and the overrun was inevitable.

(b) *Probable Cause.*

The Board determines that the probable cause of the accident was the inability of the TWA crew to abort successfully their takeoff at the speed attained prior to the attempted abort. The abort was understandably initiated because of the first officer's belief that his plane had collided with a Delta aircraft stopped just off the runway. A contributing factor was the action of the Delta crew in advising the tower that their plane was clear of the runway without carefully ascertaining the facts, and when in fact their aircraft was not a safe distance under the circumstance of another aircraft taking off on that runway.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CORRECTIVE MEASURES

1. The Board recommends that the FAA establish, and appropriately publicize to pilots and controllers alike, meaningful standards of safe clearance from runway edges for aircraft as well as for ground-based vehicles which will permit reasonable assurance to all concerned that no interference with flight operations on the runway will be caused by the presence of such movable obstructions. Such new standards should take into account the effect of the exhaust from jet engines.

2. The Board believes that the circumstances of this accident dramatize the need for a major reappraisal of the current training manuals and instructions provided by all airlines with a view toward a new, positive approach toward abort procedures. Such an approach would include an amplification and clarification of such procedures, including safety margins provided and the need for prompt and proper sequencing of each action.

3. The Board believes that a reassessment of the respective duties and responsibilities of the captain and first officer during critical phases of flight is in order. In so doing, the "captain in command" concept should be re-examined with respect to its applicability in situations where time may not permit the captain to countermand effectively the decision of a first officer who is flying the aircraft.

By the National Transportation Safety Board:

JOSEPH J. O'CONNELL, Jr.
Chairman.

OSCAR M. LAUREL,
JOHN H. REED,
LOUIS M. THAYER,
Members.

FRANCIS H. MCADAMS,
Concurring and dissenting Member.

Member McAdam's concurrence and dissent attached.

MEMBER MCADAMS, CONCURRING AND DISSENTING

Based on the facts of this case I have reached different conclusions than those of the Board.

The Board concludes that the probable cause was "the inability of the TWA crew to abort successfully their takeoff at the speed attained prior to the attempted abort." This is not a probable cause, it is merely a statement of how the accident occurred. Furthermore, it seems to imply that either the abort was not necessary or the crew with sufficient ability or competence could have successfully aborted. Such is not the case. Under the circumstances TWA had no reasonable alternative but to discontinue its takeoff at a speed in excess of V_1. At this speed, 143–145 knots, it is not possible to stop the aircraft on the runway. However, it was stopped within the approximate distance indicated by engineering test data.[1] Therefore, since the decision of the TWA crew in aborting was not only reasonable but also adequately executed then TWA's action cannot be considered as the cause. The cause must be attributed to the factors which induced TWA to initiate the abort. In my opinion, the probable cause was the failure of the Delta crew to adequately advise the tower of its proximity to the runway, and of the tower to request additional and more precise information from Delta prior to clearing TWA for takeoff.

A chain of events set in motion by Delta was the primary cause of the accident. Delta's turnoff was either executed with an insufficient turning radius or at an excessive speed resulting in the aircraft becoming mired in the dirt 7 feet from the runway where it constituted a hazard. If the turn had been started at the centerline after the aircraft had been stopped, as testified to by the Delta crew[2] then it could have been successfully completed in the 75 feet of available runway since the turning radius of the DC–9 is 72

feet. Therefore, the aircraft was either too far to the right of the centerline or the turn was executed at an excessive speed. The tire scuff marks on the runway made by the nosewheel could possibly indicate a turn at excessive speed since if the aircraft was stopped before the turn was commenced the nosewheel should not have been fully deflected and there would have been no scuff marks. The Delta crew testified that the turn was normal and the nosewheel did not become fully deflected until it slipped off the runway.[3]

After Delta became "stuck in the mud" the crew advised the tower that the aircraft was clear of the runway; however, at 23.45, 5 minutes after the accident, Delta stated, "I guess we're off the runway. I don't know."[4] Delta's transmission, clear of the runway, was not only inadequate but inaccurate since they did not know whether they were physically on or off the runway and, in fact, they were close enough to the runway to have reasonably known that the aircraft constituted a definite hazard.

As a result of Delta's cryptic transmission, "Yeah, [clear of the runway] we're in the dirt though," the tower cleared TWA for takeoff. TWA reasonably believing it had collided with Delta, with the possibility of structural damage, discontinued the takeoff *and brought the aircraft to a stop 8100 feet* from where it began the takeoff roll. According to the engineering test data[5] and the testimony of Boeing's engineering test pilot, if the aircraft's speed peaked at 145 knots, as shown by the flight recorder, and the crew during the abort used brakes, spoilers, and all four thrust reverses, *the aircraft could be stopped at 8100 feet.*[6] From the above it would seem TWA's aborted takeoff was well executed despite the Board's conclusion that it was improperly executed.

With respect to the tower as a contributing factor, it seems to me, under the circumstances, it would have been reasonable to expect that the tower should have requested additional and more precise information as to the position of the Delta aircraft in relation to the runway before clearing TWA for takeoff. The tower, based on the facts available to it, should have realized that the Delta transmission, "clear of the runway," an ambiguous phrase at best, needed further clarification. Additionally, the "in the dirt" portion should have alerted the tower to the possibility that a hazardous condition might be existing on or close to the runway. The tower, therefore, should have requested the exact proximity of Delta to the runway, the aircraft heading, and whether jet exhaust was being directed across the runway.

The controller observed Delta turning off the runway and cleared TWA for takeoff in anticipation that Delta would not only be physically clear but would also continue to taxi away from the runway when TWA reached the intersection. The controller testified that he determined by reference to the high-intensity lights and the lights of the Delta aircraft, both of which could be clearly seen, that Delta was physically clear of the runway.[7] However, almost immediately and before TWA received its final takeoff clearance, the controller saw that Delta had stopped and from this should have known that the aircraft was very close to the runway because of the short time interval between Delta's turnoff and coming to a stop. Furthermore, since he had determined that Delta was physically clear of the runway by the relationship of runway and aircraft lights he also should have been able to determine that Delta was in close proximity to the runway and at the very least closer than the required 100 feet for stopped or holding aircraft.[8]

Controllers are charged with the sole responsibility for issuing landing and takeoff clearances and, therefore, must exercise the highest degree of care in determining whether there are aircraft or other obstructions on or near a runway which would constitute a hazard. In some instances a controller because of visibility restrictions has no alternative but to rely upon pilot advice as to whether the runway is in fact clear; however, in this case there were no visibility restrictions since the controller testified that the high-intensity runway lights as well as the landing and other lights on the Delta aircraft could be clearly seen from the tower which is 40 feet above field elevation.[9]

One of the difficulties herein is the meaning and use of the phrase, "clear of the runway." Unfortunately, its meaning is equivocal. The controller, according to his testimony, was aware that the phrase was subject to different interpretations.[10]

In one situation when a controller clears an aircraft for takeoff or landing and at the same time another aircraft is either taking off or turning off the runway, "clear of the runway" means to both tower and pilot that the aircraft departing the runway is at that point in time physically clear and will under normal circumstances be well clear when the other aircraft reaches the departure point.

In a second situation it has quite a different meaning; for example, when an aircraft is stopped close to the runway, for whatever reason, it means to both pilot and tower that not only is the aircraft physically clear but it is also far enough removed so as not to constitute a hazard to other aircraft. In this case there was a combination of both situations. According to the FAA there are no definitive criteria in distance to serve as guidelines for the tower in this situation. However, the testimony clearly indicated that an immobile aircraft 7 feet from the runway is considered to be a hazard by the FAA and the runway should be closed.[11]

Despite the so-called lack of criteria there are regulations which state that taxiway holding line markings must be at least 100 feet and not more than 200 feet from the nearest edge of the runway.[12] Obviously, under this regulation a holding aircraft is considered a hazard to aircraft using the runway unless it is at least 100 feet from the runway. It would seem that the regulation should apply not only to aircraft approaching a runway but, *a fortiori,* to aircraft taxiing away from a runway since there is a greater hazard to other aircraft from jet exhaust. Furthermore, if a holding aircraft is considered to be a hazard unless it is at least 100 feet from the runway then any aircraft stopped for whatever reason and on any heading within 100 feet should also be considered a hazard.

Although not directly involved in the accident but constituting a safety problem is the fact that the tower cleared TWA 128 to land when it was known that TWA 159 had aborted.[13] Even though TWA 128 was in its final approach it seems to me the more prudent course of action would have been to have advised TWA 128 not to land so that three aircraft—one that had aborted, one stuck in the mud, and one landing—would not be on the runway at the same time.

Additionally, I believe that there should be further study of the adequacy of the existing accelerate-stop distance requirements with particular attention to whether there should be an additional time allowance for pilot decision time. Present criteria allow for a reaction time of 3.44 seconds for a pilot with an emergency at or before V_1 to physically complete the abort sequence but there is no allowance for a decision time. Apparently it is assumed that a pilot's decision in the case of engine failure at or prior to V_1 is already made with respect to the abort and he will automatically initiate the abort sequence. I am not convinced that this is a valid assumption and it may be that there should be additional time allowed for the pilot to recognize the precise difficulty, to decide on the appropriate corrective action, and then time to initiate the action. For malfunctions other than engine failure it would certainly seem that additional time is required for pilot decision.

In this connection it is significant that the instructions contained in the TWA Boeing 707 Flight Handbook read as follows:

". . . 5.a. Aborting a takeoff at high speeds is potentially dangerous and should not be attempted unless an actual engine failure has occurred *prior* to V_1. *Under the balanced runway length concept an abort at V_1 that is perfectly executed will require every foot of the remaining runway.* Anything less than a maximum effort throughout the entire stopping attempt will probably result in running off the end of the runway. Barring an actual engine failure (prior to V_1) the aircraft has a greater capability to successfully continue the takeoff than to stop.

"Serious consideration should always be given to continuing the takeoff rather than abort where abnormal conditions, other than engine failure, are encountered prior to reaching V_1. Engine failure will manifest itself by yaw or loss of performance, either of which can be confirmed by *multiple* engine instrument indication." (Emphasis added)[14]

It appears from the above than an abort initiated at V_1 may or may not be successful. For this reason alone the existing accelerate-stop distance criteria should be reexamined. However, more important is the fact that if there is a malfunction other than engine failure the pilot is advised to give serious consideration to continuing the takeoff rather than aborting. Obviously if the pilot has to give a malfunction "serious consideration" this will require additional time over and above reaction time to decide whether the abnormal condition is indeed substantial enough to abort the takeoff.

FRANCIS H. MCADAMS.

APPENDIX C

COCKPIT VOICE RECORDING

The following is a partial transcript from the CVR's in TWA 159 and DAL 379:

2339:05—Tower: "TWA one fifty nine cleared for takeoff." TWA 2: "One fifty nine Roger."

2339:24—Tower: "Delta three seventy nine you're clear of the runway, aren't you?" DAL 2: "Yeah, we're in the dirt though." Tower: "Okay, TWA one fifty nine he's clear of the runway, cleared for takeoff, company jet on final behind you."

2339:35—TWA 2: Okay, we're rollin'."

2339:37.5—(Engine sound reaches highest pitch.)

2339:57.5—TWA 1: "Eighty knots, you got 'er."

2340:09—TWA 1: "Not very . . . far off the runway." TWA 2: "Sure . . . isn't."

2340:15.5—(Sound of "pop" recorded.)

2340:16.5—(Sound of engine power cut.) TWA 2: "Good God, I hit him."

2340:17.5—TWA 2: "Yokes."

2340:20—(Sound of engine power resumption.)

2340:20.5—TWA 2: "Spoilers!"

2340:32—(Sound of impact begins.)

2344:03—DAL?: "I, I just wonder if, if us sitting here . . . I don't know."

2345:57—DAL?: "I guess we're off the runway, I don't know."

2349:07—DAL?: "I wonder if the exhaust of our engines had any effect on him."

APPENDIX D

The term V_1 refers to a speed at which the takeoff can be safely continued or safely aborted within the limits of the runway remaining, assuming that the critical engine failed at V_1. The accelerate-stop distance is the sum of the distances neecssary to accelerate the aircraft from a standing start to V_1, abort the takeoff, and then come to a complete stop. The calculations on which the maneuver is predicated are based on the use of a smooth, dry, hard-surfaced runway. Certain allowances are also made for the human factor elements. These include consideration of normal pilot skill, pilot reaction time, and

Footnotes at end of article.

the number and complexity of the steps required to complete the maneuver.

In their recommendation, ALPA contended that the time values used to allow for transition and execution of the abort procedure are unrealistic and cannot be duplicated in normal airline operation. The most important factor in this is the element of surprise which exists in operational aborts but which cannot be duplicated in the flight tests upon which the performance data is based. ALPA further contended that these flight tests are conducted by experienced flight test pilots who have practiced the maneuver, and that the tests are performed in a new aircraft in prime condition and under ideal operating conditions. The Association concluded that for these reasons, under normal service conditions, a takeoff cannot be safely aborted if the emergency occurs just at the V_1 speed.

The determination of a realistic aborted takeoff concept has been the subject of considerable Government/industry effort. In 1963, the Federal Aviation Agency (now Federal Aviation Administration) issued a Notice of Proposed Rule Making in which an attempt was made to account for operations under adverse runway conditions by proposing rationalized requirements for accelerate-stop distances. For the purpose of determining the minimum runway length for takeoff, the proposed amendment would have required the additional of a constant distance margin of 800 feet to the accelerate-stop distance. Of this 800 feet, 600 feet were to provide a 3-second decision time (assuming an average speed of 200 feet-per-second) to the pilot, and 200 feet to account for the runway used in positioning the airplane for takeoff. However, the 800-foot margin was then misinterpreted by parties within and outside the Agency as implying that a 4-second reaction time was required for an average pilot to recognize the problem and to decide on and initiate the appropriate action.

This proposal was withdrawn because of the numerous comments received from interested parties. The comments noted that there were safety margins not recognized in the notice such as the substantial reduction in stopping distance made possible by use of reverse thrust, the low probability of engine failure just at V_1 speed, and time delays imposed during type certification. Other comments noted that, since the V_1 concept is based entirely upon engine failure, a decision time is inappropriate because the pilot's decision is already made depending upon his speed. Until V_1 is reached, he may either safely abort or continue the takeoff, and after V_1, he is committed to a takeoff. Thus, to abort a takeoff under this concept, a pilot need not first assess the effects on the aircraft of some emergency situation and then determine his ability to continue the takeoff based on the probable remaining performance of the aircraft. Instead, he need only recognize the failure of an engine and abort or continue the takeoff depending on his speed at the time.

In response to a 1965 recommendation by the Bureau of Safety (now Bureau of Aviation Safety) that the FAA either provide longer pilot reaction times or, in the alternative, ascertain that line pilots can meet the existing requirements, the FAA discussed its continuing study of the matter and outlined some of the conservatisms contained in the current requirements. The reply explained the arbitrary time delays which were added to the test pilot's normal reaction time to determine the total time to be allowed for completion of the abort sequence. In the case of the Boeing 707–131, the total time allotted is 3.44 seconds. In determining that time, Boeing pilots demonstrated the following reaction times: .35 second from recognition of the abort to brake application, .41 second from brake application to power reduction, and .68 second from power reduction to spoiler extension. The foregoing times add up to a total abort procedure time, including reaction, of 1.44 seconds. To account for various operational factors, a 2-second delay was added, thereby arriving at the 3.44-second time period. The time added is predicated, in part, upon the number of motions required to activate the required decelerating devices other than brakes.

The ALPA recommendation also cited this accident as further evidence that the current means of calculating the V_1 speed is unrealistic. This contention was based on the fact that the initial study of the flight recorder and CVR data derived from the accident flight indicated that the accelerations of N742TW were appreciably slower than those predicted by the aircraft manufacturer. ALPA contended that by using the recorded takeoff acceleration to calculate the time and distance down the runway at which V_1 should have occurred, it is possible to show that the aircraft was not yet at V_1 when the abort was initiated. Therefore, according to those calculations, the aircraft should have stopped without overrunning the runway if the V_1 criteria were realistic.

The Board, however, has two main points of disagreement relative to the validity of the foregoing ALPA reasoning. First, after a detailed study and a comparison of the CVR and flight recorder records with the predicted data, the Board is convinced that the disparities were: airspeed data from the flight recorder are not considered valid below 80 knots, the effects of static position error induced by the engine reversing operation, and the fact that the precise initiation of the takeoff roll is not discernible from visual examination of the recorder tape alone. Further study of the recorder data, predicted data, and physical evidence resulted in a plot of the correlated flight recorder and CVR data which compared favorably with the predicted performance plot. From this plot, it was determined that the abort was initiated at nearly 143 knots, more than 10 knots in excess of V_1 for the subject takeoff.

In considering ALPA's contention that the reaction times allowed for in the V_1 calculations are insufficient, it should be noted that, according to the CVR record, the subject abort was initiated within 1 second of the sound of the compressor stall or after a 1-second reaction time. Had the remainder of the abort procedure (the spoiler actuation) been accomplished in proper sequence, the entire sequence could then have been completed within 2 seconds. This compares with the time allotted for decision and implementation of the abort procedure for this aircraft of 3.44 seconds. Hence, this abort could have been accomplished in less distance than the calculations would indicate. At any rate, in this instance, the aircraft was destined to overshoot by virtue of its excessive speed over V_1 at which the abort decision was made and not as a result of unrealistic reaction times. Any adverse variation from the certificated reaction times or sequencing would only have the effect of increasing the length of the overrun.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See *infra*, p. 3.
[2] Tr. 349.
[3] Tr. 349–350.
[4] Exhibit 12B–1.
[5] Exh. 2J.
[6] Q. Sir, in previous testimony of the last witness he read from the flight recorder trace a maximum speed of 145 knots. Could you tell me on this chart where an airplane would stop, the same situation, [brakes, spoilers, and all four reverses functioning] if it did attain a speed of 145 knots. A. Yes. This chart shows that it should stop at about 8100 feet, which is near the reported position of this particular airport [aircraft]. Tr. 522.
[7] Q. What had you used as a reference point to determine whether the DC–9 was clear of the east-west runway? . . . A. [Tower controller] He was taxiing to the north. He is leaving the runway on that side. Just the lights down there as he taxies off the runway, you just look at the lights and watch him taxi off the runway, when they appear to be off the runway. Tr. 35–36.
[8] Exh. 3F.
[9] Tr. 36, 50–51.
[10] Tr. 24–25, 35, 78.
[11] Tr. 31, 76–79.
[12] Exh. 3F.
[13] Tr. 40–42.
[14] Exh. 2E.

PUBLIC HEARING ON APPLICATION FOR FOREIGN TRADE ZONE IN MAINE

HON. WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, this morning in Portland, Maine, a public hearing was held by the Foreign Trade Zones Board on the State of Maine's application for a foreign trade zone in Portland and a subzone in Machias, Maine.

Since there is widespread congressional interest in this application, I invite the attention of the Members to the testimony given today by Gov. John King, of New Hampshire; Gov. Kenneth M. Curtis, of Maine, Congressman Kyros, John Linnehan, New England Regional Commission, and myself.

The statements follow:

TESTIMONY OF JOHN W. KING, EXAMINER'S COMMITTEE OF THE FOREIGN TRADE ZONES BOARD, PORTLAND, MAINE, OCTOBER 10, 1968

My name is John W. King. I am the Governor of the State of New Hampshire and State co-chairman of the New England Regional Commission.

I appear before you this morning in support of the proposal made by the Maine Port Authority to create a foreign trade zone at Portland and a sub-zone at Machiasport.

We have heard hysterical statements by the public relations men of the major oil companies that the Machiasport sub-zone, if approved, would constitute what is the biggest economic give-away ever conferred upon a private company by the United States Government.

Gentlemen, these statements are specious, and I propose this morning to show not only why they are specious, but why they are being made.

As Al Smith used to say, "Let's look at the record."

What is this purported economic advantage that will accrue to the refinery operator?

Simply, the chance to provide New England fuel oil consumers with heat at 10 per cent less than they are currently being forced to pay. The New England price for heating oil in March, 1968, was 17.7 cents per gallon—a rise from 15.9 cents per gallon in March, 1964.

I would like to submit that New England is the only region in the United States that depends primarily on oil for industrial use and home heating. Approximately 70 per cent of the homes in the six states are dependent on heating oil. This means that the overall consumption pattern for oil is radically different in New England than in any other section of the country.

Heavy fuel oil and middle distillates account for 34 per cent of the total demand—gas, in contrast, accounts for only 32 per cent as opposed to about 50 per cent on the average in the rest of the country.

The projected refinery is specifically designed to meet the peculiar needs of the area by concentrating on the production of heavy fuel oil and number 2 heating oil.

And why does New England need such a refinery? Because, Gentlemen, no other major

domestic oil company has been seen fit to locate its refinery so as to provide New England with the heating oil it needs at competitive prices. The majors have abandoned New England. In the other forty-four states of this nation, there are 291 refineries. In New England, there is not one. Humble Oil closed down the last refinery in the area—in Everett, Massachusetts—several years ago. Nor is there an oil pipeline serving New England. As result, New England is the highest cost energy region in the nation. No wonder that the majors view with alarm the efforts of an aggressive, forward-looking company to break the monopolistic stranglehold on heating oil presently clamped on New England by these very same majors!

Any economic benefits which will accrue to the Machiasport refinery operator will not come as a result of a give-away, but as a result of the business acumen of Occidental Petroleum in locating a refining capacity in an area which desperately needs it, and by selling the products of that refinery at prices designed to encourage competition for the New England heating oil consumers' dollar.

If the major oil companies are afraid that Occidental Petroleum's thoughtful and competitive proposal will jeopardize their lucrative locks on the New England fuel oil market, why don't they say so instead of jealously sniping at the proposal as a "give-away." I submit that these companies are more interested in preserving this market as their own feudal enclave than they are interested in seeing our New England consumers get a better break for their heating oil dollar.

They shudder at the prospect of having this carefully created market upset by an outsider who challenges their administered price structures. The majors do not want to locate a refinery in this area—not because, as they claim, a free market situation does not warrant such a construction, but because as a matter of economics, why should they spend millions to build a refinery when they can charge artificially inflated prices to New England consumers and get away with it.

I cannot work up much sympathy for the argument that approval of the proposal will result in a "give-away" to Occidental Petroleum. The only advantage which stands to be given away is the present advantage of the major oil companies of being able to charge what they will for the cost of oil heat in New England.

We also hear the argument that approval of this proposal will have the result of increasing American dependence on foreign oil sources—a possible detriment it is claimed, in the event of international crisis. It would seems to me that if we want to have adequate oil available in this country for defense purposes, this argument is just 180 degrees wrong. Why not do just the reverse—rely mainly on foreign oil now and conserve our domestic supplies for national emergencies? And this so-called "foreign oil" is not foreign at all, really—it is produced by American companies or their overseas subsidiaries. If anything, the increased development of foreign reserves by U.S. companies will help our balance of payments rather than worsening it.

Let me also speak briefly to another, and to my mind, the strangest, criticism from the major oil companies concerning the proposal before you this morning. This is the attack on Occidental's offer to pay into a New England conservation fund 20 cents for each barrel of oil from this refinery which it sells on the U.S. Market, an offer which would give this area about $7 million a year for conservation projects. This offer has been derided by a spokesman for the majors as "political payola." Indeed, this kind of criticism can be expected from a group which has been less than notable for its efforts to improve the quality of the American environment. We in New England are proud of our clean air and water, our forests and our green areas. We have no desire to see our states decay into industrial slums. We hear a lot these days about the heartlessness and impersonality of the American corporation and about its carelessness with the environment. We are pleased that Occidental is a corporation with a conscience—that it cares enough about the unique quality of New England not only to propose a refinery incorporating the latest anti-pollution techniques that the state of the art can presently offer: not only to refine low-sulphur content oil, which will result in fewer contaminants being released into the atmosphere; but also that it proposed to create this conservation fund to preserve the very values that will make its operation a more attractive one for which to work.

Once again, Occidental is flouting the rules of its major competitors, which say that environmental and aesthetic considerations are secondary to economic considerations—and its competitors are unhappy.

But to my view, the days when industry could ignore its impact on its natural surroundings are gone—if indeed they ever existed. The majors have not realized this. Occidental has. The difference is clearly put by the Majors' reaction to Occidental Petroleum's proposal to create this conservation fund. To the majors, it is, "political payola." How typical of a group, so bloated on depletion allowances and early write-offs of intangible drilling expenses, and so inconsiderate of the country which makes it wealthy that it feels able to dismiss as cheap political gesture any effort by a competitor to shoulder some responsiiblity to society. This is the "public-be-damned" attitude of a nineteenth century industrial robber baron.

Gentlemen, you have heard, and no doubt will hear again this morning, these tired arguments of the major oil companies and the political representatives who speak for them. These arguments are not based on substance—they are the frightened gut reaction of a group so used to legislative favoritism and protection that any specter of meaningful competition causes instant terror. It is for you, gentlemen, to weigh the evidence and arguments presented to you, and I am confident that this morning's session and the sessions which follow will demonstrate to you the soundness of the arguments in favor of the proposal here advanced, and the self-serving nature of the arguments advanced in opposition by the major domestic oil companies.

Thank you for your attention.

STATEMENT OF KENNETH M. CURTIS, GOVERNOR OF MAINE

My name is Kenneth M. Curtis.

I am Governor of the State of Maine.

In this capacity it is a privilege to welcome this distinguished board and the many participants, to our State.

I hope we can provide an atmosphere which is both pleasant and conducive to a presentation of facts directed to the purpose of this hearing, and cognizant of the jurisdiction of this board.

As clearly defined by statute, that purpose is solely to determine compliance with the requirements of the Foreign Trade Zones Act.

If those requirements are met it is the clear duty of this board to grant the requested license as a matter of right.

Although, we expect much will be said not pertinent to this clearly stated purpose, the State of Maine will establish through subsequent witnesses, our compliance and right to the license.

It is in the interest of the people I represent that I am here to testify in support of the application by the Maine port authority for the establishment of a primary foreign trade zone in Portland and a sub zone in Machiasport.

The application reflects the seriousness which Maine and the whole nation must place on future port development.

It further reflects a determination by public officials in Maine and throughout New England that our region shall share fully in the economic growth of our country.

Since Portland and Machiasport present entirely different physical and economic profiles, it is only logical that the development plans for the two sites differ considerably in scope and content.

At Portland, we propose to construct a relatively modest general-purpose zone to service the expanding industrial base of the greater Portland area, with adequate acreage available for growth as commerce through the zone increases.

At Machiasport, we propose a complete industrial complex and port facility capable of handling the largest proposed supertankers.

Machias Bay offers depths of water in excess of 90 feet, or double that of such ports as New York and Boston.

We accordingly have designed a complex which will have not only state and regional impact but national implication as well.

Nowhere else along the East Coast of the United States is here a harbor offering sufficent depth and maneuvering space to permit traffic in the supertankers now being constructed and designed by the shipping industry.

We propose to take full advantage of this fortunate circumstance.

I should like to make clear that Maine's interest in the establishment of a Foreign Trade Zone within its borders is not new.

The application being considered here is the product of a period of sudy and investigation.

The Foreign Trade Zones Act provides that "each port of entry shall be entitled to at least one zone."

Five years ago the Maine State Legislature, exercising commendable foresight, gave the Maine Port Authority power to apply for and establish foreign trade zones.

It was their belief that such action was consistent with the development of the State's economy and the promotion of foreign trade.

Subsequently, an appropriation of State funds was made to carry forward study in this field.

It is significant that the suggestion that a foreign trade zone be established in Portland came from a study commissioned by the Department of Defense of the United States.

This study specifically recommended that (I quote) "Any effort to develop a foreign trade zone in Maine should be directed at Portland or Searsport.

"These two ports, and most especially Portland, have most if not all of the necessary attributes for the establishment of a zone . . . Portland has established foreign trade and would add a significant service with the provision of zone facilities.

"Manufacturing within a zone would help broaden the economic base of the State . . . a foreign trade zone would be desirable in the State, but the logical location must be on water, ..."

Therefore the port authority, the legislature, and this administration continued to be interested in the establishment of a zone somewhere in Maine.

Subsequent efforts have aroused considerable interest in the proposed Portland zone as evidenced by testimony from prospective users, and letters, statements and expressions of interest from more than 30 individual firms.

Furthermore, we anticipate that the diversity of services provided by the zone will be useful to businessmen throughout northern New England.

Previously, the nearest foreign trade zone to New England businessmen was in New York City.

But this was too far for their establishment of business enterprises.

But if there was a foreign trade zone in

Portland they would be eager to take advantage of the business opportunities afforded by such a zone.

The excellent air, rail and road connections into Portland, make this wider use of the zone feasible and logical.

Nevertheless, we are aware of the economic difficulties which often plague a newly established zone, and, have secured financial guarantees adequate to ensure its continued operation in the event that initial revenues fail to meet expectations.

These guarantees will be made available to the officials conducting this hearing.

It is to complement the primary zone and our total effort, that we have also requested permission to create an industrial sub zone at Machiasport.

Although this proposed development is more ambitious in scope than other sub zones, it is similar in intent to both the Penueslas and Bay city sub zones.

Unlike the general purpose zone at Portland it is proposed as a special purpose zone housing a petroleum refinery and a related petrochemical complex.

I should emphasize at this point the industrial use of the zone will be promoted by a local development corporation charged by my office with recruiting a number of tenants from broad-based industries.

In line with this objective, and my determination to seek substantial economic progress for Maine, I directed appropriate State agencies, and members of my personal staff, to interest oil companies and distributors of petroleum products in the New England area in the participation in this project.

This search led met to the Occidental Petroleum Corporation with the proposal that it build and operate a refinery in the Machiasport sub zone.

It was my decision to approach Occidental, a leading independent producer, instead of any of the major oil companies because, to be completely frank, the majors have not in the past shown themselves sufficiently attuned to the interests of New England.

As a responsible public official, I must place the interests of New England and its people first.

The officials at Occidental were responsive, quick to see the possibilities of the project, and eager to move forward.

Occidental has agreed to build and operate in the sub zone, a refinery with a capacity of 300,000 barrels daily.

Oil storage tanks with a capacity of some 16 million barrels a day also will be built, creating one of the largest oil storehouses in the nation.

Of considerable significance to our interests is the company's agreement to build special oil handling facilities in full consultation with the State Department of Sea and Shore Fisheries and the Water and Air Environmental Improvement Commission.

Additionally, I have established a committee on planning and conservation for the machiasport sub zone.

Surely the interaction of this committee with appropriate state agencies will provide both necessary services and adequate controls.

We also seek to see constructed a refinery that will produce a low sulphur residual fuel oil and take the leadership toward a meaningful reduction of the air pollution that has involved our country.

Gentlemen, it is important that you understand the pressing need for the economic boost that would be given Maine as a result of the establishment of the foreign trade zone and sub zone.

Statistically, Maine does not compare well with the rest of the nation or with its New England counterparts.

Unfortunately, we have the lowest per capita income in New England, a relatively high incidence of poverty, and the lowest percentage increase in non-agricultural employment in Northern New England.

In short, our people have not been sharing equally in the great prosperity that has been sweeping this nation.

Furthermore, a demographic view of the State reveals what is not only a local or State issue but a national issue of great concern.

I refer to the rural-urban imbalance mentioned so often, and particularly cited by the report of the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty.

Let me read one passage from this report so realistically entitled, *"The People Left Behind:"*

"Because rural Americans have been denied a fair share of America's opportunities and benefits, they have migrated by the millions to the cities in search of jobs and places to live.

This Migration is continuing.

It is therefore impossible to obliterate urban poverty without removing its rural causes.

Accordingly, both reason and justice compel the allotment of a more equitable share of our national resources to improving the conditions of rural life."

Rural poverty is not explosive.

The rural poor do not riot, nor burn their homes.

They live too far from one another to demonstrate.

They are nonetheless our fellow Americans, and our fellow human beings entitled to every opportunity this great Nation offers.

This national problem is a serious problem for Maine and one that the proposed Machiasport Complex could go a long way to correct.

We experienced an overall out migration rate between 1950–1960 of 6.4% with a heavy concentration among our youth.

Some 17–18% of age group 20–29 departed for the job opportunities of other States and more metropolitan areas.

In order to counter this trend, we are proposing to locate this major industrial complex at Machiasport within our most depressed county.

Washington County has nearly thirty percent of its families earning less than $3,000 per annum, and an unemployment rate comparable to that for core city non-white populations.

All we ask this board is the right to develop a resource peculiar to our region so that our State can help its citizens improve the condition under which they live.

But beyond the immediate economic problems of Machiasport and Washington County and the entire State of Maine, the proposed complex can provide significant relief to the New England Region through an increase in the inadequate fuel supply and consequent high energy costs.

Traditionally, the high costs of electrical energy, and fuel have inhibited industrial development.

New England, more than any other region, has suffered from this historically restrictive pattern.

Thus, the zone must be viewed in its national and regional implications as an attempt to best serve consumer interests and to correct current economic inequities.

This is especially important for New England, as this is the only region in the United States that depends primarily on oil for industrial use and home heating.

It is the only region which has no refinery.

Although there are 291 refineries in the United States, there are none in New England.

Rather the oil giants of this country have left us at the end of the line with frequent shortages and resulting higher prices.

Certainly the substantial savings which will be passed on to the consumer through the refinery's projected pricing schedule will free the consumers' funds and thus increase demand for other goods and services.

Furthermore, the plan to distribute these low-priced products through local independent terminal operators, who presently depend for supplies from the same major companies against which they must compete, will strengthen these native firms and assure vigorous competition throughout New England.

That is the point in a nutshell, gentlemen.

This plan provides for competition.

The opposition is seeking to keep its stranglehold on supply, thereby continuing its discrimination against New England.

A further benefit for the economic future of the New England Region will result from an agreement by the refinery operator, Occidental, to fund the establishment and operation of a marine resources foundation.

This would be accomplished through passing on a royalty of $.20 per barrel, amounting to some $7.3 million in annual payments, to further research and development in the multiple use of the marine environment and coastal zone of New England.

This past summer the Maine Department of Economic Development hosted a conference between State representatives, The National Academy of Sciences, The National Science Foundation, and other Federal agencies to consider the potential for aquacultural development.

Dr. James S. Coles, President of The Research Corporation and chairman of the group representing The National Academy of Sciences, stressed in his report that "food, biomedical and biochemical products are undoubtedly being taken from the seas with increasing efficiency, but as yet the means used have advanced but a short way from the primitive.

We believe an aquacultural institute properly directed and sensibly supported as an investment in the future will provide a new force to turn the traditional institutions that now exist in the region towards the advancement of cultivation of the marine resources of the region for its general ecnomic benefit, and for the economic and human benefit of people living far away in other regions."

Accepting the conclusions of this distinguished committee, we are most appreciative of Occidental's wholehearted support for the establishment of a marine resources institute.

Without downplaying the importance of the refinery project, it is entirely within reason to suggest that the proposed institute will have even greater national, regional, and local implications.

I wish to emphasize that the establishment of the proposed foreign trade zones has the official endorsement of the New England regional commission, a Federal-State body created by the U.S. Congress and responsible for promoting the overall economic development of this region.

Last June, the Commission, established under Title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, adopted a resolution stating that the foreign trade zone "can offer substantial economic benefits for the entire New England region."

That, gentlemen, is that background of my State's application for creation of a foreign trade zone at Portland and a sub zone at Machiasport.

It is, I submit, a proposal based on hard fact, one that is sound in conception and which promises to be successful in operation.

Yet there is opposition to our application—strong and determined opposition.

This opposition does not come from Maine nor other New England States.

There is enthusiastic support from the six governors and congressional representatives and other agencies of the six New England States.

They see at long last some relief for our people who have suffered so long.

The opposition comes from outside our region.

It is led by large oil companies seeking to maintain huge profits and to block any competition which would reduce the price of petroleum products in New England.

I hope I have made it clear that Maine's

role has been simply to apply for a grant to establish a foreign trade zone and sub zone.

We have sought no fight, but have simply moved forward in an endeavor that we believe to be in the best interests of the people of our State, the New England region, and the Nation.

But the fight has been brought to us from outside, and we will not try to duck it.

Our ammunition is facts, and merit.

For the last nine years New England has been the victim of a grossly inequitable distribution of the quota for oil imported into the United States from other countries.

Now we are simply asking for our fair share.

The major oil companies, insistent on keeping control over the import quotas, claim that making this fair share available would destroy the 12.2 percent quota protection.

It is an argument without foundation, for oil quotas under the 12.2 percent formula can be readily redistributed to give New England a fair share.

That is all we ask.

This is an opportunity for New England, to be sure, but let me emphasize that it is also an opportunity for the United States—and one that could be lost through delay or inaction.

Canada also is eyeing the potentialities of super port developments.

Canadian prime minister Trudeau recently appointed a federal committee to report before the end of this year on the progress of plans in the maritime provinces.

At present being considered for development as deep water ports are sites at St. John and Lorneville in the province of New Brunswick, at Halifax and Canso (Port Hawksbury) in Nova Scotia.

In addition, oil refineries are being proposed on deep water at Port Come-By-Chance in Newfoundland, and Point Tupper, Nova Scotia.

Perhaps the Come-By-Chance and Point Tupper developments, along with a deep water oil refinery project at Freeport, Bahamas, are most significant particularly as they defeat the very purpose of the Foreign Trade Zone Act, which is to preserve certain economic advantages for the Continental United States and not permit them to fritter away to other countries.

The advantages of the foreign trade zone multiply in many directions to advance our national interest.

Speaking before the New York Board of Trade in April of 1966, Mr. Richard Lake, executive secretary of the foreign trade zones board, pointed out that many aspects of the foreign trade zone act are readily translatable into terms of substantial economic significance.

Among those mentioned were a reduction of gold outflow, employment of U.S. labor and industrial resources, and enlarged opportunities for U.S. based industries.

If foreign trade zones are discouraged, U.S. based firms will continue to locate refinery complexes in Canada, the Bahamas, etc.

Why should Occidental Petroleum, whom we have invited to invest $150,000,000 on American soil be pushed to favor Canada with such construction?

Surely the granting of our petition conforms to the intent of the foreign trade zones act, and with those particular economic aspects cited by Mr. Lake.

Gentlemen, there is always the possibility that all of us will become so involved in the intricacies of this situation that we will lose sight of the essential core of the matter.

Millions of families in the New England States face hardships during the extremely cold weather, which is characteristic of our region, because of scarce supplies.

This squeeze is unconscionable.

For the past ten years, 11 million people have suffered from this situation.

The people of New England, by their nature are not complainers and their silence has too long been misconstrued as a acquiescence in the injustices done them.

It is not difficult to find the reason why New England has been isolated from its fair share of oil imports.

The large oil companies control the supply of oil to our region.

It is they who must supply the small independent oil dealer.

Yet, these very same large oil companies compete with the small oil dealers in selling directly to the consumer.

Because of this lack of competition, whereby the small oil company dealer cannot get his supply from other sources, they are at the mercy of the large oil companies.

They stand with hat in hand before their own competitors seeking an allotment.

Obviously, this not only results in an inadequate supply, but prevents any reasonable price resulting from competition in the market.

In plain words, a monopoly has a stranglehold on the supply and the price.

That monopoly has not been a beneficial one.

The large oil companies have made an estimated $5 billion profit from the oil import quota.

In this non-competitive situation, the New England consumer pays higher prices than any other consumer in any other region in this country!

As governor, I have struggled, together with the governors of the other five New England states, to seek some relief for our exploited citizens.

Then we determined that, only under existing Federal legislation, was relief available.

More than this, we learned that the natural resources of our State, which has been so bountifully favored by nature, makes the Foreign Trade Zones Act particularly applicable.

For we are blessed with one of the finest ports in the world in Machiasport.

It has twice the depth of the New York Port (incidentally, New York has a Foreign Trade Zone), and it has twice the depth of any other port on the East Coast.

Furthermore, as if nature pointed a finger towards our relief, it has such a wide harbor that there is extraordinary turnaround facilities for the new huge tankers, the like of which have never before been made.

Finally, the Foreign Trade Zone provides, as a mandate, that each port in the U.S. is entitled to a Foreign Trade Zone.

Due to these extraordinary God-made contributions to our region, we were able to induce a large independent oil company, Occidental Petroleum, to erect an approximately $150 million refinery in the distressed area of Machiasport.

Furthermore, since Occidental welcomed the opportunity to compete, we secured generous terms in that it did not insist on hogging the profits from the oil import quotas, but agreed to turn back for the people's interest a substantial portion of its value from the quota.

So, realizing that the value stemmed from the extraordinary natural advantages of this harbor which we made available, Occidental has committed itself to reducing substantially the cost of heating fuel to the people of this region.

It has agreed also to reduce the cost of sales to the Army and Navy of our country.

It has agreed to spend more money in order to produce low sulphur content heavy fuel oil which would abate the air pollution now sweeping across our country.

It has agreed to set aside over $7 million into a non-profit marine and natural resources foundation to develop marine environment.

And, of course, to provide desperately needed employment in Machiasport and adjoining regions and to attract to this huge new complex, business concerns of all kinds to increase the momentum of economic advantage flowing from a new center of activity in naturally magnificent surroundings.

Well and good.

One would think that this application would be granted as a matter of form, and with commendation for all who have participated in such a benevolent cause.

Certainly the people and public officials of New England have so responded.

Six governors, twelve senators and some 25 congressmen urge upon you the acceptance of our application.

But these are not all.

Regional economic groups, public spirited citizens, leaders in industry, social welfare groups, the academic community and sociologists who know that the deep root causes of many of our ills in this area stem from economic depression all say "amen" to this application.

Yet, it is astonishing that this application, so obviously just in seeking only a fair share, namely, 9% of the petroleum imports allowed for our 9% share of consumption, has provoked an opposition more emotional, intense, persistent and louder than perhaps we have ever experienced in this Nation.

Why?

Because the $5 billion profits derived over the last nine years from the oil import quota will have to be shared by New England.

Now, if the large oil companies came here and said frankly, "we've had a very good thing here.

"We owe it to our shareholders to maintain these profits if we can, and it is our corporate duty, as we see it, not to be concerned with the public interest but to preserve our economic advantages and our profit margins, and we don't want a newcomer, occidental, to cut in on this"—I would, at least, understand even if I didn't admire.

But that's not what we are confronted with, gentlemen.

Instead, pretenses of the most empty kind are paraded as a justification for the opposition.

Instead, hypocritical cries are raised that the security of the U.S. is being threatened by this relief to New England.

The large oil companies pretend that their opposition is because of their concern with the destruction of the import quota system.

This, they say, will destroy the production of oil in this country and, thus, deprive us of an essential product for our defense.

You will hear this argument over and over again.

I have had the opportunity of seeing some of the statements made by the large oil companies.

This argument is the foundation—the first story—the structure and roof of their opposition.

And yet, it is a structure built on sand—worse than that, quicksand.

Let me tell you why.

First, no one is attempting to change the import quota, which is now 12.2% of the domestic production in the 43 States east of the Rocky Mountains.

What we are seeking is a fair apportionment which is a tiny bit to the quota of the New England region.

The total of 12.2% will remain the same.

It was not written in the sky that the large oil companies should have the whole 12.2%.

It was not written in the sky that New England should not share equally with the other regions in getting its fair share of that 12.2%.

It is a spurious and false argument to contend that if a volume of less than 1% of our domestic production is given as an import right to New England rather than to the large oil companies, that the import quota system is thereby destroyed.

The import quota of 12.2% would not be touched.

Second, you will hear over and over again that, if you permit this foreign trade zone, there will be a proliferation of foreign trade zones of a similar nature and that these many calls for allocation will somehow break down the import quota of 12.2%.

This just isn't so either.

In other regions of the country there are refineries already in existence.

In fact, as I have indicated, there are 291 refineries in 44 other States, excluding the six New England States.

There is not a single refinery in the six New England States.

Consequently, the situation is unique in Portland and Machiasport.

We are trying to create competition where there is none, rather than multiplying competition where it already exists.

Furthermore, Machiasport is unique in the facilities and opportunities it offers.

There is no other State on the east coast that has a 90-foot draft.

Therefore, occidental can make the commitments here, which neither it, nor any other company, could make south of Maine, where these favorable circumstances do not exist and where there is already a refinery in existence.

Thirdly, as you indicated in your opening statement, gentlemen, this fear thought of a destruction of the import quota is prematurely raised at this hearing.

Bad and false as the argument is, it belongs before the Secretary of the Interior when he acts upon an application, made as far back as June, for oil import quotas.

There will appear before you, according to the list, some distinguished public officials in opposition to this application.

I have seen their names and I wish to say now that I have the highest regard for them.

But, their espousal of the cause of the large oil companies is as defective as the contentions of the oil companies themselves.

I can only believe that they are inspired to come here by a lack of knowledge of these complex matters and by a commendable desire to serve the large oil company constituents of their State.

I would even hope that when they hear the full facts in this matter supported by experts, governmental officials and public spirited agencies, their dedication to the public interest which is no different from mine or the six governors of this region, might induce them to reexamine their position.

In the last analysis this application draws its life blood from the needs of the people and not from the glamorous titles of any of us, and I urge you on the hard facts in this case to grant an application which will be fully supported under the statute and regulations and to which we are entitled as a matter of right.

If the oil companies and their spokesmen, whoever they be, wish to present their arguments about national security, let them do so after the foreign trade zone has been granted and the Secretary of the Interior must act on our application for import quotas.

We believe their fallacious arguments will be exposed there too.

But at least they will be timely made.

I conclude, gentlemen, with this urgent plea.

At long last the citizens of this region who have been deprived of a fair share of that which all other regions received should see the hope of a new day.

We cannot restore to them the comfort or the money which has been mulcted from them these many years but we can at least approve the present application with the prayer that it will bring about belated, but oh so justly, some equity and justice to our people.

Thank you very much.

TESTIMONY BY REPRESENTATIVE PETER N. KYROS, DEMOCRAT OF MAINE, FIRST DISTRICT

My name is Peter N. Kyros. I am the Representative in Congress from the First Congressional District, the State of Maine. This district includes Portland, Maine, the proposed site for a general purpose foreign trade zone.

The creation of a foreign trade zone in Portland is justified by the city's present and past situation and is of vast consequence to the future of Portland, of Maine, and of northern New England.

Portland's commerce today is of sufficient volume and of so diversified a nature as to assure substantial use of a free trade zone. Some 30 industries and firms have already indicated their interest in the zone's warehousing potential and capacity for manufacture and export. Among them are importers of titanium dioxide, a chemical extensively used by Maine's pulpwood industry. Also interested are importers of sardines and exporters of shoes and machinery. In addition, the Maine world trade council, a 1966 recipient of the president's "E" certificate for export promotion, stands ready to promote the use of the zone, and the New England regional commission legislative program includes consideration of a New England foreign trade mission which would further boost regional exports.

Thus, a foreign trade zone in Portland will promote this country's foreign trade and assure that the benefits of the zone will promote the economic growth of Portland and the New England region which it serves. Such mutual interaction and benefits between the zone and the surrounding community are precisely what Congress envisioned when it passed the foreign trade zone legislation.

Portland is served by a road, rail, and air network which connects it with all of northern New England, as well as making it the northern tip of what is referred to as the northeastern Megalopolis, stretching from New England to Washington, Specifically, Portland is served by the Maine Central, Boston & Maine, and Canadian National Railways. In addition, the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad, the Canadian Pacific, the Delaware & Hudson, and the Norfolk and Western Railways do business in Portland. The Portland airport connects with Boston, New York, and Washington, as well as smaller cities throughout the Northeast. In addition, a civil aeronautics board examiner has recently awarded Northeast Airlines a route linking northern New England with the midwestern (Great Lakes) markets of Chicago Cleveland, and Detroit. It is only 15 minutes from downtown Portland. Furthermore, Portland is part of the trucking network which laces the northeastern United States and eastern Canada. In fact, most of New England, including Boston, is far closer to Portland than to New York, currently the nearest foreign trade zone. Furthermore, no foreign trade zones currently exists in Canada, so Canadian firms might be interested in using an American zone accessible through bonded trucking.

There can be no question of the capacity of the Portland Harbor to handle increased commerce generated by a foreign trade zone. According to the latest available figures from the U.S. Maritime Administration, Portland ranks sixth in the United States in total import and export cargo handled. The total value of cargo handled through the port in 1966 exceeded $415 million dollars.

In addition, the port offers the advantages of uncongested facilities, skilled waterfront labor, experienced stevedoring, towboats, and ship service, and exceptional depth of water, both in the harbor and offshore.

Not only is Portland's geographic location conducive to growth: its demographic situation is also auspicious. The area has showed 7–8% gain in population and work force since 1960. This is particularly significant in view of Maine's general declining population.

Furthermore, the general attractions of the Portland area, the absence of urban sprawl, the blight, the easy accessibility to both downtown shopping and outdoor recreation, and the growing room provide an environment which will attract and hold all types of workers for whom job opportunities can be provided. Under these circumstances, there is every reason to credit the various predictions of a population expansion of at least 10% for this region in the next seven years. This being the case, it would be shortsighted not to believe that the increased demands and products of this expanding area will not produce even more possible uses and users for the zone within months of its completion.

In conclusion, let me confront the contention that Portland, Maine is not a commercial center on the scale of New York City, New Orleans, or Seattle. That contention is as correct as it is irrelevant. What matters is that Portland is capable of both generating and benefiting from foreign commerce in the manner prescribed by the Foreign Trade Zone Act.

Furthermore, unlike many larger commercial centers, Portland is still capable of extensive and orderly growth in response to the benefits of the zone. It is probably the only major metropolitan coastal area from here to North Carolina so well entitled to make such a claim.

Stimulation of development in areas other than our congested city cores is an approach to urban problems which has broad bipartisan support. In furtherance of this goal, as well as in fulfillment of its own mandate, I urge the Foreign Trade Zone Board to grant the application of the Maine Port Authority.

TESTIMONY BY REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY, DEMOCRAT, OF MAINE, SECOND DISTRICT

My name is William D. Hathaway. I am the Representative in Congress from the Second Congressional District, the State of Maine. The nine county district I represent includes Washington County, which has been recently designated a redevelopment area by the Economic Development Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce.

A primary criterion for this designation is an unemployment rate of 6% or more and an annual average rate of unemployment at least 50% above the national average for three of the preceding four calendar years, or 75% for two of the preceding three calendar years, or 100% for one of the preceding two years. Sadly, Washington County satisfies not one, but all of these standards. Estimated unemployment for the two-year period 1965–1966 was 11.2% of the work force, an improvement over the 1960 figure of 16.5%, but still a staggering statistic.

And even this slight improvement demands further clarification: It is not so much of an indication of limited economic growth in the region as it is a reflecton of another serious problem for this economically depressed area: An outmigration of its population, particularly its educated youth. Thus a 1950 population of 35,187 has dwindled to 32,400 by 1965. Even more significantly, the bulk of this outmigration has occurred amongst the most vital sector of any economy, its citizens between the ages of 20–29. Not only does the area have a heavy educational investment in this group, which in itself is a tax on the limited resources, but it also, and more importantly, must stake its future on the willingness of these young Americans to apply their skills to local growth and development. To put this trend in a statistical perspective, outmigration rates for the decade between 1950–1960 were 42.8% for age group 20–24 and 32.9% for age group 24–29.

Naturally this major exodus has a debilitating effect on local economic conditions. While the question of "What is poverty?" is subject to interpretation, let me adopt the

family income level of $4,000 as a figure: Although that in itsef may be inadequate for a family of four or more. 57.7% of Washington County households have annual incomes below this level. Many of these families are finding it extremely difficult to feed, shelter, clothe, and educate their children. And those parents who make the sacrifice, who are rewarded by the graduation from high school or college of their children, must further accept the departure of these children in search of job opportunities outside of Washington County and often outside of Maine.

It is self-evident that the conditions of poverty tend to breed further poverty. Lack of mobility, low vocational skill levels, substandard housing, poor quality food, and lack of motivation create a vicious circle from which escape if difficult is not impossible.

Washington County is in need of major economic assistance. Small and piecemeal efforts to aid particular pockets of poverty, while intrinsically valuable, are not sufficient to deal with the over-all depressed economic situation.

The proposed core refinery and deep draft port facility outlined in the Maine Port Authority's application for a foreign trade zone sub zone located at Machiasport in Southern Washington County define the type of major input that is required to break the cycle of poverty detailed above. The impact of the refinery complex alone, when measured in incomes and jobs, will have a considerable influence on the county's economy. Foster, Wheeler Co., the engineers who propose to design and construct the complex for Occidental Petroleum, have estimated that $10–12 million will flow into the local economy during the construction phase. And since both pragmatism and company policy dictate the use of local labor and subcontractors to the fullest extent possible, the benefits will be maximized for the local population.

With the opening of the refinery and port facility at the conclusion of the construction phase (estimated 18–20 months), it has been projected that employment will total 367 with an annual payroll of $2.6 million. Through on-the-job training programs during the construction phase local county residents will be trained for 85% of these positions. In order to ensure a continuing benefit for local residents, the refinery operators have indicated that they intend to cooperate fully with and support the new vocational training institute planned for Washington County by the State Board of Education.

However, let us progress beyond these immediate positions to a consideration of the potential for development as it relates to this particular refinery. Examination of the projected production pattern reveals a daily production of 53,000 barrels of naphtha. Both this naphtha and the off-gas resulting from the refining process provide raw materials for the location of further processing plants. The installation of a major olefin plant (producing ethylene, propylene, butylene, etc.) would in turn create a second core attracting processing facilities based upon the availability of these raw materials. Plants producing ethylene glycol anti-freezes, other ethylene dioxide derivatives, phenol, aceton, polyethylene, polyproplene, industrial alcohols, etc., have all been suggested as distinct possibilities.

Thus a comprehension of the economic potential inherent in the location of such a refinery, operating as a core unit, suggests a continuing construction phase. For example, an ethylene plant takes several years to construct. The result will be an increase in employment opportunities in the construction and operation of the new facilities.

When this prospect is considered in light of estimates ranging from 1.5 to 2.6 new workers for every new industrial worker, the potential impact becomes even more significant. In short, the refinery will generate approximately two job opportunities for every job it produces directly.

Gentlemen, the people of Washington County have indeed been "left behind." This imaginative proposal by Governor Curtis and the other five New England Governors goes a long way toward redressing this economic imbalance. Furthermore, as others have testified, it has implications for the economy of the entire New England region.

Therefore, because of my responsibility to my constituents and my concern for the New England region, I strongly endorse this proposal and urge that the necessary permits be granted allowing the establishment of the primary and sub zone essential to this project.

STATEMENT OF JOHN J. LINNEHAN, FEDERAL COCHAIRMAN OF THE NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL COMMISSION

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Examiners Committee. It is an honor to appear before you today to urge the establishment of a Foreign Trade Zone and Sub-Zone in the State of Maine. Establishment of these zones offers great hope for a significant expansion in the economies of the State of Maine and the entire New England Region. My purpose is *first*, to inform you of the support of the New England Regional Commission for the establishment of the Zone and Sub-Zone, and *second*, to outline for you the extent of the Commission's involvement in the planned industrial complex in the proposed Sub-Zone at Machiasport.

As you know, the Commission is a Federal-State entity established in March of 1967 under title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, the Nation's major legislation in the field of area and regional economic development. The Commission is composed of the six New England Governors—

John W. King of New Hampshire, the Commissions State Cochairman; John H. Chafee of Rhode Island, the Alternate State Cochairman; John N. Dempsey of Connecticut; John A. Volpe of Massachusetts; Philip H. Hoff of Vermont; and Kenneth M. Curtis of Maine, the sponsor of the project—and myself, the Federal Cochairman. The Commission's statutory function generally is to plan and carry out economic development programs for the benefit of the New England Region.

Since March of 1967, the Commission has initiated a number of activities designed to promote the Region's overall economic development. These activities include *research* into such important regional problems as transportation, human resources, and water and air pollution; *support* for State planning for economic development; and *financial assistance* for the construction of important public facilities in New England communities. This latter activity is called the Supplemental Grant Program.

Under the Supplemental Grant Program, the Commission may increase, up to a maximum of 80%, the Federal share of the cost of certain public facility projects financed under Federal matching grant programs. For example, in the case of the construction of a manpower training facility, which ordinarily receives a 50% Federal grant, the Commission is authorized to make a 30% grant to the project if it meets certain Commission standards. This supplementary grant assistance by the Commission enables many New England communities to make more effective use of their often limited financial resources.

In early 1968, the Commission made supplemental grants totalling nearly $2.5 million in connection with 9 important projects throughout the six States. The projects supported by the Commission included *the construction of regional hospitals* in New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Vermont, *the expansion of a port facility* in Massachusetts, *the construction of a regional library* in Rhode Island, and *the construction of a passenger terminal* at the Bangor Airport in Maine.

In Fiscal Year 1969 we will support additional projects under this program. However, at our June 1968 Commission meeting, we adopted a resolution requiring that, to the extent practicable, our supplemental grant funds would be used to support projects of great regional significance; in the words of the resolution—"projects which . . . will have a significant economic impact on the Region as a whole or on a major subregion."

More importantly, for the purpose of today's hearing, the Commission reserved a portion of its Fiscal Year 1969 funds to support the carrying out of the planned industrial complex in Machiasport, Maine. The Machiasport project had been under active consideration by the Commission staff and the Alternates to the Commission Members for approximately three months. Specifically, the Commission resolution reserved up to $500,000 to assist in financing the public facility improvements necessary for the development of the planned industrial complex in Machiasport. (With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I would like to have inserted in the record at this point a copy of that resolution.)

The Commission's grant is expected to supplement a basic grant by the Economic Development Administration of the Department of Commerce for site clearance at the harbor and the construction of a customs building and access fences for the Sub-Zone. The Maine Port Authority is now preparing its application for the basic grant to the Economic Development Administration. EDA approval of the grant is contingent on *first*, the establishment of the Foreign Trade Zone at Portland and the Sub-Zone at Machiasport, and *second*, the granting of the necessary oil allotments by the Secretary of the Interior. (I would also like to insert for the record a copy of a letter sent by the Members of the New England Regional Commission to the Assistant Secretary for Economic Development, Ross D. Davis, which enclosed a preliminary profile of the Machiasport project and urges the Assistant Secretary's favorable consideration.)

Mr. Chairman, I would like at this point to add my strong personal support for the Machiasport project, and to restate its great potential in another, much broader, context.

As you know, the Nation is becoming increasingly aware of the interlocking fates of its depressed rural areas and the central cores of the great cities. Until recently, the relationship between the two was scarcely recognized, and consequently, we carried out programs which, far from complementing each other, worked to the detriment of both.

For example, we have built public facilities in rural areas in order to provide job opportunities for rural residents: *yet*, at the same time, we have failed to train the area's people for the specific jobs being brought to them. The result—we have failed to take even a small step toward halting the migration of the rural poor to the already overcrowded central cities. The futility of that approach, just one among many others, is evident—in the ruins of many square blocks in Cleveland, Los Angeles, and the District of Columbia.

From this point on we must take great care to formulate public policies and programs which recognize the dependence of one course of action (or *inaction*) on another. We must develop not only *job opportunities in rural areas;* we must develop the

complementary programs to improve *the human resources capable of benefiting from those opportunities.* In short, providing "job opportunities" can no longer mean the building of a water or sewer facility, or an industrial park; it must mean the construction of those facilities *as a part of a comprehensive package that includes bringing industry to the area, training and educating the area's citizens for particular jobs, and providing the area's residents the health, welfare, and other social services that ought to be part of any American community.*

The planned Machiasport development is an outstanding example of the kind of comprehensive action critically needed in our rural areas. The New England Regional Commission is supporting *not* merely the improvement of Machiasport Harbor; it is supporting an imaginative and comprehensive plan to bring industry and jobs to a historically depressed Region on a scale which has great potential for arresting the flight of that area's residents to the Region's crowded cities. Governor Curtis and his administration are making every effort to improve the area's educational base, its transportation system, and its health and welfare facilities. I strongly endorse his efforts and pledge my help in their realization. I urge you to take the essential first step of approving the application before you.

Thank you.

NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL COMMISSION RESOLUTION 33

A resolution of the New England Regional Commission concerning the use of title V supplemental grant funds for projects having substantial regional impact

Whereas, the Commission believes that, to the maximum extent possible, supplemental grant funds made available to the Commission under title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 should be utilized to support projects having substantial regional impact, and

Whereas, (a) the establishment of a foreign trade zone in Machiasport, Maine, and (b) the development within the zone of a major industrial complex, which is designed, in part, to increase substantially the supply of scarce heating fuels for New England consumers, can offer substantial economic benefits for the entire Region; Now therefore

Be it resolved by the New England Regional Commission

Section 1 *Use of Title V Supplemental Grant Funds for Projects Having Regional Significance.* Supplemental grant funds made available to the Commission under title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 shall be utilized, to the maximum extent possible, to support projects which, in the judgment of the Commission, will have a significant economic impact on the Region as a whole or a major subregion thereof.

Section 2 *Reservation of Funds for a Regionwide Supplemental Grant Project in Machiasport, Maine.* The Commission hereby reserves a portion (not to exceed $500,000) of the supplemental grant funds made available to the Commission under title V to assist in financing public facility improvements necessary to the development of the planned industrial complex in Machiasport, Maine: *Provided,* That the actual amount of the Commission's contribution to the project shall be determined by the Commission after submission of a formal application by the State of Maine for supplementary grant assistance.

Section 3 *Effective Date.* This Resolution is effective immediately.

Adoption certified by the Commission:

JOHN W. KING,
State Cochairman.

Federal Cochairman.

NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL COMMISSION,
Boston, Mass., June 27, 1968.

Hon. ROSS D. DAVIS,
Assistant Secretary for Economic Development, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. DAVIS: Enclosed is a preliminary project profile for your consideration of EDA title I grant assistance to finance the construction of certain public facilities in Washington County, Maine.

The proposed facilities will serve a major industrial complex in a foreign trade zone to be established in Washington County. We believe the development of the complex described in the profile has great potential for revitalizing one of New England's most depressed subregions and for increasing the supply of No. 2 fuel oil in the Region.

The project described in the profile has been under active discussion within the Commission for more than three months. We believe its undertaking as a regional project is important both to the New England Regional Commission and the entire regional commission program. Accordingly, we expect to allocate a portion of our title V supplementary grant funds to this project after the appropriation of such funds by the Congress.

We ask for your early and favorable consideration of this important regional project.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN N. DEMPSEY,
Governor of Connecticut.
JOHN W. KING,
Governor of New Hampshire, State Cochairman.
PHILIP H. HOFF,
Governor of Vermont.
JOHN J. LINNEHAN,
Federal Cochairman.
JOHN A. VOLPE,
Governor of Massachusetts.
JOHN H. CHAFEE,
Governor of Rhode Island.
KENNETH M. CURTIS,
Governor of Maine.

PRELIMINARY PROJECT PROFILE: WASHINGTON COUNTY, MAINE, INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT COMPLEX

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT

The State of Maine is requesting the establishment of a Foreign Trade Zone at Machiasport in Washington County, Maine, to be operated by the State of Maine Port Authority. Establishment of the Zone will stimulate foreign commerce for the State of Maine, as well as for the entire New England Region.

The principal initial activities within the Zone will be the development and operation of a core petroleum refinery and satellite petro-chemical plants. Private refinery operators will import low-sulphur foreign crude oil carried in 200,000–300,000 ton tankers, and export to the New England States primarily No. 6 heavy residual fuel and No. 2 household heating fuel. These fuels will be clean—with a maximum of 1 percent sulphur—and inexpensive; No. 2 fuel, for example, will in all likelihood be as much as 10 percent below posted prices at Boston Harbor and or U. S. Gulf Coast prices. The anticipated substantial savings in fuel costs to New England consumers will result from the juxtaposition of the refinery to a deep draft anchorage suitable for berthing 300,000 ton tankers.

In addition, refinery engineers are now designing a 15 million barrel ocean terminal storage plant to be constructed within the Foreign Trade Zone. Refinery feed stocks will likely attract such additional development as petro-chemical companies, pulp and paper mills, and ore reduction plants.

II. BENEFITS OFFERED BY THIS INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

A. The local impact

The development and operation of this industrial complex will create approximately 400 new jobs, and generate approximately $25 million in additional annual income in an historically depressed area. According to recent figures, Washington County has an unemployment rate nearly that of typical core city non-white populations; loses more than ⅓ of its under-thirty population through out-migration; has more than ½ of its families with incomes classified at poverty levels; and suffers because nearly ⅔ of its adult population has not finished secondary school.

B. The regional impact

1. New England consumers can be expected to save nearly $20 million dollars annually on refined oil products through the transportation economies anticipated from the project's development.

2. The Machias refinery will become the first resource within New England specifically designed to increase the production of a traditionally low supply of home heating fuels.

3. The refinery's production of low-sulphur fuels enables the New England States to innovate in the implementation of national air polluting standards.

4. A marine resources foundation will be created by the refinery operators and devoted to research and development on the Region's marine resources. Although the managers of the foundation will be designed by seven independent New England oil marketers (the major shareholders in the core refinery), a Board of Trustees composed of the six New England Governors or their designees will determine the policies of the foundation. Operating revenues for the foundation—to be contributed by the refinery operators on the basis of 20¢ for each barrel of quota allocated product—is estimated at $7 million annually.

C. The national impact

1. The Nation's balance of payments deficit will be eased by the construction of a domestic refinery facility, thereby avoiding the flow of dollars to countries outside the United States where these facilities might otherwise be built.

2. The shipment of refined products will be a major stimulus to our coastal merchant marine, since U.S. ships will be used.

3. The U.S. Defense Department will have a domestic source for jet fuel at prices below current levels.

D. Estimated development costs

	Amount	Source
Public investment:		
A. Site acquisition	$350,000	Bond issue.
B. Site clearance	1,500,000	A combination of bond issue, EDA basic grant, and title V supplementary grant.
C. Customs building	25,000	
D. Access fence	100,000	
E. General purpose dock facility (building and pier).	2,000,000	
F. Towboats	2,250,000	
G. Workboat	50,000	
Total	6,275,000	
Private investment:		
A. Refinery construction including storage facilities.	56,650,000	Operators of the refinery.
B. Dock facilities (T-head jetty+off-shore loading platform).	11,000,000	Do.
Total	67,650,000	

THE "PUEBLO"—HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 262d day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

THE CROSSROADS

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, all over the country our citizens are becoming increasingly angered at what they are seeing and hearing on our college and university campuses. Their resentment is not diminished by the realization that they are forced to contribute the tax funds, a portion of which makes it possible for the destructive operations of self-serving and revolutionary groups to promote their evil activities.

In California, we are fortunate to have an elected official who is determined to do something toward the correction of this sorry situation. John Stull represents the 80th assembly district, a portion of San Diego County, in the State legislature. He is a real "tiger" in demanding that the regents of the University of California assume their proper responsibility or get out.

John notes that the university takes the greatest slice of California's State budget, over a quarter of a billion dollars, but he says that there are most reliable estimates that the total annual expenditure runs over a billion dollars. The university operates business enterprises, receives donations and contributions and various grants of funds, but no accounting of it is made to the public, and even the State legislature cannot find out what is the source or extent of its income or expenditures.

John Stull demands that the legislature enact a change in the law to require full disclosure regarding University of California financial matters. I agree most wholeheartedly with him that, if it is important for politicians to make full disclosure, it is extremely vital for bureaucracies, of which the University of California is one of the largest. I believe that students must be made to "shape up or ship out," or, as Governor Reagan more cogently put it:

If they don't live up to the rules and regulations of the University, "they'd better damn well" go somewhere else for their education.

Mr. Speaker, John Stull delivered the following speech on October 8, 1968, at the meeting of the La Jolla unit, Pro America, at the Del Charro Hotel in La Jolla, Calif.:

CAL AT THE CROSSROADS

Today, it would seem appropriate that we, some of the stockholders of the University of California pause, and, as calmly and objectively as possible, take stock. For one hundred years now, we, the citizens of California, have poured our treasure into this institution; we have lavished upon it our confidence that it is one of civilization's great bulwarks for the present; generations of Californians have placed their children in its hands and, with this gesture, their hope of the future; we have kept it close to our hearts with a sense of just pride.

From a modest beginning shortly after the Civil War, the University has grown to nine vast campuses and about 90,000 students. It has been the wonder of the world that the people of any state would feel so strongly about education, that they would accept the University's growth demands as their necessity. The University of California takes the greatest slice of California's budget, and the state pays University of California officials considerably more than the comparable administrators who run the state. One has but to cross any University of California campus, to look at the grounds and buildings, to realize that the people of California have built and maintained the best. And, in their eagerness to keep this whole environment pure and unsullied from crass outside political pressures, the Constitution of California provides that the mammouth University of California complex be controlled by a Board of Regents, answerable to no one.

Right here, within a mile or two, there is UCSD, a new branch in the process of building. Plans for its development stretch far into the future. To the millions spent in the past, it is proposed to add millions in the future. For an expenditure of this magnitude, we must be quite certain of our returns and the protection of our investment.

Are we getting what California wants?

Are we getting what California needs?

Is all well at the University of California?

Does it still justify our confidence?

Of course, the answer to all these questions is a resounding "No!" Something is desperately wrong, and the present crisis has been developing for a long time. We cannot accept any more routine University of California press-release rationalizations, when we see that in a world where the very conditions of civilization are at stake, astonishingly, the university has decided to aid and comfort the barbarians. It does not suffice to say that only a minority is causing the trouble. The majority is letting them. It does not suffice to remind ourselves of the magificant past contributions of this school. All contributions will cease if the present conditions are not changed.

We look for an explanation and when we first see it, we cannot believe it. Then, we look again and admit that it is the only possible explanation. We must face the grim realization that some time in the past one hundred years, the University of California abandoned standards. We must recognize that, as in the case of the cells of a dread disease, abandoned standards multiply until the whole body flounders in jeopardy.

That is a drastic statement, isn't it? And quite inexcusable if it is not correct. And appalling, if it is. Well, let me prove my point. Let's take several standards which have been abandoned, and I assure you, it is only a beginning.

First of all, there is the *standard of safety*. Now, surely safety on the campus is the absolute minimum we should be able to expect. However, the increasing lack of safety is easily proven by the increase in campus police, the fact that the University must call in special law-enforcement units frequently, that there is continuing property damage, and so on. There are ominous signs on every hand that the University of California standard of safety is a some-time thing, certainly not a consistent condition. And, it is not relevant to point out that the situation varies from campus to campus as the policy is such that any campus is susceptible.

This summer, on July 15, a leaflet was distributed on the University of California Berkeley campus by the campus local of the AFL-CIO Clerical, Technical and Professional Employees Union. It stated, "In the past few weeks, there have been at least eight rapes of women employees on campus, some of them at gun-point." The leaflet listed the buildings where the rapes took place and went on to say that "on the average there are two armed assaults or robberies per day on campus."

When the *San Francisco Chronicle* finally forced a statement from the reluctant University Public Relations Office, it said, in the midst of much padding, that ten men would be added to the campus police force and ended by blaming it all on the urban crisis.

On top of this, I do not think I need labor the obvious neglect of a standard of safety in permitting persons such as Cleaver to speak on campus. This man is on the record as favoring the killing of white people. Are the campus authorities so omniscient that they can let this racist-felon harangue a group of assorted people and be sure someone will not take him quite literally and go into immediate action?

And, can they be certain that even with the campus police and reinforcements from the outside, that the audience will not rise up and attack Cleaver? Can they ever be sure that a full-scale riot will not break out from a multitude of causes at any such speech? Of course not, especially as J. Edgar Hoover says certain students are taking courses in disruption, the making of Molotov cocktails, and so on. Almost any newspaper, almost any day will confirm in headlines that the University of California has abandoned the standard of safety.

Second, there is the *standard of academic freedom*. This term used to have a deep and worthwhile meaning. It meant the freedom of scholars to pursue valid research and develop ideas without the persecution or interference of society. It has become so perverted that now it is a catchall for the idea that "anything goes on campus" and has been the basis for claiming extra-territorial rights for the campus from the society which supports it.

"Academic freedom" has been used as an excuse for the production of lewd plays, such as "Ergo" and "The Beard." It has been used as the excuse for the display of obscene sculpture and for pornographic work masquerading as art. It has been used as an excuse for providing "a hothouse for the seeds of treason; a battleground for anarchy; a platform for Marxist exhortation."

The grotesque University of California distortion of the concept of academic freedom is contributing to the creation of a climate of fear and distrust, a climate which if extended much further could result in the appearance of a Man on Horseback.

The third *standard* to be abandoned is that of *rational dialogue*. Now, student agitators are allowed to make demands of duly constituted authority in terms which amount to blackmail. They are backed up in this action by faculty members, so alienated from their society, they cannot see the ramifications of their behavior. Legitimate agencies are harassed off the campus, and speakers are humiliated. Campus free speech tends to be a one-way street to the student provocateurs.

Fourth, the *standard of intellectual honesty* has been jettisoned somewhere along the line, and the idealogue, with his vague utopias, has been substituted for the true intellectual with his definite ideas. Typical of the intellectual dishonesty now prevalent at the University is the rationale continually expressed regarding the hiring of Herbert Marcuse. Now, this is supposed to be a legitimate philosopher who does not indoctrinate, yet, where he goes, there is a particular kind of trouble. Somehow, students begin to say, "Marx is our god, Marcuse is his prophet, and Mao is his sword."

I have been told repeatedly by University authorities that Marcuse is a harmless old body, eager to live out his declining years in peace. If this is true, why does Marcuse exhort to violence in his essay "Repressive Tolerance"? Let me read you a paragraph from the end of this essay:

"But I believe that there is a 'natural right' of resistance for oppressed and overpowered minorities to use extra-legal means if the legal ones have proved to be inadequate. Law and order are always and everywhere the law and order which protect the established hierarchy; it is nonsensical to invoke the absolute authority of this law and this order against those who suffer from it and struggle against it—not for personal advantages and revenge, but for their share of humanity. There is no other judge over them than the constituted authorities, the police,

and their own conscience. If they use violence, they do not start a new chain of violence, but try to break an established one. Since they will be punished, they know the risk, and when they are willing to take it, no third person and least of all the educator and intellectual, has the right to preach them abstention."

Now, Marcuse was brought to UCSD by Richard Pokin, he who wrote the article, "Do We Really Want Law and Order?" for the UCSD Extension magazine. Is it intellectual honesty to maintain the fiction that these worthies are otherwise than hardline revolutionaries, eager to overthrow the system:

And fifth, I would suggest that with student unrest systematically being incited and exploited the world over, the University of California is abandoning the *standard of reality*, that of seeing things as they are, by not being willing to admit the difference between revolutionary activity and youthful high spirits.

Sixth, I think we could make a case that the *standard of good taste* has been lost in a maze of four-letter words and reeking relativism.

And, seventh, it has long been obvious that the University has abandoned a *standard of gratitude*. The people of California do not owe this institution to the administrators to administer, nor to the faculty to teach, nor to the students to matriculate. Yet, from their releases and attitude, we all know what the University thinks.

And last, the very *standard of standards* has been eliminated. Horribly, the *leitmotiv* running through it all is that of nihilism. There is no recognizable dream of a better world nor any semblance of a plan for creating one. The nihilists, the neo-barbarians only seek the destruction of the present system of society.

So, what do we do? As has been demonstrated, our tremendous investment is now in a state of jeopardy. In order to protect it from U.C. itself and to make some attempt at salvaging the worthwhile and eliminating the destructive, I make the following suggestions.

1. That as U.C. President Charles Hitch has demonstrated his lack of good faith by his propaganda attacks on the Reagan administration, his political motivations by attempts to pressure the legislature, and his use of the University Public Relation funds in attempt to prejudice the people of California, I suggest that the Board of Regents be exhorted to fire him and replace him with Dr. Alex Sheriffs, currently serving as Governor Reagan's adviser on higher education.

2. That the Regents are requested to change their present directive to the President on campus speakers, to bring this into touch with the realities of the times—that the chancellors are told to keep the Cleavers, Marcuses, etc. out and that if they do not comply, they will be dismissed themselves.

3. That a decision must be made once and for all, as to who is in charge—militant hate groups such as the Black Panthers or the administration. It is absurd to assume such groups have any right on campus let alone a voice in its affairs. If an administrator is afraid to deal with them or his faculty, he should be let go.

4. That the students enter the university with notice that attendance is a privilege, not a right and that the people of California have no obligation to provide anyone with a university education. And further, that students sign an entrance contract that if they contribute to unrest or upheaval by word or deed, they will be given a hearing and if it is found that they are guilty, they will be dismissed permanently from the whole California higher education system.

5. That as political control from the outside is specifically forbidden by the Constitution, political control from the inside will also not be tolerated—that the Faculty Senates will be reorganized along democratic lines.

6. That organizations advocating violence will not be permitted a campus forum. The purpose of the university is intellectual development, and it is not to be used as an ideological battleground.

7. That nihilist Herbert Marcuse will be suspended from classroom teaching, pending either the legal breaking of his contract or its expiration.

You can write to the Regents of the University of California administration and demand these steps. I think necessity is making them more responsive.

For myself, I intend to try once more to get a constitutional amendment out of the Higher Education sub-committee and through the Assembly and Senate which will shorten the Regents' terms and make them fiscally responsible to the legislature. My amendment failed this year, on a strictly party-line vote. However, if it should fail again, I will start things in motion to get the signatures for an initiative measure to take to the people. I do not believe it is political control to suggest that the University be made responsible to the people who support it.

The University is totally dependent on us. We hold the purse strings. Let's pull them.

We are not helpless.

We *can* prevail.

CONGRESSMAN WHALEN COMMENDS COL. RAYMOND S. SLEEPER FOR HIS SERVICE TO THE NATION

HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Air Force and the Nation will lose the services of an outstanding intelligence officer when he closes a 28-year career at the end of this month.

He is Col. Raymond S. Sleeper, who has been the commander of the Foreign Technology Division at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base for the last 2 years.

I have had the pleasure of knowing Colonel Sleeper personally and have benefited from his expertise as an intelligence analyst. Because of the nature of his field, his accomplishments generally have been hidden from the public view.

However, in addition to his dynamic leadership as the commander of the Foreign Technology Division, Colonel Sleeper made an important contribution while serving as the Deputy Chief of Staff for Foreign Technology at Headquarters, Air Force Systems Command, Andrews Air Force Base. While in that position, Colonel Sleeper published an article on the technological challenge in the Air University Quarterly Review. That article led to the generation of the first national assessment of the technological threat.

Military intelligence is a vital portion of our national strength. We learned this because of deficiencies in this area immediately preceding World War II.

Intelligence in the past has been more of an art than a science. But dedicated, erudite Americans like Ray Sleeper have applied empirical techniques to the intelligence development process to convert the art into a science.

The Nation is indebted to men like Colonel Sleeper who labor out of the spotlight for the preservation of a free and strong America.

Mr. Speaker, I hereby commend Colonel Sleeper for his service and extend my best wishes to him and his family.

JOHNNY BURKE'S PARTY SELLOUT LIKE FIGHTS

HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, on September 28, in Carbondale, Pa., a testimonial dinner was held to honor a friend of mine, a delightful man, a great credit to the whole community in which we live. He is Johnny Burke.

To that testimonial dinner came people from every walk of life to honor this fine man. They came from the world of sports, because Johnny had put his mark on the world of sports as one of the outstanding boxing promotors in our valley. They came from the world of politics, because Johnny had come to realize that every responsible citizen who works for the betterment of his community must be involved in the world of politics. They came from every other world you might name, because here is a man whose life and work crossed the lives of all of us in Lackawanna County, and all of us were richer for knowing him.

Mr. Speaker, I insert here a delightful column by our own inimitable Chic Feldman, who writes with marvelous warmth about a warm friend, as follows:

JOHNNY BURKE'S PARTY SELLOUT LIKE FIGHTS

(By Chic Feldman)

No one is sure which Johnny Burke we're buying a dinner Saturday night at Squeekie's in Carbondale, but everyone in boxing and politics (aren't they the same?) will be there. Sellouts have always been synonymous with the gentle man from Carbondale, so why change the formula at this late date?

If the introduction is in the slightest confusing, the reason for Burke's party isn't. It's overdue at least 30 years. Hence the better late than later conclusion. Or is it because the boy boxing promoter of the 20s has more time for such joys, now that he's a retiree?

Regardless it promises to be quite an evening, made so by the presence of the leather pushers he hired, and guided, with a paternal goodness rare to pugilism. At last reports "Wildcat O'Connor" (who's really Walter Matis) is coming from Brooklyn; Tony Rock will step off a Scranton Transit bus and "Mooch" Leo, Jerry Neary and a host of others have pressed their Sunday-go-to-meeting wear.

Only two of Johnny's private army will be missing. The Great Referee counted out "Barefoot" Walker a decade or so ago, and Johnny McDonough has returned to Manchester, N.H., from whence he came labelled as a "product of County Galway, Ireland."

Of all Burke's finds, as the remarkable teener, who started in a Mayfield back room and ran 500 successful shows that changed the traveling habits of an entire valley (always Carbondaleans came to Scranton for excitement; Burke reversed it with his exciting fights), McDonough was the most unique. The semi-bald mystery biffer started with a couple of spectacular knockouts, finished by getting embalmed twice in one night by Billy Pollock because his protective

(?) friends refused to believe the first one, and dared Billy to do it again.

O'Connor and Rock, who went to international prominence (Tony in Australia), were different. Like little Eva, they jes' growed, and made Burke both happy and prosperous. Although to know Johnny is to testify that the money never really mattered. Except to provide more fights, like 51 a year in America's greatest little big club.

HE ENJOYED FIGHTS AS MUCH AS CLIENTS

Almost a half century after I met Burke I'm more convinced than ever that the principal reason for his extraordinary success is that he enjoyed the fights equally as much as his most avid, rabid customers. If not how does one explain Johnny's stubborn refusal to boost the prices from $1 and $1.50 (the latter ringside) when he could have doubled it without protest?

Indeed, he's different from our present entrepreneurs who are constantly seeking an excuse to increase the fees, usually without reason and in shocking ingratitude.

The late Harry T. Farrell, who was regional commissioner through Burke's busiest years, said it best when he abandoned his hard-boiled role to laud "Burke wouldn't know how to cheat or do an unfair thing."

Johnny was at his best the day of the Pete Latzo-Mickey Walker welterweight championship bout. Jack Kearns, agent for the defending king, insisted that the ring installed at Watres Armory was too small. A worried Farrell contacted Burke for his ring. Any rental sum Johnny mentioned, even $1,000, would have been a bargain to Promoter Lou Pagnotti in this tight spot.

Burke hustled the ring, in sections, aboard a Blue Line Express and by 4 o'clock had a crew commanded by "Doc" Stenson (later the premier announcer) toiling on the double to meet the 8 p.m. deadline. They won the race with time.

Pagnotti never ceased telling of Burke's refusal to accept compensation. "He asked only that I pay the freight and the fellows who put the ring together," Lou extolled.

Noble, yet hardly Burke's finest contribution to boxing. This had to be the man (now a charming grandfather) himself. He gave it so much that money could never achieve. Best of all a formula that's as enriching today as it was four decades ago—local rivalry, honesty presented.

Some of this goodness rubbed off on politics which Johnny enjoys as a hobby and because he believes it the duty of a good citizen to safeguard the ballot from those who'd bespoil it as the culprits ravaged boxing.

That's why Judge Otto Robinson and so many other appreciative citizens will be at Squeekie's a majority certain that if Johnny Burke sought the satisfaction he could win almost any election office in Lackawanna County.

FAREWELL ADDRESS OF SENATOR WILLIAM BENTON TO THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF UNESCO, SEPTEMBER 10, 1968, PARIS, FRANCE

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, for many years one of the ablest and most gifted citizens and public servants in our country has been the Honorable William Benton, formerly a Member of the U.S. Senate and for the last several years Ambassador from the United States to UNESCO.

I believe that my colleagues will read with great interest Senator Benton's fine speech to the UNESCO Executive Board, on which he served for 6 years as the United States member.

Senator Benton's address, which was delivered in Paris on September 10, 1968, follows:

SENATOR BENTON'S FAREWELL SPEECH TO THE 79TH UNESCO EXECUTIVE BOARD

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Director-General, fellow Board members and members of the Secretariat.

This I hope will be my last speech to the Board as the United States member. That was the most repetitive thought on my mind last night as I reviewed the notes that I had taken at the Director General's presentation to us in the afternoon. However, this doesn't mean that I may not say a few words tomorrow or the next day on the budget—but I'm not going to call them a speech! They will be strictly on a different order.

I think that most of you may be aware that my two terms on the Board expire in November and I am ineligible for re-election. And, unfortunately, I can't join the Board at its next meeting in October. There's even some possibility I can't be present at the General Conference because of my heavy involvement in Vice President Humphrey's presidential campaign. I hope to be here with Mrs. Benton for the General Conference because my term, I have discovered from our UNESCO lawyers, doesn't officially expire until the General Conference is over. But I can't be sure of my attendance. Perhaps, I shall join the General Conference after Election Day, coming over on November 6th.

Thus, if this proves to be my last opportunity to address the Board, I thought I might engage in some few largely superficial, but rather broad generalities stimulated by the notes last night on the Director-General's presentation to us. Incidentally, Mr. Director-General, I join the previous speaker in my pleasure at your recuperation and your good health and I congratulate you on your customary skill in your presentation to us yesterday afternoon.

As I listened to Ambassador Carneiro this morning, I remembered that he and I are the only two who are now members of the Board who served in that group in 1945 in London when the Charter was written. And what impresses me most, Mr. Ambassador (turning to Carneiro)—is how the role of UNESCO has changed. How completely different it is from the role that we who were in London in the Fall of 1945 expected it to be! There wasn't a man there who could remotely have foreseen the nature of the forthcoming UNESCO program. I feel that UNESCO has now come of age not merely because it is 23 years of age but maturity is implicit in what we heard of our program yesterday from the Director-General. And manifestly, UNESCO is not the successor to the League of Nations Institute of Intellectual Cooperation which we originally conceived it to be when we wrote the Charter in London. Instead, it is, as we heard yesterday, a great multilateral, vast, multi-million dollar Aid agency. A great deal more than two-thirds of UNESCO's present program consists of aid programs for the underdeveloped countries. These countries were not so much as a gleam in a father's eye at the UNESCO conference in 1945. In fact, there weren't any potential fathers. Nobody ever thought of potential fathers for unknown countries. And the development of this vast aid program would have been completely beyond the conception of anybody at that London conference. I remember at that conference that I personally gave sets of the Encyclopedia Britannica to the war-ravaged libraries of Europe. It never occurred to me to give a set to anybody in Africa or Asia or Latin America. That's just a small illustration of where our thoughts were concentrated.

THE MINDS OF MEN

We thought that if wars began in the minds of men, they began in the minds of the Germans, Russians, the Bulgarians and the Greeks, the Italians and the French; and thus, if that's where wars began, that's where we were going to channel the intellectual efforts of UNESCO, to change the minds of those men who projected the wars and who needed the changing.

The original dream of UNESCO was thus man's dream of peace as it was dreamt by the intellectuals, educators and politicians who wrote the UNESCO Charter in London. Peace then seemed the ultimate panacea. Peace was the key word, the great hope, the enduring goal in that Fall of 1945. How were the intellectuals of the world to marshal the forces of education, science and culture to help assure a peaceful world after the ravages of two world wars? That was the central question of the UNESCO dream. And the aim of that dream was not education, science or culture in themselves nor aid, nor development, but the use of the areas of intellectual life as instruments to develop a world, notably a European world, in which peace could flourish. That's where we started.

Now from our present vantage point in 1968, I asked myself last night, and I ask the Board today, whether the forces of education, science, and culture can, indeed, be organized so as to contribute materially to peace. Is it possible? Is not this an extravagant hope? Is it indeed a dream so remote as to be invisible? Is not peace rather a political question to be achieved through political ends? I had dinner last week, the first night I was here, with Governor Harriman. He's one of my oldest friends. I can assure you that in four solid hours we never mentioned education, science and culture as media through which we hoped to achieve peace in Viet Nam. We just naturally assumed that peace is a political question to be achieved through political ends. If UNESCO would examine that question, decide that question, it could save us a great deal oratory as we look ahead. What I seem to be asking is this: should not the goals of UNESCO's Charter now be revised to reflect the more realizable objectives which are now ours? As we look backwards to the UNESCO Charter I think it's a fair question to ask whether the Charter has been deficient in its sense of reality. I am not prepared flatly to say so even though my remarks imply this—I'm not prepared to answer the question in the affirmative because the Charter seemed based on realism at the time, and it has carried us a long way. But I am prepared to say that our goals have changed more rapidly than our vocabularies. Our program of today is not a reflection of the vocabulary of the Charter.

Even at our very first General Conference, here in Paris in 1946, I saw that our vocabulary wasn't in touch with the realities. That was within a year. In a speech to the General Conference I called UNESCO a "pork barrel riding on a cloud". Ambassador Carneiro and Mr. Maheu, I am sure, will remember that phrase of mine because I've been reminded of it all over the world again and again. In French it was interpreted as a cheese riding on a cloud. I agree it's pretty difficult to get the concept of the American pork barrel. The "pork barrel" is a good homely American political phrase which means that everybody gets his little piece of pork. One Congressman says to another, "Well, now you build me a bridge in Connecticut and I'll just support that new highway of yours in Pennsylvania." And the two then say, "Well, you in New Jersey, you just fix me up with my bridge and my highway, and I'm going to dredge that harbor for you in Newark." And thus the appropriations of the great pork barrel build and go rolling through our Congress. And thus in 1946 we set about constructing the UNESCO budget.

I very quickly saw the resemblance of the growing UNESCO budget of 1946 to the American pork barrel. The budget was the pork barrel and the cloud was the vocabulary.

UNESCO OF 1968

Now I don't want to apologize for this dream of 1945. We owe ourselves to it. Very few children resemble their parents and much less their grandparents. I attest today that in my judgment UNESCO of 1968 is not merely here to stay, but to grow—and to grow rapidly—and to keep on growing. The areas we embrace are essential to the future growth and development of the world. UNESCO fills a role that is not filled by any other organization. And UNESCO is much more solid today than any dream. I feel the 25 years, far from having been wasted, have developed UNESCO under the leadership of many men, most notably today under the current, distinguished leadership of Mr. Maheu. I feel that UNESCO is merely on the threshold of its great potential for growth and world leadership. The trying in the last 23 years is the heart of the doing. It is the omen of the future even if we admit we have little to contribute to peace. Falling short in a noble effort is more noble, I feel, than failing to try. Our effort in the past to realize a dream is what has brought UNESCO to its threshold of opportunity today.

Mr. Director-General, yesterday you told us that opportunity and that maturity very eloquently and vividly.

I thought you were very smart, Mr. Chairman, in adjourning yesterday evening because nobody felt he wanted to follow the Director-General and nobody had anything to say immediately on the heels of his provocative report.

Everybody, like me, wanted to go home and look at his notes and try to figure out what there was to say that might be helpful.

So much for some speculative observations about the past. Let me now comment very briefly about the future.

As we look ahead, isn't it fair to ask whether UNESCO is adequately situated in the mainstream of world affairs within fields of competence? I don't know the answer to that question, Mr. Director-General. I read in the paper this morning of General de Gaulle's press conference yesterday and of the threats to the young university students here in Paris that they had better maintain order—or else! I'm not critical of General de Gaulle, believe me, for his desire to keep the students in order; indeed, I'm not critical of Mayor Daley in Chicago either. At least nobody was killed out in Chicago! None of the policemen pulled any revolvers from their pockets. (I'm going to speak to the American Club about that on Thursday). But isn't it fair to suggest that UNESCO surely failed to anticipate the crisis in higher education? This is a legitimate field for us. This university here in Paris has been mismanaged, like Columbia and so many others throughout the world, and has been an open scandal. This trouble with our students has been breeding and brewing in a scandal that is so manifest that overt reports and papers have been written about it (but not by UNESCO!) Aren't a mainstream in today's world the young people in our universities? They're in revolt and rebellion all over the world and surely we of UNESCO could've done better in line with the mainstream of UNESCO's responsibility. We failed to anticipate the crisis. We issued no warnings. I think we're deluding ourselves when we talk about crash programs for youth. Particularly when the number of junior professional posts here at UNESCO Headquarters has been steadily declining over the years. Our staff gets older and older; and we have fewer and fewer bright young people. That's not in the mainstream. I may be the oldest man in the room which gives me the right to attest that's not the mainstream. The President of the Encyclopaedia Britannica is under 40 and most of the people I employ are under 40 and I'm old enough to know that I want more young people in UNESCO; and we're out of the mainstream when we don't bring them in. We should have training programs for them and develop them and through them keep in touch with the mainstream of what's going on among the young people of the world.

THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE: INSIDE AND OUTSIDE, THE UNIVERSITIES

Another way to put the question: Should not the intellectual life outside the university as represented by UNESCO enjoy a closer, more vital relationship with the life within our colleges and universities? I serve on the Board of Trustees of 6 colleges and universities in the U.S., more than anyone in the U.S., and I feel they are remote from the activities of UNESCO. Mr. Adiseshiah will remember that Secretary Sisco complained about this when Mr. Adiseshiah called on him. The remoteness of UNESCO from the realities of intellectual life within the U.S. I hope UNESCO under the developing program as described by Mr. Mahou can develop a closer relationship with the intellectual life in our great universities throughout the world.

Now, Mr. Director-General, as I listened to you yesterday, I thought back over my six years on your Board and I remembered that when I joined your Board, Assistant Secretary of State Battle complained to me about UNESCO's "proliferation". And I wondered yesterday whether that same charge doesn't apply today. Whether we don't try to do too much on the pork barrel theory as it has evolved over the 23 years. I think most of our projects have intrinsic merit. They had six years ago and they have today. Most of them can be justified in themselves. One by one. But when added all together they come to an enormously diffuse and tremendous bundle. I wonder how many members of this Executive Board have read this great fat book on our program which takes most of the week to get through and to digest. Don't we suffer from the proliferation of projects? Listening to the Director-General yesterday describe these conferences, seminars, colloquia, meetings of experts, etc.—400 of them in two years—makes anyone wonder whether, in attempting to do so much, we do not, indeed, overstrain ourselves, deprive ourselves of the quality which the Director-General emphasized yesterday as being the central goal for UNESCO's program as we look ahead.

Isn't all this overscheduling the key factor in overstraining? And doesn't the overstraining deprive us of the quality for which we should strive and which perhaps we could achieve if we pulled in our grasp and sought to do fewer things . . . and do them better? In other words, the question, Mr. Director-General, is just the same question that Secretary Battle asked me 6 years ago.

I think you have made great progress in my 6 years and I congratulate you and salute you on your leadership. You have every reason to take great personal pride in the unanimity of that decision in Siena that resulted in your election to another 6-year term. I know no one more concerned with raising the professional standards of UNESCO than you. I applaud you when you turn down American candidates recommended to you by the United States because you don't think they're good enough. I don't press them on you unless we have very strong evidence that they are better than you think. I salute you for your determination to bring into UNESCO professionally qualified people of the highest standards. I regret the inability of the U.S. to provide you with more of them.

TO PROPEL IDEAS

Mr. Director-General, these notes of mine are somewhat ragged and I'm not too well organized but during your speech yesterday of two hours, you covered a great deal of ground jumping rather rapidly from subject to subject. I congratulate you on that word "propel". You spoke of UNESCO's capacity to "propel" ideas. When I was a young man writing advertisements at $50 a week in a little glass cubicle chained to a typewriter, 8 hours a day, we were taught to try to put the strength and power into the verbs. The vividness of the phrase often revolves around the power of the verb. You had a great verb in the word "propel". I do think that this growing capacity to propel ideas is part of UNESCO's greatest strength and particularly so as we look ahead. Yes, UNESCO increasingly has the power to propel ideas. You spoke of propelling to the governments of the world "the idea of the renewal of education." There is no greater goal for UNESCO than this. If we could do justice on this one idea, the renewal of education, this would in itself and all by itself be a goal that would more than warrant a great potential growth for UNESCO as we look ahead.

As I leave UNESCO, I leave with confidence that UNESCO is increasingly going to close the educational gap thrust upon it by its member states. The biggest single hope, of course, will come through the improved quality of our leadership. I think the most significant issue confronting us at UNESCO continues to be the quality of this leadership. There's no more important assignment for this Board than our continuing search for candidates to succeed Mr. Maheu, Mr. Adiseshiah, and all the senior members of our staff. I told Secretary Rusk not long ago that if we can get top people into the top key staff assignments of UNESCO—that this is the biggest single problem for the Executive Board, it's the biggest single problem for the U.S.—and we could really get the world's best staff, to head up UNESCO, I for one would feel that the U.S. could just sign the checks and go home. Yes, with the right top staff leadership, our principal function thereafter will be signatory!

Mr. Maheu, no greater contribution you can make to this organization and this Board, to help realize your great pride in UNESCO, than to present to the Board an adequate successor at the end of your current 6-year term. I am assuming, of course, that you will wish to retire at the end of this term. Ideally, you should try to develop 2 or 3 candidates, to give the Board a chance to exercise its judgment. I figure that this is your single most important assignment as you look ahead.

Now these, Mr. Chairman, and fellow Board members, were some of my preoccupations as I shaved this morning and as I went over my notes last night. If I raise a number of questions it's because I know I don't have very many of the answers. My own interest is going to continue in UNESCO as long as somebody like Mr. Wade keeps after me and sees that it doesn't flag. However, more likely, and I warn all of you that by next January I'll be out with another girl if I can find her!

THE UNITED STATES AND UNESCO

I can tell this Board in conclusion that if my friend Vice President Humphrey is elected on November 5th (I'm going to tell the American Club when I speak to them on Thursday that he will be) he's going to become a great leader in the world of education. He and his background are right in the mainstream of UNESCO's interests. I guarantee to this group, before I leave it, that it will receive his full interest and support; in fact, I believe the Director-General will agree that President Johnson, the last time the Director-General and I visited with him, showed his deep interest in UNESCO and its future. It will be an interesting coincidence if the U.S. if to have two teachers, two men who started out as teachers, as our Presidents. But whether the Vice President is elected or not, the U.S. will remain dedicated to the

great objectives of UNESCO. They are at the very center of America's world interests, stemming from the teachings of Thomas Jefferson and the forefathers of our country. And regardless of any temporary exigencies to the budget, owing to military commitments or unfavorable balances of trade or other emergencies, the U.S. over the long-pull will continue to do more than its share in helping UNESCO to achieve these objectives to which the Director-General addressed himself yesterday.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and fellow members of the Board for your patience, but a man only retires once in 6 years.

RAILROADS: A TREMENDOUS PR OPPORTUNITY

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, the PR Reporter of Meriden, N.H., edited by Robert L. Barbour, contained an editorial of significance in their October 7 issue. It suggests possibilities for the Nation's railroad industry to make a major contribution to the mounting problem of passenger transportation between our cities. Because of its timeliness I wish to share it with my colleagues at this point in the RECORD:

A TREMENDOUS PR OPPORTUNITY

What could well be one of the greatest public relations opportunities of the century exists for but a fleeting moment for the railroad industry. If seized boldly, the railroads could with profit 1) regain overnight a large measure of the public goodwill they once had but threw away, and 2) win the greater cooperation they've been seeking so long from Congress. But if they let the opportunity pass, the U.S. Government will doubtless force the railroads eventually to take the very steps they should take now of their own volition. Thus once again would Government intervention in the private sector's affairs be invited through the failure of an industry to act voluntarily in the public interest.

The situation is this: The United States faces some grave socio-economic problems the railroads are going to have to help solve. Air pollution, to which the increasing millions of automobiles and buses traveling intercity routes are a major contributor, is endangering public health. Urban blight, hastened by traffic-clogged streets and gasoline fumes, is stifling the economy of major cities. The death and injury toll on our highways is steadily mounting. Airport and airlane congestion has reached such proportions that many travelers already are grounding themselves and turning, perforce, to automobile or bus travel for short-& medium-haul distances. Millions of citizens of the world's most on-the-move population live in areas having secondary airports and are therefore at the mercy of the weather when making long-distance business and personal travel plans—as are those who would visit them.

This, then, is the setting for the railroad industry's great opportunity. An opportunity to announce that in recognition of its obligation to join other industries in helping solve the nation's socio-economic problems—and despite the financial losses to be anticipated in such a move—the railroads of America are immediately 1) undertaking a crash program to restore fast, modern passenger service between key cities up to 1,000 miles apart, using all available rolling stock on a pool basis; and 2) setting aside a fund for the prompt development of revolutionary equipment and operating procedures designed to meet the public's increasing travel needs up to the 1,000-mile limit, including construction of all-purpose, self-propelled railcars to provide basic passenger service to outlying areas.

Instead of seizing the opportunity, the railroads doubtless will refer to the recent history of passenger losses and say such a move would be suicidal. We believe that on the contrary, the public goodwill engendered by a voluntary move of this kind would restore the industry's prestige, bring many shippers back to the rails, enhance the industry's relationships with labor, and favorably influence legislators; that only if it waits until the Government forces the move in the public interest will the industry lose. Irretrievably.

JOHN W. McCORMACK

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is fitting that at this time, as the second session of the 90th Congress draws to a close, we pay tribute to one of the finest men ever to have served our Nation—our beloved Speaker, the honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK.

In this body, custom and courtesy dictate the use of certain terms such as "gentleman" and "honorable"; but infrequently these terms are insufficient to describe the dignity and greatness of its Members. There are not enough laudatory words in our language to use to describe our Speaker.

The events of the past 3 days illustrate only a few of the selfless and temperate qualities of the Speaker. During the longest rollcall session in the history of the House of Representatives, the Speaker at all times carried out his duties with dignity, decorum, and fairness. Not once was he ruffled; not once did he pause in his strict adherence to parliamentary procedure; not once did he fail to be fair and generous to every Member of this body.

During this most recent session, as always, the Speaker demonstrated his great powers of leadership and his cool-headed ability to conduct the business of the House. Because he is a great leader and an even greater man, JOHN W. MCCORMACK has been responsible for the passage of more progessive legislation than any other man in the history of our country.

Of course, the 89th Congress, of which he was Speaker, is the highlight of his brilliant, dedicated career of public service. During the 2 years of that Congress, more social and economic progress was achieved than in any 40-year period in our Nation's history. And JOHN MCCORMACK was responsible for the legislation that made this progress a reality.

JOHN MCCORMACK is our leader, an inspiration to every liberal Member of the House, and a most compassionate man. We all know his great public record, the many thousands of good deeds he has done to aid the disadvantaged of our land, and indeed, of the entire world. But for every good work known to the public, the Speaker has done a hundred good deeds in private. Not even all the people he has helped know of his assistance in solving their problems. Every individual who has ever come to him for help, has been welcomed. JOHN MCCORMACK fits a very old description of virtue. La Rochefoucauld defined virtue as "to do unwitnessed what we should be capable of doing before all the world." Our beloved Speaker is a virtuous, kind, dedicated, and able man. I pay tribute to him and his leadership, and delight in his warm and generous friendship.

THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST RHODESIA—WHO NEXT?

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, now that the Socialist leader Harold Wilson has been dispatched to hold ultimatum meetings with Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith, we can find a design reminiscent of the recent Bolshevik pressures against Czechoslovakia—yield, to be reduced by force.

The tragic realization is the role our Government has played in precipitating the Rhodesian war.

In 1966 we condescended to the U.N. economic sanctions—a war-like boycott against the government and people of Rhodesia. This to no avail, in 1968 and again without consent or approval of the U.S. voters or Congress, our President advancing the peace by force line of the U.N. invoked complete sanctions against Rhodesia—a far more warlike maneuver than ever invoked against Cuba, North Vietnam, or Red China. Then, as if additional coersion was necessary—perhaps in efforts to stifle any chance of the truth reaching the American people—our U.S. authorities, in activities unprecedented since World War II, seized the personal bank accounts of Rhodesian citizens legally in the United States. The seizure is not based on any criminal charges, subversion, or breach of U.S. laws, but sought as justified in carrying out the U.N. economic sanctions against Rhodesia and her citizens to assist in undermining and subverting the government of that country. A constant barrage of intimidations and pressure to destroy a legal existing government and our Government is cooperating with powers and influences not in the interests of the American people. A double standard of political hypocrisy to persecute peaceful citizens of an anti-Communist country while Communists of every shade of pink and red walk our streets with immunity and dignity.

In the days ahead the American people will demand a reappraisal of our foreign policy and to decide once and for all who is running our country—the American people or the unelected stooges of the U.N.

Mr. Speaker, I include the left hand report of Karl Meyer of the Washington Post staff in London following my remarks. Mr. Meyer should be careful of labeling countries as "rebel"—although he may be unaware that his salary in U.S. dollars comes from a "rebel" country to the British. I also include an editorial from the Evening Star:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post]

WILSON FLIES TO MEETING ON RHODESIA

(By Karl E. Meyer)

LONDON, October 8—Prime Minister Wilson flew off tonight for another dramatic shipboard encounter with the leaders of rebel Rhodesia, but the belief here was that a settlement could be reached only if Britain was prepared to make most of the concessions.

Wilson will be meeting Wednesday aboard H.M.S. Fearless off Gibraltar with Prime Minister Ian Smith, who will be accompanied by right-winger Desmond Lardner-Burke, Rhodesia's Minister of Justice, and by Jack Howman, the more moderate Minister for External Affairs.

Joining the British Prime Minister in the talks aboard the 12,120-ton cruiser-type assault ship will be Commonwealth Secretary George Thomson and Sir Elwyn Jones, the Attorney General and chief legal adviser to the Cabinet. The talks are expected to last until the end of the week.

(In a pretaped television interview broadcast tonight after his departure, Wilson said that Smith had "shown some guts in getting rid of some of his racialist extremists, and I felt that while there's no assurance that we can get an agreement, that it would be right at any rate to have a go," Reuters reported.)

Once before, in December, 1966, Wilson met aboard a Royal Navy ship—the H.M.S. Tiger—with the Rhodesian Prime Minister, but no settlement was reached because the rebel regime was unwilling to offer what Britain deemed adequate assurances of granting suffrage to the territory's 95 percent African majority.

Since then, Britain's bargaining position has been complicated by a pledge to other Commonwealth countries that no settlement with Rhodesia would be agreed upon unless it provided for NIBMAR—which stands for No Independence Before Majority African Rule.

The British government has repeatedly said that the NIBMAR pledge still stands, but Wilson has qualified this to the extent of asserting that Britain could recommend to its Commonwealth partners that something less than immediate African rule should be accepted. Commonwealth prime ministers meet here again next Jan. 7–15.

Though British officials deny that Wilson is optimistic about a settlement, the belief is that he would not be attempting the trip at all if he did not feel there was a fair chance of bringing an end to a nagging dispute that began when Rhodesia illegally seized independence on Nov. 11, 1965.

The talks aboard the Fearless follow directly an open break in Rhodesia between the Smith government and its more racially fanatic supporters, a split which led in September to the Cabinet resignation of Lord Graham, an ultra-right-winger, and to the resignation of the Salisbury branch of the ruling Rhodesia Front Party.

On Sept. 3, Smith met in Rhodesia with a British emissary, James Bottomley, Assistant Under Secretary of Commonwealth Relations, who had flown secretly to Salisbury to take soundings.

In all of this, the middle man has been Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the British-appointed Governor of Rhodesia, who has long pleaded for another round of direct talks. Sir Humphrey also will be aboard the Fearless, a spacious ship with a helicopter landing platform and the capability of landing an entire commando battalion.

Close observers of Rhodesian events have consistently discounted hopes that the Smith regime has moved significantly closer to British terms for a settlement. They point out that the quarrel between Smith and his far-right supporters has not concerned the principle of racial segregation but rather the pace with which it should be imposed in Rhodesia.

Hence the feeling that prospects for a deal aboard the Fearless depend more on British than Rhodesian concessions.

As he sits down with his plain-speaking adversary—Smith has said he would never accept African majority rule in his lifetime—the British Prime Minister will be tugged by contrary pressures.

Within his own Labor Party, Wilson must cope with a substantial faction that would oppose any Rhodesia settlement falling short of the NIBMAR pledge. Only last week, delegates to the Labor Party conference overrode the official leadership in passing a motion calling on Britain to present Rhodesia with a multiracial constitution on a take-it or leave-it basis.

On the other hand, key Conservative Party leaders favor a "soft" settlement with Rhodesia, and rank-and-file party workers are outspokenly sympathetic with the white settler regime in Salisbury.

For Wilson, an incidental virtue in today's abrupt announcement of the Fearless talks is that it has taken away the newspaper play from the Conservative Party Conference in Blackpool, which begins on Wednesday.

This is an old pattern. In 1965, the Prime Minister made a flying trip to Balmoral to confer with the Queen about Rhodesia, blanking out the Tory Party conference. A year later, he released a report on the controversial Timothy Evans murder case, while last year Wilson made a sudden personal intervention in a dock strike.

Nevertheless, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, former Conservative Prime Minister, welcomed the announcement of the Fearless talks, saying today that failure to reach a settlement this time would be "very, very bad indeed." In the House of Lords, which happened to be meeting today, Tory peer Lord Alport suggested that Sir Alec should be included in the talks.

Another view was expressed by Humphry Berkeley, the chairman of the United Nations Association, who quit the Conservative Party last year in protest against what he regarded as its illiberal views on race. Berkeley said:

"While I do not criticize Mr. Wilson's decision to have talks with Mr. Ian Smith, I greatly fear that, as in the case of Munich, a British Prime Minister will return to these shores announcing 'peace with honor,' having confined without their consent a small people to the mercy of their aggressors."

In the days ahead, discussion will center on the six principles that Britain has repeatedly insisted must be respected in any compromise deal with Rhodesia. The principles are:

1. Unimpeded progress to majority rule, as already guaranteed at least on paper in the existing 1961 Rhodesian constitution.

2. Guarantees against retrogressive amendments to the constitution that might be introduced to nullify pledges to Africans.

3. Immediate improvement in the political status of the territory's 3.8 million Africans.

4. Progress toward ending discrimination against Africans.

5. Procedures that would satisfy Britain that any settlement was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

6. Assurances that regardless of race there would be no oppression of majority by minority, or of minority by majority.

It is in terms of these principles that any settlement achieved aboard the Fearless will be judged.

[Wilson said in the interview broadcast on British television tonight that "We mean business on the six principles" and that meant Smith has "got to move a very, very long way in order to ensure that we can get an agreement."

[If the Gibraltar talks failed, Wilson said, Rhodesia might veer into apartheid racial separation and "perhaps even a bloodbath."]

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Oct. 10, 1968]

GAGGING RHODESIA

The government of the United States, in all its majesty, has blocked the checking accounts here of the Rhodesian Information Agency and the two men who operate it. The practical effect almost certainly will be to put the information agency out of business and thereby help to perpetuate in this country the transparent fiction that Rhodesia is a threat to world peace.

This high-handed piece of business had its inception in 1966–67 when the United States joined in a U.N. Security Council resolution calling for mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia. It was said that Rhodesia, which had declared its independence of Great Britain, was a threat to peace because of its racial policies. If ever there was a phony argument, this was it. Rhodesia wasn't threatening anyone, and never has. Presumably Rhodesia would defend itself if attacked. But it isn't about to attack anybody.

The real reason for the sanctions and our participation in them is political. In Rhodesia, the minority whites who developed the country insist on maintaining control over the black majority. This may be a very wicked thing. It is an attitude against which many telling arguments can be brought to bear. But the argument that Rhodesia threatens the peace of the world is not among them.

The upshot of our government's latest action is that the two Rhodesian information officials, John Hooper and Kenneth Towsey, unable to write checks on their bank accounts are down to about $100 between them. They can't eat for long on that, and they certainly cannot tell Rhodesia's story to the American people.

Meanwhile, it is reported that Prime Minister Wilson of Britain and Ian Smith, Rhodesia's prime minister, are meeting again (an earlier meeting brought no results) on a warship near Gibraltar to try to resolve this bit of international disingenuousness. If these two men can reach an agreement on Rhodesia that will hold together, the U.N. sanctions presumably will be lifted. If that happens Messrs. Hooper and Towsey may be able to buy a meal and pay the rent. It also is conceivable that the American people once again would have access to information which ought not to be denied to them.

AVIATION DAY

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, in the 89th and 90th Congresses I and several Members of this House and Senate introduced a resolution requesting that May 12 be declared Aviation Day in honor of two pioneer aviatrixes and winners of the Harmon Trophy, Amelia Earhart and Joan Merriam Smith.

This resolution has the endorsement of all national aviation organizations including Air Force Association, National Pilots Association, Civil Air Patrol, National Aeronautics Association, National Aerospace Education Council, National Business Aircraft Association, Flying Educators, Lawyer Pilots Association, Women's National Aeronautical Associa-

tion, and many other groups. Also several mayors and Governors proclaimed a local and/or State May 12, 1968, Amelia Earhart-Joan Merriam Smith Aviation Day.

In these days of riots and revolt against our American heritage and patriotism, let us not forget to honor our heroes and heroines who have contributed to America's greatness by their achievements. Since December 17 is proclaimed as Wright Brothers Day and May 20 as Lindbergh Day this pending honor for these two aviatrixes and all women pilots is long overdue and I hope this Congress will give serious consideration to this resolution before adjournment.

WHO WILL DOMINATE THE STRATEGIC INDIAN OCEAN AREA IN THE 1970'S?

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, Navy magazine for September, 1968, carries a penetrating and perceptive article by the noted historian, Dr. James D. Atkinson, of Georgetown University, relating to one of the world's most potentially decisive power vacuums, the Indian Ocean area. The Soviet Navy is moving in and acquiring bases in the vacuum being left by the British, while the United States hesitates. The considerable problem of the Indian Ocean area, neglected by the Johnson-Humphrey administration, undoubtedly must become a deep concern of any new administration of the U.S. Government.

Dr. Atkinson's article follows:

WHO WILL DOMINATE THE STRATEGIC INDIAN OCEAN AREA IN THE 1970'S?

(By James D. Atkinson)

Little more than six months ago the then Secretary of Defense, Robert Strange McNamara, told a congressional committee that "in the 1960's the simple bipolar configuration which we knew in the earlier post-World War II period began to disintegrate. Solid friends and implacable foes are no longer so easy to label, and labels . . . such as free world and Iron Curtain, seem increasingly inadequate as descriptions . . . of the *new bonds of common interest being slowly built across what were thought to be impenetrable lines of demarcation.*" (Italics supplied.)

As the gunfire from Soviet tanks reverberates through the streets of Prague, one may well ask whether this analysis will prove as illusory as the former Defense Secretary's view that the Soviet Union would be unable to achieve even nuclear equality with the United States before the early 1970's.

For the plain fact is that the Soviets are striving mightily to attain not parity, but strategic superiority over the United States. And the unfolding evidence suggests that the major thrust of this search for strategic superiority is taking place on the high seas.

The Soviet effort at sea is a total one. It embraces naval combatant ships both undersea and on the surface, longe-range aircraft under naval control, major research and development efforts in oceanology, and a vast merchant marine program.

FIVE YEAR CLIMB

When it is recalled that the great authority on sea power, Rear Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, had dismissed Russia's merchant navy with the observation that "Russia has little maritime commerce . . . her merchant flag is rarely seen," the Soviet climb in but five years (1963–1967) from number twelve to number six rank in world merchant tonnage is hard evidence of Soviet capabilities and intentions alike.

Equally significant is the fact that the Soviet merchant fleet, unlike the merchant shipping of non-Communist countries, a totally controlled instrument of state power and is habitually used as a politico-diplomatic weapon. The relationship of the Soviet merchant marine to Soviet naval forces and the developing countries of Africa, Asia and the Middle East is, therefore, related to the over-all mix of maritime power: bases, facilities-agreements, industrial-technological assets, merchant shipping, and naval (including naval-air) forces.

Soviet ambitions on the oceans are underscored by current Soviet efforts directed towards the Red Sea-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean complex, a vast, strategic area of the world's seas and an area quite new to the hammer and sickle flag of the U.S.S.R.

AFRICAN-INDIAN OCEAN STRATEGY

The Soviet maritime thrust in the Red Sea-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean complex is, like Soviet expansion in the Mediterranean, an attempt to gain maximum exploitation from three increasingly related factors:

(1) The Soviet goal of attaining military-technological superiority over the United States.

(2) Soviet exploitation of tensions, political instability, and ethnic or other rivalries in the developing countries of Africa, Asia and the Middle East through the technique which the Soviets call "national liberation movements."

(3) The power vacuum created through the British wtihdrawal East of Suez.

As the military technological power of Russia continues to rise, the Soviet leadership believes that this power can be used to support—psychologically and diplomatically—the revolutionary process in the new and developing nations. This strategy is stated frankly as follows in the May, 1968 issue of *Kommunists*, the authoritative official journal of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

"The growth of the political influence and the economic and military might of the world socialist system exerts a powerful influence on the course of the struggle between labor and capital on the international scene; it ties the hands of the imperialists and creates increasingly favorable conditions for the development of the world revolutionary process."

These are not idle words. They are being put into practice through Soviet politico-economic support for socialistic-revolutionary forces in Egypt, Sudan, Iraq, Yemen and other countries in the Red Sea-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean complex.

SOVIETS ACQUIRE BASES

The Soviet Union is acquiring base facilities in Hodeida in the Yemen and is also using Port Sudan on the Red Sea. A guerrilla campaign has been organized against Mozambique (on the Indian Ocean across from the strategic island of Madagascar) from Soviet-sympathizing Tanzania and these guerrillas have both Soviet and Chinese Communist equipment. In this regard it should be noted that however sharp the propaganda attacks the Soviets and Chinese Communists mount against one another, they seem to be able to cooperate on the tactical level in East Africa when they face what they regard as the common enemy.

Soviet "national liberation warfare" techniques are being employed wherever possible throughout Africa, but it would appear that the Red Sea-Indian Ocean coast of Africa has been given major attention because of its strategic role in developing Soviet strategy. The Soviets are also attempting to link the African and Middle Eastern liberation warfare movement to their exploitation of Arab national feeling.

Thus when two Soviet warships paid an eight-day visit—for the first time in Soviet naval history—to the Persian Gulf in May 1968, they were greeted in the Iraq port of Umm Qasr with a gun salute and with thanks "for supporting the Arab cause." Not without interest is the fact that Iraq has now been equipped with Soviet-type Styx missiles such as was used to sink the Israeli destroyer ELATH.

It may not have been accidental that about the time of this Soviet naval visit in the Persian Gulf leading Soviet newspapers devoted a good deal of attention to the national liberation movement in Africa. The official Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* stated on May 25.

"The formation of a world system of socialism, which stands as a mighty stronghold of all anti-imperialist struggles in the world, the growth of the revolutionary struggle of the international working class and the rapid upsurge of the liberation movement of (the) African peoples . . . predetermined the collapse of the gigantic colonial prison in Africa."

"The present national liberation movement of the peoples of that continent has become an organic integral part of the world revolutionary process," said Pravda.

Equally important was a statement the same day in the official government newspaper, *Izvestia*. This emphasized Russia's "consistent policy for supporting national liberation movements." It went on to say that the Soviets had "accumulated rich experience in the defense of revolutionary movements," and that the Soviet solidarity Committee of Asian and African Countries was giving practical, physical support to the revolutionary forces of "Angola, Guinea (Bisau), Mozambique, and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)."

EFFORTS IN INDIA AND CEYLON

On the other side of the Red Sea-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean complex, the Soviet Union has been most active in both India and the great island of Ceylon. A Soviet naval squadron visited the Indian sub-continent in the spring of 1968, another first in Soviet naval history. Calls were made in Pakistan and in India and later on in Ceylon.

The visit to India is especially significant since that the Soviet Union has said it will supply the Indian Navy with "F" class submarines, escorts of the PETYA class, MTB's of the POLUCHAT I class, a submarine support-ship, and additional auxiliary craft. Press reports say one submarine and some other craft have been delivered. This may be in order to lay the groundwork for a Soviet naval air presence in that part of the world since the Soviets have had talks with India looking towards an Andaman Island base. These islands are in the Bay of Bengal, strategically located not only with reference to the Indian Ocean generally, but also in relation to the seacoast of Burma, Malaysia, and Thailand.

They would be advantageous bases for the new Soviet helicopter and/or VTOL carriers and for Soviet land based aircraft, many of which come under the control of the Soviet Navy. It is also not without interest that *Pravda* announced June 1, 1968, that the scientific research ship OGON was "carrying out hydrographic work in the Pacific and Indian oceans." The Soviets understand quite well that the search for strategic superiority is not military alone, but military, scientific, technological and psycho-political.

The pysco-political elements of the over-all strategic effort blending with the military is well illustrated by the Soviet naval visit to Ceylon. A Soviet naval squadron cruising in the Indian Ocean paid a five-day visit to the Ceylonese port of Colombo, July 7–11, 1968. Just prior to this Soviet naval visit, *Moscow Radio* announced on July 3 that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had sent a

congratulatory telegram to the "Communists of Ceylon, who are celebrating the 25th anniversary of their party." The telegram hailed "the Communist Party of Ceylon, the fraternal solidarity of the two parties, and the friendship of the Soviet and Ceylonese peoples."

Conjointly, *Moscow Radio* reported that a Soviet news agency representative had interviewed Pieter Keuneman, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Ceylon. He said that the Communist Party of Ceylon "was the first to demand the elimination of the British military bases on the island and the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with the socialist [that is, the Communist-bloc] countries." Keuneman went on to say that the Ceylonese Communist Party "fully supports the convening of the international conference of Communists and workers parties in November in Moscow.

THE BRITISH WITHDRAWAL

For almost a century the vast Red Sea-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean complex was an area of relative stability. This was so because Great Britain—and associated friendly powers—controlled the perimeter boundaries. Whether it was the East African coast (Kenya, Tanganyika); key bases (Aden, Mombasa, Colombo, Singapore); or important islands (Mauritius, Andaman, Nicobar), British forces were on hand throughout these sea spaces and able to respond quickly for any needed police actions.

What of today? The British have announced that they will complete their withdrawal East of Suez by 1971. That this will likely be irreversible is shown by the fact that early in 1968 the withdrawal from Aden became a finality.

The power vacuum already exists. The potential, strategically, is alarming.

Australia, that great and good friend of the United States, is vitally dependent on the Indian Ocean. In the 1965–1966 period, for example, more than half of all Australian imports and almost half of all exports came by way of the Indian Ocean.

India, Pakistan, and the countries of East Africa depend on Indian Ocean routes for all but a little of their imports and exports. South Africa, at the Cape of Good Hope (more significant than ever with the closure of the Suez Canal), is vitally interested in the Indian Ocean. And the Red Sea-Persian Gulf oil routes are so well known as to require but passing mention.

Writing in the New York Times, Dec. 4, 1963, C. L. Sulzberger perceptively forecast the strategy stakes in this oceanic complex. "In the vast area extending from the Red Sea across the Indian Ocean to the Pacific inlets one finds today's main thrusts of both Russian and Chinese dynamism," he said. "They frequently compete with each other but ultimately work in tandem to weaken Western influence."

Looking ahead to 1969–1970, it can be seen that the Soviets will try to continue the forward momentum they have begun in 1967–1968. Will theirs be the power that fills the vacuum left by the British withdrawal? Or will the United States build up its naval forces so as to be able to deploy real strength for peace and stability in the Indian Ocean rimland?

HUMPHREYISM NO. 12

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

From a Collection of Representative HENRY C. SCHADEBERG'S, (R. Wisc.):

"I say that where conservation is concerned, land titles are irrelevant." (Audubon magazine, July-August 1965)

SCRANTONIAN

HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, the history of America is filled with the history of a few people who get together with an idea, who pursue that idea with determination, and finally produces a major industry. In Scranton, Pa., there is such an industry, the Parodi Cigar Co., founded by Frank Suraci, Sr., 54 years ago.

The history of that company is a fascinating story. Fortunately for all of us, that history was told recently in an issue of the Scrantonian by one of our most distinguished writers, the Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter, Mr. J. Harold Brislin.

I know that all of my colleagues here in the Congress would enjoy the reading of this story, and with your permission, Mr. Speaker, I am appending it at this point:

THIS ARTICLE APPEARED IN A RECENT ISSUE OF THE SCRANTON, PA., SCRANTONIAN

(By J. Harold Brislin)

Parodi Cigar Co., founded 54 years ago in downtown New York City by Frank Suraci Sr. and the late Anthony Suraci under the name of "Suraci Bros.", today is a major Scranton-based industry largely because three decades ago the brothers realized that automation had to replace hand operations in manufacture of "Italian type" cigars.

Frank Suraci Sr., president of the vastly expanded company which now has three plants in Lackawanna County and one in Evansville, Ind., plus a large installation at Clarksville, Tennessee emphasized that Parodi could not operate today on a hand made cigar basis.

Commenting "you could write a book about our history", Suraci told how Parodi back around 1938 started to work with American Machine Foundry on development of special machines which could replace the rapidly declining ranks of the highly skilled "cigar makers".

It wasn't until 1956 that the machine capable of handling the demanding tasks of filling and wrapping the "Italian type" cigar was perfected and the "pilot machine" successfully tested at the Parodi plant at 1915 N. Main Avenue.

With the smiling comment that "we are still developing", Suraci said that in the "old days" an expert cigar maker couldn't make more than 1,500 "Italian type" cigars in a day while a single machine, attached by a two-operator team, can turn out at least 5,500 per shift.

And the "Italian type" cigar produced with automation—combined with the almost unbelievable procedures followed by Parodi in curing and drying the special tobaccos—provides a more uniform smoke than could be attained by the hand made method.

This uniformity, and the resultant "Italian type" cigar which bears scant resemblance to the "Stogie" of earlier years, enhances the appeal of the "Parodi"—as well as the companion brand the "DeNobile Toscani"—to the general public.

This, obviously, further explains why the Parodi cigars that includes a variety called "Toscanelli" which is being marketed on the West Coast now have at least 30 percent of its sales among those of "non-Italian" background—with Parodi anticipating continued increases.

"We're not afraid to say 'light a cigar' to anybody today," declared President Suraci as he reached into one of the several boxes of Parodi cigars on and around his desk.

The Suraci brothers didn't acquire the name of Parodi Cigar Co., of New York until 1928—two years before establishing its first Scranton plant at 441 N. Main Avenue.

President Suraci, still obviously in top command of the business he and his brother started back in 1914, recalled that "we started at 441 N. Main Ave., with about 2,500 square feet of rented space on the second floor, sharing the building with a post office on the first floor and Imperial Underwear which had the front part of the second and third floor."

Parodi had an option for six months on acquiring the front part of the second floor and within two years the firm making the "Italian type" cigars had occupied the entire building with about 35,000 square feet of space.

The Parodi building was destroyed by fire during World War II, forcing a fast search for new space and the location, again on a rental basis originally, of part of the present headquarters at 1015 N. Main Ave.

Defense production was being carried out elsewhere in the plant, a former silk mill.

Today Parodi Cigar, which started out with 2,500 square feet of second floor rented space at 441 N. Main Ave., has 60,000 square feet at 1015 N. Main Ave., 90,000 square feet at its Continental Cigar Co. division on Rocky Glen Road, Moosic, and 200,000 square feet in the former Consolidated Molded Products plant on Cherry Street.

And this is augmented by many additional thousands of square feet in its "H. Fendrich Division" plant in Evansville, Ind., and at its Clarksville, Tenn., installation where the "Petri Division" is based for purchase, classification, packaging and storing of leaf tobacco used in the "Italian type" cigars.

Today the Parodi Cigar Co.—the "of New York" no longer is part of the corporative name—represents an annual payroll in the vicinity of $2.3 million in Lackawanna County alone where upwards of 625 of the 850 to 900 employees are based.

Suraci, again delving back into history of the company he heads explained that Parodi Cigar Co. was a competing firm to "Suraci Bros.", making the "Italian type" cigar, when the brothers acquired it in 1928.

Parodi had a cigar making plant in Jersey City and back in 1932, the Suraci brothers, anxious to utilize the skills of cigar makers in the days before automation was possible, opened a branch in the New Jersey city to take advantage of this specialized labor supply.

Meanwhile, Parodi engaged in a training program locally for cigar makers—with it taking six months to a year to develop the dexterity essential to making cigars by hand.

President Suraci, after devoting more than half a century to the cigar business, continues to display astounding interest and energy to the affairs of Parodi—including making almost daily visits to the three operations in Lackawanna County.

And in August, accompanied by his nephew, Anthony F. Suraci, vice president, President Suraci was out in the tobacco fields in Kentucky and Tennessee inspecting the crops of farmers who regularly deliver their top products to the Parodi "Petri Division" facility at Clarksville, Tennessee.

Suraci said upwards of 500 tobacco farmers have annual dealing with Parodi through the Petri Division—climaxed by delivery of cured tobacco in January after several months of hanging in the barns of farmers while being cured by smoke from carefully controlled burning sawdust.

He emphasized that Parodi experts are constantly visiting the tobacco farmers during the growing, harvesting and curing seasons to give sage counsel on techniques in proper

procedures and to get advance knowledge of the tonnage and quality of tobacco in prospect.

Suraci said that Parodi, although it deals with upwards of 500 tobacco farmers does not necessarily take the entire production of any farmer because "we buy only top grades".

Asked about the future of the "Italian type" cigar, Suraci said that he believes that the "non-Italian" people represent a great potential, replacing the market which was created many decades ago before wholesale immigration was curtailed and threatened to eventually eliminate the devotee of this special variety of cigar.

Predicting continued growth for Parodi, Suraci said that the "Parodi" and "DeNobili" cigars are "much milder" than in the early days. That appeal apparently, is expected to be more to the "cigar" than the "cigarette" smoker—largely because of the inability of many cigarette smokers to shift to cigars because, through long habit, they insist upon inhaling.

Suraci, reaching for still another Parodi stressed "You don't have to inhale to enjoy a cigar".

Members of the Board of Directors are Frank Suraci, Sr., Anthony F. Suraci, Jr., son of the late Anthony F. Suraci who was a cofounder of the company, vice president; Henry Suraci, secretary-treasurer; Robert J. Keating, executive vice president and Atty. Henry Nogi, counsel and director.

Serving on the "associated board" in addition to those previously named are: James Priscaro, sales manager; L. E. Harvie, president of the H. E. Snyder Division at the Parodi operations in the former Consolidated Molded Products plant on Cherry Street; Thomas Godfred, assistant to the President; R. A. Furiosi, plant manager; Burkeley McCarthy, president of the H. Fendrich Division in Evansville, Ind.; Thomas Matkowsky, auditor and E. Clark Snedaker, manager of the Continental Cigar plant in South Scranton.

Anthony Suraci, Jr., is listed as president of Continental Cigar Co., wholly owned Parodi subsidiary located in Moosic.

Parodi concentrates the production of "Italian type" cigars at its operation in Moosic and at 1015 N. Main Avenue, while devoting the Cherry Street plant to making Blackstones, Red Dot, 7–20–4, Dexter, JA and 77 brand American type cigars.

The division based in Evansville, Ind., makes American type cigars which include the brands called Red Dot, Tampa Cubs, Monarch and Charles Denby.

Keating, the executive vice president, explained that Parodi, which markets "Italian type" cigars under the brand names of "Parodi" and "DeNobili"—plus a new version sold on the West Coast and known as "Toscanelli", makes the cigars in seven and eight inch lengths—which generally are cut in half at the plants and packaged as 3½ or 4 inch cigars. Some seven-inch "Italian type" cigars are sold at that length, however.

More than 1,500 distributors, not counting chain stores which buy direct, are customers of Parodi Cigar Co. but the firm still needs a "director of sales" and a staff of nearly 40 salesmen, each with his assigned territory.

James U. Priscaro, director of sales, explained that he and his force are engaged in "building the market" for the "Italian" and "American" type cigars produced in endless quantities by Parodi plants in Scranton, Moosic and Evansville, Ind.

The salesmen, in addition to visiting and serving the 1,500 distributors and various chain operations, tour retail outlets and pass out samples—cigars which they often actually purchase from distributors in their various territories.

Priscaro, associated with Parodi for 18 years, has been director of sales for the last three years.

During the summer months Parodi recruits numerous college students for vacation jobs. The firm also is constantly advertising for help. This is a fairly recent development—apparently linked with the changeover of the Scranton labor market from one of chronic unemployment to one in which shortages of qualified workers is a problem.

"We never had a problem getting workers when the unemployment rate was eleven percent", commented Robert J. Keating, Parodi executive vice president. Parodi workers handling cigar making machines are pieceworkers. Most other employees are on hourly rates for compensation.

Origin of the "Stogie", the name often used for "Italian type cigars", more properly is associated with the hardy pioneers who, traveling by Conestoga wagon, settled the western part of the United States. And the dictionary doesn't define "Stogie" as having an Italian origin but, rather, as "a kind of inexpensive, though not necessarily inferior, cigar made in the form of a slender cylindrical roll". According to Bob Keating, there is an obvious relationship between the "Conestoga" wagon and the use of "Stogie" for the slender cylindrical rolled cigars which were smoked by many in the days when the west was being settled.

Visitors are always welcome at the executive offices at 1015 N. Main Avenue where they get an opportunity to try either—or both—an Italian or American type cigar manufactured by the company.

At the reception window are displayed open boxes of the two types of cigars under a sign which states: "Enjoy a cigar—our compliments".

TRIBUTE TO CONGRESSWOMAN LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my deep respect and regard for one of the most conscientious and dedicated Members of the House, a great legislator and a great lady in every sense of the word.

Representative LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, now serving her eighth term as the only lady ever elected to Congress from the State of Missouri, has earned national praise and gratitude for her outstanding contributions to consumer protection and for the legislation she has authored and sponsored to improve the health, education, and welfare of all Americans.

Besides having a great part in every housing bill since 1955, LEONOR SULLIVAN can be unshamedly proud of the landmark truth-in-lending bill which she introduced and guided through Congress for the betterment of every American who benefits from purchases by credit. Thanks to LEONOR, Americans will never again be victimized or harmed by hidden credit charges.

Two million needy Americans are assured good nutrition from the food stamp law of 1959 and the food stamp bill of 1964 which Congresswoman SULLIVAN introduced. We here in Congress will miss her able leadership and astute guidance where the betterment of needy Americans are concerned.

LEONOR SULLIVAN has served her constituents and the country well, through brilliance, hard work, and a dedication born of patriotism and a will to serve. I salute her, for this Nation will benefit from her talents and ability for many years to come.

RESOLUTIONS OF POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, the Seventh National Convention of the Polish-American Congress, recently met in Cleveland, Ohio. In the course of its deliberations, the Congress adopted several resolutions which are worthy of our attention.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, the resolutions follow:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE SEVENTH CONVENTION OF THE POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS, HELD SEPTEMBER 27, 1968, AT CLEVELAND, OHIO

Assembled in the Seventh National Convention of the Polish American Congress, we express our tribute to retiring long time President Charles Rozmarek, great patriot of our two beloved countries, the United States of America and Poland, the country of our ancestors, and we adopt the following resolutions:

1. We support the efforts of the United States Government to bring a just peace, order and stabiltiy in South East Asia, where the Viet Nam conflict has put to a historic test American determination to defend freedom from communist aggression.

2. Deeply concerned with the internal crises that afflict our nation, we pledge our unreserved support to programs that will strengthen the viability of the United States in terms of social stability and civic wisdom in all sectors of American life, which will result in law, order and justice to all.

3. Deeply aware of the fact that Europe is the key to world peace, and, consequently, to American security, we most emphatically condemn Soviet brutal aggression against Czechoslovakia and appeal to the United States government that this wanton breach of international law be brought before the United Nations with the demand that the Soviet Union troops and also those of their puppet governments be immediately removed from Czechoslovakia, with the warning that the Soviet Union will face international sanctions if it persists in applying brutal force in the suppression of freedom in Czechoslovakia and other captive nations of East Central Europe.

4. To our ethnic kin, the Czechs and the Slovaks we express our deepest sympathy and solidarity with their valiant struggle against the tyranny of Soviet imperialism.

We are certain that they understand the current realities in Poland and know that Polish troops were sent to Czechoslovakia contrary to the overwhelming sentiments of the Polish Nation, and contrary to Poland's national interest.

In conjunction with these latest acts of aggression perpetrated by the Soviet Union and puppet communist regimes of the captive nations, we condemn the servility of the communist dictatorship of Poland to its Moscow masters.

5. Poignantly aware of the fact that the Polish nation, in its long and tenacious struggle for freedom and independence is in dire need of our encouragement, our solidarity with its aims, and of our moral, cultural and economic assistance, we request that such assistance by the government of the United States be so planned that it should benefit the Polish people and not their imposed regime.

6. We call upon the Government of the United States and we appeal to the conscience of the Free World to use all means and efforts to restore freedom and independence

to Poland and other nations in Eastern and Central Europe, suffering under the imposed communist regimes and neocolonial Russian exploitation.

7. We urge that Polish Regained Western Territories, rebuilt after the last war destruction and exclusively inhabited by Polish population, be recognized by the U.S.A. Government as an integral part of Poland and the present Odra-Nyssa line be ratified de jure as the final western boundary of Poland.

By recognizing and acknowledging these facts of history and life, the United States and its Western Allies could forcefully strengthen psychological resistence of the Polish Nation against the Soviet imperialism and against communism, would deprive Russia of its cynical role as the sole protector of Poland's territorial integrity, and would decisively contribute to peace and stability in East Central Europe, where lies the key to European, and consequently to American security.

Insofar as the eastern boundary of Poland is concerned, we do not recognize the seizure by Russia of the eastern half of Poland as a result of the Yalta agreement, and we demand the restoration of the pre-war border, as mutually established by the Riga Treaty.

8. Recognizing deep changes that are taking place in the sociological structure of our Polonia, where the third, fourth and fifth generations of native-born Americans of Polish ancestry are entering upon the stage of life, we wholeheartedly pledge:

(a) to expand educational aid to our younger generation;

(b) to fully and consistently support their aspirations, goals, and pursuits in all walks of life, in politics, in business, in scientific aspirations, in professions, and other endeavors.

9. Bearing in mind the important part played by Poles and Americans of Polish descent in the fight for America's independence and also their vast and lasting contributions to the present greatness of America, we urge that Americans of Polish descent be given, well deserved, greater representation in the federal, state and local governments.

10. In the present struggle between freedom and tyranny, between the forces of democracy as represented by the United States of America as it's best and strongest champion and defender, and the forces of tyranny as represented by the communist world, we firmly and unflinchingly stand at the side of freedom and democracy. We condemn the appeasers of communist aggression in any part of the world and the advocates of peace at any price.

We firmly believe that lasting peace in the world can only be achieved if it will be based on freedom and justice for all men and for all nations.

Alexander Laffey, Chairman; Augustyn Sobocinski, Henry Dende, Ks. Leo Kulinski, Michal Pankiewicz, Alfred Ulman, Aleksander Romanski, Raymond Demski, Joseph A. Bystrowski, Frank Wazeter, Jozef Kleszczynski, Wladyslaw Lohr, Bonawentura Migala, Janusz Krzyzanowski, Resolution Committee.

HON. PORTER HARDY

HON. JOE D. WAGGONNER, JR.

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 25, 1968

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I could not let the day go by or this session of Congress come to an end without saying for the RECORD a word of praise for our fellow Member and my personal friend, PORTER HARDY.

The State of Virginia has a long tradition of sending to the Congress its best men and PORTER has kept that tradition intact and added a bit to its lustre. For 22 years he has served his district and the Nation with distinction. Now that he has chosen to retire, we are all suddenly conscious of the debt of gratitude we owe him for this period of dedicated public service. Without men of his caliber looking after the interests of all our people, each one of us would be diminished by no mean amount.

I treasure my friendship for PORTER and hope that, with the passage of time, there will be opportunities to keep our contacts alive. I am a better man for having served with PORTER HARDY and I do not want to lose touch with the brand of idealism and dedication he represents.

I know I am not alone with these sentiments and that those who remain behind join me in this expression.

OPEN HOUSE '68

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, it is important that the citizens of a town be kept up to date on the progress and changes in their area, and the city of Elizabethton, Tenn., had such a chance last week.

All of Carter County participated in observing how local government is carried out by attending "Open House '68," how industrial facilities in the area operate and have developed through the years, and how beneficial the safety programs are to their communities.

I would like to join in the tribute which the Elizabethton Star of Thursday, October 3, 1968, paid by sharing this editorial with the readers of the RECORD:

TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS WEEK'S TOURS

Rarely ever were the citizens of Elizabethton offered to such an extent the opportunity to participate in community affairs as during the present week.

Beaunit Fibers, the largest industry of the City, and Carter County as well, is giving groups of club members and other organizations the freedom of inspection of its Viscose Plant in celebration of the fortieth anniversary of its existence.

The manufacturing processes, from the preparation of the basic raw material, woodpulp, and chemicals, to the finished product, yarns for various purposes, will be explained to the visitors. They will be given an insight of what it takes to keep the wheels turning and furnish the lifeblood of the community through the sale of what is made in the local plants by many men and women of Elizabethton and Carter County.

The plant visitation will last through Sunday.

Another important operation of community services will be demonstrated on Saturday this week by the City's "Open House '68." Generally familiar with the City's functions, many of its people do not envisage the extent and ramifications of the city government and administration as a whole.

Guided tours of facilities, and especially newer development industrially and in improvement of services of various nature that the citizens can expect in return for the share of taxes paid by the property holders or businesses for the privilege of doing business, have been arranged by the city management.

Visitation to the numerous facilities will be informative and educational and acquaint the participants with the installations of improvements that were needed and serve the comfort of the citizenry.

Carter County Chamber likewise is playing a part in the activities of this week. Its Fire Prevention Committee on the occasion of Fire Prevention Week now underway is bringing to the attention of the public the importance of safety in the community. Elizabethton is fortunate in having an enviable record of low fire losses. An efficient Fire Department, modernly equipped, will give demonstrations of its abilities. And so will the Police Department.

Beaunit Fibers, the City, Chamber of Commerce and all others concerned are to be congratulated on their cooperative spirit in the interest and for the common good of the community.

We urge the people of Elizabethton to go all out in their support of these worthwhile undertakings and show their pride in the community by participation in the tours and other activities planned.

COLUMBUS DAY, 1968

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, the spirit of discovery does not die; it continues to motivate the human race on its advancement through history. The evidence of this continuing spirit is implicit in every aspect of 20th-century life—in the progress of medical science, in the development of increasingly sophisticated communications systems, and, finally, in the spectacular advance of space technology. One has only to see the extraordinary film, "2001—A Space Odyssey," to comprehend the full potential of questing, modern man.

There have been, through the ages, certain men who most aptly personify this indomitable spirit which is the will to discover, to create, to leave the past for the uncertain future, secure only in the certitude of faith. One such man was Christopher Columbus.

Such men become, by the quality of their actions, and, to a degree, by the accident of their place in history, eternal symbols, standing beyond the limits of time, enduring for all eternity. Such men are focal points, emblems, as it were, in the continuous evolution of man. Such a man was Columbus.

For Columbus was not merely the individual who discovered America, though that indeed he was. He was, more profoundly, a man who proved that the human will is a thing so strong, so powerful, so charged with divine energy, that heaven and earth cannot succeed in stemming the tide of its progress, if, indeed, it determines to move. He vindicated, far in advance of its expression in mere words, the conviction of William Ernest Henley:

I am the master of my fate;
I am the captain of my soul.

Let us pay tribute to Columbus on this day set aside to commemorate his significance. Let us remember him with gratitude, with respect, and above all, with hope.

REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS BASIL L. WHITENER

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, each year I send to my constituents a report or résumé of the actions taken by the Congress. This year the résumé is as follows:

RÉSUMÉ OF SECOND SESSION, 90TH CONGRESS

The year 1968, the second session of the 90th Congress, has produced much important legislation. It would not be possible to give a full and detailed statement of each and every bill passed and signed into law. I have undertaken to give a terse and brief outline of most of the major legislative acts resulting from our deliberations with the hope that it will stimulate an interest on the part of many of our friends to seek more detailed information.

The following constitutes a small portion of the results of this session:

Public Law 90–255: Makes comprehensive provisions to regulate savings and loan holding companies with subsidiaries whose accounts are insured by the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation. Provides that savings and loan holding companies must register with the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation. Before a holding company acquires additional interests within a state in a savings and loan association, prior approval must be obtained from FSLIC. Prohibits new out-of-state acquisitions. Savings and loan holding companies cannot have interests unrelated to savings and loan associations without specific approval of FSLIC.

Public Law 90–257: Amends Railroad Retirement Act of 1967 and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act to increase benefits.

Public Law 90–258: Amends Commodities Exchange Act. Provides that traders on commodity exchanges must register with the Secretary of Agriculture, who regulates practices on the exchanges. Exchanges are made directly responsible for enforcement of their own rules, which the Secretary of Agriculture approves or disapproves. Commission merchants on commodities exchanges must meet minimum financial requirements. Trading in livestock and livestock products is brought within provisions of Commodities Exchange Act.

Public Law 90–259: Amends Organic Act, National Bureau of Standards, to authorize comprehensive fire research and safety programs. Secretary of Commerce directed to investigate causes and prevention of fires, develop improved methods of fire prevention and control, conduct public education program, and provide information and training for fire-fighters.

Public Law 90–267: Amends Export-Import Bank Act to authorizee an increase from $9 billion to $13.5 billion the authority of the Bank to guarantee, insure, or extend credit covering the purchase of American exports. Bank is forbidden to guarantee, insure, or extent credit covering direct or indirect exports to communist countries unless the President determines that specific transactions are in the national interest.

Public Law 90–269: Eliminates a requirement that the Federal Reserve Banks and the United States Treasury maintain a gold cover to the extent of 25% of their outstanding currency.

Public Law 90–274: Requires each Federal District Court to devise a jury selection plan that will produce juries representative of the local community. Plan is subject to approval by the Judicial Council of its circuit.

Public Law 90–275: Grants increases in veterans pensions for non-service-connected disabilities and compensation to their survivors. Income limitations for eligibility to veterans monetary benefits are increased, particularly in relation to Social Security benefits.

Public Law 90–284: Civil Rights Act of 1968 provides criminal penalties for "whoever wilfully injures, intimidates, or interferes with" persons in the exercise of their basic civil rights, which are to vote, to participate in any Federally-supported activity or program, to seek and hold a job, serve on juries, attend a public school or college, use public facilities, travel by common carrier, use hotels and restaurants, or engage in lawful activities that support those rights.

Public Law 90–288: Makes it unlawful for any handler of agricultural products or association of agricultural producers to discriminate against, intimidate, or coerce a producer of agricultural products because he belongs, or does not belong, to an association of agricultural producers.

Public Law 90–289: Authorizes $2,618,300,000 for the Atomic Energy Commission during Fiscal Year 1969.

Public Law 90–291: Provides benefits to state and local law enforcement officers for their survivors when they are disabled or killed while apprehending a person who has violated a Federal law.

Public Law 90–294: Extends for one year from June 30, 1968, the $9 million authorization for the Corporation of Public Broadcasting.

Public Law 90–297: Authorizes up to $24.5 million during Fiscal Year 1969 for Office of Saline Water.

Public Law 90–299: Provides a fine of $500, or imprisonment up to 6 months, or both, for whoever makes use of a telephone in interstate or foreign communications for the purposes of obscenity, abuse, or harassment.

Public Law 90–300: Amends Federal Reserve Act to extend for two years from June 30, 1968, the authority of Federal Reserve Banks to purchase public debt obligations from the United States Treasury up to a limit of $5 billion outstanding at any one time.

Public Law 90–301: Increases maximum loan guarantee for veterans home loans from $7,500 to $12,500. Permits Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to set interest rate on mortgage loans for veterans up to maximum of 6%. Permits eligible veteran to pay as sales price of a home purchase such amounts in excess of the reasonable value as the veteran may determine. Authorizes aid to distressed home buyers, who, after relying on VA or FHA construction standards, find structural defects in their property.

Public Law 90–302: Provides grants-in-aid to states for food to needy children at day care centers, settlement houses, and recreation centers operated in poverty areas by non-profit agencies, public or private.

Public Law 90–321: Consumers Credit Protection Act establishes new program to protect consumers seeking credit. Law requires lenders in consumer credit transactions to disclose down payments and credits, unpaid balance, annual rate of interest, full interest costs over the life of a contract, and other charges such as credit investigation fees, premiums for required insurance and service charges. Law establishes National Commission on Consumers Finance to study consumer financing and practices and submit recommendations for further legislation by January 1, 1971. Effective July 1, 1970, the garnishment of wages is limited to amounts over $48.00 a week, or one-fourth of an employee's take-home pay, whichever is higher.

Public Law 90–330: Extends for two years authority to grant extra thirty days of leave and round trip transportation to the United States or another place of the person's choosing to members of armed forces voluntarily extending their service in hostile fire areas.

Public Law 90–331: Authorizes United States Secret Service to provide protection for major presidential and vice presidential candidates.

Public Law 90–334: Authorizes $136,014,000 for Coast Guard during Fiscal Year 1969.

Public Law 90–344: Recommends to the states that they ease the requirements for registration and voting by military personnel, their spouses and dependents residing on military reservations, and otherwise to promote their voting in elections.

Public Law 90–345: Amends Federal Farm Loan Act and Farm Credit Act to increase the debt to capital ratio of the Federal Intermediate Credit Banks from a 12 to 1 ratio to 20 to 1. Permits each Federal Intermediate Credit Bank to issue and sell participation certificates to other financial institutions. Authorizes each Federal Intermediate Credit Bank to equalize the ownership of production credit associations in its reserve accounts.

Public Law 90–348: Extends authorizations for the programs of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities through Fiscal Year 1970.

Public Law 90–349: Authorizes President to accept an amendment to the articles of agreement that created the International Monetary Fund. The amendment provides for special drawing rights with the Fund. A nation which has exhausted its drawing rights to gold with the International Monetary Fund may satisfy its international obligations with special drawing rights certificates described as paper gold or international legal tender.

Public Law 90–350: Appropriates $1,780,653,000 for the Departments of the Treasury, Post Office, and the Executive Office of the President during Fiscal Year 1969.

Public Law 90–351: Provides a program of Federal assistance to state and local governments in their efforts to combat crime by establishing a Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in the Department of Justice to make grants to the states in accord with their approved plans for law enforcement and against crime. Provides that confessions will be admissible as evidence in Federal prosecutions if the confessions are, in fact, voluntary as determined by the trial judge and jury. Makes eye witness identifications of accused persons admissible in evidence even though the accused did not have the assistance of counsel when the identifications were made. Prohibits the unauthorized possession, manufacture, distribution, or advertising of devices to intercept wire or oral communications. Forbids the importation or interstate shipment by mail of any firearm except a shotgun or rifle; licensed manufacturers and dealers are exempted.

Public Law 90–353: Permits color, as well as black and white, reproductions of United States and foreign postage stamps for educational, historical, or newsworthy purposes.

Public Law 90–358: Permits any United States Flag passenger ship that receives operating subsidy payments to engage in cruises for as much as seven months of the year.

Public Law 90–362: Authorizes $112,800,000 for Peace Corps during 1969.

Public Law 90–363: Adds Columbus Day to the list of national holidays and provides that five holidays shall fall on Monday, effective January 1, 1971.

Public Law 90–364: Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1967. In addition to the adjusted income tax for a year a tax surcharge is imposed at the annual rate of 10%, effective January 1, 1968—June 30, 1969, for individuals. In addition it increases from 70% to 80% the percentage of the estimated tax which a corporation must pay quarterly. Ex-

tends to January 1, 1970, the 7% excise tax rate on the sale of passenger automobiles and the 10% tax rate on communications services. Removes as income exemption and makes taxable, interest received on industrial development bonds issued by a state or local government. Requires reduction in Federal employment and sets ceiling of $180,062,000,000 for expenditures and net lending during Fiscal Year 1969. Amends aid to dependent children section of Social Security Act.

Public Law 90–369: Provides immediate naturalization of the surviving spouses of United States citizens who die while on active duty in the armed forces.

Public Law 90–370: Extends the Defense Production Act of 1950 from June 30, 1968, to June 30, 1970.

Public Law 90–371: Authorizes Bureau of Prisons to assist state and local governments in the improvement of their correctional systems.

Public Law 90–375: Amends Federal Credit Union Act to modernize and update its provisions. Increases maximum maturity of secured loans from 5 to 10 years. Raises the limit of unsecured loans from $750 to $2,500.

Public Law 90–377: Grants additional authority to military services in operation of correctional facilities for members of armed forces.

Public Law 90–379: Grants authority to Federal Communications Commission to regulate the shipment, sale, importation, and manufacture of devices which cause harmful interference with radio reception.

Public Law 90–381: Provides fine of not more than $1,000, or imprisonment for not more than one year, or both, to anyone who publicly mutilates, defaces, defiles, burns, or tramps upon the American Flag.

Public Law 90–387: Removes the requirement for consent of the lienholder to a one-year lease of a tobacco acreage allotment; on transfer of allotments exceeding one year lienholder's consent must still be secured.

Public Law 90–389: Requires banks and financial institutions to install and use protective devices under regulations of Federal agencies having jurisdiction over operation of the banks and financial institutions.

Public Law 90–391: Amends Vocational Rehabilitation Act to, among other things, extend and make improvements in the Federal program for vocational rehabilitation of handicapped persons. Program is extended to June 30, 1971. Authorizes $700 million for rehabilitation service during 1971, minimum allotment of $1 million for each state. Provides for increase from 75% to 80% in the Federal share of project costs.

Public Law 90–398: Provides that 6800-acre section of Pisgah National Forest be designated as the "Cradle of Forestry".

Public Law 90–401: Extends the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1967 for 5 years from June 30, 1968, and sets annual appropriations at $200 million.

Public Law 90–411: Federal Aviation Administrator is directed to formulate and place in operation noise reduction standards for aircraft.

Public Law 90–445: Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968. Extends and amends Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Act through Fiscal Year 1971 with a total authorization of $150 million. Under the program Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare makes grants to the States for the prevention of juvenile delinquency and the training of persons to work in the field of juvenile delinquency. Provides an annual minimum of $100,000 to each State.

Public Law 90–448: Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. Authorizes housing and urban development program for families with low and moderate incomes.

Public Law 90–460: Extends for two years the Higher Education Student Assistance Programs of the Federal Government.

Public Law 90–481: Establishes Federal safety regulations for the transportation of natural gas pipelines.

Public Law 90–487: United States Grain Standards Act of 1968. Authorizes Secretary of Agriculture to investigate the handling, grading, and transportation of grain and to establish standards of kind, class, quality, and condition for corn, wheat, rye, oats, barley, flaxseed, grain sorghum, soybeans, mixed grain, and other grains.

Public Law 90–492: Wholesome Poultry Products Inspection Act of 1968. Brings poultry inspection program in line with Federal Meat Inspection Act. Amends and revises definitions concerning poultry products and authorizes Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with State agencies in developing and administering state poultry products inspection programs.

Public Law 90–495: Federal Aid Highway Act of 1968. Revises schedule of authorizations of appropriations for the Interstate Highway System. Sets forth new procedure for advancing funds to states for acquisition of rights of way. Authorizes new program to improve traffic operations on streets and highways in urban areas. Authorizes Federal assistance for fringe parking facilities in urban areas.

It is my hope that this résumé will prove to be of interest and value to each to whom it comes. It is my further hope that our service and voting record have met the approval of our people in the Tenth District.

It has been a real joy to serve you during the past twelve years. Your continued assistance to me in serving our nation is solicited.

Sincerely yours,

BASIL L. WHITENER,
Member of Congress.

REPRESENTATIVE WOLFF'S REGULAR NEWSLETTER

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, at regular intervals I report to my constituency of matters of concern to them here in the Congress and my activities in general. Under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include in the RECORD my regular report for October:

OCTOBER 1968.

DEAR FRIEND: As I prepare this regular newsletter Congress is nearing adjournment for the year. Thus you may receive this after adjournment, but I believe the information contained here is still relevant.

Moreover, consistent with my annual practice, I will be mailing to you as soon as possible a newsletter summarizing the work of the second session of the 90th Congress, major legislation passed and my votes on those major Bills.

In this newsletter, however, I would like to discuss several different items all of which I believe you will find of interest and should be aware of so that you might be completely up-to-date on my activities in your behalf in the Congress.

FLOYD BENNETT FIELD TO OPEN, WILL HELP REDUCE JET NOISE

In my last newsletter I told you of my efforts to have Floyd Bennett Field in Brooklyn open to general aviation to reduce air traffic congestion at Kennedy and LaGuardia airports. By speeding the movement of aircraft in the New York area this would, in turn, alleviate the unhealthy and annoying menace of jet noise, while providing obvious convenience to air travellers.

I am pleased to report that in a complete departure from precedent the Navy Department and the Federal Aviation Administration have agreed to my proposal and steps are now being taken to implement my recommendations about Floyd Bennett Field.

The specifics of this proposal should be worked out in the near future and I look forward to the beneficial impact this will have on the jet noise and air traffic problems in New York.

NIGERIA-BIAFRA

I was approached one year ago by representatives of the government of Biafra who wanted to know if I could do anything to help alleviate the suffering in their homeland and possibly influence Nigeria to negotiate with Biafra. This was long before the critical situation in Biafra received the attention it has received in recent months.

At that time, in accord with Congressional practice, I approached Chairman Barratt O'Hara of the House Subcommittee on Africa and apprised him of my conversations with the Biafran representatives. Further discussions ensued and, as must be the rule in such cases, nothing was said publicly about our meetings.

During this time I was in corresponding with the State Department urging that the maximum possible human relief be sent to Biafra where thousands are starving to death daily. Most recently I sponsored legislation calling upon the President to request the United Nations to act to relieve the suffering and starvation in Biafra.

I recount this history of my activities for you because I have received many letters from people, who like myself, are concerned that we not stand silently by while an entire population starves to death. I feel great anxiety for the situation in Biafra and hope the United States and the world community will rally with increased energy to end the suffering there.

The United States has worked through the International Red Cross and other international organizations, however these efforts have not solved the problem and concerted international action through the United Nations is necessary.

It does not matter whether or not this is civil war, because we are not proposing military involvement. We are talking about human involvement and we cannot remain silent as hundreds of thousands starve to death.

RECOGNITION FOR VOLUNTEER FIREMEN

There is legislation pending in the Congress to provide federal compensation to civil service firemen injured or killed in the line of duty during civil disturbances or while protecting federal property. Although final action will not be taken on this measure this year it has excellent prospects of passage next year.

After studying this measure I became concerned that volunteer firemen, such as the firemen throughout our district, were not covered under the Bill. I determined to offer an amendment to see that volunteer firemen have the same opportunities for federal protection as regularly employed firemen.

I testified, therefore, before the House Judiciary Subcommittee and requested that volunteers be explicitly included in the scope of this legislation. The Subcommittee supported my proposal and it is with pleasure that I can report the outlook is excellent that another of my amendments to pending legislation will become law.

You may be interested in this excerpt from my testimony before the Subcommittee: "Our volunteer firemen, as those of us living on Long Island well know, spend countless hours away from their families, take great personal risk and commit themselves to a demanding yet vital responsibility, all because of a great sense of civic duty.

"They [the volunteer firemen] do this without pay and often without well-deserved public recognition. It is only appropriate and equitable that these volunteers have the

same federal protection extended to paid firemen."

MIDDLE EAST PEACE

As has happened each of the past three years, an amendment I offered to the Foreign Aid Act has become law.

This year the Congress accepted my amendment asking the President to sell to Israel, on a cash basis, sufficient supersonic jets to provide Israel with an adequate deterrent force and thus help head-off possible full-scale war in the Middle East.

Recently, in signing the Act into law, President Johnson announced that consistent with Congressional support for the Wolff amendment he had instructed Secretary of State Rusk to begin negotiations with Israel for the sale of the jets to that beleaguered nation.

I believe acceptance of my amendment by the Congress and the President's responsiveness will do a great deal to preserve the peace in the Middle East.

WOLFF SWITCHBLADE KNIFE BILL

Chairman Harley O. Staggers of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee has informed me that he will give priority to the Wolff Switchblade Knife Bill when Congress reconvenes in January. The Chairman, a co-sponsor of my Bill to effectively end the proliferation of these instruments of violence, said he thinks it is an important piece of legislation and should be dealt with as quickly as possible.

The active support of Chairman Staggers, combined with the co-sponsorship of 114 Congressmen, should open the door for immediate action on the Wolff Switchblade Knife Bill in January, when the 91st Congress convenes.

GI CREDIT FRAUDS AND LOAN SHARKS

As I indicated to you several months ago I am conducting a Congressional investigation of loan shark credit frauds against U.S. servicemen, especially on overseas assignments. On the basis of our work we have proposed to the Defense Department, and have begun to implement the idea, that credit unions be established on all U.S. military bases.

The Defense Department has been receptive to our ideas and Committee Chairman Wright Patman, in transmitting to me a letter from Secretary Clifford, wrote: "I know you will gain satisfaction from the high esteem in which the Secretary of Defense and his office hold you in the way you conducted the inquiry regarding the establishment of credit unions in Europe."

I am very much encouraged that all servicemen will have access to credit unions in the near future and thus not be forced into the hands of loan sharks and unscrupulous credit companies.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

As a postscript to my July newsletter in which I detailed why I voted against the ten percent tax surcharge, I would note that the tax increase has not, as I predicted, slowed the inflation that diminishes the value of the dollar.

I still believe the answer to our economic problems is not with increased taxation but rather with less federal spending and I have continued to vote against wasteful and redundant appropriations in several different areas. I certainly hope that Congress will permit the tax surcharge to lapse on schedule in June because it has not done its job and has proven an unnecessary burden to overtaxed citizens.

These then are certain of the problems I have worked to solve in recent days and my feelings on certain of the issues facing our nation. As always your comments and questions are welcome.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

LESTER L. WOLFF,
Your Congressman.

PROGRESS

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, during this campaign there is a great and loud noise in the land that is product of the presidential campaign. In a time when we are all promised a great future if we only change the party in power, it is worthwhile to think about where we have been and where we are going.

In July the Census Bureau issued a report entitled "Recent Trends in Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States"—Current Population Report, series P–23, No. 26, BLS Report No. 347. This report made the following major findings:

First. About 1 million nonwhites rose above poverty levels in 1967, according to the poverty standard of the Federal Government.

Second. Negroes are proportionately less likely to live in poverty areas of large cities than before. In 1960, 77 percent of all nonwhite families living in large cities resided in the poverty areas of these cities. In 1966, the percent was 62. In 1968, this proportion was down to 56 percent living in the poverty areas—1960 boundaries.

Third. The number of Negroes living in the central cities of metropolitan areas had grown steadily and sharply until very recently. However, between 1966 and 1968 the increase stopped, and there is some evidence to indicate an actual decline—constituting a sharp change in recent trends.

Fourth. In 1967, for the first time, substantially more than half of all nonwhite workers had white-collar, craftsman, and semi-skilled jobs. Last year this was a net gain of about one-quarter of a million nonwhite workers in these jobs.

Fifth. The unemployment rate for nonwhite married men is down to 3.3 percent.

Sixth. The education gap between young whites and nonwhites has been reduced to about one-half year—12.2 years of schooling for nonwhites, compared to 12.6 years for whites. Today—1968—58 percent of the young nonwhite adults are high school graduates, as compared with only 50 percent 2 years ago and 39 percent in 1960.

There has been great progress made in the past 8 years, there will be greater progress in the next 8 years because of the foundation put down by the Democratic administration. Our problems today result from such great progress. When minority groups and others are doing better, each member of that group asks himself why he has not made progress. Of course, there is ferment, but it is the ferment of hope and of a better and more stable society for all.

We are having trouble in this country with the issue of crime in the streets and lawlessness. I think our problem comes from 37 years of neglect of our law-enforcement institutions. We have tried to get by on the cheap; we were unprepared for any stress. Our fear of this problem is such that we do not blame ourselves, we blame the Negro. Progress in any field does not come from looking for scapegoats. It comes from facing problems.

I believe that this is a time for great hope in America. One more group of Americans is fully participating in American life. Expectations are rising, and they are going to be fulfilled. We have done our work in the Congress and for years we will look back on the work of the 89th and 90th Congress with pride because it is the foundation for many tomorrows.

INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA: NAKED DISPLAY OF RUSSIAN EXPANSION

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, an extremely thoughtful and sound analysis of the Russian seizure of Czechoslovakia was written for the September 1–15 edition of the Ukrainian Bulletin by its distinguished editor, Mr. Walter Dushnyck. Mr. Dushnyck is a recognized authority on conditions behind the Iron Curtain and his profound insight into the foreign policy machinations of the Russians is apparent in the following articles: "Invasion of Czechoslovakia: Naked Display of Russian Expansion," "Death Comes to Czechoslovak Freedom," and "UCCA Raps Russian Seizure of Czechoslovakia."

Under unanimous consent I submit these articles for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

[From the Ukrainian Bulletin, Sept. 1–15, 1968]

INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA: NAKED DISPLAY OF RUSSIAN EXPANSION

On August 21, 1968, Czechoslovakia was invaded by some 650,000 Warsaw Pact troops, those of the USSR, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and East Germany. It was almost the 30th anniversary of another rape of Czechoslovakia, for in 1938 it was terrorized by Hitler, and in March, 1939, occupied by Nazi Germany. Hungary, the then ally of Hitler, grabbed Carpatho-Ukraine, and together with Poland, destroyed the budding freedom of Ukrainians in Carpatho-Ukraine. Today, both Poland and Hungary have sent their armies against Czechoslovakia. In 1939 Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia constituted the so-called "Little *Entente,*" backed by France, which along with Great Britain at least made an effort to save Czechoslovakia.

In 1968 only Yugoslavia and Rumania, through their leaders, Tito and Ceausescu, repectively, declared their solidarity with Czechoslovakia and their readiness to defend their countries with armed forces, come what may.

In 1939 Hitler and Stalin collaborated in the destruction of Poland, and thus started World War II. In 1968 East German puppets were allowed to march their storm troopers into Czechoslovakia, along with the Soviet, Polish, Hungarian and Bulgarian troops. In 1939 the Polish armies, in tacit agreement with Hitler, seized a part of the Czech territory but, ironically, in September of the same year Poland itself was crushed by Hitler. In 1968 the Polish troops, now led by the Russians, attacked its "Slav sister" republic of Czechoslovakia. From what appeared in the Polish communist press prior to the invasion of Czechoslovakia, it would seem that public opinion in Poland was for "punishing" the

Prague government. The polish army organ, *Zolnierz Wolnosci* (Soldier of Freedom), came out for a "massive intervention" on the part of the Polish People's Republic to curb the liberalization process in Czechoslovakia. It was clear that no satellite government could be exposed to the winds of freedom without crumbling.

Communist Russia, the historic enemy of freedom, dared not let the Communist leadership of Prague juggle with freedom. Even the least injection of it might have shaken the rotten foundation of the Soviet Russian edifice from Berlin to Vladivostok.

And the Kremlin moved in with a brutal display of tanks and air power, under a cynical pretext that no sane man could accept as reasonable and logical. The liberalization process in Czechoslovakia was not the violent anti-Russian and anti-Communist revolution of Hungary in 1956, in which hundreds of Communists were hanged from lamp posts in the streets and trees in the countryside. The unbellicose Czechs and Slovaks did not quit the Warsaw Pact, they planned no attacks on Russia. The country was peaceful, and not in disorder, and the Prague government, in full control, did not call for outside intervention. No Western radio was beaming any calls for "liberation" and "revolution" against Russian domination. The Prague leaders believed in the righteousness of their cause. The Communist governments of Yugoslavia and Rumania, and nearly all the world's communist parties were morally with the Czechs and Slovaks.

Yet Moscow had to act as it did, for fear of the epidemic quality of freedom.

Some of our policy-makers are patting themselves on the back. But the U.S. and the Western World is not absolved of the guilt of indifference toward Russian imperialism. The West is guilty collectively of being naive and for believing that the USSR has now undergone such changes that a direct confrontation is excluded. Sen. Eugene McCarthy exemplified this thinking when he glibly stated that the invasion of Czechoslovakia was "not a major world crisis."

What the effect of the Soviet seizure of Czechoslovakia will be is not hard to visualize. The Czechs and Slovaks will be ruled by Soviet Russian *gauleiters*, perhaps Moscow will even create two separate "Soviet Republics" of Czechia and Slovakia and add them to the list of captive nations of the USSR. The national minorities in Czechoslovakia—the Ukrainians, Germans, Hungarians and Poles—will again be subjected to soulless and sterile Communist ideology.

Yugoslavia and Rumania, meanwhile, are jittery, because it is possible that the Russian aggressive Moloch may grab them as well. Who will stop him?

President Charles de Gaulle of France, although he denounced the Soviet seizure of Czechoslovakia, repeated his intention to pursue his policy of *detente*. The same sentiment prevails in Washington, where sometimes one hears that the Prague-Moscow conflict was a "family affair."

NATO and the United Nations have displayed, in the face of the latest Soviet aggression, a total "inactivity," as if the freedom of 14 million people in Czechoslovakia was none of their concern.

The tragedy of the people of Czechoslovakia is the tragedy of all men who cherish freedom. But the end of it is not yet in sight: the world at large has as yet to wind its moral stamina and courage to stand up against the aggressor.

[From the Ukrainian Bulletin, Sept. 1–15, 1968]

DEATH COMES TO CZECHOSLOVAK FREEDOM

The short-lived freedom in Czechoslovakia has been ruthlessly extinguished by the Russian totalitarians and imperialists, with the active connivance and blessings of the Communist governments of Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and East Germany.

The Kremlin, scorning the meek protests and pious reactions of the Western world, has once again asserted its self-given right to invade any "socialist" country which it deems to be in its sphere of influence.

Western statesmen and observers, ever reluctant to take a hard look at the USSR, continue to delude themselves with the belief that the invasion and seizure of Czechoslovakia by the USSR and its four subservient Communist puppets will, in the long run, prove disastrous for Moscow and its world communist movement. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the young freedom in Czechoslovakia, precariously blooming after 20 years of Communist oppression and stagnation, has been dealt a lethal blow by Moscow, the perennial seat of tyranny and anti-freedom forces.

DUBCEK: FREEDOM MARTYR

In the aftermath of the Soviet Russian seizure of Czechoslovakia some considerations come to mind. First of all, the person and character of Alexander Dubcek, the courageous leader of the liberalization course in the country since his assumption of the party leadership after the ouster of Antonin Novotny. He has invariably been described as an "idealist" who believed in the righteousness of his reforms. Like all communist nationalists, Dubcek has now been taught that Soviet Communism admits of only one master.

For nationalism is anathema to the Kremlin. After the Bratislava meeting on August 3, 1968, the Soviet press published a statement which also appeared in the August 6, 1968 issue of *Literaturna Ukraina* of Kiev. Made on behalf of the "Communist and Workers' Parties" of the Socialist countries, it reads:

"The participants (at Bratislava) expressed a firm desire to do everything in their power towards the deepening of the all-sided collaboration of their countries on the basis of the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and national independence, territorial integrity, brotherly mutual self-assistance and solidarity. . ."

Among the signatories of the Bratislava meeting were L. Brezhnev, N. Podgorny, A. Kosygin, M. Suslov, P. Shelest, K. Katushev and B. Ponomarev—the principal culprits of the Czechoslovak takeover, who ordered the invasion of Czechoslovakia only 18 days after attesting to the above statement.

After the meeting in Cierna the crisis became imminent, especially after the visit to Prague of Walter Ulbricht, the dogmatic East German puppet of Moscow. Alarmed as only freedom can alarm it, Moscow had to crush the nascent freedom of Czechoslovakia. In dire jeopardy was its shaky empire. Wrote Prof. Albert Parry of Colgate University:

"Nor was it just a matter of Prague alone. The domino theory applies. With Prague gone, Warsaw and Budapest and certainly Bucharest would follow. The restless Soviet intellectuals would become yet more restless with such tempting examples before them, and the effect on the non-Russian national groups in the Soviet Union—especially the rebellious Ukrainians right next door to Czechoslovakia—was all too easily predictable." (*The New York Times Magazine*, September 1, 1968).

And a penetrating comment appeared in another influential American magazine:

"Certainly, the Kremlin's moves confirm that in one perspective the Soviet regime is indeed the historical successor of the pre-Communist Empire . . . Czechoslovakia is a most sensitive area from the standpoint of Russian strategic security. It is a potential entry point for any Western invader, above all the German invader who has twice in this century marched eastward; and all the more disturbing because Czechoslovak territory leads into the Ukraine, which has demonstrated in a hundred crises over five centuries that many of its people refuse to become reconciled to rule from Russian Moscow . . ." (*National Review*, Sept. 10, 1968).

ABDUCTION OF ENEMY LEADERS—AN OLD RUSSIAN CUSTOM

In seizing Czechoslovakia the Soviet government virtually abducted Alexander Dubcek and his ministers. They were brought to Moscow in *chains* to negotiate! Yet this is an old practice of Russian governments, both Czarist and Soviet. To be recalled is that Muscovite governments used to kidnap Ukrainian Kozak emissaries, who subsequently were never heard of. We all recall the pressure exerted on the Baltic States in 1940, on Finland in 1939–40. Known now is the Katyn massacre of the Polish officers, as well as the "negotiations" in 1956 with Premier Imre Nagy and Gen. Pal Maleter, who never saw the light of day again after meeting the Russians.

Dubcek and Svoboda were allowed to return from Moscow alive, but they brought with them a political death sentence for their people. The "mutual agreement" turned to be a typically shameless Russian *diktat*, which was summarized in 14 Points and made public in Prague (cf. *The New York Times*, Sept. 8, 1968). The Czechoslovak leaders were forced to sign away the sovereignty and independence of their country. Replacing it is the "Soviet type of socialism," with some 500,000 Soviet and other Communist troops remaining indefinitely in the country to "protect" its Western frontiers from "German revanchism." Once all the occupation apparatus is fully established, the Russians can be counted upon to get rid of Dubcek and replace him with a docile and subservient puppet. For the Russians can never be satisfied with their neighbors and/or even their own people unless and until the fires of freedom are thoroughly stamped out.

THE IMMORALITY AND CULPABILITY OF THE WEST

The brutal seizure of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union has nakedly exposed the West's immorality and culpability. In today's nuclear world nobody in his sane mind expected the United States, Great Britain or France to mobilize its forces and dispatch an ultimatum to the Kremlin. But the West could have exerted strong pressure on the Kremlin, or at the very least remonstrated sharply.

It is now being reported that the USSR and its slave states had been preparing for the invasion of Czechoslovakia for almost six months. CIA is said to have reported to the U.S. Government on August 2, 1968, that the seizure of Czechoslovakia was imminent. *Newsweek* (Aug. 12, 1968) reported that President Johnson looked at 23 different drafts of position papers on the ferment in Czechoslovakia and "finally decided that the best course for the U.S. to follow was to say nothing at all." A State Department official explained: "The Russian-Czech conflict threatened to blow up Johnson's bridge-building program to the East. . . . He just hated the idea and couldn't bring himself to do anything about it. . . ."

But the U.S. Government was not alone in failing to grasp the great significance of the Czechoslovak crisis. None of the Presidential candidates made any telling statement, nor did the platform planks of either major party hardly make any mention of the imminent threat to the uneasy balance of political forces in Central Europe, or to the plight of the captive nations. The plain truth is that America failed to exploit the Czech opening for fear that it might inconvenience the Russians. U.S. policy vis-a-vis the USSR remains predicated on the principle of not embarrassing the Russians, even if this should entail sacrifice of moral principles and, we fear, the future of freedom in the world as well.

The reactions of several European governments have been clearly anti-American. In Great Britain, France, Italy and elsewhere the feeling has clearly arisen that the Johnson Administration is playing the big-power

game with Moscow, especially after it was reported that President Johnson still wanted to meet Kosygin to discuss a limitation of nuclear arms the day after the Soviet Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. *The New Statesman* went so far as to say:

"It is now pretty obvious that the Americans gave the Russians *carte blanche* to invade Czechoslovakia." (cf. *The New York Times*, September 9, 1968).

President de Gaulle of France recently denounced the Russian grab of Czechoslovakia, but put the blame on the Yalta agreement, which he said divided Europe into Soviet and American spheres of influence. The Bonn government feels indignant inasmuch as Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger failed to convince Secretary of State Rusk of the urgency of calling an emergency meeting of NATO.

Moreover, Rumania and Yugoslavia, which forthrightly denounced the Russian seizure of Czechoslovakia, have been left at the mercy of Moscow (although the British Foreign Secretary has visited Bucharest to cement ties with the Rumanian Communist government). The lukewarm attitude of the United States toward the events in Czechoslovakia may well have doomed the chances of the forces of freedom to assert themselves in those countries in our time.

So the first act—possibly, the third act—of the Czechoslovak tragedy is over.

Soviet Russian brutality has now extended to the German and Austrian frontiers.

Not only the Czech and Slovak peoples, but the national minorities in Czechoslovakia—Hungarians, Ukrainians, Poles and Germans—have been denied again their wish to live in freedom and to develop their national, cultural and religious institutions.

Czechoslovakia, betrayed in 1938, again has been abandoned. The Russian aggressive appetite remains wholly unrestrained.

[From the Ukrainian Bulletin, Sept. 1–15, 1968]

UCCA RAPS RUSSIAN SEIZURE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NEW YORK, N.Y.—The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), speaking on behalf of some 2-million American citizens of Ukrainian descent, condemned the Soviet Russian seizure of Czechoslovakia and demanded the immediate suspension of diplomatic relations by the United States with the USSR and three other Communist states which took part in the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Georgetown University professor and President of the UCCA, dispatched a letter to Secretary of State Dean Rusk urging strong and immediate action by the U.S. Government. In it the UCCA President called for "immediate suspension of diplomatic relations with the USSR," suspension of all trade and cultural exchange agreements, an action in the U.N. Security Council toward the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Czechoslovakia, the immediate convocation of the NATO allies for "redressing its military posture" and "immediate and unstinted support of the Captive Nations," who will prove "to be the surest and most dependable allies of the United States."

In conclusion, Dr. Dobriansky pointed out that our policy of not "inconveniencing the Russians" has encouraged the Kremlin militarists and totalitarians to bolder acts of aggression and provocation.

The UCCA Letter to Secretary of State Dean Rusk reads:

"The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, representing over 2-million American citizens of Ukrainian ancestry, is deeply shocked at and concerned over the brutal aggression against and invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist satellites of Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and East Germany.

"This act of naked rape and violation of a sovereign state by the powerful militaristic Soviet Russian empire is one of the latest acts of aggression and violation of other nations' rights and sovereignties.

"The underlying reason for this unprovoked invasion was the fear of the Kremlin leaders—not fear of the Czechoslovak army numbering some 175,000 men—but fear of the ideals of freedom which threatened the shaky Russian Communist empire.

"We are writing you, Mr. Secretary, to urge you to undertake necessary steps by the U.S. Government to place the Soviet government in its proper light in the eyes of the world, namely, to condemn the USSR as an unbridled aggressor and violator of the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia.

"In protesting against the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and its allies, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America is especially concerned with the effect the invasion may have on the 45-million Ukrainian nation which neighbors Czechoslovakia. As you undoubtedly know, the Soviet government has been ruthlessly persecuting Ukrainian intellectuals and youth for clamoring for more freedom and for the development of Ukrainian culture, literature and the Ukrainian language. According to latest reliable reports, the events in Czechoslovakia spurred Soviet Russian persecution of the Ukrainian people, especially persecution of the Ukrainian intellectual elite—writers, poets, literary critics, professors, scientists, and the like.

"Furthermore, Mr. Secretary, the Russian Communist invasion of Czechoslovakia has placed the Ukrainian national minority in Eastern Slovakia at the mercy of Russian Communism. There are some 150,000 Ukrainians in Eastern Slovakia, who had been allowed by the Dubcek government the free development of their national culture and traditions, and above all, their religious life. The Ukrainian Rite Catholic Church was officially restored last May by the Prague government, and some 125,000 Ukrainian Rite Catholics were allowed to practice their own traditional religion in freedom under their spiritual leader, Bishop Vasyl Hopko, who spent 13 years in Communist jails under the Stalinist rule of Antonin Novotny. Now all these newly-gained freedoms of the Ukrainian minority in Czechoslovakia may be expected to be curtailed or totally eradicated by the Russian Communist totalitarians.

"The shameless invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union demonstrates once again the undeniable truth that the Soviet Union is the continuation of the old Czarist empire, and that Communist ideology serves only as a cover for traditional Russian imperialism and colonialism. Moreover, the myth propagated by some in our government that "Russian Communism has mellowed" has become an indefensible farce, in view of the aggressive designs of Communist Russia toward other Communist states, such as Rumania and Yugoslavia.

"Therefore, on behalf of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America we would like to suggest to you to take the following steps:

"1. Immediate suspension of diplomatic relations with the USSR and its Communist puppet governments of Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria;

"2. Immediate suspension of all trade agreements and cultural exchange pacts with the USSR and its three satellites which were guilty of contributing to the military aggression against Czechoslovakia;

"3. Immediate action on the part of the U.S. Government in the U.N. Security Council for the purpose of vigorous and serious demands for the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops from Czechoslovakia;

"4. Immediate convocation of the NATO Allies for the purpose of revising its obsolete policies and redressing its military posture to meet the new Russian threat to Western Europe;

"5. Immediate and unstinted support of the Captive Nations, held in bondage by the Soviet Union, who will prove to be the surest and most dependable allies of the United States.

"In conclusion, Mr. Secretary, we wish to point out that our policy of caution and 'bridge-building' has proven not only unrealistic and naive, but also very dangerous to our national security and to the safety of the free world. Our policy of not 'inconveniencing the Russians,' which was followed by the rest of the free world, has encouraged the Kremlin militarists and totalitarians to bolder acts of aggression and provocation.

"We sincerely hope that the death of freedom in Czechoslovakia and the occupation of that country by Soviet and other Communist troops will serve as a severe lesson to all who thought that Communist Russia under the Brezhnev-Kosygin leadership is not an enemy of the civilized world.

"We respectfully submit, Mr. Secretary, that the U.S. Government will lose prestige as a world power and champion of freedom if it permits the brutal Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia to go unchallenged."

POLAND: A GREAT NATION YEARNING TO BE FREE

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, November 11 will mark the 50th anniversary of the re-creation of the Polish state following World War I. Since we will not be in session on that date to mark this important anniversary with timely remarks I wish to direct to my colleagues today a few words appropriate to that occasion, which will be celebrated by Polish-American organizations throughout our country.

This day will be a time of especial remembrance for Polish-Americans; a day for recalling in sorrow the tragic fate of Poland, a nation which even yet languishes in the Soviet vise; but also a day for hope, and pride, and firm adherence to the cause of freedom.

November 11 is a day for hope, and for Polish pride, because it serves to remind not only those Americans of Polish descent, but, indeed, all the world, of the significant contributions which Poland has made to history—contributions which derive from a spirit that will not be crushed, that offers positive evidence of Poland's will to endure.

Since the days of the Jagellonian kings, Poland has been a vital European power, not only in the political arena, but also in the cultural and scientific spheres as well. Copernicus literally reoriented the world, as did the brilliant Marie Sklodowska-Curie. And if Frederic Chopin conquered the hearts of the Parisian nobility, his compatriots Pulaski and Kosciuzsko left legends still honored by Americans of every class.

We will not forget Poland, despite her present travail. We know that she will emerge from Soviet domination, as she has in the past thrown off the foreign yoke; that she will once again be free to contribute to the peace and stability of Europe and the world.

WE WILL BURY YOU

HON. W. S. (BILL) STUCKEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. STUCKEY. Mr. Speaker—

Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you.

These were the words spoken by Nikita Khrushchev, following the signing of the Warsaw Pact on November 11, 1956. And, Russia had already begun to execute its plan following the Second World War, when millions of unsuspecting eastern Europeans who had fought valiantly against fascism found themselves abandoned to the mercies of Russia. And, Russia had proceeded significantly with the invasion of Hungary just weeks prior to Khrushchev's pronouncement.

The year 1961 brought the invasion of Cuba, barely off the shores of our country. And, Americans were indignant and horrified. But, time went by and the threatened feeling relaxed and the takeover of Cuba seemed to be accepted, and almost forgotten, just as the invasion of Hungary which had already dimmed in the memories of free people everywhere.

1968, and once again our memories have been jogged and our indignation has been incensed. Russia has shown her definite intent to fulfill Khrushchev's promise to bury, not only the free world, but also any other country, Communist or otherwise which does not go along with Soviet communism.

We all know that it is a proven adage that "those who do not learn from history are doomed to repeat it." And, we have repeated it more than once. Surely, when Russia invades Czechoslovakia, a country which adheres to the doctrines of socialism, but has deviated from the dictates of Soviet communism, we should take heed that Khrushchev meant business and that Russia is not going to stop until her goal is accomplished as long as we sit back and sanction or ignore her aggression.

It is time that we assert our position. It is time that the country of good will stop looking like the villains and the villains like heroes—a trend which is becoming prevalent both in our own country as well as around the world. For over a year now, peaceniks have demonstrated against our efforts to help the Vietnamese people defend themselves against Communist takeover. But, where are the Peaceniks when Russian tanks roll down streets, killing innocent women and children in their invasions and takeovers?

How much longer can we and the rest of the free world remain resigned? Will Rumania be next? Will it be added to the already long list which also includes North Korea? Will South Vietnam finally be added to the list? And, what about South Korea, which is being threatened?

If we sit back and allow Nikita Khrushchev's declaration to become a reality, then where will all of the peaceniks be when Russia decides she is ready to bury the United States under communism.

I believe that it is time for men of good sense and good reason, to forbid a repetition of history by listening to so-called flower children and having our world policy dictated by these people.

Our country is looked upon as the leader of the free world. And, for good reason to date. I believe that it is time for us to assume that leadership position which we hold so proudly, and make it known that we do not intend to sit idly by and watch our friends and allies buried under communism.

We must make it known to Russia and to all the world that we want peace, and we are willing to strive for world peace. But, the price being demanded has become too high. And, if we continue to pay the price by sitting quietly by, we will soon be left with few allies who have not been overrun by communism. We must let it be known that we intend to strengthen the free world, and resist the forces of tyranny. And, we must let it be known that we intend to take heed to the latest happening in Czechoslovakia—and to the fact that Russia is widening its grave of communism everyday.

A TRIBUTE TO THE 6TH MARINE RESERVE ENGINEERS BATTALION

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to pay tribute to the officers and men of the 6th Engineering Battalion, U.S. Marine Corp Reserves for winning in nationwide competition the Harry F. Schmidt award of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States. This reserve unit is based in South Bend, in the congressional district I have the honor to represent.

This award marks the first presentation of the rotating trophy which will be made annually to the outstanding battalion of the organized Marine Corps Reserve, Ground, selected by the Reserve Officers Association in Washington.

Presentation of the award was made by Brig. Gen. John A. Scott, USMCR, retired, former mayor of the city of South Bend.

Mr. Speaker, the members of the 6th Marine Reserve Engineers Battalion have proved themselves to be the best in national competition as measured both by their military performance and their contribution to their community. These officers and men, many of them veterans of Vietnam, who stand by and stand ready in the defense of our Nation, have the appreciation of all of us.

These American military men hold firmly the shield of protection in a world which continues to be troubled and threatened by war and conflict. Despite the inconveniences and disruptions in their business and family lives, they are fulfilling their primary mission of maintaining their strength and readiness.

This recognition by the Reserve Officer Association of the United States, chartered by Congress to promote and support the maintenance of adequate national security, is a high honor both to the unit and the South Bend community.

POSTMASTER GENERAL WATSON SETTING GUIDELINES FOR FUTURE IN POSTAL SERVICE

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, when the National League of Postmasters held their national convention in Las Vegas, Nev., the principal speaker at the October 4 dinner was Postmaster General W. Marvin Watson. He reported on the progress which is being made in the Department on improving our mail service and the guidelines which he is assembling for his successor.

Following is the text of General Watson's speech:

I want to tell you how delighted I am to be with you today, and to bring you a greeting from President Johnson.

I mentioned this National Convention to the President last week, and he asked me to give you a message.

"In these perilous days, when the strength of character and the strength of purpose of the United States are all that stand between freedom and tyranny, between uncertain, imperfect peace and wider and spreading war, between the hopes of hundreds of millions and the threat of despair, it behooves us to take stock of the elements that feed our strength.

"In my mind, there is no more important element than that of responsibility. Whether we serve in the White House, or in any of 32,256 post offices as Postmaster or postal worker; whether we lead, whether we follow, if each and every American accepts the fact that countless billions of individual acts of responsibility built this nation, a grain at a time, and that those individual acts, small in themselves, added up to an overwhelming affirmation of man's power to build a civilization and to control a hostile environment—then we will be keeping faith with those who went before us.

"And we will be doing more, we will be doing the greatest thing a man can do—we will be building for the future, for our children and generations yet unborn.

"If this world of ours means anything," the President added, "it means that man is at his best when he is building, building for himself and building for his fellow man.

"And I am pleased to join with your Postmaster General in saluting one of our foremost groups of builders, the members of the National League of Postmasters."

I am proud to give you that message in behalf of a man who will go down in history as one of the greatest Presidents this country has ever known.

I am also happy that you have decided to hold your convention here in Las Vegas, though I think I should tell Henry Heyl this is the time and place for me to dispel one rumor: "Howard Hughes has not offered to buy the Post Office Department. He claims it's too much of a gamble."

I am happy about being in Las Vegas, because it's always good to break away from Washington . . . and get back to America.

Washington is a peculiar place, as many of you well know.

For those of you who haven't been there for a while, there are a lot of scientific people in Washington right now . . . making studies. For they have found that it's the only place on earth where sound travels faster than light.

It's a proven fact that long before George Wallace . . . three parties were going pretty strong in Washington: the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, and the Cocktail Party.

A lot of people would vote for the last one . . . but they can't find the ballot box.

Actually, for a city that's hounded on all four sides by reality, Washington isn't a bad place to work.

But I'll vote for reality every time.

That's one of the reasons why I have tried to get out to the field as much as possible . . . to see for myself . . . to learn the facts for myself.

So . . . I have . . . in the past five months travelled 75,000 miles, visited 161 facilities in 100 cities . . . to see exactly the nature of the system we run and the kind of problems that threaten the smooth functioning of that system.

And I can tell you that I have been impressed by what I have seen.

I have been impressed by the way postal management and postal workers are keeping the mail moving . . . despite often poor working conditions.

I have been impressed by the outlook of the postmasters I have talked to and observed . . . many of whom are in this room right now.

I have been impressed . . . because, my friends, the next five years will be the most critical in postal history . . . and from seeing the caliber of people and the positive nature of your attitudes, I believe that we will meet that crisis.

We will meet it . . . if we in Washington give you the kind of support you need and deserve to have.

I can tell you now that I am putting the final touches on a plan of action for the postal service of the future . . . a plan designed to get you that support.

I will be making announcements on that plan in the weeks to come—and many of these announcements may well have dramatic impact.

Some of these changes will result from the work of the President's Commission on Postal Organization. Just how many will reflect the findings of the Commission's Report is difficult to say at this time.

The Report, as you know, required 18 months to prepare and deals with many of the most complex and basic elements of our Postal Service. Some of its suggestions can readily be adopted and others, if adopted, would require major changes in our constitutional mission.

There were two other commissions, as you know, which studied the Post Office Department—the Hoover Commissions of 1947 and 1953. Little change resulted from their recommendations however.

This most recent Commission is quite a different matter. I had more than passing knowledge of its formation at the White House in 1967 when President Johnson determined that such a Commission should be created.

And obviously, I have had more than a little involvement in studying the Report since.

When the Report was delivered to the President in June, he asked that the Post Office Department, together with the Bureau of the Budget, undertake separate studies of its recommendations.

I have seen a sprinkling of newspaper editorials suggesting that the Report has been given a silent burial somewhere in the basement—or on the third floor—of postal headquarters. As with so much speculation about the Department, may I say that this is completely without foundation. Though I am not prepared at this time to announce what our final decision will be on that Report, I am prepared to tell you that the Post Office Department formed a top level task force to study in depth all the recommendations. The Bureau of the Budget is also making its independent study and very shortly the results of both studies will be presented to the President.

And, after the President has reviewed our findings, suitable recommendations will be made to Congress.

I point this out because I wish to make it clear that the proposals for reorganizing the Post Office Department, far from being readily dismissed, are being closely studied. For, when the final decisions are made by Congress they will have a lasting effect on every person in our nation.

Let me also make it clear in this one statement—I am not at all convinced that the concept of a public corporation is the best idea.

It is one of several alternatives. It is reasonably thought out and as with all ideas created by men of purpose and vision it has its good points and its bad points.

But the Report of the President's Commission on Postal Organization has been accepted willingly and with thanks for the determined effort provided by the members of the Commission.

It has *not* been swept under the rug—and it *will be* the basis for further recommendations.

I am certain that all of our recommendations will ultimately go forward to the next Congress—and that is why I say you will play a most important part over these next years in our final decision-making.

The final decisions made before we submit this to the Congress will be non-political, since the President as the President of all the people seeks only to do what is right and proper for the long term growth of the country.

Certainly, we have problems in an organization as large as this. Our product—the United States mail—is going through a period of mail explosion which marches hand in hand with the population explosion.

And still, the mail is going through—going through swiftly and going through thanks to the dedication of postal leadership—you—and all our 750,000 fellow workers.

Our problems, as I have found them to be, are basic—we need new buildings, we need new machinery, we need better training for our employees, we need better opportunities for advancement.

Well, I think we're going to have them sooner than you might think.

When I came to the Post Office Department I was determined that I would not sit on my hands and complain of chaos and possible catastrophe. I was determined that with your help I would get out and see what really makes the Post Office run—whether it be in the huge systems of New York, Chicago and Los Angeles or in the smaller offices which are equally important to our postal network.

Well, I have been there. I have seen. And I have been making decisions—some of these you have heard about and some you will hear about shortly. These will include ideas for new machinery and also plans for tying existing machinery into a pattern rather than letting it all sit as scattered little islands on the workroom floor. That new machinery already exists, you know—the problem has been that no one has ever put all the people together who know how to build it.

For example, I found one manufacturer who makes a machine that is exactly what we have been needing. He is an American and his machine is manufactured here in the United States. But he sells it only in England, France and Belgium. When I asked him why he didn't offer it here, he said he couldn't be bothered because there was too much red-tape.

Well, I have tried to cut some of that red tape. And I also put together some other manufacturers with their engineers and their lawyers and have asked them to begin working *together* to create an entire system.

I have also been convinced for a long time that we need one test post office that would set a standard—where all the machinery and all the techniques can be employed. At first that seemed like an idle dream, I know. But last week, we finally pulled together the concept of this post office and we are preparing now to put it on the drawing boards. And the next man who sits in the chair of the Postmaster General in January will have available to him guidance in making decisions on whether to move forward with this concept. For that has always been a problem. Postmasters General come and go and leave little behind to guide the next man.

One thing I have learned from President Johnson—and one thing that President Johnson is determined will happen—is that there will be a continuity of government, that the petty jealousies between men and political parties will not interfere with the orderly transition of government.

So when the next Postmaster General replaces me, he will have available everything at my command—every bit of guidance that my staff and I can give him.

For there are other plans being developed that affect more than machinery and buildings and organizational structure.

We are moving now to create better training systems for our people—at all levels, from Postmasters to the man working in the loading docks of parcel post. We have developed a new Equal Employment Opportunity program with teeth in it—and despite those who doubted when we announced it last June, we have found that our program is working and working well.

We are creating a better climate between the unions and the Postmasters and the Post Office Department. Certainly there will be controversies at times—because that is the way of labor and management. But we are now involved in wider dialogues than ever before—and these dialogues and these decisions can only help to make a better Post Office for all.

We have installed a new management information center, which shortly will be fully operable—and this is the first step towards the 21st century for this area of the Post Office. This management information system will work—and it will provide us with an immediate grasp of all the problems of each of our post offices—and the net result will be that there will never be again a Chicago as there was two years ago.

We have found a way to manage our finances more efficiently—so efficient that yesterday I was able to notify Budget Director Zwick that we have already saved 182.2 million dollars—and that we have saved this with no cutback in efficiency.

For remember this, my friends. We can never be so efficient that we overlook the human element—for the human element is the heart of the post office.

Certainly, we have many additional decisions to make. Certainly, we have major problems on which to focus. But I am certain that we are going to achieve the goals we have set for ourselves.

Even when we finally complete our modernization effort, there will still be a few who will run through those familiar and tired cliches about the post office—and there will still be some letters which will be lost. A handful only, but a handful which will be vocal and rightly so.

But our cause is not lost—our cause is service to America and we are providing that service. We are providing it because we have good postal people such as yourselves and because we are working in the common cause of service to America.

So I would say to you tonight to be proud and to have purpose and to point out the Post Office Department's progress.

I have never had a prouder period than this when I have been able to work with you and to serve with you.

There are 32,237 of you postmasters.

You touch every part of this land.

In many places you are the only representative of the Federal government.

And everywhere the mail is continuing to go through.

And that my friends is no accident—it is because you are doing your job—and doing it well!

GREEN POWER IS REEVES' AIM

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, each month, the Miamian, of Miami, Fla., spotlights one of the Greater Miami area's top business leaders who is helping to build a better community.

October's "Mr. Miami" article features Mr. Garth Reeves, editor of the Miami Times. I am anxious to bring this article to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives so that they may know of Mr. Reeves' outstanding and effective career.

As newspaper editor, chamber of commerce member, hospital trustee, bank chairman, and leader in the civil rights movement, Mr. Reeves is, indeed, Mr. Miami.

The article follows:

GREEN POWER IS REEVES' AIM

Garth Reeves is a man who believes in "green power" rather than the black power espoused by many.

"The name of the game is economics," Reeves says quite realistically, "and if the black man thinks he can successfully exist in a totally black community, he is only fooling himself. He must realize that this is a capitalistic society. He needs the white man's knowledge, know-how, capital and cooperation. I believe if you can't beat them, join them. A total black community is economically impossible."

When Reeves speaks of economics, he speaks with a first hand knowledge. Now editor of the Miami Times, he has worked his way through every aspect of newspaper publishing on the paper which his father founded in 1923.

The Miami Times is a family paper; aimed at families in the Negro community, published by a family.

"The youth page is something we just started about six months ago and we are quite pleased with the response. Garth Junior has a column called The Happening, and features a pretty girl each issue as the Soul Sister of the Week—the teenagers really go for it," Reeves laughed.

Reeves' interest in youth has taken him to accept a post on the Advisory Committee of the new Florida Memorial College which relocated to Miami this year from St. Augustine. He is also active in the community as chairman of the board of trustees of the Christian Hospital, a private, 50-bed, integrated institution; as a former board member of the United Fund; a member of the board of directors of the Carver Branch YMCA; Boy Scouts Area Council and a past president of the Frontier's International, the only black service club in the country.

As editor of an influential voice in his community, Garth Reeves is often involved in doing more than writing about problems. His involvement is total. Seeing a need four years ago, he set about obtaining a bank in the area. Now chairman of the board of the Lincoln National Bank located in the 6000 block of Northwest Seventh Avenue, Reeves retells the story of the founding of the bank.

Today, the Lincoln National Bank has deposits over $5-million, and specializes in aiding the black entrepreneur.

The bank's latest efforts center in the Model Cities Area. "We plan to seek the black businessman and offer him our help, not wait for him to come to us," Reeves explained.

Along the same lines of economic development, Reeves is involved in another project along with 11 other prominent men in his community whom he describes as "real solid black citizens."

"We have established a $600,000 holding company to help get the black entrepreneur into the economic mainstream."

Among the ideas the holding company is considering are the many ways which the Negro can enter into the main industry in South Florida: tourism.

"We are particularly concerned with the lack of black men owning hotels and motels. We would like to invest in a first class hotel which would offer convention facilities. Many black organizations like to come to Miami on convention, and we would like to have a facility owned by black men for them; not segregated, but black-owned.

"We don't want segregated communities," Reeves stressed, "we worked too hard to get back in that bag again," he laughed.

"Miami can ill afford to ignore the problems of the black community. Whether the insurrection (I prefer to refer to our trouble as an insurrection. Don't like the word riot. And, I think that's what it was, an insurrection) was started by outsiders or insiders, is incidental. The seeds of discontent were planted years ago.

"Frankly, I felt quite embarrassed when these militants, just young teenagers, had a meeting with the county officials. They abused them something terrible. I felt so bad for Mayor Hall. But he just listened to these boys. He said that's why he came to the meeting to hear what they had to say. The same way with the other white people. Some of the top business people in this city were at that meeting. They didn't just sit in their offices. They came out and listened to the gripes. To me, that's encouraging.

"Our problems are not so severe that they can't be corrected," Garth maintains, stressing that the answer is in a sincere and meaningful approach.

"Look at the area that had the trouble. Ten years ago 62nd Street was a nice residential community. But the zoning has been altered to allow those concrete monster apartment buildings to go up. There's no grass, everything's concrete, not enough parking places, the construction and maintenance is minimal.

"These are some of the things that bring on frustration and anger, and it explodes on the streets," he said.

The answer to the problems? Keep the housing code enforced, the zoning strict and put a black man on the zoning and code enforcement boards, according to Reeves.

"A black man won't sit up there and let them rape his community as they did ten years ago," he said.

One step in the right direction in Reeves' opinion is the Model Cities program.

"This may be the best thing that ever happened to the area. The people who are involved are the ones who will be making the decisions, all the way down to the grass roots. This will be the area to move into in five years."

Another encouraging point, he says, is the formation of the new Greater Miami Coalition and the new awareness of the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce in coping with the community relations problems.

Reeves is chairman of a study committee on the cause, extent and solutions to the disturbance this summer which will report to the Greater Miami Coalition. He is working with the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce as a vice chairman of the Community Affairs Committee.

"This is quite a switch. When the chamber of commerce asked me to take this post, all I could think about was about 40 years ago when my father sent in a check to the chamber of commerce and asked to join. They sent it back."

The pendulum is swinging back. In a few years he believes that Miami will be one community. "And, the chamber of commerce will be the strongest organization in the community."

"We're not far away from the solutions. I think the insurrection did us a favor. It brought the community together."

RUSSIAN SEAPOWER IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, in January of this year I pointed up the menace of a growing Russian seapower in the Mediterranean Sea. This Soviet naval strength is not limited to the Mediterranean however. The Soviet Navy is now deployed in strength in the Indian Ocean, filling the power vacuum created through the British withdrawal East of the Suez.

This is a combined and closely coordinated build-up of merchant and military shipping in the Indian Ocean taking advantage of Soviet base facilities at Hodeida in Yemen and Port Sudan on the Red Sea.

The withdrawal of Western seapower in the Indian Ocean has put the United States in a strategically inferior position, threatening our interests in both the Asian and African continents. I feel it is imperative that we re-think our naval deployment so as to counter the growing Soviet menace in the Near East.

As I have said before, our total involvement with Vietnam has blinded us to our commitments and responsibilities in other parts of the world.

I wish to call the attention of Congress to an article by James D. Atkinson in the September issue of Navy magazine. This article points up in detail the Russian sea build-up I have alluded to above:

THE SOVIET NAVY MOVES IN AND ACQUIRES BASES IN THE VACUUM BEING LEFT BY THE BRITISH, AS THE UNITED STATES HESITATES

(By James D. Atkinson)

Little more than six months ago the then Secretary of Defense, Robert Strange McNamara, told a congressional committee that "in the 1960's the simple bipolar configuration which we knew in the earlier post-World War II period began to disintegrate. Solid friends and implacable foes are no longer so easy to label, and labels . . . such as free world and Iron Curtain, seem increasingly inadequate as descriptions . . . of the *new bonds of common interest being slowly built across what were thought to be impenetrable lines of demarcation.*" (Italics supplied.)

As the gunfire from Soviet tanks reverberates through the streets of Prague, one may well ask whether this analysis will prove as illusory as the former Defense Secretary's view that the Soviet Union would be unable to achieve even nuclear equality with the United States before the early 1970's.

For the plain fact is that the Soviets are

striving mightily to attain not parity, but strategic superiority over the United States. And the unfolding evidence suggests that the major thrust of this search for strategic superiority is taking place on the high seas.

The Soviet effort at sea is a total one. It embraces naval combatant ships both undersea and on the surface, long-range aircraft under naval control, major research and development efforts in oceanology, and a vast merchant marine program.

FIVE YEAR CLIMB

When it is recalled that the great authority on sea power, Rear Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, had dismissed Russia's merchant navy with the observation that "Russia has little maritime commerce . . . her merchant flag is rarely seen," the Soviet climb in but five years (1963–1967) from number twelve to number six rank in world merchant tonnage is hard evidence of Soviet capabilities and intentions alike.

Equally significant is the fact that the Soviet merchant fleet, unlike the merchant shipping of non-Communist countries, is a totally controlled instrument of state power and is habitually used as a politico-diplomatic weapon. The relationship of the Soviet merchant marine to Soviet naval forces and the developing countries of Africa, Asia and the Middle East is, therefore, related to the over-all mix of maritime power: bases, facilities-agreements, industrial-technological assets, merchant shipping and naval (including naval-air) forces.

Soviet ambitions on the oceans are underscored by current Soviet efforts directed towards the Red Sea-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean complex, a vast, strategic area of the world's seas and an area quite new to the hammer and sickle flag of the U.S.S.R.

AFRICAN-INDIAN OCEAN STRATEGY

The Soviet maritime thrust in the Red Sea-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean complex is, like Soviet expansion in the Mediterranean, an attempt to gain maximum exploitation from three increasingly related factors:

(1) The Soviet goal of attaining military-technological superiority over the United States.

(2) Soviet exploitation of tensions, political instability, and ethnic or other rivalries in the developing countries of Africa, Asia and the Middle East through the technique which the Soviets call "national liberation movements."

(3) The power vacuum created through the British withdrawal East of Suez.

As the military-technological power of Russia continues to rise, the Soviet leadership believes that this power can be used to support—psychologically and diplomatically—the revolutionary process in the new and developing nations. This strategy is stated frankly as follows in the May, 1968 issue of *Kommunist*, the authoritative official journal of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

"The growth of the political influence and the economic and military might of the world socialist system exerts a powerful influence on the course of the struggle between labor and capital on the international scene; it ties the hands of the imperialists and creates increasingly favorable conditions for the development of the world revolutionary process."

These are not idle words. They are being put into practice through Soviet politico-economic support for socialistic-revolutionary forces in Egypt, Sudan, Iraq, Yemen and other countries in the Red Sea-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean complex.

SOVIETS ACQUIRE BASES

The Soviet Union is acquiring base facilities in Hodeida in the Yemen and is also using Port Sudan on the Red Sea. A guerrilla campaign has been organized against Mozambique (on the Indian Ocean across from the strategic island of Madagascar) from Soviet-sympathizing Tanzania and these guerrillas have both Soviet and Chinese Communist equipment. In this regard it should be noted that however sharp the propaganda attacks the Soviets and Chinese Communists mount against one another, they seem to be able to cooperate on the tactical level in East Africa when they face what they regard as the common enemy.

Soviet "national liberation warfare" techniques are being employed wherever possible throughout Africa, but it would appear that the Red Sea-Indian Ocean coast of Africa has been given major attention because of its strategic role in developing Soviet strategy. The Soviets are also attempting to link the African and Middle Eastern liberation warfare movement to their exploitation of Arab national feeling.

Thus when two Soviet warships paid an eight-day visit—for the first time in Soviet naval history—to the Persian Gulf in May 1968, they were greeted in the Iraq port of Umm Qasr with a gun salute and with thanks "for supporting the Arab cause." Not without interest is the fact that Iraq has now been equipped with Soviet-type Styx missiles such as was used to sink the Israeli destroyer Elath.

It may not have been accidental that about the time of this Soviet naval visit in the Persian Gulf leading Soviet newspapers devoted a good deal of attention to the national liberation movement in Africa. The official Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* stated on May 25:

"The formation of a world system of socialism, which stands as a mighty stronghold of all anti-imperialist struggles in the world, the growth of the revolutionary struggle of the international working class and the rapid upsurge of the liberation movement of (the) African peoples . . . predetermined the collapse of the gigantic colonial prison in Africa."

"The present national liberation movement of the peoples of that continent has become an organic integral part of the world revolutionary process," said Pravda.

Equally important was a statement the same day in the official government newspaper, *Izvestia*. This emphasized Russia's "consistent policy for supporting national liberation movements." It went on to say that the Soviets had "accumulated rich experience in the defense of revolutionary movements," and that the Soviet solidarity Committee of Asian and African Countries was giving practical, physical support to the revolutionary forces of "Angola, Guinea (Bisau), Mozambique, and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)."

EFFORTS IN INDIA AND CEYLON

On the other side of the Red Sea-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean complex, the Soviet Union has been most active in both India and the great island of Ceylon. A Soviet naval squadron visited the Indian sub-continent in the spring of 1968, another first in Soviet naval history. Calls were made in Pakistan and in India and later on in Ceylon.

The visit to India is especially significant since that the Soviet Union has said it will supply the Indian Navy with "F" class submarines, escorts of the Petya class, MTB's of the Poluchat I class, a submarine support-ship, and additional auxiliary craft. Press reports say one submarine and some other craft have been delivered. This may be in order to lay the groundwork for a Soviet naval air presence in that part of the world since the Soviets have had talks with India looking towards an Andaman Island base. These islands are in the Bay of Bengal, strategically located not only with reference to the Indian Ocean generally, but also in relation to the seacoast of Burma, Malaysia, and Thailand.

They would be advantageous bases for the new Soviet helicopter and/or VTOL carriers and for Soviet land based aircraft, many of which come under the control of the Soviet Navy. It is also not without interest that *Pravda* announced June 1, 1968, that the scientific research ship Ogon was "carrying out hydrographic work in the Pacific and Indian oceans." The Soviets understand quite well that the search for strategic superiority is not military alone, but military, scientific, technological and psycho-political.

The psycho-political element of the overall strategic effort blending with the military is well illustrated by the Soviet naval visit to Ceylon. A Soviet naval squadron cruising in the Indian Ocean paid a five-day visit to the Ceylonese port of Colombo, July 7–11, 1968. Just prior to this Soviet naval visit, *Moscow Radio* announced on July 3 that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had sent a congratulatory telegram to the "Communists of Ceylon, who are celebrating the 25th anniversary of their party." The telegram hailed "the Communist Party of Ceylon, the fraternal solidarity of the two parties, and the friendship of the Soviet and Ceylonese peoples."

Conjointly, *Moscow Radio* reported that a Soviet news agency representative had interviewed Pieter Keuneman, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Ceylon. He said that the Communist Party of Ceylon "was the first to demand the elimination of the British military bases on the island and the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with the socialist [that is, the Communist-bloc] countries." Keuneman went on to say that the Ceylonese Communist Party "fully supports the convening of the international conference of Communist and workers parties in November in Moscow."

THE BRITISH WITHDRAWAL

For almost a century the vast Red Sea-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean complex was an area of relative stability. This was so because Great Britain—and associated friendly powers—controlled the perimeter boundaries. Whether it was the East African coast (Kenya, Tanganyika); key bases (Aden, Mombasa, Colombo, Singapore); or important islands (Mauritius, Andaman, Nicobar), British forces were on hand throughout these sea spaces and able to respond quickly for any needed police actions.

What of today? The British have announced that they will complete their withdrawal East of Suez by 1971. That this will likely be irreversible is shown by the fact that early in 1968 the withdrawal from Aden became a finality.

The power vacuum already exists. The potential, strategically, is alarming.

Australia, that great and good friend of the United States, is vitally dependent on the Indian Ocean. In the 1965–1966 period, for example, more than half of all Australian imports and almost half of all exports came by way of the Indian Ocean.

India, Pakistan, and the countries of East Africa depend on Indian Ocean routes for all but a little of their imports and exports. South Africa, at the Cape of Good Hope (more significant than ever with the closure of the Suez Canal), is vitally interested in the Indian Ocean. And the Red Sea-Persian Gulf Oil routes are so well known as to require but passing mention.

Writing in the New York Times, Dec. 4, 1963, C. L. Sulzberger perceptively forecast the strategy stakes in this oceanic complex. "In the vast area extending from the Red Sea across the Indian Ocean to the Pacific inlets one finds today's main thrusts of both Russian and Chinese dynamism," he said. "They frequently compete with each other but ultimately work in tandem to weaken Western influence."

Looking ahead to 1969–1970, it can be seen that the Soviets will try to continue the forward momentum they have begun in 1967–1968. Will theirs be the power that fills the vacuum left by the British withdrawal? Or will the United States build up its naval forces so as to be able to deploy real strength for peace and stability in the Indian Ocean rimland?

A LESSON IN SAMOA

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I insert the following article at this point. It contains an outline of the work being done in one of the most comprehensive new educational systems under our jurisdiction, in the U.S. territory of Samoa.

There are lessons taught in American Samoa that can be applied, it seems to me, to our own inner-city education problems here in the United States. The work going on today in the South Pacific might be usefully transplanted into the mainstream of our city schools, where innovative ideas are desperately needed.

The article was prepared by Tim Carroll, a former member of the education team working in Samoa, now associated with the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, which was responsible for recruiting personnel for American Samoa. He is active in the multimedia approach to education for developing countries.

Because he writes well on a subject he knows firsthand, and because of my high regard for him as a former staff member of the House of Representatives, I am delighted to include his article, "A Lesson in Samoa," in the RECORD, and to call it to the attention of my colleagues:

A LESSON IN SAMOA

In the hyper-political atmosphere of autumn 68, there is a great deal of talk about the right man at the right time, about a single figure and history coming together at one point in time. A fascinating bit of conjecture indeed, and somethng that does happen occasionally. We need to employ hindsight to say it was so, of course, but there is no question that conditions can be exactly equitable for a dynamic personality to *make* things happen.

Such was the case, happily, when the late President John Kennedy sent the quietly effective H. Rex Lee to the United States Territory of Samoa. Samoa was an anachronism in the New Frontier. It consisted of a few mountain tops in the Pacific Ocean that became Starred & Striped in the days of Manifest Destiny. They seemed, those lush green peaks, like a good idea at the time. The time being the turn of the century, the idea being a coaling station for our Pacific fleet. During a period when we were putting a hundred thousand miles of fence around the Old West, Pago Pago harbour presented nothing formidable. The vision of empire, at the same time, had not been entirely fenced in yet and so Samoa became inalterably aligned with the U.S. We, in turn, promised to medicate and educate the Polynesian populace, so long as we both inhabited those few beautiful islands.

The U.S. Navy was the step-mother, who, until 1950 kept a firm but disinterested hand over these two services. A hospital was erected and tiny village schools were kept in business, and in time there was the predictable spread of a governmental mantle. The 50's saw an exodus on behalf of the Navy and a sad decade of civilian rule that was barely able to keep to the letter of the agreement. But after the 1960 election no frontier was to be ignored or lost to bureaucratic mediocrity. Kennedy wanted Samoa given the best, to have the lost years retrieved, and he sent H. Rex Lee to see that it happened.

The innovations that grew out of this fateful appointment were remarkable. America's Pacific territory began to hum with activity. Advances were made in every department of island government, including a new tropical medicine center.

But the truly earth-shaking innovation was in education. Governor Lee discovered on his arrival that a half century of educators had brought Samoan students to a pathetic depot, an agonized half-way house, somewhere between the concept of the noble savage and the sophistication of the urbane. It was a sad depot for the Samoans were unable to maintain their native ways, and still unable to compete at stateside standards. They possessed too much knowledge to go back, too little to go forward.

Here was a situation in need of a solution, and here, wisely placed, was a man who could cope with it. There were three factors favouring that solution.

First, there was interest at the top. Everyone of import wanted something new. Lee had, in very plain language, the power and free hand of a benevolent dictatorship.[1] Any line of action he followed would be pursued to the end and would unquestionably be an improvement. Secondly, there was a favourably disposed Congress in Washington bestowing funds that allowed for a vast new scheme. And thirdly, there was, on the six inhabited islands of American Samoa, easily encompassable space. There was no sprawling mileage to get around, no deeply entrenched Board of Education to convince a change was needed, no conservative element balking at innovation. A single transmitter carefully situated could get into every niche of that clearly defined area.

The stage was set. And on to it Lee called Vernon Bronson, consultant extraordinaire. After thorough examination they agreed that the television approach was the most logical, in fact, the only system with enough thrust to accelerate learning in the Samoan schools to the degree they desired. From this team arose the co-operative system that operates in Pago Pago today. It dovetails several objectives in an ingenious way, the hallmark of the Lee/Bronson team.

Master teachers, in the instructional resources center [2] send their lessons to every child in every classroom in every school on the islands. Strategically placed throughout the countryside new consolidated schools form the physical plant. Each of the twenty-four primary and four secondary schools has a stateside principal working in tandem with a Samoan principal. Together they keep utilization at 100%. Every classroom teacher of the 8,000-child student population has the lesson plans, the reading books and the work sheets at least a week in advance. These emanate from the resources center, prepared by the master teacher and her researcher. They are tailor made for the students and published locally since there are no existing texts applicable to island life. There is a common syllabus for all and every classroom lesson has its television segment fitted into place, allowing ample time for the classroom teacher to organize his before the telecast activities and the all-important after the telecast. After the 2nd grade, English taught as a second language is the central concern and all subject matter is relegated to it. Classroom teachers spend their late afternoons writing feedback to the television teachers and attending televised In-Service lessons. The system is geared to bring up the standard of the classroom teacher as it does his student. There is keen competition between Samoan teachers to do well since twenty-four of the best are sent to observe in California during the summer. Stanford University is the gracious host of this seminar-field trip study.

The Instructional Resources Center houses all the hardware of the best television studios. Six channels transmit during the school day, two during the evening, the latter permitting everyone in the villages to enjoy enrichment series and entertainment ranging from Walt Disney to Walter Cronkite. Four fully-equipped studios are scheduled from 7:30 a.m. until 10:00 p.m. to allow teachers, researchers, and producer/directors to prepare the 190 lessons that go out each week. Ten giant video-tape recorders preserve every lesson, although a built-in obsolescence exists in these lessons. Each year the student's vocabulary has improved so enormously that a teacher teaching about Japan one year can include many more facts and more comprehensive coverage in a subsequent year. With more vocabulary at the students' command, courses have been upgraded with amazing speed.

The essential difference between this multimedia approach in Samoa and that in most stateside ETV systems is that it was a *completely* new system. Boards of Education are often shy about revolutionizing; they are conservative by definition. ETV tends to be the rich icing on their somewhat stale educational cake; teachers view it sideways through the suspicious eyes of a competitor. Television has the status of the country cousin to education, or, rarely, vice versa. They almost always, in case after case, move in concentric circles, around one another, not hindering but seldom boosting. Vast funds are appropriated, less vast schemes proposed, but nothing genuinely new evolves, only circles within circles.

In Samoa, something new did spring. In Samoa there is one system, one unit, interlocked fingers, a co-ordinated effort using indigenous personnel in close harmony with the creme de la creme of 20th century electronics. There isn't a television facility *and* an educational organization; there is one indivisible education/television system. It contains within it a series of checks and balances that brings the most to the classroom. Each of those television sets reinforces the classroom teacher, buoys him up, underlines his statements, emphasizes his points, and is as surely his tool as the blackboard or the flashcard.

The old way was swept aside. Heeding Tennyson's cry of: "Come, my friends, 'tis not too late to seek a newer world . . ." Lee, Bronson, and a group of devoted educators have pursued this project a third of the way through its proposed twelve years. The results have been as satisfactory for the Samoans as the custom-built system was. A team of evaluators is just beginning to formulate the actual advances made, but when village children can gleefully shout, "The pig is big",[3] or perhaps more purposefully explain how the tides work in simple but precise sentences, it only leaves the testors to put it all on graphs.

The aims, in American Samoa, have been relatively uncomplicated. They were nothing so complex as the developing countries impose. Nationalism, tribalism, politics were all sublimated to the desire to lift the Samoan students' achievement to that of a stateside student of comparable skill, to prepare these children for a world demanding as much of them as it does of the young in Honolulu or New York City. With the Samoan system as it is today, one of universal application throughout the islands, educators expect to do this in a single school generation, i.e. twelve years. The students are adapting beautifully to this acceleration. In fact, they are thriving on it. Their enthusiasm is evident in the way they stride to school in the eternally summer mornings. From toddlers [4] to track stars attendance records are phenomenal.

Educators from twelve of the major Ameri-

Footnotes at end of article.

can cities were sent to Samoa to see what lessons learned there could be applied to urban problems in the United States. But even more important than the system itself was the fact that problems suffered became problems faced and then, with an enviable speed, problems solved.

John Kennedy said: "We cannot find the solutions to the problems of today with the answers of yesterday." Lee, Bronson and the others in Samoa didn't. With refreshing vigor they went to work, without triteness, without conservative shackles, without impaired vision, to put together what is both unique and effective.

After a recent global tour of educational television facilities in developing countries, an ex-member of the staff from American Samoa was asked in the Washington headquarters of NAEB [5] if he had seen anything irresistible in the world of ETV. After some serious deliberation he answered that only Samoa was doing the *whole* job, only Samoa was lifting up an entire school generation by their own worksheets, only Samoa was bringing the world to thatched roofed villages, redefining the word "insular," and only Samoa was supporting a program that could be considered the best hope for the future.

It grew out of the right man being at the right place at the right time. So often in a democracy crisis is the mother of creativity. In Samoa, the heights afforded by the New Frontier allowed for vision beyond the crisis fringe. Lee and those who have followed, did their creating a step ahead of crisis. That was the mood of the early sixties. They reap that vision in Samoa now, but the lesson has gone largely unheralded. The Samoan venture has more to offer to the world of learning than simply the enlightening of its Polynesian students. It is, like the archipelago that supports it, an island of lucid, comprehensive, innovative educational thought. Solid and progressive, it stands in a sea filled with floundering false starts, with creaky Establishments preserving their leaking infrastructures, with unfurled revolutionary plans pinioned to beleagured committees, with no one of sufficient stature at the helm to take the devine chance, to try . . . something . . . anything . . . to listen to Rex Lee, to Vernon Bronson, to listen to the lesson from Samoa. It's *not* too late to seek a newer way.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Americans rail at the term "dictatorship", but a simple definition is one possessing supreme authority, and this was Lee's position in Samoa in the early 60's.

[2] The center was named after Congressman Michael J. Kirwin, the Democratic Representative from Ohio responsible for the legislation making the necessary funds available.

[3] There is no "b" or "g" sound in Samoan.

[4] There is an Early Childhood Education programme for the pre-schoolers in Samoa.

[5] The National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

PORTUGAL'S SALAZAR—MODERN GREAT

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished international columnist Mr. Richard Pattee writing in the October 4 New World, the Chicago Catholic Archdiocese newspaper, devoted his column to a wonderful eulogy of the great Portuguese leader, Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar. The column eloquently emphasizes the greatness of Portugal's Salazar and in inserting it into the RECORD I wish to associate myself with the thoughts expressed:

PORTUGAL'S SALAZAR—MODERN GREAT

(By Richard Pattee)

I am writing these lines at a moment when the life of Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar of Portugal hangs by a thread. By the time this is published it is possible that he will have died. Or God in his infinite mercy may have spared him for a few more years.

At any rate it seems appropriate to dedicate the column this week to one of the most remarkable men of our time; to the statesman who in spite of his responsibility for the public administration of a small country, has demonstrated a vision, a sense of historical perspective and an innate common sense that are so sadly lacking in our time.

Forty years ago, as a very young student, it was my privilege to hear him at Coimbra university when he took leave of his institution to assume the task of Minister of Finance.

It was on this occasion that he made his frequently quoted observation that he was entering politics with no illusions and with no ambitions; simply because there was a job to be done and someone had to do it. The job at that particular time was to save his country from financial ruin.

Dr. Salazar, as an economist, recognized that without a sound currency everything else was impossible. He therefore bent his energies and his extraordinary talents to the task of reestablishing the financial solvency of a country that had come preciously close to handing itself over to the then League of Nations as hopelessly bankrupt. He restored financial health and for 40 years Portugal has known one of the soundest currencies in the world.

Salazar was never one to indulge in the slightest demagoguery. He made no promises other than hard work and austerity. He recognized that his country was poor and would never be rich in the ordinary sense of the word. He did not go in for grandiose schemes to catch the public eye and gain for himself a reputation as a miracle-maker.

The primary characteristic of this great statesman is his modesty and austerity. No breath of scandal ever touched him; no charge of corruption could ever be levelled at him personally. He governed without fanfare and without ostentation. His own life is a model of the modest peasant origins from which he sprang.

I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that the world will be infinitely poorer without him. In the years since the war he has made few public pronouncements and these have been in terms of sobriety and moderation. He is fundamentally a scholar, a university professor, a teacher and not a politician.

The Portuguese press always refers to him as "Professor Salazar," and indeed he retains the position of professor at Coimbra which was his greatest source of pride and satisfaction.

The chances that he may survive to give more years of service to his proud but humble people, are slim. Whatever may have transpired in the last few days, Oliveira Salazar has won for himself a place in history that is unique: 40 years of able, selfless and devoted service to his nation. He did not bow to the "winds of change." He did not compromise on principles that do not admit of compromise.

He is unique and I, for one, want in these lines, to pay tribute to one of the really great of our time, perhaps one of the greatest of public men to be produced by the Europe of the 20th century. What will happen in Portugal no one knows.

His loss—if it comes to pass—will be long felt. He is the antithesis of the trickster, the charlatan, the demagogue and the spellbinder. He is the symbol of serenity and compassion in a world that badly needs these virtues.

STUDENTS AT BROOKLYN'S ADELPHI ACADEMY PERFORM OUTSTANDING SERVICE IN COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, the turbulence that has afflicted campuses throughout the country would appear to indicate that our educational system—the very cornerstone of our democracy—is slowly being eroded and is on the verge of total collapse.

It is unfortunate that in a time of widespread student unrest—the spotlight of public concern has been focused principally on raucous, often violent campus demonstration by students who profess a desire for a better, more productive way of life for all our people.

I submit that there are students—and they are in the vast majority—who share this desire, but who are giving expression to their concern in a far more positive and worthwhile fashion.

A typical illustration involves Adelphi Academy, in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn's oldest coeducational private institution, which has given the borough outstanding service for more than a century.

During the forthcoming academic year, a group of Adelphi students will be spending one month in their senior year in a unique community service project, helping underprivileged children, teenagers, and aged persons in a Greenpoint settlement house.

Under the plan, the students, upon completion of their college board examinations next spring, will work at the School Settlement Association, where they will gain professionally supervised experience in a social welfare setting.

The students will perform a variety of duties at the association. They will escort aged men and women on trips, serve as aides to professional instructors in music, drama, arts and crafts, dancing, woodshop, cooking, et cetera; tutor elementary school children, assist preschool program, et cetera, and assist in conducting recreational programs for teenagers who utilize the settlement house facilities.

The School Settlement Association is a private voluntary agency which caters to the recreational, educational, social, and cultural needs of people of all ages in the Williamsburg community.

In serving as volunteers at the association, the Adelphi students will be making a meaningful contribution to a better community, and to expanded educational and social horizons for culturally deprived underprivileged children.

Adelphi Academy has achieved an outstanding reputation in the educational world for the quality of its programs and the caliber of its students. By participating in this community service project the

school is demonstrating its eagerness to improve the well-being of the entire community, and I believe this important effort merits our praise and admiration.

AGE DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, 2 months ago I participated in hearings conducted by two subcommittees of the Senate Special Committee on Aging on the subject of "Adequacy of Services to Older Workers."

As a result of those hearings, and of my longstanding interest in "New Careers" and other employment opportunities for older Americans, I have today introduced a bill called the Middle-Aged and Older Workers Full Employment Act of 1968.

This bill is identical with a bill to be introduced in the Senate today by Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH, chairman of the Subcommittee on Employment and Retirement Incomes, Senate Committee on Aging; and Senator EDWARD KENNEDY, chairman of the Subcommittee on Federal, State, and Community Services, Senate Committee on Aging. The chairman of that committee, Senator HARRISON WILLIAMS, is joining in sponsoring the bill, together with Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH, chairman of the Subcommittee on Labor of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

It was the purpose of the Kennedy and Randolph subcommittees to explore the cruel circumstances that today keep too many highly qualified and energetic middle-aged and older people out of the labor market simply because of problems related in one way or another to age.

We passed a much-needed age discrimination in employment bill last year. But we can't expect that bill to solve all problems of the older worker. We also need a broad program intended to offer new services and new kinds of employment openings for the man or woman who sometimes finds his job marketability affected by the number of birthdays he has had.

One section of the bill would serve to make the "New Careers" program, of which I was the original sponsor, even more helpful to the so-called older worker by establishing programs to train older workers for entry level jobs in Federal employment in such fields as health, education, welfare, and neighborhood development.

The bill offered today is intended to approach their problems in a comprehensive and effective way. The authors of the bill have intentionally provided the widest possible range of proposals for new actions. It is our hope that, by offering these proposals in legislative form even at this late date in the session, we will receive constructive suggestions that will be useful when the bill is reintroduced early next year.

I DRIVE A MOON CAR

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, news reports from Cape Kennedy indicate that within the next year this Nation is expected to reach its goal of putting the first man on the moon. The tremendous scientific and technological know-how which will go into this historic event involves hundreds and thousands of dedicated researchers throughout the Nation.

One of the fascinating parts of the Apollo research is the procedure by which our first visitors to the moon will explore its surface. Bendix researchers have been leaders in the development of these systems. Under unanimous consent I place in the RECORD the recent article in This Week magazine describing the moon vehicle which they have developed:

I DRIVE A MOON CAR

(By Ralph Stein)

I've been driving an automobile meant to be used by astronauts for their coming excursions across the very unpaved surface of the moon.

Over the years I've sat behind the steering wheels (and tillers) of a wildly improbable variety of cars. But this moon vehicle—called, in space jargon, an LSSM (for Local Scientific Survey Module) by its proud parents, the Aerospace System Division of the Bendix Corp.—takes the prize for weirdness, not only in looks but in handling.

When I showed up at the Bendix Aerospace Shop in Ann Arbor, Michigan, engineer Tom Lancaster led me past unidentifiable but expensive-looking space gadgetry, being worried over by knots of white-coated technicians, to where the moon vehicle lurked.

The LSSM is a flat platform with a foldable, spidery-looking leg at each corner. At the end of each leg is a big wheel, 45 inches in diameter, with many metal spokes. Instead of a tire, each wheel is shod with a thin, flexible band of stainless steel (titanium will be used on the moon) separated from the inner, rigid part of the wheel by 20 springy circles of thin steel.

In the hub of each wheel is an electric motor and a gearing system. The front wheel hubs also incorporate a power steering gizmo.

Lancaster pushed a button and the big garage door rumbled open.

"Climb aboard," he said.

The only seat on the "moon car" is on the front edge of its platform and the way to it is up a short ladder between the widely spaced front wheels (they're 90 inches apart—the wheelbase of the LSSM is 160 inches). As I settled myself in the seat and fastened the seat belt, I grumbled about the back being too far back.

"That's to allow room for your back pack—oxygen and stuff like than—when you're wearing a space suit on the moon," he told me.

"To go forward," he said, "push that lever on the armrest forward. To stop, pull it to the rear. To steer, push the lever either to right or left. To go backwards, flip this switch on the dashboard on your left to 'Reverse'. Before you move, raise the ladder."

I expected that Lancaster would tell me to push a button and the ladder would raise itself, but what I had to do was pull it up with the kind of chain that's attached to the stopper in a bath tub.

Behind me, fastened to the white platform of the moon car, was a box of electric batteries and an assortment of blue boxes which simulated the complex instruments an astronaut would use for making scientific examinations of the moon. Ahead was a parking lot filled with Earth cars.

Gingerly I pushed the lever forward. The moon car waddled out of the doorway and down the wide lane between the parked cars.

"Hah," I thought, "this is a cinch—easy as driving a lawn mower."

But I began to veer toward the row of Earth cars on the right. I moved the lever toward the left—nothing much happened—I still moved toward the right.

STEERS LIKE A BATTLESHIP AT FIVE AND ONE-HALF MILES PER HOUR

Just before I wiped the tail lights off a 1965 Dodge, the moon car began to swing left. This time I outwitted the slow steering and didn't come close to hitting anything. If you ever find yourself in an LSSM, steer it the way you'd steer a battleship.

Once away from the parked cars I breathed easier—began to enjoy myself. The moon car was almost completely silent; only the gravel and small stones under the springy wheels made slight crunching noises. Lancaster ran alongside; no great feat because at top speed the LSSM won't do more than 5½ miles an hour. He pointed towards some nasty gulleys at the edge of the parking lot, marked by a barrier of railroad ties.

I headed for the ties and the wheels just oozed over them. I could barely feel anythink. Any ordinary car would have been stopped at low speed and might have broken something on the ties at any speed fast enough to jump them.

IT CAN CLIMB OVER A 20-INCH WALL

Outside the parking lot, on the rough and muddy ground and among the gulleys, the moon car moved with a dignified disdain for obstacles. Although I couldn't find one to try it on, Lancaster said it would climb over a straight wall 20 inches high; it will also climb a 35-degree slope and crawl out of crevices a yard deep.

Although you might imagine that the smooth and shiny surface of the LSSM's wheels wouldn't get much of a grip on steep surfaces, that the wheels would need deep treads like snow tires, that's not so because they have a much bigger "footprint" than that of a pneumatic tire. This footprint will also let the LSSM "float" over spongy ground without sinking.

My Toyota Land Cruiser, a Japanese jeep-type vechicle, will perform most of these stunts—except crawling over the 20-inch-high wall. But it wouldn't work on the moon. First, its gasoline engine needs oxygen for combustion and there is no oxygen to speak of on the moon. Also, it's much too heavy to be transported via rocket—the moon car weighs a mere 884 lbs.

ITS RANGE ON THE MOON 120 MILES

Once out on the open fields the moon car began to be fun to drive. The only trouble was that everyone else—the photographer, the press agents—wanted a crack at it, too. It began going slower and slower. The batteries were running out of juice. Although the moon model will have a range of 120 miles from silver-zinc batteries, we were running on ordinary lead-acid batteries—the kind you have in your car. And they hadn't been fully charged to begin with.

After I drove the lunar car back to its garage, I began wondering about how such a machine might be delivered to the moon. Tom Lancaster made it sound almost simple. With its legs and wheels folded up, it would go via rocket. Later a couple of astronauts would arrive, unload it by means of a crane incorporated in the module, unfold it and go riding around to explore the moon's surface.

Maybe I could get Detroit to deliver my next car that way.

OBSERVANCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS YEAR—INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS: PROGRESS REPORT NO. 3

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I have in the past—in June of 1967, and again in October of that year—called attention of the House to the work being done in the United States in support of the observance of the International Human Rights Year, 1968, marking the 20th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, which I have the honor to chair, held hearings in the 89th Congress on legislation proposing the establishment of a U.S. Committee on Human Rights to prepare for the observance, by and in the United States, of the International Human Rights Year.

While that proposal was pending before the House, a special committee was appointed by the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO to do that very job.

Under the able chairmanship of Mr. Bruno V. Bitker, of Milwaukee, Wis., that committee planned and carried out an impressive amount of work in stimulating interest in the International Year.

On January 30, 1968, President Johnson signed an Executive order establishing the President's Commission for the Observance of the Human Rights Year, 1968, composed of many prominent citizens and headed by Ambassador-at-Large, the Honorable W. Averell Harriman.

Mr. Bitker, who did so much of the initial spadework in this field, was among those serving on the President's Commission.

He was also a member of the U.S. delegation to the U.N. International Conference on Human Rights, held at Tehran earlier this year. His report on the conference, together with the text of the Proclamation of Tehran, should prove of interest to our colleagues and I would like to place it in the RECORD at this point:

[Report by Mr. Bitker]

The International Conference on Human Rights was held at Tehran, Iran, from April 22 to May 13. The Conference was convened by the United States General Assembly as a major part of the observance of the International Year for Human Rights, commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The memory of two Americans dominated the opening sessions of the Conference: Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, one of the moving spirits in producing the Universal Declaration 20 years ago, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who had been assassinated less than 20 days before the Conference convened. The spirit of Mrs. Roosevelt was well recognized, and the sacrifice of Dr. King was frequently cited as a reason for meaningful action at Tehran. The Conference observed a minute of silence at the opening session in tribute to the memory of Dr. King.

His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran welcomed the delegates in an address in which he stated that justice under law without social justice and political democracy without economic democracy no longer have any meaning. He emphasized that the true battle of mankind today is the crusade to remove discrimination and social injustice at the national as well as the international level.

U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, presided at the opening session. In his address—a special message on the International Year for Human Rights—he called upon the Conference to "find new means of carrying out the continuing struggle for the recognition and enjoyment of human rights."

During the course of that day the Secretary-General was in constant private consultation with his special envoy to the Middle East, Gunnar Jarring, who has the difficult assignment of negotiating a political settlement between Israel and the Arab states.

Princess Ashraf, the Shah's sister, was elected President of the Conference. She has had considerable experience in United Nations affairs, particularly in the field of women's rights, and served as chairman of a meeting of the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women held at Tehran in 1965.

The significance accorded to the Conference by the international community was indicated by the prominence of many of the participants. Included among them were prime ministers and other high government officials, former Presidents of the U.N. General Assembly, and heads of U.N. specialized agencies. Eighty-four states sent delegations.

Planning for this Conference began in 1965, when the U.N. General Assembly established a preparatory committee. The committee drafted a three-part agenda and took numerous decisions on the many technical arrangements necessary. The agenda provided for discussion in the following three broad areas:

1. Review of progress achieved and major obstacles encountered in the field of human rights since 1948.

2. Evaluation of the effectiveness of methods and techniques employed in the field of human rights, such as conventions, declarations, implementation machinery, educational measures, organizational arrangements.

3. Formulation of a human rights program to be undertaken after 1968 with regard to such subjects as racial discrimination and implementation of human rights.

The United States had expected that it would be criticized because of the riots in American cities and the fighting in Viet-Nam. Although mention was made of these two problems by Arab, African, and Communist states, the extent and force of these attacks were relatively moderate.

With regard to Viet-Nam, the official conversations between the United States and North Viet-Nam had just begun in Paris, and the delegates sensed the importance of avoiding any discussion at Tehran which might affect those talks.

The U.S. opening statement by Roy Wilkins, the chairman of our delegation, made it difficult for the United States to be attacked on the issue of racial discrimination. As a distinguished Negro American, he could concede the failures but could proudly point to the gains in his country—even though they were achieved "inch after excruciating inch."

Moreover, President Johnson's personal message to the Conference expressed his dedication to human rights. He said in part:

"We in the United States are committed by word and will to give reality to rights embedded in our laws. We are struggling—hourly—to translate these laws into better, fuller lives. We pledge ourselves once again to the holy struggle for human dignity. I pray that this Conference will give us new strength to accomplish the tasks that remain."

The Conference began with a plenary debate during which delegates made formal statements. The plan of the Conference provided for two working committees: The first dealt with *apartheid,* racial discrimination, and colonialism; and the second with women's rights, measures to strengthen the defense of human rights, and international machinery to implement U.N. human rights activities.

Human rights is, however, a broad subject; and presumably almost anything that touches a human being can be brought under the aegis of such a conference. Thus, although the Arab-Israel dispute was not on the agenda, the agenda was broad enough to allow the Arab delegates to fight the 6-day war over again. For a long week the plenary debate was an exercise in polemics between the Arab and Israeli representatives.

It was obvious that the Arab countries, with the support of Communist-bloc and most Asian and African states, had more than enough votes to achieve almost any result they desired. They succeeded in having a fourth category added to the Conference agenda on the subject of "respect and implementation of human rights in occupied territories"; and a resolution requesting the U.N. to investigate "violations of human rights in territories occupied by Israel" was adopted.

The representative of the Netherlands acknowledged the frustration and pessimism that had come to permeate the atmosphere of the meeting rooms, the corridors—even the social functions—when in a formal statement he expressed the fear that the Conference might degenerate into "frustrating political debate and bitter recriminations." This fear among many of the delegates, especially the Iranians, produced action. The Conference quickly moved on to consideration of its agenda in the two working committees.

These committees drew up for adoption by the Conference some 29 resolutions dealing with a broad range of human rights problems. Among them is an extensive resolution calling for measures to improve the status of women throughout the world. Racial discrimination, especially *apartheid,* was strongly condemned, as were nazism, neonazism, and all similar ideologies. With regard to colonialism, the General Assembly was asked to draw up a specific program for the granting of independence to territories under colonial rule. The Conference also dealt with such questions as the ratification of international covenants on economic and social rights, illiteracy, and nondiscrimination in employment.

The principal accomplishment of the Conference was, however, the Proclamation of Tehran, which reaffirms the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It urges all peoples and governments "to redouble their efforts to provide for all human beings a life consonant with freedom and dignity." Its 19 points restate principles which can be found in other United Nations resolutions dealing with such topics as discrimination on the basis of race, language, religion, or political belief; *apartheid;* economic and social development; women's rights; family planning; freedom of expression, of information, of conscience, and of religion; illiteracy; disarmament; and the dangers to the rights and freedoms of individuals from scientific discoveries and technological advances.

The proclamation, which was adopted unanimously on the final day of the Conference, shows how countries with diverse interests and frequently clashing policies can, when they so desire, agree upon the basic rights of man even though they differ sharply on questions of implementation and application of those rights.

It is regrettable that in 1968 the world

has not yet reached the point at which a subject as idealistic and as supranational as human rights can be lifted above national boundary lines or bloc politics. Roy Wilkins' opening statement for the United States set forth what should have been the philosophical viewpoint of the Conference. He said:

"In part the problem is the unlimited claim of national sovereignty. I submit that under the United Nations Charter no nation is entitled to wrong its own citizens. Either charter provisions dealing with human rights have meaning or they are a cruel fraud. If these provisions are meaningful, they must carry their thrust into the boundaries of member states."

Unfortunately, nationalism is still the watchword and the game of blocs is one in which most countries participate. The membership of the blocs may, however, vary on occasion, and even within the blocs there was no guarantee of unanimity. The national interest of each nation was still the primary standard that determined how a state reacted to a particular proposal.

This adherence to absolute sovereignty, plus the bitterness of the Arab-Israel debate, made the adoption of the Proclamation of Tehran by a unanimous vote a minor miracle.

For those among the almost 400 representatives from 83 countries, from the Holy See, from four U.N. specialized agencies, and from approximately 48 nongovernmental organizations who came with expectations that the Conference might fulfill the hope expressed in Mr. Wilkins' statement, the Conference was disappointing. There were those who considered it wholly lacking in effectiveness. Matters that should have been thoroughly considered, such as the creation of a U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, or a possible international court patterned upon the European Court of Human Rights, were barely mentioned. On the other hand, some specialists in international organization affairs found it heartening that the Conference, at this time of continuing threats to the peace, could agree on a wide variety of human rights and conclude with a unanimous reaffirmation of the principles of the Universal Declaration.

The closing statement of Princess Ashraf may best express the hopeful aspects of the Conference. She said that the Tehran Proclamation reflected "our unanimous will to redouble our efforts to achieve the complete and general realization of human rights, and to eliminate, once and for all, the scourges of illiteracy, racism, violence, hunger and disease."

Perhaps David H. Popper, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, who served as chairman of the U.S. delegation following Mr. Wilkins' departure stated it more realistically when at the final session he said:

"No delegation has obtained precisely what it would have desired in the proclamation we have today approved. Every group has had to sacrifice some points to which it attaches importance. . . . Our ability to reach agreement on matters of major, indeed passionate, concern demonstrates that international cooperation in the cause of humanity can be and must be an effective force."

The President's Commission for the Observance of Human Rights Year can take pride in the fact that the President's appointment of Roy Wilkins to be chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Conference grew out of a suggestion emanating from the Commission. The other public members of the delegation included Morris B. Abram, U.S. Representative on the U.N. Commission on Human Rights; John J. Grogan, a vice president of the AFL–CIO; and myself, a member of the President's Commission. The Government members of the delegation included Mr. Popper, Armin H. Meyer, American Ambassador to Iran, and several advisers from the Department of State.

As a public member of the delegation I would not have adequately reported to the President's Commission without noting the impressive ability and dedication and energy of the Department of State officers who participated in the Conference. I may not have agreed with every position we took as a delegation, but I recognized the knowledge and experience of the professionals.

I had expected more specific results to come out of the Conference. My own hopes were well expressed by Father Theodore Hesburgh, speaking for the Holy See, when he said that the task of the Conference was to "make the ideal of the Universal Declaration truly universal in our times" and that "If we aspire to and in fact do less than this, we should not be here today." Sadly, however, I have had to conclude that man has not yet reached that stage in his development where he is ready to accept the universality of human rights. But I hope we shall continue to strive for the noble principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the spirit which inspired its adoption 20 years ago.

PROCLAMATION OF TEHERAN

The International Conference on Human Rights,

Having met at Teheran from April 22 to May 13, 1968 to review the progress made in the twenty years since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to formulate a programme for the future;

Having considered the problems relating to the activities of the United Nations for the promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;

Bearing in mind the resolutions approved by the Conference;

Noting that the observance of the International Year for Human Rights takes place at a time when the world is undergoing a process of unprecedented change;

Having regard to the new opportunities made available by the rapid progress of science and technology;

Believing that, in an age when conflict and violence prevail in many parts of the world, the fact of human interdependence and the need for human solidarity are more evident than ever before;

Recognizing that peace is the universal aspiration of mankind and that peace and justice are indispensable to the full realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms;

Solemnly proclaims that:

1. It is imperative that the members of the international community fulfil their solemn obligations to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinctions of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinions;

2. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states a common understanding of the peoples of the world concerning the inalienable and inviolable rights of all members of the human family and constitutes an obligation for the members of the international community;

3. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, as well as other conventions and declarations in the field of human rights adopted under the auspices of the United Nations, the specialized agencies and the regional inter-governmental organizations, have created new standards and obligations to which States should conform;

4. Since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the United Nations has made substantial progress in defining standards for the enjoyment and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. During this period many important international instruments were adopted, but much remains to be done in regard to the implementation of those rights and freedoms;

5. The primary aim of the United Nations in the sphere of human rights is the achievement by each individual of the maximum freedom and dignity. For the realization of this objective, the laws of every country should grant each individual, irrespective of race, language, religion or political belief, freedom of expression, of information, of conscience and of religion, as well as the right to participate in the political, economic, cultural and social life of his country;

6. States should reaffirm their determination effectively to enforce the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in other international instruments that concern human rights and fundamental freedoms;

7. Gross denials of human rights under the repugnant policy of *apartheid* is a matter of the gravest concern to the international community. This policy of *apartheid,* condemned as a crime against humanity, continues seriously to disturb international peace and security. It is therefore imperative for the international community to use every possible means to eradicate this evil. The struggle against *apartheid* is recognized as legitimate;

8. The peoples of the world must be made fully aware of the evils of racial discrimination and must join in combating them. The implementation of this principle of non-discrimination, embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and other international instruments in the field of human rights, constitutes a most urgent task of mankind, at the international as well as at the national level. All ideologies based on racial superiority and intolerance must be condemned and resisted;

9. Eight years after the General Assembly's Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples the problems of colonialism continue to preoccupy the international community. It is a matter of urgency that all Member States should co-operate with the appropriate organs of the United Nations so that effective measures be taken to ensure that the Declaration is fully implemented;

10. Massive denials of human rights, arising out of aggression or any armed conflict with their tragic consequences, and resulting in untold human misery, engender reactions which could engulf the world in ever growing hostilities. It is the obligation of the international community to co-operate in eradicating such scourges;

11. Gross denials of human rights arising from discrimination on grounds of race, religion, belief or expressions of opinion outrage the conscience of mankind and endanger the foundations of freedom, justice and peace in the world;

12. The widening gap between the economically developed and developing countries impedes the realization of human rights in the international community. The failure of the Development Decade to reach its modest objectives makes it all the more imperative for every nation, according to its capacities, to make the maximum possible effort to close this gap;

13. Since human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible, the full realization of civil and political rights without the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights, is impossible. The achievement of lasting progress in the implementation of human rights is dependent upon sound and effective national and international policies of economic and social development;

14. The existence of over seven hundred million illiterates throughout the world is an enormous obstacle to all efforts at realiz-

ing the aims and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. International action aimed at eradicating illiteracy from the face of the earth and promoting education at all levels requires urgent attention;

15. The discrimination of which women are still victims in various regions of the world must be eliminated. An inferior status for women is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations as well as the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The full implementation of the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women is a necessity for the progress of mankind;

16. The protection of the family and of the child remains the concern of the international community. Parents have a basic human right to determine freely and responsibly the number and the spacing of their children;

17. The aspirations of the younger generation for a better world, in which human rights and fundamental freedoms are fully implemented, must be given the highest encouragement. It is imperative that youth participate in shaping the future of mankind;

18. While recent scientific discoveries and technological advances have opened vast prospects for economic, social and cultural progress, such developments may nevertheless endanger the rights and freedoms of individuals and will require continuing attention;

19. Disarmament would release immense human and material resources now devoted to military purposes. These resources should be used for the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms. General and complete disarmametnt is one of the highest aspirations of all peoples;

Therefore,

The International Conference on Human Rights

1. *Affirming* its faith in the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international instruments in this field;

2. *Urges* all peoples and governments to dedicate themselves to the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Humant Rights and to redouble their efforts to provide for all human beings a life consonant with freedom and dignity and conducive to physical, mental, social and spiritual welfare.

THE VALOR OF CPL. JOHN T. WOLFE

HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I insert an article from the Paterson News of September 24, 1968, about the valor of Cpl. John T. Wolfe. He has proved worthy of his Nation, and I hope and pray that his Nation will prove worthy of him.

The article follows:

MEDALS GO POSTHUMOUSLY TO PARENTS OF PATERSON GI

Presentation of the Bronze Star Posthumously was made Friday to Mr. and Mrs. George Wolfe, of 953 Main St., parents of the late Army Corporal John T. Wolfe.

Corporal Wolfe, who died June 1 of wounds suffered while fighting in Vietnam, was buried at Mary Rest, Veterans Circle, Mahwah on June 12.

The presentation of the Bronze Star was made by CW 2 Frederick J. Bergeron, of the Picatinny Arsenal, on behalf of the commanding general, First U.S. Army.

Corporal Wolfe, only 20 when he was killed last saw his parents Jan. 29, his mother said. She also said that in the letters he wrote home he tried to describe the Vietnamese countryside to his parents.

Corporal Wolfe, who was born in Paterson Dec. 11, 1947, was a graduate of School 9 and Central High School. He had been a teller at the First National Bank, Clifton branch, and prior to entering the service Aug. 11, 1967, was attending Seton Hall University.

Besides the Bronze Star, Mr. and Mrs. Wolfe, were presented with their son's National Defense Service Medal, the Vietnam Service Medal, the Vietnam Campaign Ribbon, the Combat Infantryman's Badge, two Marksmanship Badges and the Purple Heart.

LATIN AMERICAN TEACHING PROGRAM

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I have recently had the opportunity to join—along with my very distinguished colleague from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, BRAD MORSE—the National Advisory Board of the Latin American Teaching Fellowships program. This unique program was developed at Tufts University by the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

I want to describe the rationale behind this new program, but first I want to pay tribute to the Fletcher School. They saw a clear need, and in response to that need they developed a self-supporting program that goes to the heart of some of the key issues arising from North American educational presence in Latin America.

What exactly does the Latin American Teaching Fellowships program do? The program sends advanced-level graduate students of outstanding promise from North American universities to Latin American universities to teach while they are carrying out their doctoral research. This connection with the Latin American university results in better research by the Fellow along with a productive and useful contribution in the form of teaching. I agree with Ambassador Gullion—dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy—who has said that "a nation like ours gets the most for its investment when aid for development is used to develop the human resource," so that the contribution that these fellows make by teaching is of crucial importance.

But it is not only the institutional attachment that is the key to the program's unique success. Rather it is the fact that these young scholars are placed directly under the supervision of a senior Latin American professor.

I want to mention briefly some specific reasons why the program is deserving of support. First, it is imaginative and innovative—it has broken new ground in the international exchange of young scholars by making it possible to both teach and carry on research simultaneously. Second, resources available for the developmental process are limited. The program provides a teacher at about one-third the cost of a senior North American professor. Third, the long-run payoff for increased understanding and friendship between the United States and Latin America is a critically important result. The personal ties that are established now between the teaching fellow and the faculty and students of his host university will be maintained and developed in the years ahead.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert into the RECORD the following article from the Christian Science Monitor which sums up very succinctly this outstanding program. In addition I want to commend the corporations and foundations which have shown particular insight by deciding to support this program. It is an endeavor that is indeed worthy of continued support and interest:

TUFTS SETUP: ACADEMIC "MINSTRELS" GAIN ROOTS

(By Peter C. Stuart)

MEDFORD, MASS.—Prof. William Sprague Barnes has a term for them—"wandering minstrels."

He refers to United States doctoral students visiting Latin America on fellowships. All too typically, he says, they drift about in the strange surroundings, never settling nor learning much about the locale, perhaps never even mastering the language.

They do their research as best they can, then rush back to the United States, leaving neither themselves nor their Latin hosts much richer for their visit, he asserts.

Professor Barnes directs a two-year-old fellowship program at Tufts University that challenges this concept. The program—operated by the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy here—seeks to transform the U.S. fellow visiting Latin America from a "wandering minstrel" into a kind of working academic ambassador.

CONTRIBUTION STRESSED

Instead of flitting about, he plants roots at a Latin-American university; instead of conducting research in isolation, he works under the wing of a qualified professor there; instead of skimming the academic surface, he wades into the mainstream of university life by teaching classes.

Most important, says Professor Barnes, instead of merely extracting knowledge, the fellow contributes something as well.

The pioneering fellowship program was developed by the Fletcher School, a 180-student graduate institution. In two years it has located 24 students across Latin America. The school has just dispatched its third fellowship group of 16 students.

The Fletcher approach offers academic, cultural, and political advantage, say those involved.

Academically, the fellow's research is said to acquire greater depth. Associated with a Latin-American university, he can become at home in his field in a way a student-tourist is not likely to. Further, the university connection opens doors closed to outsiders.

DUPLICATION LESS LIKELY

The fellow is equipped to transmit to Latin Americans the best in knowledge and skills that U.S. graduate schools have to offer.

Prof. Frank Bonilla of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a member of the committee that selects the fellows, pointed up another advantage. Latin Americans have sharply accelerated their academic research in recent years, he said, heightening the danger of duplication. North American fellows who work hand-in-hand with Latin-American scholars, rather than in isolation, can be surer that their research makes an original contribution.

Prof. Richard Morse of Yale University, another selection-committee member, added that the close working relations that Fletcher fellows develop with their Latin colleagues often blossom into careers or partial careers in Latin America.

Edmund A. Gullion, dean of the Fletcher School, from his viewpoint as a former career diplomat (he was Ambassador to the Congo from 1961 to 1964), stressed the cultural and political role of the fellowship program.

QUALITY OF AID LIFTED

"Education has the greatest leverage for uplifting the developing areas like Latin America," he said.

"A nation like ours gets the most for its investment when aid for development is used to develop the human resource," he explained.

The Fletcher program got its start from influences on both sides of the Caribbean. In Latin America, an education explosion opened a pressing need for university instructors. In the United States, university officials began to take a critical look at the traditional Latin-American fellowship.

Much of the impetus came from the mood of U.S. university students, too.

Burton C. Hallowell, president of Tufts University, said the present generation of students "feels great empathy with the people of other countries, whether they be a Vietnamese family or a Bolivian family." And they translate this feeling, he said, into a commitment to international service.

SURVEYS BACKED PLAN

Once the idea was conceived, surveys conducted in Latin America and North America confirmed that a new kind of fellowship would fill a need.

Ties were established with Latin-American institutions. Sixteen in seven nations now are involved. Financing was arranged through private foundations and industries with international reach.

Doctoral students, generally in their late 20's, were selected mostly from the fields of social and natural science, business and public administration, and law. All were required to be fluent in the language of the country they would visit.

Professor Barnes explained that what the selection committee sought most in prospective fellows was "imaginative resilience," enabling them to use their own ingenuity to squeeze the most value from their challenging experience.

RESULTS ASSESSED

The fellows spend an average of 15 months in Latin America—six months of research and teaching preparation and nine months of teaching. Members of the latest group, representing 11 U.S. universities, have been assigned to a professor in each one's field of interest in one of six Latin-American countries.

Perhaps the best measure of the success of the Fletcher program is its results so far. Although new, the program appears to have made a lasting impression in Latin America. Universities that hosted fellows have responded enthusiastically, even offering to underwrite part of the cost.

The director of a major Latin-American educational center wrote to Professor Barnes about one of the original group of fellows:

"I once wrote you that you should be proud of your Latin-American Teaching Fellowship scholar. Now I say that we are proud of [this scholar] because, for a short time, she was part of our center and a member of our research staff."

A FULBRIGHT SHIFT

The Fletcher program already is responsible for a small but significant modification in the large Fulbright-Hays fellowship program conducted by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (and the State Department). The department has permitted two Fulbright-Hays fellows to teach in Latin America in cooperation with the Fletcher program.

Dean Gullion sees a possible expansion of the program to embrace other developing areas besides Latin America.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of the ninth in my series of radio broadcasts to Ninth District residents:

This is your Congressman, Lee Hamilton. . . .

The foreign policy of a great nation may *seem* less important than its economic policy, which affects the family paycheck.

But in an era of megaton nuclear bombs, Guerrilla wars of long duration,

And longstanding and deep seated hatreds and misunderstandings that threaten us all,

Questions of foreign policy do make a difference in our daily lives. For questions of foreign policy determine the peace and security of this nation and of the world.

I want to talk with you for a few moments about the general directions I hope this nation's foreign policy will take and about the particular policies I believe we should follow in Vietnam.

How to organize a world peace has been the central concern of U.S. foreign policy since World War II. The strategy we have adopted to meet that concern is the concept of collective security.

Throughout the world, nations have joined with us, and we with them, in an elaborate system of bilateral, regional, and multilateral treaties and alliances:

To contain the Communist world.

To defend ourselves from attack.

To achieve the vital goal of maintaining an international balance of power.

It *was* an unshakable American belief that collective security could best organize a durable peace.

It was an idea supported and sustained by Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson.

But that was *before* Vietnam.

The single most important global consequence of the United States' involvement in the war in Vietnam will be the resulting reappraisal of the risks, requirements, and results of our strategy of collective security.

As the political leadership after 1968 seeks peace in Vietnam, it must also create a foreign policy that will keep that peace in Southeast Asia and around the world.

To do this we must ask ourselves:

Should we adjust or reject the system of collective security?

If we adjust it, how do we adjust it?

If we reject it, with what do we replace it?

And if we replace it, how do we assure that our substitute will be better?

When, and to what extent, should America become involved in the affairs of other nations.

Of course, this is an old, not a new, debate. We are really asking ourselves the internationalism-isolationism questions all over again.

Although the tug of nostalgia for a simpler past is strong, our political leadership must know, that given the fact of American power, isolationism is not possible.

Like it or not, we are involved. The question is not whether to withdraw from our position of world leadership. We cannot. Any widespread disturbance threatens us. The security of the United States does depend on a tolerable stability throughout the world. So we must take the lead in maintaining stability. If we do not, no one will—because those who once did, no longer can.

So the question is how do we exercise our position of power.

But we must be careful. Although every event may affect us, not every event will *vitally* affect us, and our leadership must be able to distinguish between the two. As hard as the lesson may be to learn, American power and resources are limited, and global interventionism is not possible.

A steady and measured American foreign policy will shun both isolation and global intervention.

It will maintain preeminent political, economic, military strength.

It will define our national interests carefully and use our preponderance of power selectively.

It will maintain a minimum of commitments by commiting us to protect only our vital interests.

It will recognize that global involvement, unchecked, can divert our resources from peaceful uses, both domestically and internationally.

It will encourage regional and international cooperation as an expression of, not opposition to, the new nationalism of developing countries.

It will pursue detente with the East, including arms limitations.

It will aid developing nations, but without giving them any more aid than their own bureaucracies can administer, and without substituting our personnel for theirs.

It will take all necessary steps to make a liberal trade policy work without creating undue burdens on American manufacturers and producers.

But the most important *immediate* decision of American foreign policy is: What do we do in Vietnam?

The *goal* of *all* Americans is an honorable settlement that will allow us to end the killing, bring home our troops, and leave the destiny of Vietnam to be determined by *all the people* of Vietnam in free and open elections.

The real question is: How can we best achieve this end?

1. I believe that neither unilateral withdrawal or unchecked military escalation will advance us toward our goals. The former course destroys our commitment to the people of South Vietnam, threatens our word around the world, and makes our past sacrifices meaningless. The latter course destroys our hopes for meaningful negotiations.

2. I support the current reduction in the bombing of North Vietnam as a reasonable risk to encourage peace negotiations, and I urge us to reduce further the bombing at the first sign from Hanoi that immediate and meaningful talks will begin.

3. For a reasonable time we must explore in Paris every possible avenue of securing an honorable resolution to the conflict.

4. I oppose the use of nuclear weapons.

5. I support a de-Americanization of the war, including a massive upgrading of South Vietnam's military forces, so that a major portion of the effort can be transferred to the South Vietnamese with goal of eventually transferring full responsibility.

The South Vietnamese must be the first line of defense and the United States the supplier of material and the ultimate line of defense. The South Vietnamese must do more or we must do less.

6. Social reforms must be pushed, pacification improved, corruption attacked more vigorously.

7. After the independence of South Vietnam is assured, free, fair, open, safeguarded elections must be held to select a postwar South Vietnamese government. We should

not exert undue pressure on South Vietnam to accept a coalition government. Such a result should only come about by the political drive of the South Vietnamese themselves.

8. I support a general amnesty for all dissident groups in South Vietnam.

9. Finally, we must not expect too much to flow from a resolution of the conflict in Vietnam. We must learn to live in insecurity without succumbing to panic or extremism.

We simply will not be able to solve in any rapid or final fashion many of the crucial problems that confront us.

These, then, are the policies in foreign affairs I believe will set America upon a sure and steady course and achieve and maintain peace.

ARNOLD C. BAUER, OF SOUTH BEND, IND.: LIBRARIAN FOR OUR SERVICEMEN IN VIETNAM

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, the following quotes are taken from the letters of two American servicemen stationed in Vietnam:

I couldn't think of why someone would send me some books, when I didn't even know the person.

I feel that if more people would help our servicemen like you have helped me, that the world would be 100% better off.

The recipient of those letters, and many more like them, is Mr. Arnold C. Bauer, 1021 North Meade Street, South Bend, Ind., in the congressional district I have the honor to represent.

Mr. Speaker, 2 years ago, Mr. Bauer began sending books to his son, Sgt. Jack R. Bauer, who was stationed at Tachikawa Air Force base near Tokyo, Japan. When Jack was finished with the books, he took them to the base hospital.

Mr. Bauer was on his way to becoming "a sort of self-appointed, honorary librarian for the U.S. Armed Forces in Vietnam," according to a South Bend, Ind., Tribune staff writer, James Wensits, when two of Mr. Bauer's nephews went to Vietnam. He shifted his attention there, partly because the Red Cross took over supplying books to the hospital in Japan. The nephews appreciated the service so much, that when they left Vietnam, he continued sending books.

Since then, Mr. Bauer estimates that he has mailed about 24,000 volumes of paperback books and magazines to servicemen in Vietman. Names of the men are given to him by friends, book donors and soldiers receiving his packages. Occasionally he will make a plea to area residents on a listeners-call-in program aired by a local radio station and the response has been tremendous.

In a recent letter to me, Mr. Bauer wrote that his booming enterprise was helped by donations of wrapping paper from two paper wholesalers, tape from the company he works for, and shipping labels from a nearby drug store. He reported he was receiving "plenty of books from the people of South Bend and Mishawaka" but lacked postage for 465 packages of books at 36 cents per package.

Fortunately for the morale of many of our servicemen in Vietnam, I believe the good-hearted Mr. Bauer is going to find the funds he needs to continue the mailings. He has yet to miss a week in sending books to Vietnam, even when it has meant reaching into his own pocket for postage money. Despite occasional contributions of mailing money from individuals and groups, he has personally spent over $500 on postage.

Mr. Bauer, I am sure, enjoys the deep appreciation of all of the citizens of my congressional district. I am pleased to have this opportunity to congratulate him and to call attention to his generous and inspiring contribution to the morale of our armed forces in Vietnam.

If all of the 24,000 books and magazines which he has sent to our servicemen overseas were laid end to end, I believe they would reach all the way from the heart of Mr. Bauer to the hearts of our men in Vietnam.

I salute him.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE BRYAN J. McENTEGART, ARCHBISHOP OF BROOKLYN AND QUEENS

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, on September 30, the city of Brooklyn, the State of New York, and, indeed, the entire Nation lost a great religious leader, educator and humanitarian with the passing of the Most Reverend Bryan J. McEntegart, former archbishop of Brooklyn and Queens.

Archbishop McEntegart was a man of great strength, compassion, and courage, and his life reflected these qualities in the many achievements he accomplished in every area in which he worked. A pioneer in the ecumenical movement, he came to Brooklyn after a rectorship at the Catholic University of America in Washington, an episcopacy in upstate New York and many years in the priesthood. It was my good fortune to have had the blessing of his friendship from the time of his installation as bishop of Brooklyn in 1957 until his death last month.

Archbishop McEntegart was born in New York City on January 5, 1893, and attended Manhattan College, St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, and was ordained in St. Patrick's Cathedral by John Cardinal Farley on September 6, 1917. He did graduate work at the Catholic University of America and at the New York School for Social Work.

During the next 20 years of his life, while winning a reputation as an expert in Catholic education and social action programs, he taught in the Fordham University School of Social Service from 1920 to 1950; was president of the New York State Conference on Social Work in 1940; president of the National Conference of Catholic Charities in 1941; Vice Chairman of the Reports Committee of the White House Conference on Children in 1940; U.S. delegate to the Eighth Pan-American Child Congress in 1942; and chairman of the Diocesan Directors of Charities in the United States in 1940.

Archbishop McEntegart also served as director of the division of child care of the Catholic Charities of the New York Archdiocese from 1920 to 1941; national secretary of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association from 1941 to 1943; executive director of Catholic Relief Services, National Catholic Welfare Conference; secretary of the executive committee of the National Catholic Community Service; and as a director of the United Service Organizations.

In 1943 he was named bishop of Ogdensburg, N.Y., and consecrated in St. Patrick's Cathedral in August of that year. On that occasion, President Franklin D. Roosevelt wrote to him:

Your achievements in the field of social welfare during the last 25 years have been inspiring to me and to many others who have a positive interest in such work . . . I am sure you will continue to move on to new accomplishments in these social endeavors which are so essential in periods like the present when war is temporarily disrupting the lives of millions of families and creating problems in the solution of which such talents as yours are particularly efficacious.

When he resigned the Ogdensburg see in 1953 to become rector of the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C., he was named titular bishop of Aradi. Archbishop McEntegart continued to serve on the board of trustees of the university until February of this year.

As bishop of Brooklyn, he initiated a Catholic high school campaign which raised funds to build new Catholic schools for 10,000 students in Brooklyn and Queens. He planned the construction of new and improved medical facilities for the Catholic Medical Center of Brooklyn and Queens. When the project is completed it is expected the center will be able to quadruple the number of persons served.

In 1965, Archbishop McEntegart and the late Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York, as the two ordinaries of the five counties of New York City, arranged for construction of the Vatican Pavilion at the New York World's Fair, and greeted Pope Paul on his visit there.

In 1967 the Archbishop celebrated his golden jubilee as a priest and completion of a decade as the bishop of Brooklyn. Early in this year due to failing health he petitioned Pope Paul for permission to retire and was succeeded on July 15 by Msgr. Francis J. Mogavero.

Archbishop McEntegart was a pioneer among American bishops in founding a diocesan commission on ecumenism. He was a prime mover in establishing Project Equality in metropolitan New York, an organization dedicated to promoting fair hiring practices, which is sponsored and funded by Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish groups.

One of his last official acts was to participate in ceremonies marking the opening of Project Equality in New York.

A fitting tribute to Archbishop McEntegart was offered by the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy on the occasion of the former's golden jubilee:

Throughout the years, you have provided leadership and inspiration not only within the Church but throughout the community.

Your strength, compassion and courage merit the gratitude of all who know you and of your work.

COMMUNITY SELF-DETERMINATION ACT OF 1968

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, today, along with 11 colleagues, I have introduced an important bill—H.R. 20419—the Community Self-Determination Act of 1968. This legislation would create a new institutional structure through which the residents of depressed rural and urban areas could achieve economic development and the ownership of productive resources through their own efforts and under their own control.

The Community Self-Determination Act is fostered by the pragmatic, innovative, and experimental spirit of America. It draws heavily on our successes and failures, not just in our continuing battle against poverty, but in other areas as well. Several different projects around the Nation, which have been based on the concepts underlying this legislation, have provided practical tests for various provisions in the bill. These provisions cut across party lines and narrow political considerations. The act provides yet another approach to our goal of eliminating poverty. It is an approach intended to spark economic and social development through the fertile union of community decisionmaking, community control, community ownership of productive capital and financing institutions, and Government, the private sector, and self-help.

A June 1968 article in the Boston Globe explains the need for community involvement. I agree with its author that any realistic program for economic development must take into account the disorder, alienation, turmoil, and despair which are the central facts of life in poverty-stricken areas today. Economic development through jobs and outside business investment is simply not sufficient; what is needed is community development, for stability can come about only through the responsible participation of community residents in their own affairs. Democratically based community control is the only way to create respected, indigenous leadership which truly represents the community and can sustain order.

This bill would create an instrument for economic development and community self-determination—the Community Development Corporation. This would be a stock business corporation formed by residents of any area which falls short of national norms in income or employment. A great deal of attention has been devoted to organizing, operating and certification procedures to guarantee that the corporation would be truly representative of and managed for the benefit of the community. The CDC would own and manage businesses in an area. Working through turnkey contracts and attracted by tax incentives, the private sector would erect facilities, train local labor and management, and—once the business was operating smoothly—turn it over to the community. As long as the community fell short of national norms of employment and income, profits from these operating subsidiaries would be used to finance community social services. Provisions are made for the recapture and the phasing out of the tax incentives under certain conditions.

The act also would institute a specialized banking system, modeled after the successful farm credit system and Vice President HUMPHREY's proposed National Development Bank, to finance this economic development. This banking system would assist small, local entrepreneurs in the community in financing their businesses.

The Federal Government would create the conditions for and oversee the chartering of these new institutions. It would provide seed money to chartered CDC's in the form of one-time-only matching grants. Initial capital for a U.S. Community Development Bank also would be provided by the Government, but this would eventually be retired as the community-owned banking system grew stronger.

American business, labor, and independent organizations would provide capital, technical assistance, and manpower and managerial training. I'm sure the private sector would rally to the call.

This bill is not perfect yet, and it is not intended to be exclusive. It has broad bipartisan support in both Houses of Congress. It merits intensive study and consideration.

Everyone realizes that it will be a difficult and expensive undertaking to eliminate poverty from our generally affluent Nation. But this Nation has thrived on difficult and exacting problems. To meet such problems head on, to learn from our successes and failures, to try and try again, is the dynamic and productive foundation of our American heritage. Our commitment to this heritage is on trial again today. I am sure we will not be found wanting.

JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to be among the many Members of this House to pay tribute upon his departure from us to our distinguished colleague, JOSEPH Y. RESNICK, who has with such eminence represented the 28th District of New York. JOSEPH RESNICK brought a now-distinguished spirit into this House for he is a fighter. He gives no quarter to those he deems to be standing against the public interest. He asks no quarter from those who oppose him in his own gallant fight to open wider doors of opportunity for those struggling for a fair place in the affluent economy of this country. JOSEPH RESNICK has done much since he has been a Member of this House to quicken the awareness of this country to many ills which need to be cured. He has quickened the conscience of this country to many wrongs which cry out to be righted. The public interest will be poorer when this gallant warrior is no longer here to battle for it. This House will miss the warmth of his friendship and his cheerful manner. I join my colleagues in commending JOSEPH Y. RESNICK upon his outstanding service here and in wishing him many years of service in whatever endeavors he undertakes. We particularly wish abiding happiness for him and his family.

THE ORANGE COUNTY ACADEMIC DECATHLON

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, an exciting program has been started by a private nonprofit association. The program is called the Orange County academic decathlon. It draws inspiration from the ancient Greek athletic test of 10 events, the decathlon. Where the decathlon was intended to test the best athletes, the academic decathlon is aimed at testing academic achievements in students in the Orange County's public and private schools.

The academic decathlon is predicated on three great challenges facing modern education. First, to turn out more generalists, that is individuals capable of dealing with the broad problems of modern America. Many contend we are in a specialist rut today. We turn out engineering specialists who know nothing about art. We produce medical spcialists who are not able to write a coherent report. We find art specialists who do not know an atom from a nova. If we are to maintain our present position of leadership in this world, it is imperative that we produce generalists, individuals capble of dealing with problems that cut across several areas of learning. It is not enough to train individuals to build technically efficient road systems. It is necessary that those who plan our roads and highways be made aware of the sociological and psychological effects that the roads will have upon those who live around them and travel on them. It is likewise necessary that those who plan road systems be made aware of the importance of so locating those systems that they contribute to, rather than detract from, the natural beauty of the areas in which they are built.

Second, the academic decathlon program recognizes that all individuals need motivation. It is not enough to attend to the geniuses and specialists; it is necessary to recall the forgotten average. The dramatic discoveries of the genius are very necessary for our society, but to keep the wheels turning, once the genius has invented them, it is just as necessary that the hands and the mind of the average man and woman be fully developed.

Finally, the Orange County academic decathlon program recognizes the essentiality of communication. It acknowledges the ability to communicate person to person, and nation to nation is fundamental to the solution of modern problems. Many of our modern problems can be traced to our inability to communicate. Like the challenges of overspecialization of the gifted, of undermotivation of the average-ability students, the training of good communicators is a goal which must be reached. The competitive events for the 1968 Orange County academic decathlon were designed to test general achievement along with verbal and written communication skills. The major areas of emphasis stressed in the competition are esthetics, conversation, essay writing, extracurricular activities, formal speech, literature and current affairs, mathematics, practical arts, science, and social science. Set forth below now is detailed information on the areas of competition:

Esthetics: Two major areas are included in this test—visual arts and music. The test will touch upon all phases of art which affect our present-day living. Included will be questions on art in the home, art in the community, art in religion, and art in industry and commerce. There are questions on art materials and processes, and the problem of organization. Included are the three major arts: architecture, sculpture, and painting, as well as a variety of crafts.

The music portion of this test will touch on material from fields of opera; the orchestra; harmony; composers; dynamics and tempo; conductors and performers; compositions; and general music knowledge.

Conservation: An evaluation will be made of the student's ability to—

First. Informally and orally present ideas that are appropriate to the problem being considered.

Second. Listen to ideas of others in the group, evaluate them, and adjust his responses accordingly.

Third. Establish and maintain rapport with members of a conversational group through voice, gesture, and additional posture.

Fourth. Evaluate the background and attitudes of the members in the group in order to respond in the most persuasive way to others in the group.

Fifth. Use voice, vocabulary, and language structures appropriate to informal oral communication.

Essay writing: The student will be judged in regard to his ability to—

First. Organize ideas in logical patterns appropriate to the purpose of the assignment.

Second. Present these ideas, using effective vocabulary and written structures appropriate to formal standards of written communication in English.

Third. Use mechanical skills of standard English punctuation, grammar, and spelling that facilitate communication and are acceptable in formal writing.

Extracurricular activities: An assessment will be made of the student's entry form, which indicates participation in clubs, athletics, student government, work, and other extracurricular school and community activities.

Literature and current affairs: The student will be scored on his ability to—

First. Define literary terms involving form and style found in poetry and prose.

Second. Apply these definitions to actual examples.

Third. Recognize the style of certain important authors.

A current affairs test has been incorporated as the second part of the test.

Mathematics: This section contains problems and activities meaningful to all levels of students. Questions over a wide range of difficulty will refer to: basic computation, elementary number theory, elementary and advanced applications of symbolism, knowledge of logarithms, interpretation of converging number series, application of set notation and terminology, and probability.

Practical arts: This portion of the decathlon incorporates questions stemming from many areas of experience in successful daily living.

General reading in the fields of agriculture, applied mathematics and science, business, career planning, communication, driver education, home economics, industrial education, and leisure time activities is recommended.

Students who have identified a plant, figured miles per gallon, used a fire extinguisher, planned a career, used tools, or know how to buy quality goods, are likely to do well on this test.

Formal speech: This event will be used to evaluate the student's ability to—

First. Organize ideas in logical patterns that are appropriate for the speaker's purpose and are convincing to the audience.

Second. Express ideas using an effective vocabulary and the structures of the English language appropriate to formal usage.

Third. Present a physical image that aids the audience in the acceptance of the spoken ideas.

Fourth. Use his voice—pitch, stress, and flexibility—to establish and maintain maximum attention for his ideas.

Science: The majority of exercises in this test have been constructed to allow students to elaborate on—

First. The understandings he may have of the scientific enterprise.

Second. Understandings of scientists.

Third. Methods of science.

Students who are aware of communication among scientists: interaction between sciences and society; abilities needed by scientists; generalities about scientific method; theories and models; science and technology; and the aims of science should do well.

Social science: The social sciences encompass many disciplines. Questions and problems emerge from history, psychology, economics, sociology, cultural anthropology, geography, and political science. Students who can draw inferences and are adept at problem solving should do well on this section.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend this excellent idea to my colleagues with the hope that they will discuss it with the citizens of their community. It seems to me that this kind of competition which is open to all and which provides an opportunity for the average as well as the exceptional to participate is the very kind of academic competition which is needed in our country today. This kind of competition very closely simulates the competition that we encounter in life. Therefore, it seems to provide a very valuable and useful training for all those who participate. My enthusiasm for this program is immense. I invite any of you who are interested in this topic to contact me. I will try to furnish you with the necessary materials on this very valuable and important program.

THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RESCUE OF THE DANISH JEWS

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, this month is the 25th anniversary of one of the greatest examples of decency and courage in all of World War II.

Late in September of 1943, rumors began to circulate in Copenhagen that the Nazis were planning to arrest the entire Jewish population of Denmark and ship all of them off to concentration camps. When confirmation of the rumors was obtained, the people of Denmark organized one of the most effective rescue missions in history. Overnight, the Jews went into hiding in sanctuaries provided by people all over Denmark. They were then smuggled out of the country and into Sweden.

So total was the cooperation of the Danes that the Nazis were able to locate very few of the hiding places and 92 percent of the Jews escaped.

To mark the anniversary, Sol M. Linowitz, U.S. Ambassador to the Organization of American States, and Victor Borge, noted Danish-American entertainer, are cochairmen of the month-long Salute, which will include a special concert, radio and television programs, proclamations, speeches, receptions, commemorative religious services and prayers offered in synagogues throughout the country. The concert will benefit the nonprofit Thanks to Scandinavia Foundation, which grants scholarships to students from Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland for specialized graduate study not readily available in their home countries—as a continuing testimonial of appreciation to the Scandinavians for their courage in aiding Jews during World War II.

The royal families of Denmark and Sweden, and dignitaries from all of the Scandinavian nations, are expected to participate in the Salute.

As part of the observance, Hanna F. Desser of the staff of the American Jewish Committee has written a very fine commemorative essay entitled "Suddenly Each Man Knew." In order to make more Americans aware of this heroic undertaking, I am pleased to insert the essay in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

SALUTE TO DENMARK AND SWEDEN: A 25TH ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATION

THE RESCUE OF THE JEWS OF DENMARK IN 1943

"Suddenly each man knew . . ."

The year 1943 was a year of desolation and despair for the Jews of Europe. Degradation and death stalked them everywhere. Steadily, relentlessly, the Nazi conquerors moved on to impose Hitler's "final solution." In the face of this ultimate barbarism, the civilized world stood horrified—but paralyzed. And, in the thousands and tens of thousands, the Jews were forced to their destruction.

Yet, miraculously, twice during that bitter year the humanity of man rose and triumphed. In widely separated places and in very different ways, people of valor bravely resisted the murderers.

In Warsaw, from behind the ghetto walls, Jewish men, women and children struggled with pitifully few weapons and boundless courage to break through to hope. They failed against the Nazi juggernaut, as they were bound to fail, but their deeds still live in the hearts of all who cherish freedom.

In Denmark, a king and an entire Christian people mounted an extraordinary act of defiance against the military power which had occupied their country for three and a half years. Spontaneously, swiftly, efficiently, they snatched some 7,000 Jews from the hands of the Nazis and took them across the waters to safety in Sweden.

The tiny nation, ultimately as helpless as the Jews they saved, challenged the conqueror—and triumphed. As with the victory of David over Goliath, their feat resounds through human history.

How did it happen?

The roots of their heroic saga—in which Sweden's vital role will always be remembered—lie deep in the Scandinavian tradition. These are an independent people, of high moral character, thoroughly democratic in principle and practice. Tolerance of others is an unknown concept; matter-of-fact acceptance is the norm.

The attitude toward Jews is summed up in the words of a writer who said: "The essential and distinguishing fact of life in Scandinavia is that no one really cares whether one is a Jew or not." It was this breed of men who faced, and foiled, the Germans in 1943.

When the Nazis ignored Danish neutrality and surged into Denmark on April 9, 1940, they seized a country in which Jews have known freedom and equality since the first Jewish settlement early in the 17th century. Denmark is a place where citizens of all creeds always lived in harmony, where Jews never confronted discrimination or persecution. The rulers of this constitutional monarchy, like their people, consistently upheld the human dignity of each person.

Thus, it was not surprising that, in the early days of the German occupation, the Danish Jews—as well as the hundreds of refugees from other Nazi-held countries who had come seeking asylum—were protected by their fellow Danes, from King Christian X to the humblest citizen. The King flatly refused to accede to German demands that he issue and implement anti-Jewish decrees. When the Germans threatened to force Danish Jews to wear the yellow Star of David as a badge of "shame," the King announced that he would be the first to put it on—and the plan was dropped. When, in 1941, the Germans tried to completely destroy the beautiful, century-old Copenhagen synagogue, the King personally inspected the damages which had been inflicted and wrote to the rabbi to express his regrets.

Voicing the views of all the people, a church paper said: "Anti-Jewish legislation is tantamount to lawlessness, and if we forsake justice then we will be submitted to a degredation worse than war and suppression."

Simultaneously, the Danes expressed their hatred for the conquerors and their determination to maintain their inner freedom by committing numerous acts of rebellion and sabotage. Hundreds went underground into a tightly-knit resistance movement, to carry on their fight. The experience thus gained served usefully in the later rescue of the Jews.

Up to August 29, 1943, despite overt and covert Danish resistance, a sort of formal truce existed between the occupying forces and the Government. The King and his administration, permitted to continue governing subject to German control, managed somehow to adjust to the situation. But on that fateful day the Germans issued an ultimatum dissolving the Government and the Army. The Cabinet was dismissed, the Parliament closed. The Germans attacked the palace and seized the King. Then they launched their classic pattern of terror, torture, transportation to concentration camps and the destruction of all opposition.

Within weeks the Germans turned their attention to Denmark's Jews, on direct orders from Hitler. They planned a mass round-up of Jews for deportation to concentration camps—and death—on the night of October 1–2, during the Rosh Hashanah holiday. Rumors of the impending action began to circulate in Copenhagen in September. Danish Christians reacted first with horror, then with determination. For them, there was only one response: the Jews must be saved.

They began to marshal their forces. Help came from every side. Describing those tense, feverish days, Mrs. Leni Yahil, research secretary of the Yad Vashem Institute of the Hebrew University wrote:

"The whole population rose to its feet. From the King's palace—where he was kept at that time in a sort of captivity—to the home of the simplest fisherman, people tried to warn, to hide, to rush away, to transport to the coast and from there to Sweden. Money streamed in from every side. It was the people's answer to the German attempt to break their spirit, to crush that human dignity that found its expression in their free and democratic constitution and rule. They identified themselves and their fate with the Jews."

A hero of the rescue, which came to be known among the Danes as "the little Dunkirk," was Aage Bertelsen, author of books and articles on religion, philosophy, education and Danish literature, and the headmaster of a leading Danish school. His graphic and moving book, "October '43," provides a definitive history of those dramatic days.

He describes how the Jews learned through the Prime Minister (who was informed by a sympathetic German official) of the devilish German plan to raid all Jewish homes and carry off the Jews to German ships waiting in the Copenhagen harbor—how the Jews were informed of the plot at the September 29 Rosh Hashanah service in the synagogue—how the Danish rescuers overcame incredible obstacles to shelter Jews in their homes, find the boats to carry them to Sweden, organize the movement to the coast under the eyes of the Germans, and take their human cargo to safety under conditions of utmost danger to every person involved.

He tells of his own reaction to "the dark night of the 1st and 2nd of October . . . a personal dawn," in these words:

"From now on there was no doubt or uncertainty possible . . . Action was the word. Even under serious or desperate conditions it is often a happy feeling to be able to devote oneself to a cause that one feels convinced is both unconditionally just and absolutely binding. The situation in Denmark at that time was precisely that simple. No honest man could possibly refrain from action after this raid, when the persecuted cried for help."

So, when the Germans marched into Jewish homes to seize their victims, they found echoing, empty rooms. Except for 250 hapless souls, who were unable to escape in time, all were in hiding—most of them in the homes of total strangers. Then began the laborious process of organizing and carrying out the actual rescue, with the shadow of the omnipresent and enraged Gestapo haunting every move.

Mr. Bertelsen and his friends in their Lyngby Group risked death constantly. Some were shot or captured, the latter including Mrs. Bertelsen. Others were tortured and died. Yet they persisted—as did other individual Danes and members of the Resistance—in the slow, steady process of rescue. The scope of the victory over barbarism which they achieved day by day during those agonizing weeks is reflected in the ultimate statistics: 475 Jews caught; 6,200—92 percent—rescued and taken to safety in Sweden.

Such were the essential facts. But there are many dramas of individual daring, many glorious episodes of group ingenuity, which will be told and retold as long as deeds of heroism stir the mind of man. Albert Einstein summed up the feelings of Jews throughout the world when he said:

"The assistance of the Swedish and the Danish peoples to my Jewish brethren in Denmark was given in a spirit of true humaneness, and will never be forgotten. It was a bright ray in this period of decline in humane feelings and human solidarity. It gave new faith to all who believe in a better future."

On this 25th anniversary of the rescue of the Jews of Denmark, free men everywhere join in salute to the thousands of Danes and Swedes who responded so nobly to their finest instincts. In a period when civilization seemed to have reached the nadir of degradation, they restored faith in the conscience of man and the strength of human brotherhood. Their example, a beacon lighting the darkness of 1943, should serve as an inspiration to us all in this troubled year of 1968.

Perhaps, one day, all men in their own countries will be able honestly to subscribe to the words of Kaj Munk, the great Danish priest and poet, who fought for freedom until he was murdered by the Germans. He said:

"When the days became heavy with fate,
With defeat and with want,
Suddenly each man knew what he owed
to his good Danish name."

—*Hanna F. Desser,*
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE.

HEALTH LEGISLATION

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, in his health message of 1965, President Johnson set for this Government and this Nation a goal equal to any we have ever strived to achieve. He said:

Our first concern must be to assure that the advance of medical knowledge leaves none behind. We can—and we must—strive now to assure the availability of and accessibility to the best health care for all Americans, regardless of age or geography or economic status.

We have not yet reached that goal, but the record of the past few years has brought us closer to it than anyone might ever have dreamed possible.

To sum up the health legislation enacted in the last 4 years is a major task. More than 30 pieces of health legislation have been enacted since the President's historic message on Advancing the Nation's Health. They include the Social

Security Amendments of 1965 which brought medicare and medicaid into existence and was perhaps the greatest single step toward reaching the President's goal of the right to health care for every American.

Under medicare, virtually every person in this country who is 65 or older now has the freedom to obtain decent medical attention when he needs it. It is making health care available for the first time to literally millions of Americans who were denied this right simply because they could not afford it.

Medicaid is helping to pay for health care for those people who lack the financial means to obtain it. A great and growing partnership of Federal and State efforts, medicaid this year alone will help some 8 million Americans secure the right to health care by providing assurance that poverty will not be a barrier to decent and vital health care.

But medicare and medicaid are only the most dramatic and visible of the health legislation achievements of the 89th and 90th Congress. Other important measures are having profound effects on our country's progress toward health care not only for most, but for all Americans.

The regional medical programs created by the heart disease, cancer, and stroke amendments of 1965 have set in motion a vast effort to hasten progress toward control of these, the three major causes of death in the United States, and to make the tremendous strides in medical science more readily usable in the pursuit of good health.

In more than 50 regions covering the entire population of the country cooperative programs are underway among hospitals, medical schools, research centers, and local physicians. These programs will mean that no person afflicted with one of these catastrophic diseases needs be beyond the reach of the very best of medical care. Moreover, the regional medical programs are doing much to make the physicians of this country better able to use the lifesaving skills and tools developed through the most advanced research on heart disease, cancer, and stroke.

President Johnson and Congress have greatly strengthened the partnership between the Federal Government and State and local government, a partnership for health. The comprehensive health planning and public health service amendments of 1966 ushered in a new era of intergovernmental health cooperation by replacing the outmoded categorical system of grant support for State health programs with a system of comprehensive statewide planning and comprehensive Federal support.

The great significance of this program lies in the fact that it permits the States to assess their own health problems and needs and obtain Federal financial assistance geared directly to those needs, a fundamental improvement over the old system of categorical grants which often left States with acute imbalances in health program financing—funds they didn't need for some health activities and insufficient financial assistance in other areas of critical need.

Meeting the goal of decent health care for every American requires more than planning and more than helping the elderly and the needy purchase health services. It requires expansion and improvement of health resources—knowledge, manpower, and facilities—and it also requires making the health care delivery system better able to meet the needs of all the people.

In the 89th and 90th Congresses, major laws have been enacted to strengthen the Nation's health resources: The Nurse Training Act of 1964; the Health Professions Educational Assistance Amendments of 1965; and the Allied Health Professions Personnel Training Act of 1966 are major cornerstones in the building of a strong and productive health manpower system. To continue this Nation's progress in the development of health facilities, both for research and for health services, the Congress has enacted the Health Research Facilities Amendments of 1965 and has carried forward the remarkably successful Hill-Burton program of Federal aid in the construction and modernization of hospital facilities in every part of the country.

This unprecedented array of health legislation stands as a permanent monument to the desire of the American people that no man be denied the best health care that this Nation can offer.

We have not yet reached the lofty goal which President Johnson set in 1965. But that goal is now, for the first time in our history, within reach. And when, at some future time, the last barrier to the right to health is laid aside, the health record of President Johnson and the Congress will stand among the finest accomplishments of a humane and democratic society.

THE 57TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 57th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China. I want to extend my congratulations to all the people of the Republic on this important national holiday.

It is interesting that because the anniversary falls on the tenth day of the tenth month that the common expression for China's anniversary is "Double-Ten Day."

On this "Double-Ten Day" I believe it is appropriate for those of us in the Congress to recognize the friendship that exists between the United States and the Republic of China. It is my hope that our friendship shall continue to grow in the future as it has in the past.

The great strides, economic, political and social, made by the Republic of China in recent years are a great credit to its people. One area of particular achievement has been land reform, that important ingredient of progress. The program of land reform in Taiwan has proved to be ideal and practical, and its enforcement successful.

In fact, the Chinese land reform has been so successful that the Republic is instituting in January a world land reform institute so that it might share its experience and expertise with the developing nations of the world. This is a great credit to the people of China and their leaders.

By sharing its knowledge with other nations China is doing a great deal to further international understanding and foster good relations. Land reform experts from Asian countries including the Philippines, Korea, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Iran, and Vietnam will be the first invited to the land reform institute. The program will later be extended to include countries in all parts of the world.

The fact that the Republic of China has progressed to the point where it can begin such a program lends additional significance to this "Double-Ten Day" and the people of China may be justly proud of their achievements.

I am sure my colleagues join me in extending our congratulations to the people of the Republic of China on this auspicious anniversary.

LING-TEMCO-VOUGHT DEVELOPS EXCELLENT ON-THE-JOB-TRAINING PROGRAM

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, we are all keenly interested in the Manpower Training and Development Act.

I have been following the development of the Department of Labor relations with Ling-Temco-Vought's valley project program. The valley project was one of the most successful programs the Department of Labor ever had.

This program took men from the Rio Grande Valley who had mostly been migrant workers. Of the 1,000 men that were hired, only three or four had a job at the time they were hired. Ling-Temco-Vought took these men, brought them to Dallas and in Dallas they were trained by Ling-Temco-Vought to work as aircraft manufacturers and technical assemblers—a job which pays an average of $2.59 per hour. The total amount the Government spent on this was $782,000 for the cost of moving the men to Dallas and $190,000 for on-the-job training plus the appropriation through the Texas Educational Agency from Health, Education, and Welfare of $239,000. In addition, Ling-Temco-Vought itself invested $300 for each individual in the training program—a total of $300,000.

The amazing thing about this program was that these individuals after being hired by Ling-Temco-Vought will pay back within 18 months through their taxes to the Federal Government more than the cost of training them to the Government. These men were taken off the welfare rolls, and given an opportunity to learn and earn. Ling-Temco-Vought executives have been enthusiastic over results. The U.S. Government anticipates losses of 25 percent of its employees because of dissatisfaction with their job, whereas Ling-Temco-Vought

has only lost one-fourth of 1 percent of those on the payroll. Only 13 men have quit their jobs for one reason or another.

On September 5, the House considered H.R. 15045. I joined the majority of the House in a bipartisan move which passed this act. On October 8, the Senate passed the equivalent of this measure with few minor points, and it is today back in the House to be reconsidered.

I strongly urge the passage of this legislation. I would also like to add to the RECORD the story of October 10 in the Dallas Morning News by our distinguished Dallas business leader, Mr. Paul Thayer:

LATIN TRAINING PROGRAM CALLED MOST SUCCESSFUL

LTV Aerospace Corporation President Paul Thayer this week called a government-funded training program for workers of the Rio Grande Valley discontinued recently for lack of funds, the most successful training project the firm has ever undertaken.

Under sponsorship of a number of Federal and state agencies, the Company began the Texas Labor Mobility Demonstrator Project a year ago.

The project was to provide industrial training for 750 unemployed or under-employed workers from the Valley. After relocation here, jobs were to be provided for those who successfully completed the training.

LTV Aerospace said 684 workers had completed the training and were on the payroll when the last three schools—located in Harlingen, McAllen and Rio Grande City—closed doors.

"These workers are doing such quality work for us that we wish we could continue the program to obtain more of them." Thayer said.

"This was an experimental program. Its successes may well provide guide lines for more permanent training projects for the disadvantaged."

The firm is completing a new training school and sub-assembly facility in San Antonio and will provide training in jobs for hard-core unemployed there.

A school also is operated in Grand Prairie where approximately 150 unskilled workers receive training in the industrial skills.

DR. ARTHUR GARDINER COONS

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, this summer marked the passing of a great Californian, Dr. Arthur Gardiner Coons. Dr. Coons, former president of Occidental College in Los Angeles, was an individual who commanded the respect and admiration of all who knew him. He was president of Occidental when I attended the college after World War II. Later, as a member of the state legislature, I worked closely with Dr. Coons who was then serving as president of the Coordinating Council for Higher Education. He was a superb leader in the development of California's higher educational system.

At a time when relations between students, faculty and administration are strained on many of our college and university campuses, I can remember back to my own student days and the close association I had with Dr. Coons. He was an inspiration to all of his students and instilled in us the values needed to deal with the realities of our time.

I would like to have included in the RECORD a tribute to Dr. Coons, which was printed in the Occidental Alumni magazine:

ARTHUR G. COONS: JUNE 13, 1900–JULY 26, 1968

Tuesday, July 30, 1968, the relatives, colleagues and friends he left behind attended funeral services for Dr. Arthur Gardiner Coons, held, as he requested, in St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Newport Beach. The Reverend Raymond Brahams '22 officiated at the simple rites, assisted by organist Robert Heustis.

It was midsummer, and many who would have wished to pay their last respects to a great man were away from home, yet the church was crowded and the weight of memories filled the sanctuary. Many, expressing their silent sympathy with Edna Palmer Coons and other family members, must have thought how singularly complete with the life that had just ended. Dr. Coons had retired from the presidency of Occidental College in 1965, and from the presidency of the Coordinating Council for Higher Education in January 1968; his book, *Crises in California Higher Education: Experience Under the Master Plan and Problems of Coordination, 1959–1968* was just off the press of his long-time friend Harry Ward Ritchie '28; the Arthur G. Coons Administrative Center at Occidental had been dedicated May 27.

Twenty prominent men acted as honorary pallbearers for the deceased educator and economist—Occidental President Richard C. Gilman and Dean Robert S. Ryf '39; Trustees Daniel P. Bryant, Edward W. Carter, Dana Latham, Harold "Chad" McClellan '22, Richard W. Miller '21, Kenneth T. Norris, Edwin Pauley '23, Frank N. Rush '09 and Dr. Arthur N. Young '10; Rector L. Coons, his brother; Tarver Montgomery, his cousin; Dr. Glenn S. Dumke '38, Ira N. Frisbee, Edgar R. "Ned" Hill, Francis H. Lindley, O. W. Richard, Dr. Jerry Richards '50 and E. H. Stevenson. Twenty men who deemed it an honor and a privilege to do homage to Arthur Coons, a man of unquestioned personal integrity; a man with the power to make decisions yet capable of admitting a mistake; a warm friend and an implacable foe of the shoddy and the superficial; a man of strength and humor; a man who combined breadth of vision with attention to detail; who remembered his students' names and faces after their classmates had forgotten them; an American, proud of his heritage and dedicated to the service of his country; a churchman who tempered conviction with tolerance.

An Occidental alumnus of the Class of 1920, Dr. Coons received his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, the same year that he married Mary Edna Palmer. He returned to his *alma mater* that year as Assistant Professor of Economics and Executive Secretary to the President, and subsequently became Dean of Men. After five years on the faculty and administration of Claremont College, he became Dean of the Faculty and Professor of Economics at Occidental in 1943 and after one year as Acting President, was named President in 1946.

As President of Occidental, Dr. Coons saw the total assets of the institution increase from $4 million to $33 million; endowment within that total grew from $1.2 million to $13.5 million. During his presidency, twelve major buildings were constructed and significant alterations were made to three existing structures.

Dr. Coons was, for fourteen years from its founding in 1953, a member of the Board of Directors of the Council for Financial Aid to Education, Inc. He was president of the Association of American Colleges in 1956, a member of President Eisenhower's Committee on Education Beyond the High School in 1956–57, and second vice chairman of the American Council on Education in 1960–61.

In 1959 Arthur Coons served as chairman of the Master Plan Survey for Higher Education in California, for which he received wide acclaim. His counsel in matters of California public higher education was highly regarded and frequently sought.

He was a member of the Board of Directors and twice chairman of the Los Angeles Branch of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, and a trustee of the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation. Eleven institutions had awarded him honorary degrees and in 1962 he was named United Presbyterian Churchman of the Year for Southern California. In January 1968 Queen Elizabeth II appointed him an Honorary Commander of the Order of the British Empire.

"More than any other person," said President Richard C. Gilman, "Arthur Coons made Occidental College what it is today. His loss will be felt keenly, deeply and personally by all who know him. His presence will live on in this college which he loved and to which he dedicated so much of his life."

In an editorial on Tuesday, July 30, the *Los Angeles Times* commented, "Higher education in California—indeed throughout the nation—has lost a devoted, articulate and courageous champion" and referred to his "towering reputation" and "bold imagination," while former U.C. President Clark Kerr called him "the leading academic statesman in California." And in a message of sympathy to Dr. Coons' widow and son, Lieutenant Governor Robert H. Finch said, "He was a dynamic and dedicated individual, of exceptional insight, whose major and lasting impact on the full spectrum of higher education in California, both private and public, will be a lasting memorial to a great man and his work."

Dr. Coons' ambitions for his beloved college were apparent in nearly all of his public speeches. On Founders' Day 1965 he said, "We are striving to build here a community of reason, intelligent love and devotion, in order that the contagions of such community experience may cause lives to possess something of that security and serenity that only the thoughtful and the sincere know . . . A liberal arts college by its own nature has its roots deep in the historic past. Nevertheless, no college can serve its youth and its day unless its program recognizes the realities of the contemporary scene and the dimensions of modern life and thought. Whatever else happens, it must be relevant or it will die." And again, "For the student the college must be a place of intellectual ferment, discovery and mastery, but also of divine discontent, great hope for the future and commitment to something greater than himself."

In 1962, the 75th anniversary year at Occidental, in a Convocation address which he titled "Salients on the Western Front," Dr. Coons said, "The quality of life lived in this college now is of meaning not solely to ourselves but to our nation, and beyond that to all mankind. It is my prayer and my hope that it shall be the deep and earnest resolve of each of us that we shall each measure up fully to the use of all the talents that we have received, letting none go to waste, using all resources for the good of our nation and mankind, and never cheaply selling our heritage for a mess of pottage and immediate gain. For this cause was this college born; for such great ends may it then live to fulfill its purpose."

At a dinner given for Dr. and Mrs. Coons by the Occidental College Faculty Club and the Faculty Women's Club in December, 1964, Dr. Howard Swan paid a tribute to Arthur Coons which may serve now as an expression from all his colleagues.

"We are his faculty—his colleagues—" Dr. Swan said then, "and so for a brief moment we wish to remind ourselves of those qualities of leadership which he has shown over the years and which have excited in us both affection and respect. First we admire our president because of his courage. He has never been afraid to speak his convictions, and one does not sense ambiguity or hypocracy in his statements.

"If, with St. Paul, we believe that 'faith is the evidence of things not seen,' Arthur Coons is possessed of an extraordinary amount of faith—vision—call it what you will—and a tremendous and vital capacity to make vision become reality . . . his unusual ability to foresee the future has not been confined to campus improvements. You will recall his great interest in the library—in raising the level of faculty salaries—in the sponsorship of academic conferences, the Bird lectures, the Artist Series, the faculty lectures—and in the important changes in curriculum and academic policies which made this a stronger and finer college. He planned with wisdom and then always shouldered his share of the responsibility for producing results."

Toward the end of his tribute, Dr. Swan quoted a statement made by Walter Lippman regarding Franklin Roosevelt which he said was equally true of Arthur Coons . . . "the final test of a leader is that he leaves behind him in other men the conviction and the will to carry on."

DEAN MIDDENDORF OF BROOKLYN POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE SPEAKS ON DISSENT

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago Dean Henry Q. Middendorf of the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn delivered an address before the Brooklyn Rotary Club, entitled "Down With Deans."

At a time when there is such widespread misuse and abuse of the right to dissent on our college campuses it is encouraging to have the views of Dean Middendorf which offer a constructive approach to the problem.

So that our colleagues may have the benefit of his wisdom, I request that the full text of the address be printed at this point in the RECORD:

DOWN WITH DEANS
(By Henry Q. Middendorf)

My fellow Rotarians. When Scotty Dunsmore asked me to speak on the subject of student dissent and rioting I didn't know what I was letting myself in for in trying to put something like this together in a brief statement. Because I would like to set down some comments, and then perhaps, if time allows, try to talk out any questions you may have.

In trying to come up with a title for today's remarks, I was thinking of the plight of my friend, Dean Henry Coleman of Columbia. Not only had he not wanted the job of Dean in the first place, but in being locked in he suffered an additional ignominy in that his captors were students whom he had admitted a few years before when he was Director of Admissions. Others suffer from errors of commission; he suffered from errors of admission.

Webster defines the verb "dissent" as: "To differ in opinion; to be of contrary sentiment; to disagree." In a remarkable—and oft quoted speech before the Board of Regents of the State University of New York, the late Justice Learned Hand said: "That community is already in the process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy; where non-conformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation, without specification or backing, takes the place of evidence; *where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent;* where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists, to win or to lose."

Now "dissent" has become a sort of by-word in education today—almost a challenge to do "something", to "rock the boat." I don't suppose that any fair-minded person would quarrel with the right to dissent. The problem arises over the "bounds" of dissent, both as to what things are legitimately "dissentable, and the manner in which the effort is carried out.

Educationally, dissent has resembled a pebble dropped into a pool, with the waves going out radially from it, crossing other waves, and picking up new currents as they move outward. When I spoke to you a couple of years ago, I talked about some of the pranks that students played on "Queer Old Deans", and some of the forms of dissent from rules at Ivy League colleges. The pebbles are the simple things that students gripe about: cafeteria food, seemingly stringent rules and regulations governing conduct, etc.

But then when the waves started outward, they began to link conduct with "civil rights" or "personal freedoms": The right to stay out all night, or to have women in your rooms until all hours. The rights and freedoms of assembly, free speech, etc. were also invoked at Berkeley, causing the first real collegiate outbreak in 1964. Coupled with this was the broader conflict of other personal rights—the "right" to be drafted, to fight a war in Vietnam which no one seemed to want, and to protest against those companies which provide some of the weapons of war.

As the student waves moved outward, they picked up faculty waves, which had also started as little pebbles. At first the ruling national faculty voice—the Association of University Professors—had only two main functions: to try to get salaries up—commendable enough, and to protect faculty members from undue or capricious administrative actions—namely, firing, or non-renewal of contract.

Since students had taken up the cudgels for injured faculty members on the "firing" line, faculty in turn felt moved to support certain student demands, particularly as they involved "freedoms" or "rights." This now meant a student-faculty tie-in against the administration, something which each side eagerly accepted at first, but later with misgiving—particularly when student demands infringed on traditionally faculty territory or "poaching grounds". When students demanded representation on faculty committees, or an evaluation of all teachers as a basis for salary increases or promotions, then the shoe began to pinch.

In an extremely well-written article in the N.Y. Times magazine section, the editor of the Harvard daily undergraduate newspaper wrote: "Student power does not mean total student control of the university. It does not mean the elimination of a university administration, or the elimination of faculty power. Students seek a shift in the balance of power. At most universities the administration and trustees have most of power, and the faculty has what is left. Students would like to see most of the power divided between themselves and the faculty. The student-power issue has been until now an uninteresting one on the campus because the achievable is irrelevant, and the relevant seems impossible. . . . University administrations will not voluntarily relinquish their ultimate authority."

While students don't want to be faculty or administrators, faculty in turn don't want to be Deans or Presidents. They just want the right to tell you what is wrong—not how to cure it always, and certainly not to take over the responsibility themselves. Prof. Walter Metzger, one of the original committee of 12 at Columbia, put it very succinctly: "This faculty doesn't want power; we've never called for faculty power. It has been delighted to let the administration handle the dirty jobs of raising money and administering the place, while it goes about its search for knowledge."

On a small country campus the waves usually stop here. The administration either puts its foot down, or works out a compromise. Each gains something; each loses something. And something traditional and intrinsic to education as you and I have known it is lost. Whether this is good or bad is debatable.

But in a large city the waves move outward, now touching upon the community. In the case of Columbia it involved Morningside Heights, Harlem, a gym, Black Power, and an ultimate division of black and white, almost as wide as that which split our country over 100 years ago. It involved the problem and tradition of campus sanctity from municipal police interference, even the concern over the possibility of having to bring in state militia.

To a lesser degree this occurred at Brooklyn College, again with racial overtones and demands. The tragedy in both cases was that whites were "using" blacks, and vice versa, and neither faculty nor administration could bring them together—in fact, it was smarter to keep them apart. The Long Island University situation was somewhat different, since involved was an educational "thrust". Here students protested against a City University "take over" on the grounds that there would be no place for the 75–85% student to go for an education. The faculty protested on the grounds that there might also be no place for them to go—even though both were assured that for a while all would be taken care of. It was simply a matter here of personal security and self-protection.

To touch very briefly on the student dissent and riots in foreign universities, this is traditional and frequently highly justified. Abroad education isn't for everyone, and while this was formerly accepted, it is now a source of conflict because foreign students saw it work at Berkeley. The universities are old, antiquated in facilities, as well as in traditional educational approaches. While these, in themselves are justifiable grounds for dissent, when tied in with political overtones in unstable countries, the voice of the student becomes a powerful one, and it takes a De Gaulle or his army to restore some semblance of normalcy.

In all of this there exists one great general concern—that of "responsibility"—a word which I have used infrequently today, because it is seldom included in student or faculty statements. But in every institution it is the administration and the Board of Trustees which have the responsibility of doing the "dirty jobs". The administration is responsible to the alumni, the city, or the state, depending on the type of institution, and each of the "shareholders" has had something to say—usually in defense of administration.

But there are some who think that much good will come from our students today. In a talk to a fraternity installation audience in Florida, Prof. Irving Goffman of the University of Florida had this to say in defense of the students.

"When before in the history of man could total mankind be destroyed by someone other than God?

"When before has there been a world with such consistent unrest?

"When before has there been such rapid and radical change in our political, social, economic, and even sexual behavior?"

It is not an easy world which we have bequeathed to these young people, and it will take intellectual giants to save it. It will take a breed of people with the foresight and the courage to adjust their ways and institutions.

You have bred such a breed. It is my firm conviction that this group of young people, so maligned by the press and so misunderstood by its parents, have the stuff from which greatness is made. While my generation and yours regretted intolerance, this generation is committed to its eradication. While my generation and yours salved our consciences by contributing to charity, this one fights poverty and disease and ignorance and enslavement on all fronts. While my generation and yours too often did what was expedient, if we did anything at all, this generation does what it believes to be right.

At times we may not understand these nuclear-powered, computer-oriented young people, but we must give them credit for their convictions, and the latitude to work things out in their own way. After all, our ways for solving man's problems both internationally and domestically can hardly be considered to have been successful.

If a truly great university must have the assistance of a truly great generation of students, then we are well on our way toward achieving that goal.

MOORHEAD INTRODUCES BILL TO HELP CONGRESS ENTER THE COMPUTER AGE

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the Congress of the United States is in danger of becoming, like England's House of Lords, an honored irrelevancy.

With the exception of a few units to handle payrolls, the Congress makes no use whatever of the most significant invention of our time—the electronic computer.

The future of representative democracy, of our constitutional government with its delicate system of checks and balances, depends to a significant degree on the development of computer capability in the legislative branch.

In the jet age, representative democracy cannot keep up with its responsibilities using horse and buggy techniques. With private enterprise, the executive branch and even State legislatures already in the computer age, Congress must change its ways or it will fail the American people.

We must act to bring Congress into the computer age.

Computers cannot make congressional decisions, but as our world grows increasingly complex, Congress will be unable to make rational decisions without the assistance of computers.

Accordingly, I am introducing today legislation authorizing the establishment of a Legislative Data Processing Center to coordinate the development of automatic data processing facilities and services in and for the Congress of the United States.

This center would provide each Member of Congress with instantaneous, up-to-the-minute data on such things as the status of all bills and resolutions, budget receipts and expenditures for every fiscal year, statutes currently in force, schedules of committee meetings and legislative sessions, significant developments and bibliographical references in each Member's field of interest, statistics compiled by the various Federal departments and agencies to justify program expenditures, analysis of the merits of competing demands for Federal resources.

I envision a central read-out facility on Capitol Hill that could tap the memory banks of the more than 3,000 computers now in use by the Federal executive to secure data pertinent to congressional operations.

This information could be channeled into the office of each Congressman and Senator via desk-sized read-out devices or closed circuit television screens.

In addition, each committee could be provided with similar equipment and staffed with experts trained in systems analysis, so that the bills emerging from these work units would reflect the use of the best information available.

The center could not be used to support partisan political activity.

My bill provides for the establishment of the center under the supervision of a director appointed by the Speaker of the House and the President pro tempore of the Senate after consultation with a 10-member joint committee on legislative data processing.

The joint committee would be made up of five members from each body, with House members appointed by the Speaker, and Senators appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate. Party representation on the committee would reflect that prevailing in the respective bodies.

The committee would be charged with appointing a staff for the center, recommending equipment, and making suggestions for its use.

The committee would rely for expertise on an independent advisory board made up of eight ex officio members—the director of the center, the Librarian of Congress, the Comptroller General of the United States, the Public Printer, the Secretary of the Senate, the Clerk of the House, and the Legislative Counsel of both houses of Congress—and four data processing experts, two appointed by the Speaker of the House and two appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate.

The board would develop policy recommendations, coordinate the Congress's limited existing computer functions—largely payrolls—and advise the joint committee on problems referred to it by the committee.

The board would be an essential feature of the center's operation because while the computer can help us solve problems, the choice of problems to be solved, the establishment of priorities and the purpose governing the use of the data available are decisions for men to make, not machines.

The center would not only relieve Members of a number of their time-consuming chores, but enable them to make better informed decisions on legislative matters.

More significantly, the center would enable Congress to keep up with the pace of change and progress in America, perhaps even to anticipate it.

But we must act quickly to provide ourselves with the tools to evaluate the myriad demands on our resources and to analyze in the same manner that the executive branch does the effectiveness of public programs and expenditures.

I urge my colleagues to consider the urgency of Congress need for computer capability, and to join with me in promoting legislation to bring Congress into the computer age. For the information of those who may wish to sponsor similar legislation, I insert the text of my bill at this point in the RECORD:

H.R. 20422

A bill to establish a Legislative Data Processing Center and to coordinate the development of automatic data processing facilites and services in the legislative branch of the Government, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

§ 1. Establishment of Legislative Data Processing Center.

There is established within and for the legislative branch of the Government the Legislative Data Processing Center, hereinafter referred to in this Act as the "Center".

§ 2. Functions

(a) The Center shall assist the two Houses of Congress, their officers. committees, joint committees, Members, and supporting services in the performance of their respective functions by making available to their automatic data processing services.

(b) The Center may not be used for the support of partisan political activity.

§ 3. Administration

(a) The Center shall be under the supervision and control of the Director of the Legislative Data Processing Center, referred to hereinafter in this Act as the "Director".

(b) The Director and all other personnel of the Center shall be chosen without regard to political affiliations and solely on the basis of their fitness to perform their duties.

(c) All functions conferred on the Center are vested in the Director, with authority to delegate those functions to such personnel of the Center as he may deem appropriate.

(d) The Director shall be appointed and may be removed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate on the recommendation of the Joint Committee on Legislative Data Processing. Unless sooner removed, he shall serve for a term expiring upon the commencement of the Congress succeeding the Congress during which he was appointed, except that he may continue to serve until he has been reappointed or until his successor has been appointed. The Director shall receive compensation at an annual rate equal to that provided under title 5 of the United States Code for positions at level III of the Executive Schedule.

(e) Subject to the availability of appropriations, the Director shall acquire such equipment and facilities and shall appoint and fix the compensation of such analysis, programmers, operators, and other personnel as may be necessary to carry on the functions of the Center.

§ 4. Joint Committee on Legislative Data Processing

(a) There is established the Joint Committee on Legislative Data Processing (hereinafter referred to in this Act as the "Joint Committee") which shall consist of five Members of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and five Members of the Senate appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate. The party representation on the Joint Committee shall as nearly as may be feasible reflect the relative membership of the majority and minority parties in the Senate and House of Representatives. Vacancies in the Joint Committee shall not affect its powers. The Joint Committee shall select a chairman and vice chairman from among its members.

(b) Except as otherwise provided by law, the Joint Committee may appoint and fix the compensation of a clerk and such experts and clerical and other assistants, on a temporary, intermittent, or permanent basis, as it deems desirable. The expenses of the Joint Committee shall be paid from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives upon vouchers signed by the chairman or the vice chairman.

§ 5. Functions of Joint Committee

The Joint Committee shall maintain continuing surveillance over automatic data processing facilities and services used in or by or available to the legislative branch of the Government, for the purpose of bringing to the attention of responsible authorities instances of duplication, incompatibility, or other impediments to full utilization of facilities, and for the purpose of bringing to their attention potential applications of automatic data processing which could result in significant improvements in the services available to the two Houses, their committees and Members. The joint Committee shall make an annual report to the Congress, setting forth such recommendations as it may deem appropriate.

§ 6. Advisory Board

(a) There is established the Legislative Data Processing Advisory Board, referred to in this section as the "Board", which shall consist of eight ex officio and four appointive members. The ex officio members shall be the Director, who shall be chairman, the Librarian of Congress, the Comptroller General of the United States, the Public Printer, the Secretary of the Senate, the Clerk of the House of Representatives, the Legislative Counsel of the Senate, and the Legislative Counsel of the House of Representatives. The appointive members shall be private citizens who have a broad knowledge of the field of automatic data processing in applications relevant to the needs and activities of the Congress. Two such members shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and two by the President pro tempore of the Senate, to serve as such until the expiration of the Congress during which they are appointed, and thereafter until they have been reappointed or their successors have been appointed.

(b) The Board shall advise the Director on the policies and development of the Center. The Board shall make recommendations to the Joint Committee as to any matters referred to it by the Joint Committee.

(c) The Board shall meet at least once in each calendar quarter. Appointive members of the Board shall be compensated at a daily rate equivalent to the annual rate provided under title 5 of the United States Code for positions at level IV of the Executive Schedule, and shall be paid travel expenses and per diem in lieu of subsistence in accordance with section 5703 of title 5 of the United States Code.

§ 7. Appropriations

There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

A REPORT TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SIXTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, citizens have a right to know the views, the record, and the performance of their Representatives in Congress. For that reason, I have always made weekly radio broadcasts, sent out occasional newsletters, and mailed reports to all constituents at the end of each session.

Although I am not a candidate for reelection, I believe it is my duty and responsibility to make this final report before I retire at the end of this year. I will have served 10 terms, or a total of 20 years, as your Representative in the Congress of the United States. It has been a rewarding experience for me to know that I have been able to be of assistance to many people with problems of great importance to them. Although I was not successful in all my efforts to be of help, I have always made every effort to assist all who contacted me, regardless of political faith or station in life.

It has been a source of satisfaction to know that my efforts helped Reading and Berks County with programs to meet the needs of our community and our citizens.

AID FOR SCHUYLKILL COUNTY

It is particularly gratifying to have been of help to Schuylkill County in the 6 years that I have had the privilege to represent that county since it became a part of our Sixth Congressional District. Aid to schools and education, to hospitals, Rest Haven, reclamation, water and sewer projects, and many others have brought progress, new hope, and employment opportunities to the people of the coal regions and other areas of Schuylkill County.

The more conservative 90th Congress cut back on many of the essential programs adopted by the 89th. This cut off needed funds for some of our projects in Schuylkill and Berks Counties. But some progress was made in this 90th Congress. In the areas of crime control, education, housing, consumer protection, conservation, veterans' benefits, and health, we have enacted programs that are to the credit of this Congress.

We enacted legislation to expand vocational education with emphasis on improving the quality, particularly for the handicapped. We also passed the Higher Education Amendments to continue and improve national programs of assistance for better physical plants, better faculties and curriculums, and loans for needy students to secure higher education.

This 90th Congress adopted consumer protection programs, which I supported, including an investigation of automobile insurance.

I voted for educational aid and extension of the antipoverty program. I also supported extension of the Manpower Development and Training Act, the new Housing Act, and the funding of the model cities program.

THE 89TH CONGRESS THE MOST PRODUCTIVE

During my 20 years as a Member of the House, I consider the 89th Congress to be the most productive and the most progressive. Its legislative achievements are largely responsible for the nation's record-breaking economic growth and prosperity now in its 91st continuous month.

The 89th Congress was the only one of the 10 Congresses in which I served that had a workable Democratic majority in the House of Representatives. It was the only Congress in which the Democratic Party had majority support for its platform pledges. And it redeemed its pledges by putting all of its important proposals into law. Opponents of the social and economic legislation adopted by the 89th Congress called it a "rubber stamp" Congress. But responsible students of government labeled the 89th as the most productive and progressive in our Nation's history.

In this conservative 90th Congress, Democrats have only a paper majority in the House of Representatives. A coalition of Republicans and some Southern Democrats has been successful in curtailing or blocking important Democratic programs. Legislation on education, health, public works, social security, and other essential programs was passed after being sharply cut by the coalition. Some of these cuts were restored by the more liberal Senate.

Despite curtailment efforts, Senate action and the impact of progressive legislation enacted by the 89th Congress have maintained our thriving economy. Every economic indicator shows that our local communities are sharing in the national prosperity.

UNEMPLOYMENT AT RECORD LOW

In Schuylkill County, unemployment dropped to a record low of 3.1 percent. Jobs are being created which hopefully will decrease the population loss of younger workers and their families. These young people have been moving out of coal region communities because of a lack of job opportunities.

In Berks County an all-time employment record has been set. Unemployment is 1.6 percent, far below the national average.

The economic expansion which created this prosperity began in 1962 after President Kennedy said he would get our country moving again. It followed a period of economic stagnation from 1952 to 1960, when we experienced three recessions. Nationwide unemployment was over 6 percent. During this period it was believed that business slumps and recessions, along with periods of high unemployment, were all a normal part of the economic cycle.

Democratic policies which included economic redevelopment, job training, increased social security benefits, and aid to local communities to build badly needed public works, have succeeded in building the most productive economy in the history of our Nation.

FEDERAL AID FOR BERKS AND SCHUYLKILL

In the past few years, our Sixth Congressional District has received many

millions of dollars in Federal funds for public works, sanitation, housing, area redevelopment, small business, highway, recreation, farm aid, and water projects. It was my pleasure to have voted for legislation making these projects possible, and to have given my full cooperation to local officials applying for needed Federal assistance.

Public works, sewer and water construction grants were made to communities throughout the Sixth District including Cumru, Fleetwood, Spring Township, and Sinking Spring in Berks County; Pottsville, Cressona, Coaldale and Tamaqua in Schuylkill County. Public works funds were approved to help plan sanitation, hospital, parks, and educational facilities in each of our two counties.

SOCIAL SECURITY AIDS SIXTH DISTRICT

More than $71 million in social security benefits came into Berks and Schuylkill Counties during the past year for the aged, disabled, widows and dependents. Over 67,600 Sixth District residents receive these benefits. Besides helping aged and disabled citizens and their families, social security benefits are an important business stimulant for our communities.

We succeeded recently in getting planning funds for a 150-unit low-rent housing project for Shenandoah. Progress is being made on extinguishing the Kehley Run Mine Fire. A Federal grant of $56,000 will train unemployed workers at the Pottsville Hospital as practical nurses. Coaldale recently received a $580,000 grant for the Water Street urban renewal project.

Reading is well on its way to its fourth elderly housing project at 9th and Franklin Streets. It will be a high-rise project of 14 stories and 156 units. I congratulate members of the Reading Housing Authority for putting Reading in the forefront of American cities in providing modern low-rent housing for our senior citizens.

I was honored by the decision of the authority to name this new building the "George M. Rhodes Apartments." Before my election to Congress I had the pleasure of serving for 10 years on the Reading Housing Authority. In Congress I had the opportunity to assist in bringing additional housing to Reading for our senior citizens.

NEW POST OFFICES

The new post office building in Pottsville has been completed. It is ready to provide improved postal service for patrons of that city and the surrounding area. Progress is also being made on a new post office in Ashland. My efforts for approval of a new post office building for Reading with modern facilities, ample parking space, and a convenient location have met with success. Plans for the new post office were outlined at a meeting in Reading on September 20, which I arranged with the cooperation of the Post Office Department.

In Congress, there is opposition to Federal assistance programs and Federal action on matters pertaining to health, education, employment opportunities, and welfare, particularly social security. Conservative forces are calling for a change.

Democrats have historically supported these programs as part of their philosophy and belief in social justice and in a well-balanced, expanding and prosperous economy.

Historically, Republicans have opposed Federal aid as welfare state legislation and have favored economic and tax policies designed to strengthen the economy at the top. Democrats oppose this policy as a trickle-down philosophy that leads to economic curtailment, unemployment and recession.

BASIC POLITICAL ISSUE

The fundamental political issue between the parties, now as always, is how to distribute the national income and wealth. How fairly will our fellow citizens, particularly the handicapped, the aged and less fortunate, share in our Nation's increasing productivity and wealth?

It is quite obvious that many persons do not realize how closely their welfare, their opportunities for jobs, for education, health services, old-age and disability pensions, good housing, and a decent livelihood are affected by decisions of the Congress.

It is important to know the real difference between our two great political parties and their conflicting philosophies of government.

Fiscal and economic policies vitally affect the performance of the whole American economy. They affect the levels of production and employment, the rate of economic growth, and the standard of living.

They affect the degree of economic opportunity afforded to the small as well as the large, the weak as well as the strong. They affect not only the degree of economic stability and progress, but also the degree of economic justice or injustice.

They reflect a difference of fundamental economic philosophy—a difference which has persisted throughout our history as a nation, and particularly during the current century.

The difference is between those who believe in an economy of scarcity and those who believe in an economy of abundance; between those who feel that we must stand still, have occasional recessions or depressions, and those who feel that we have the brains and the tools to move forward without substantial interruption. It is a difference between those who feel that social injustice is the price we must pay for economic progress, and those who feel that social justice and economic progress are one and inseparable.

Regardless of election campaign oratory, the decision at the polls in State and national contests this year will determine which one of these two courses the Nation will follow to meet the challenge of these serious and dangerous times.

AWARDS

During my tenure in Congress I was the recipient of numerous awards. An award of merit was received by me from the Association of Schools of Public Health for helping to improve health personnel training throughout sponsorship of the Hill-Rhodes Act. The law authorizes Federal grants for the training of needed professional public health personnel. This legislation was a forerunner of the history-making Health Professions Education Assistance Act and the Nurses Training Act of 1964, both of which help to combat the shortages of needed medical and health professionals in our growing country. The award was presented to me by Dr. Ernest L. Stebbins, of Johns Hopkins University representing the Association of Schools of Public Health.

I highly cherished an award from the Indoor Sports Club, a national organization of handicapped citizens, and another from the local Berks County Chapter of the Indoor Sports Club.

I was also honored with a citation from the National Senior Citizens' Council for my efforts on behalf of the nation's elderly.

Other awards were presented to me by postal workers, veterans' organizations, church and labor groups, Federal employees, podiatrists, optometrists, and numerous others.

REFORM AND CAMPAIGN SPENDING

There is a need for congressional reform. Certainly it is time to outlaw filibusters which permit a minority to tie up the Congress and defeat legislation a majority supports.

The greatest need for reform is in political campaign spending. Attempts to buy congressional seats this year with slush funds, particularly from big financial interests and industrial monopolies are a threat to our free society.

According to former Senator Paul Douglas, this is one of the most corrupting influences in public life which, if not corrected, will cause our Government to be controlled by and for the wealthy rather than by and for the people.

SOCIAL SECURITY

As a member of the House Ways and Means Committee, I helped write social security legislation enacted by Congress during the past 5 years. It has been a most interesting experience in helping to pass legislation which I advocated and fought for long before I was a Member of Congress.

Passage of the social security-medicare bill marked a real breakthrough for America's senior citizens. Because of my participation in the enactment of this legislation, I was invited to attend the ceremonies on signing of the bill by President Johnson at the Truman Library in Independence, Mo.

It is my firm belief, however, that further improvements are necessary. I have made proposals for improvements in bills I have introduced to amend the Social Security Act. Increased benefits are needed to aid our senior citizens in meeting high living costs. The age requirement for full benefits should be reduced to 60 years. Disabled workers should be eligible for benefits after 4 quarters of coverage rather than the present requirements of 20 quarters.

Under present law disabled workers in Pennsylvania cannot collect the full benefits from both social security and State workmen's compensation. I have introduced legislation to allow a totally disabled worker and his family to receive full benefits of both programs.

Senator Gus Yatron has cooperated with me by introducing legislation in the

State legislature whereby these lost benefits would be restored. With the passage of either of these bills, this injustice would be corrected. Senator Yatron also introduced legislation to increase benefits to miners disabled from silicosis. There is no good reason why workers should not receive full disability benefits.

SOCIAL SECURITY FINANCING

Before any substantial advance can be made in the social security program, an equitable way must be found to help finance needed improvements. At present the social security program is financed entirely by employee-employer payroll deductions. However, payroll tax deductions, especially on low- and middle-income workers, are approaching the maximum feasible rate. For this reason future improvements should not have to be entirely financed from payroll tax deductions.

I have introduced legislation which provides that general Federal tax revenues be used to help finance needed improvements. The use of general tax funds for this purpose was given editorial support by the New York Times and the Washington Post. In principal, my proposal has since been supported by other Members of Congress. It had the support of Senator Robert Kennedy before his tragic death. It is also supported by Vice President Humphrey. Under my bill the cost of the social security program would be borne proportionately by workers, employers and the Federal Government. This Federal costsharing would mean that many needed improvements could be made without an added burden on small business and low- and middle-income workers.

COMMITTEES

Served on Post Office and Civil Service, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House Administration, and Ways and Means. Subcommittees on Health and Safety and Committee on Accounts. Chairman, Morals and Ethics subcommittee. For 9 years served as Assistant House Whip for Pennsylvania Democratic delegation.

UNITED STATES-SOVIET SPACE POLICY

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, while our sons continue to die from Communist steel in Vietnam, our State Department continues its soft programs of integrating our country with Communist intellectuals.

Thirty-five Soviet scientists are invited to attend a space parley in New York City and may be permitted to tour our space facilities—wonder who'll make this decision?

I include the AP release from the Evening Star for October 9 following my remarks:

SOVIET SCIENTISTS TO ATTEND PARLEY ON SPACE IN UNITED STATES

The State Department says that Russian scientists will be allowed to attend a space meeting in New York next week.

But it left open whether they will be permitted to visit Cape Kennedy later.

Press officer Robert J. McCloskey said yesterday that as many as 35 Soviet scientists have applied for U.S. visas, or entry permits, to attend the Congress of the International Astronautical Federation in New York Oct. 14–19 and "I fully expect that those visas will be issued."

The American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics is host of the New York meeting. The U.S. institute is planning to sponsor a tour of facilities at Cape Kennedy Oct. 24.

McCloskey indicated the department still is weighing whether the Soviet scientists—if they ask to go on the Cape Kennedy trip—will be allowed to do so.

THE SOVIET EFFORT AT SEA IS A TOTAL ONE

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, it is unconscionable that our Nation, long known for its seafaring exploits, is sitting at anchor and neglecting this aspect of our national heritage.

The Soviet Union has launched a massive across-the-board program to exploit the ocean resources, dominate the shipping lanes of the world's oceans, and to attain strategic superiority over the United States.

The September issue of "Navy", the official publication of the Navy League of the United States, contains an illuminating article on Soviet strategy by Dr. James D. Atkinson, international political editor of the American Security Council.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Dr. Atkinson for his thoughtful analysis and include his article in the RECORD.

THE SOVIET EFFORT AT SEA IS A TOTAL ONE

(By James D. Atkinson)

Little more than six months ago the then Secretary of Defense, Robert Strange McNamara, told a congressional committee that "in the 1960's the simple bipolar configuration which we knew in the earlier post-World War II period began to disintegrate. Solid friends and implacable foes are no longer so easy to label, and labels . . . such as free world and Iron Curtain, seem increasingly inadequate as descriptions . . . of the *new bonds of common interest being slowly built across what were thought to be impenetrable lines of demarcation.*" (Italics supplied.)

As the gunfire from Soviet tanks reverberates through the streets of Prague, one may well ask whether this analysis will prove as illusory as the former Defense Secretary's view that the Soviet Union would be unable to achieve even nuclear equality with the United States before the early 1970's.

For the plain fact is that the Soviets are striving mightily to attain not parity, but strategic superiority over the United States. And the unfolding evidence suggests that the major thrust of this search for strategic superiority is taking place on the high seas.

The Soviet effort at sea is a total one. It embraces naval combatant ships both undersea and on the surface, long-range aircraft under naval control, major research and development efforts in oceanology, and a vast merchant marine program.

FIVE YEAR CLIMB

When it is recalled that the great authority on sea power, Rear Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, had dismissed Russia's merchant navy with the observation that "Russia has little maritime commerce . . . her merchant flag is rarely seen," the Soviet climb in but five years (1963–1967) from number twelve to number six rank in world merchant tonnage is hard evidence of Soviet capabilities and intentions alike.

Equally significant is the fact that the Soviet merchant fleet, unlike the merchant shipping of non-Communist countries, is a totally controlled instrument of state power and is habitually used as a political-diplomatic weapon. The relationship of the Soviet merchant marine to Soviet naval forces and the developing countries of Africa, Asia and the Middle East is, therefore, related to the over-all mix of maritime power: bases, facilities-agreements, industrial-technological assets, merchant shipping, and naval (including naval-air) forces.

Soviet ambitions on the oceans are underscored by current Soviet efforts directed towards the Red Sea-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean complex, a vast strategic area of the world's seas and an area quite new to the hammer and sickle flag of the U.S.S.R.

AFRICAN-INDIAN OCEAN STRATEGY

The Soviet maritime thrust in the Red Sea-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean complex is, like Soviet expansion in the Mediterranean, an attempt to gain maximum exploitation from three increasingly related factors:

(1) The Soviet goal of attaining military-technological superiority over the United States.

(2) Soviet exploitation of tensions, political instability, and ethnic or other rivalries in the developing countries of Africa, Asia and the Middle East through the technique which the Soviets call "national liberation movements."

(3) The power vacuum created through the British withdrawal East of Suez.

As the military-technological power of Russia continues to rise, the Soviet leadership believes that this power can be used to support—psychologically and diplomatically—the revolutionary process in the new and developing nations. This strategy is stated frankly as follows in the May, 1968 issue of *Kommunist*, the authoritative official journal of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

"The growth of the political influence and the economic and military might of the world socialist system exerts a powerful influence on the course of the struggle between labor and capital on the international scene; it ties the hands of the imperialists and creates increasingly favorable conditions for the development of the world revolutionary process."

These are not idle words. They are being put into practice through Soviet politico-economic support for socialistic-revolutionary forces in Egypt, Sudan, Iraq, Yemen and other countries in the Red Sea-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean complex.

SOVIETS ACQUIRE BASES

The Soviet Union is acquiring base facilities in Hodeida in the Yemen and is also using Port Sudan on the Red Sea. A guerrilla campaign has been organized against Mozambique (on the Indian Ocean across from the strategic island of Madagascar) from Soviet-sympathizing Tanzania and these guerrillas have both Soviet and Chinese Communist equipment. In this regard it should be noted that however sharp the propaganda attacks the Soviets and Chinese Communists mount against one another, they seem to be able to cooperate on the tactical level in East Africa when they face what they regard as the common enemy.

Soviet "national liberation warfare" techniques are being employed wherever possible throughout Africa, but it would appear that the Red Sea-Indian Ocean coast of Africa has been given major attention because of its strategic role in developing Soviet strategy. The Soviets are also attempting to link the African and Middle Eastern liberation war-

fare movement to their exploitation of Arab national feeling.

Thus when two Soviet warships paid an eight-day visit—for the first time in Soviet naval history—to the Persian Gulf in May 1968, they were greeted in the Iraq port of Umm Qasr with a gun salute and with thanks "for supporting the Arab cause." Not without interest is the fact that Iraq has now been equipped with Soviet-type Styx missiles such as was used to sink the Israeli destroyer ELATH.

It may not have been accidental that about the time of this Soviet naval visit in the Persian Gulf leading Soviet newspapers devoted a good deal of attention to the national liberation movement in Africa. The official Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* stated on May 25:

"The formation of a world system of socialism, which stands as a mighty stronghold of all anti-imperialist struggles in the world, the growth of the revolutionary struggle of the international working class and the rapid upsurge of the liberation movement of (the) African peoples . . . predetermined the collapse of the gigantic colonial prison in Africa."

"The present national liberation movement of the peoples of that continent has become an organic integral part of the world revolutionary process," said Pravda.

Equally important was a statement the same day in the official government newspaper, *Izvestia*. This emphasized Russia's "consistent policy for supporting national liberation movements." It went on to say that the Soviets had "accumulated rich experience in the defense of revolutionary movements," and that the Soviet solidarity Committee of Asian and African Countries was giving practical, physical support to the revolutionary forces of "Angola, Guinea (Bisau), Mozambique, and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

EFFORTS IN INDIA AND CEYLON

On the other side of the Red Sea-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean complex, the Soviet Union has been most active in both India and the great island of Ceylon. A Soviet naval squadron visited the Indian sub-continent in the spring of 1968, another first in Soviet naval history. Calls were made in Pakistan and in India and later on in Ceylon.

The visit to India is especially significant since that the Soviet Union has said it will supply the Indian Navy with "F" class submarines, escorts of the PETYA class, MTB's of the POLUCHAT I class, a submarine support-ship, and additional auxiliary craft. Press reports say one submarine and some other craft have been delivered. This may be in order to lay the groundwork for a Soviet naval air presence in that part of the world since the Soviets have had talks with India looking towards an Andaman Island base. These islands are in the Bay of Bengal, strategically located not only with reference to the Indian Ocean generally, but also in relation to the seacoast of Burma, Malaysia, and Thailand.

They would be advantageous bases for the new Soviet helicopter and/or VTOL carriers and for Soviet land based aircraft, many of which come under the control of the Soviet Navy. It is also not without interest that *Pravda* announced June 1, 1968, that the scientific research ship OGON was "carrying out hydographic work in the Pacific and Indian oceans." The Soviets understand quite well that the search for strategic superiority is not military alone, but military, scientific, technological and psycho-political.

The psycho-political element of the overall strategic effort blending with the military is well illustrated by the Soviet naval visit to Ceylon. A Soviet naval squadron cruising in the Indian Ocean paid a five-day visit to the Ceylonese port of Colombo, July 7–11, 1968. Just prior to this Soviet naval visit, *Moscow Radio* announced on July 3 that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had sent a congratulatory telegram to the "Communists of Ceylon, who are celebrating the 25th anniversary of their party." The telegram hailed "the Communist Party of Ceylon, the fraternal solidarity of the two parties, and the friendship of the Soviet and Ceylonese peoples."

Conjointly, *Moscow Radio* reported that a Soviet news agency representative had interviewed Pieter Keuneman, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Ceylon. He said that the Communist Party of Ceylon "was the first to demand the elimination of the British military bases on the island and the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with the socialist [that is, the Communist-block] countries." Keuneman went on to say that the Ceylonese Communist Party "fully supports the convening of the international conference of Communist and workers parties in November in Moscow."

THE BRITISH WITHDRAWAL

For almost a century the vast Red Sea-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean complex was an area of relative stability. This was so because Great Britain—and associated friendly powers—controlled the perimeter boundaries. Whether it was the East African coast (Kenya, Tanganyika); key bases (Aden, Mombasa, Colombo, Singapore); or important islands (Maritius, Andaman, Nicobar), British forces were on hand throughout these sea spaces and able to respond quickly for any needed police actions.

What of today? The British have announced that they will complete their withdrawal East of Suez by 1971. That this will likely be irreversible is shown by the fact that early in 1968 the withdrawal from Aden became a finality.

The power vacuum already exists. The potential, strategically, is alarming.

Australia, that great and good friend of the United States, is vitally dependent on the Indian Ocean. In the 1965–1966 period, for example, more than half of all Australian imports and almost half of all exports came by way of the Indian Ocean.

India, Pakistan, and the countries of East Africa depend on Indian Ocean routes for all but a little of their imports and exports. South Africa, at the Cape of Good Hope (more significant than ever with the closure of the Suez Canal), is vitally interested in the Indian Ocean. And the Red Sea-Persian Gulf oil routes are so well known as to require but passing mention.

Writing in the New York Times, Dec. 4, 1963, C. L. Sulzberger perceptively forecast the strategy stakes in this oceanic complex. "In the vast area extending from the Red Sea across the Indian Ocean to the Pacific inlets one finds today's main thrusts of both Russian and Chinese dynamism," he said. "They frequently compete with each other but ultimately work in tandem to weaken Western influence."

Looking ahead to 1969–1970, it can be seen that the Soviets will try to continue the forward momentum they have begun in 1967–1968. Will theirs be the power that fills the vacuum left by the British withdrawal? Or will the United States build up its naval forces so as to be able to deploy real strength for peace and stability in the Indian Ocean rimland?

THE THREAT OF RESUMED MILITARY AID TO GREECE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the other day Elias P. Demetracopoulos, a Greek political editor in exile, made a detailed and informative statement expressing his concern about a possible change in U.S. policy toward Greece.

Specifically, he set out his concern that the United States may be on the verge of enlarging the restricted flow of military aid to the ruling junta in Greece.

The junta has sought to legitimize itself through a plebiscite which would do credit to a Soviet-style election. The day on which the Greek people will return to a free system of government seems no closer.

Because a change in U.S. policy toward Greece has been rumored, I want to place Mr. Demetracopoulos' statement in the RECORD, as follows:

I have asked you to come here today to hear some information which I consider important for my country, Greece, which can have great repercussions on the present tension in Eastern Europe, and U.S. policy towards that area. Further, what I have to state may affect the prospects for the early restoration of Greece as a western style democracy.

According to reliable information, the U.S. Government, at the highest levels of responsibility, is considering at this very moment, at least a partial resumption of heavy military arms shipments to the Greek Junta. This decision, I understand, will be announced shortly after tomorrow's "plebiscite" in Athens, and will represent a fundamental change in official U.S. policy towards the totalitarian regime in Greece, a change which is directly related to recent developments in Czechoslovakia, the Balkans and the Mediterranean. A decision to resume such shipments at this time would be a major foreign policy mistake for a number of reasons.

In the first place, the heavy equipment in question would take some time to arrive in Greece, even if shipped on an emergency basis for purely logistical reasons. It would be further technically very difficult to assimilate this equipment into the Greek Armed Forces and make it operational before a further considerable period of time has passed. Accordingly, the immediate military impact of shipping arms will count for almost nothing during the present tension in Southeast Europe.

The psychological impact, on the other hand, could be serious for the NATO alliance, as well as for Rumania and Yugoslavia, who are now directly threatened with a repetition of the Czech rape. By overtly strengthening the military regime in Athens, the U.S. would likely enable Moscow to move from a defensive to an offensive position in terms of world opinion. It will give the Soviets a pretext, if they ever needed one, for a possible massive strengthening of their forces in Bulgaria, in order to offset an alleged U.S. inspired threat from Greece.

What of the defense of Greece itself? Here I would make reference to a top secret report of an official meeting between the then U.S. Secretary of Defense Mr. McNamara and the then Greek Defense Secretary Mr. Garoufalias in December 1964 in Washington, D.C. As this document makes clear, the defense of Greece against Soviet Block aggression relies basically on the presence of the 6th Fleet. The absence or presence of more heavy and modern equipment would not affect the capability of the Greek Armed Forces to maintain internal order, and would be of marginal significance externally.

Finally, even a partial resumption of any kind of heavy military equipment at this time would be counterproductive, in that such a move would also throw away the main leverage left to the U.S. Government to pressure the junta to move towards a real restoration of constitutional democracy and basic human rights.

The timing of such a decision by the U.S. Administration, however, would be of significance if it is finalized.

Tomorrow as you know, a "plebiscite" is being held in Greece on a new draft constitution prepared by the ruling junta. According to the statement of the official spokesman of the military regime, this constitution embodies the principles of the "revolution", and therefore its acceptance by the majority of the electorate would signify approval of the "revolution" by the Greek people.

There are some aspects of this operation which are particularly disquieting. The text itself can hardly be considered democratic by any standards. Two illustrations, I believe, are sufficient in this respect. First, the army is set up as an autonomous organization not subject to the control of the elected government.

Furthermore, in addition to protecting the country from its external enemies, the armed forces are assigned the mission of defending it also against its domestic "enemies". The text significantly omits any obligation of allegiance on the part of the armed forces to the constitution or the democratic form of government. Finally, the Chief of Staff sits on the new "Council of the Nation," which has the power, among other things, to dismiss the Prime-Minister and dissolve Parliament. Thus the armed forces are, in effect, a self-perpetuating clique of officers, and becomes the undisputed controller of the political life of the country.

The second illustration is the treatment of the freedom of the press. Printed matter can be confiscated for nine different reasons, ranging from offense against any recognized religion, to advocating the overthrow of the social order or the system, whatever that may mean.

As if all the amputations of individual rights and freedoms and the statutory introduction of military control over political life were not enough, a final article provides that the provisions pertaining to individual freedoms of the press, parliament and elections, as well as to guarantees against arbitrary arrest and judicial due process, are not to be applied except as and when the military government decides.

Thus, the purpose of tomorrow's "plebiscite" is clearly to bring the Greek people to accept the indefinite abolition of democratic government, individual freedom, and the rule of law.

In order to achieve its purpose, the junta has to obtain a large favorable vote for its constitution and for some months now it has adopted the following strategy. It has published two drafts of the text for the purposes of what it has called public discussion, but has withheld its final position until a few days ago. On this final text there is going to be no discussion. Martial law has been maintained throughout and no campaign in opposition to the constitution has been permitted. In this connection I would like to refer you to a New York Times dispatch from Athens printed yesterday describing the ordeal of an American family, The Tenenbaums, who were indiscrete enough to place a "no" sign on their car while travelling as tourists in Greece. All Athens newspapers have been carrying, by order of the censors, comments praising the "truly democratic" character of the constitution, and radio and television, aided by posters and luminous signs, have been engaged in a saturation campaign in favor of the constitution.

It would appear, however, that the junta is so sure of the feelings of the Greek people that it has considered it necessary to take some additional steps to discourage the opponents of dictatorship from voting against the draft constitution in the voting booth.

It has been the established practice in Greece for lawyers appointed by the courts to supervise voting in all polling stations. This required the services at each election of about 6,000 lawyers. For tomorrow's "plebiscite" only 500 lawyers will be employed—all of them "passed" by the security police. The participation of local notables in the bureaus responsible for conducting the elections at each polling station have been reduced from three to one and, instead of being drawn by lots from among those eligible for jury service, they will be appointed by the junta-appointed local mayors, so as to ensure that they are government men.

I would like to stress that voting procedure is of crucial significance in view of the prevailing conditions of fear in Greece today. The fact, however, that the junta has had to resort to these means in order to obtain the results it wants proves that even the colonels have no illusions about their popularity. Fully aware of this fact the junta despite all their precautions announced that if tomorrow's vote is negative they will not relinquish power but that they will simply repeat the exercise. What a travesty!

In these circumstances, the resumption of shipments of heavy military equipment by the U.S. can have only one meaning, namely, to give, in effect, the official approval of the U.S. government to a fraud the only purpose of which is to perpetuate military dictatorship in the face of mounting popular opposition. I leave it up to you whether this is in the interests of the U.S.

I would like to make an eleventh hour public appeal to the President of the United States on behalf of all freedom loving people, including the Greek people, to avoid taking a disastrous decision which in the long run will also greatly injure basic U.S. interests and may very well represent a long step forward in creating the conditions for the emergence of a new Viet Nam in South East Europe. I am asking President Johnson not to sacrifice the long term interests and objectives of the United States as proclaimed in The Truman Doctrine of 1947 for which Greece will be eternally grateful and which kept Greece from becoming another satellite of the Soviet Bloc, to whatever short term expediences may be advanced by some of his advisers.

It must always be remembered that Greece fought a hard and dirty war against a foreign dominated and supported Communist aggresssion at the peak of the "Cold War" in Europe. The victory although assisted greatly by U.S. material help and advice was finally wrested with Greek, and only Greek, blood. It was a victory also won under a parliamentary government with democratic institutions functioning and certainly without resorting to a military dictatorship as is the case today.

Finally, I would like to refer briefly to the astounding statement and subsequent clarifying statement made by Governor Agnew at and after yesterday's National Press Club luncheon. His remarks indicated a surprising ignorance of the Greek situation and showed that he would deny to the Greek people the same right to fight for their freedom which was at the core of the American Revolution and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Indeed another illustration is the ill-fated armed attempt to overthrow the junta by King Constantine of last December.

A TRIBUTE TO SIR ANDREW COHEN

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, a number of us in the House and Senate of both parties are privileged to be members of the Anglo-American Parliamentary Conference on Africa, a group which meets from time to time with our British counterparts in the House of Commons to discuss African affairs.

One of the pleasures of our conferences was the opportunity to become acquainted with Sir Andrew Cohen, a British civil servant who played a key role in preparing the countries of Africa for independence.

Earlier this summer Sir Andrew Cohen died.

I know that those of my colleagues who have had the opportunity to know Sir Andrew realize that he was an extraordinary human being who made great contributions not only to his own country but to the development of Africa and to the broader understanding on the part of Americans of the problems of Africa.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the RECORD the text of an obituary paying tribute to Sir Andrew Cohen as well as the text of an address delivered by Sir Robert Birley at St. Paul's Cathedral in London on July 17, 1968 at a memorial service.

OBITUARY: SIR ANDREW COHEN, OUTSTANDING CIVIL SERVANT WHO HELPED PREPARE AFRICA FOR INDEPENDENCE

Sir Andrew Cohen, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., O.B.E., died on Monday at the age of 58. He had been Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Overseas Development since its creation in October, 1964.

He was previously, from July, 1961, Director-General of the Department of Technical Co-operation, and before that, from the beginning of 1957 until May, 1961, he was permanent United Kingdom representative at the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. Cohen's earlier career was in the Colonial Office and from 1952 until 1957 he was Governor of Uganda.

Andrew Benjamin Cohen was born in October, 1909, the son of Walter Cohen, sometime director of the Economic Board for Palestine, and of his wife, Mattie Cobb, sometime headmistress of Roedean and later principal of Newnham College, Cambridge. He was educated on the classical side of Malvern College, and proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge.

In 1932 he passed into the Civil Service and was assigned to the department of Inland Revenue. It was the late R. V. Vernon, then serving in the Colonial Office, who suggested to Sir Charles Jeffries, then establishment officer, that it would be a good idea to try to get young Cohen transferred there. The transfer was arranged and Cohen's real career began in 1933.

He went through the usual training including a spell as Private Secretary to Lord Rugby (then, as Sir John Maffey, Permanent Under-Secretary), and a visit to Central Africa as Secretary to a financial commission. He was selected for a Commonwealth Fund Fellowship to visit America, but his programme was cut short by the outbreak of war in 1939. In 1940 he was seconded to Malta, where he remained until 1943 organizing with great efficiency the supply of food and necessaries to the beleagued island.

His return to the Colonial Office as head of one of the African departments was an important milestone in his life and indeed in the history of the African colonies. In 1947 he was appointed Assistant Under-Secretary of State in charge of the African Division of the Office. As such he was in a position to wield great influence, and his strong personality, high intellectual ability, and progressive outlook ensured that that influence would be felt, not only on the African territories but in the higher reaches of Whitehall and Westminster.

Many observers have been justly im-

pressed by Cohen's dynamism and administrative efficiency; but his character had many sides, and at least as important was his passion for digging out the essential questions of principle on which administrative action should be based and for encouraging the free play of ideas.

The turning point of post-war British Colonial policy is to be found outside Africa. It was the grant of independence to Ceylon in 1948 which made it only a matter of time before the African and other Colonial dependencies would follow the same road. But how much time? Many people regarded the matter as outside the "foreseeable future." Not so Cohen. He realized that the drive for independence was imminent and gave all his energies to helping the African colonies and protectorates to prepare themselves for it, so that, when political advance became inescapable, economic and social advance would not lag too far behind. In pursuing this line, he was fully in accord with the approach of his Secretaries of State, Mr. Creech-Jones and, later, Mr. James Griffiths. The latter was so strongly impressed with Cohen's ability and outlook that he decided, in 1951, to transfer him to the field, and recommended his appointment as Governor of Uganda.

At first the new Governor was very successful. Drastic reforms were introduced and swift progress made on both the political and economic fronts. Unhappily his conception of a unitary State of Uganda conflicted with the aspirations of Buganda political leaders, headed by the hereditary Kabaka, for separate independence. A clash of wills developed, as a result of which the British Government, on Cohen's advice, withdrew its recognition of the Kabaka and removed him from the country at the end of 1953.

Cohen came under strong criticism from many quarters for this action, but he continued to serve as Governor and gradually regained much of the confidence he had lost. Reforms went forward, and the wisdom of Cohen's aims was increasingly recognized by the local public. With a change of Colonial Secretaries, it became possible for the Kabaka to return on mutually acceptable conditions, and when Cohen eventually left Uganda in January, 1957, the foundations of future independence were firmly laid.

Cohen's next assignement was the diplomatic post of permanent United Kingdom representative on the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. Here, as in the Colonial Office and in Africa, his personality made itself powerfully felt, but undoubtedly a better use of his abilities was offered by the creation in 1961 of the new Department of Technical Cooperation to take over most of the non-political functions of the old Colonial Office and to develop the organization of technical and financial assistance to countries in need of it, irrespective of their political status.

Appointed as Director-General of the new Department, Cohen set about organizing it with his customary "whirlwind" enthusiasm, and substantial practical progress was made even during the early years when the arrangements were necessarily makeshift and the staff, gathered from a number of sources, was learning to settle down as a team. It was not until the Department was able to move into its present accommodation in Eland House that it could begin to work out its own tradition and corporate outlook. Transformed into the Ministry of Overseas Development, the new organization rapidly established itself, especially during a partnership between Minister and Permanent Secretary irreverently described as "the Elephant and Castle" phase, as a very efficient and effective machine for carrying out an extremely important aspect of the British Government's overseas policy in the post-colonial period.

A man so "big" in all sense as Andrew Cohen was bound to become a legend. Many years ago a journalist recorded a vision of him rushing down the Colonial Office stairs two or three at a time, with a bundle of files under each arm and his hatbrim held between his teeth. It was his habit to pace the room while dictating, and an endearing recollection is of an occasion when he quite unconsciously strode out of the room whose door had been inadvertently left open, and was last seen disappearing round the corner of a long corridor still talking and followed by an anxious secretary feverishly taking his words, down on her pad as she strove to keep up with him.

It is said that on one occasion in Malta, when a delegation had called to complain about the bread, Cohen was found, during the conservation, to have eaten the sample which had been produced as a basis for discussion.

In 1949 he married Mrs. Helen Donington, by whom he had one son. He was a warm and affectionate father to his child and to his three step-children, and an immence favorite with their many friends.

TRIBUTE TO SIR ANDREW COHEN DELIVERED BY SIR ROBERT BIRLEY

I do not think that Andrew Cohen is a difficult man to talk about. He was too big a man for that and much too interesting. But I find it difficult to start to do so. In a way I suppose I am intimidated. He was a man who would have had no patience with oratorical flourishes or with the usual phrases of conventional tributes and if he had felt that one was indulging in them, though he would probably not have said anything, one would have been very well aware of what he was feeling. But many of his friends would wish me to express my admiration for him and I shall do so, feeling myself as representing them, in the most fitting words I can muster.

Like all distinguished men of affairs—and he was a man who dealt with very important affairs indeed—one might try to look at him in two ways. It is right that we should now remember him in his official role. This is not the time for any kind of obituary notice, for a list of the offices he held. I should like to sum up his work as a statesman—and I use the word advisedly for, if ever a civil servant was a statesman, he was—to sum up his work as a statesman in this way. We in our generation (his and mine) have lived through several revolutions. One of these has been the end of the British Empire. It seems to me that it is at least very possible—it is too soon to be certain that this may go down to History as one of the greatest achievements of the British people. Perhaps for the first time in History the ending of a great Empire will be looked on by the ages of the future not as something merely destructive and melancholy, but as something creative. And among all the men who have made this possible Andrew Cohen stands out among the foremost. He did this particularly when holding two positions. First as Governor of Uganda. How can I describe what he did for that country? Perhaps this one episode will suffice. I have been told by someone, who was then a student, of the first occasion that he spoke to the students at Makerere University College, very soon after he became Governor and how in a very few words he immediately convinced them that he was looking forward to the time, as something entirely natural and to be taken for granted, when they would be the leaders and rulers in their own country. This was a voice they had not heard before.

We have been told of something that happened a few days ago. The Uganda Assembly had met to hear the budget speech; the floor of the house and the galleries were crowded; and then the Speaker rose and made the announcement that Sir Andrew Cohen had died. Then, we have been told, "an extraordinary groan ran through the House, from the galleries as well as from the floor". Dr. Zake, the Minister of Education, rose to speak for the Government. "Sir Andrew," he said, "brought dignity to the people of Uganda." I think it is right that I should mention this, for this spontaneous tribute echoed so many expressions of personal affection by so many different people of Uganda during his visits to that country since he ceased to be Governor, tributes that meant a very great deal to him. It is good to think that exactly at this moment another service is being held in his memory in another St. Paul's Cathedral at Namirembe, Kampala, in Uganda.

And let it be said—and this is to express it mildly—that it was not as though during his five years there he had tried to gain popularity by not doing unpopular things or by being careful not to create trouble. His work at the United Nations and in this country since then will, of course, be part of History. He was a very remarkable Civil Servant, combining a quite staggering capacity for work with equally remarkable powers of imagination. He saw endless opportunities for creative work—perhaps I might refer especially to his enthusiastic support for education in the developing countries—he inspired those with whom he worked to see these opportunities too. I believe his imprint is already on the generations to come in many parts of the Commonwealth. My mind goes across the three thousand miles to that other service in St. Paul's Cathedral. It was not just the administrative ability and the great intellectual energy he showed that make us feel now that we are at one with that congregation in Kampala. To understand this we must look at him also in another way; we must glance at his personality which was by no means a simple one.

He certainly did not ride easily over the difficulties which faced him, quite inevitable difficulties because he had to deal with intractable problems and many very contrasting individuals. He could be depressed by these difficulties; he could find them almost overwhelming. There was an element of deep passion in his nature and this was no doubt largely the cause of this. It was also perhaps his greatest source of strength. For the problems were to him human problems, affecting always in the last analysis real men and women. It is not given to all great administrators to feel like this.

And, of course, he was impatient. Perhaps it would not be quite fair to say that he was not able to suffer fools gladly, but he certainly was not able to suffer them for very long.

And, when we think of him as a person, we may remember one particular tribute which is paid to him by many. All I can do is to attempt to express it. His eccentricities, which were never trivial but had something grand about them, were lovable and he was loved for them. Stories will be told about him for a long time and men and women will be happy when they recall them.

I spoke of looking at him in two ways. This is, of course, absurd. The administrator, the companion, the civil servant dictating at his desk or presiding with immense enthusiasm over a conference, the man with his family in the country, were all one. And let us remember that like the giant in classical mythology who had only to touch the ground when engaged in an encounter to receive new strength, so Andrew had a home he had only to touch to come back into the struggle revived. History will pay him her tribute in ways which we cannot do, recording mistakes as well as his achievements and his moments of inspiration. We think of him as a friend and we can say that our lives would have been less interesting and less enjoyable and lacking in some inspiration—to some a profound inspiration—and in memories which we shall treasure, if we had not known him.

JET PLANES FOR ISRAEL

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to hear President Johnson's announcement yesterday that he had directed the State Department to begin negotiations with Israel for the sale of supersonic jet fighter-bombers, presumably the Phantom F–4.

The precarious situation in the Middle East caused by Soviet rearming of Egypt requires that these negotiations be conducted as expeditiously as possible so as to permit rapid delivery of the planes.

A recent article in Near East Report very thoroughly discusses the discouraging events in the Middle East. I think that anyone reading this analysis will agree that it is imperative for Israel to acquire sufficient planes and achieve a deterrent capability sufficient to meet the threat caused by Russian shipments to Egypt. The article follows:

THE IMPOSED "PEACE"

The Russians have resumed pressure on the United States to abandon Israel and to force her to surrender to the Arabs without a negotiated peace settlement.

The Russian plan calls for:

Israel withdrawal to the pre-June 5, 1967 armistice lines.

Renunciation of Arab belligerence.

A strong UN presence in the area.

A four-power guarantee by the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France.

Other issues—freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal and the Straits of Tiran, the Arab refugees and Jerusalem—would be left to the future.

The proposal is not new. It recalls the Yugoslav initiative which both Israel and the United States rejected a year ago.

In Paris, Israel's Foreign Minister Abba Eban declared that it was identical with a plan presented by the Soviet Union to the Security Council last fall, which Israel, together with a majority of governments, had rejected. He said that "under the Soviet plan Israel is called on to renounce its security without obtaining peace. This is why we rejected it."

WHERE DOES THE UNITED STATES STAND?

But the Department of State was slow to react to the Soviet proposal. This occasioned some surprise.

And it was not until this afternoon that the Department finally made public comment. The Department let it be known that it had replied to the Soviet Union by stressing U.S. support for Ambassador Jarring's efforts "to promote agreements among the parties on a peaceful settlement" based on the Nov. 22 UN Security Council resolution. In effect, it discouraged bilateral U.S.-Soviet talks.

Three weeks ago, in his speech to the B'nai B'rith, President Johnson called for a "real peace of justice and reconciliation—not a cease-fire, not a temporary truce, not a renewal of the fragile armistice."

The President once again called for "secure and recognized borders" and for lines which "must be agreed by the parties involved as part of the transition from armistice to peace."

In our last issue, the *Near East Report* anticipated the new Soviet initiative and welcomed the President's reassurances as significant when viewed in relation to any future U.S.-Soviet talks on the Near East.

Accordingly, difficult questions came to the fore: Had there been a change in U.S. policy? Had there been some erosion?

Several theories were offered to explain the U.S. readiness to take the Soviet proposal seriously.

Since the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, the United States has feared a new confrontation with an unpredictable Russia either in Europe or in the Near East. Accordingly, the Administration is anxious to reach some kind of detente with the Russians in the Near East if that is possible.

The United States fears that Arabs and Russians will enjoy a propaganda advantage in the UN General Assembly and that it will be increasingly difficult for the United States to support Israel's insistence on peace treaties in the international forum.

Some diplomats may be using the Soviet proposal for leverage on Israel in connection with the Jarring mission. While the United States has accepted Israel's view that any withdrawal must be in the context of an overall settlement, the United States has not agreed with Israel that there must be direct Arab-Israel talks. For many months, Washington has been urging Israel to agree to indirect talks and to offer Jarring a map or a peace prospectus.

Israel finally agreed but it wanted some assurances that such talks would lead to concrete results. Israel then asked Jarring to find out from the Egyptians what they meant by their concept of peace and how they envisaged the relations of the parties.

To this, it has been reported, there has been no satisfactory reply.

Eban will offer Israel's proposals for a peace settlement at the UN General Assembly on Oct. 8. He met with Secretary of State Dean Rusk in New York yesterday.

The United States wants the Jarring mission to continue. In Washington, there is apprehension that if the Jarring mission is stalemated the Soviet Union and the Arabs may try to force a new UN resolution serving an ultimatum on Israel and demanding the imposition of sanctions.

All this Soviet pressure recalls the 1957 debacle when the Soviet Union and the United States joined pressures to force Israel's withdrawal without a firm and lasting settlement.

ADVICE FROM THE PRESS

Significantly, two Washington newspapers which frequently reflect State Department views both urged Israel to consider the Russian initiative.

In an editorial on Sept. 28, the *Washington Post* states that the four-power guarantee "is not an acceptable substitute for what the parties themselves must agree to guarantee. That approach was tried and found unworkable." Nevertheless, the *Post* continues, "the Soviet bid should not be dismissed out of hand." It contends that the Russian plan will provide a "focus" for UN efforts in the search for peace.

"A policy switch from keeping the pot boiling to one of allowing the broth to chill ought to be greeted with hope. So tense and dangerous is the Middle East now that the slightest hint of relief should not be ignored," the paper says.

The *Evening Star*, on the same day, notes "that with tension in the area still at fever pitch, the Israelis will do well not to dismiss the proposal out of hand."

It concedes that the Soviet Union's motives are "suspect" and it speculates that one motive might be "to throw up a smokescreen of phony peace prospects to dissuade the U.S. from furnishing Phantom jets and other arms to Israel and to buy time while the Arab armies complete their retraining and re-equipping."

Another motive, the editorial continues, "might be to draw public attention away from Czechoslovakia."

Moreover, the *Star* says, the Soviet plan "falls considerably short of a solid guarantee" . . . The Israelis have reason to doubt the UN's staying power as a peacekeeping force and the ability of the four powers to work in concert in the Middle East, given a divergence of their views about the region.

Nevertheless, having given the major reasons why Israel is justified in rejecting the Soviet proposal, the *Star* argues that "if the Israel government maintains an unresponsive attitude to the Soviet proposal, it runs the risk of weakening its case in the eyes of the world. Moreover, there is just that outside chance that the Soviet Union's opening gambit could develop into full-fledged negotiations."

This seems very strange.

Israel is being pressed to consider a proposal which is prejudicial to the prospect of peace and security on the pretext that one might win world opinion by appeasing a power which has always been so contemptuous of world opinion.

The Soviet proposal would defeat Israel's major objective, the attainment of treaties which obligate the parties themselves to preserve the peace.

On the other hand, it would help the Arabs win their major objective: a "political solution" which forces Israel to retreat and exempts the Arab states from any responsibility to meet with Israel, to recognize her, to work with her to curb terrorism, to limit arms and to cooperate with her in trade and development for the mutual benefit of all the peoples of the area.

AN UNREALISTIC PLAN

Close examination of the Soviet plan suggests that it raises many more problems than it solves.

Does the Soviet Union really mean that Israel should withdraw completely to the June 4, 1967 lines?

Would Jerusalem again be divided and Israel barred from access to the Old City and the Western Wall?

Would the Syrians return to the bunkers of the Golan Heights?

Would an Egyptian Governor General resume the rule of Gaza?

Would Egyptian tanks and jets return to Sinai?

And what kind of UN force do the Russians envisage?

Would the Russians themselves or East European satellites provide soldiers?

Would Bulgarian jeeps patrol the environs of the Holy Places?

Does Jerusalem become another Berlin, with four guaranteeing powers controlling their own zones, with their own military headquarters?

Do Egyptian guns return to Sharm el-Sheikh to resume the blockade of the Straits of Tiran, the situation which prevailed on June 4 and which precipitated the war?

And who would be responsible for curbing terrorism in the absence of treaty obligations?

How would the four powers enforce their guarantees?

Would the UN Security Council be the final arbiter in the case of dispute and would the Soviet Union feel free, as always in the past, to veto any Israel complaint or protest?

In the light of these questions, it is obvious that the Soviet proposal as a substitute for a peace treaty should be emphatically rejected. Any equivocal response suggests weakness and encourages the Arab states to believe that they can persist in their negative position: They may feel free to continue to demand Israel's withdrawal and to spurn moves toward negotiations, recognition and peace.

There is irony in the coincidence that the new push for appeasement in the Near East comes just 30 years to the week of the shameful and ignominious sellout at Munich which led to World War II.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE NEW LEFT—A GOSPEL OF NIHILISM

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, in August 1967, the magazine, Christianity Today, published an article by Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, on a recent development in this country, the New Left. As usual, Director Hoover goes right to the heart of the matter and recommends a reaffirmation of the basic spiritual and moral values which have been our heritage. As a large percentage of college-age New Leftists comes from affluent surroundings, one cannot blame their individual discontent on poverty, nor can large Federal aid programs cajole them into assuming constructive roles as citizens.

Of clergymen and concerned laymen, Mr. Hoover asks:

> Are they involved in a dialogue—a heart-to-heart conversation—with these young people, endeavoring to answer some of their probing questions about human existence, such as: Who am I? Why am I here? What is the purpose of life? What values have meaning?
>
> All of us, clergymen and laymen, need to look deeper into our hearts to answer these questions.

To be sure, excesses by the New Left must be dealt with firmly and forcefully, and they must be given to understand that we do not intend to stand idly by while our society and its institutions are rent asunder by malcontents and anarchists, be they foreign or homegrown.

The above-mentioned article by Mr. Hoover should be required reading for all citizens concerned about this recent phenomenon in American life. To give it wider dissemination, I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

AN ANALYSIS OF THE NEW LEFT: A GOSPEL OF NIHILISM

(By J. Edgar Hoover)

The time has come for Americans to focus on a new kind of conspiracy in our country—a movement called the New Left. In recent months the effects of the New Left have been seen in many places: in demonstrations against American policy in Viet Nam, in civil disobedience, in calls for young men to resist the draft, in campus turmoil, in attacks against law and order, in desecrations of the American flag.

What is the New Left?

Actually, the New Left as a movement is difficult to define. If you visit a New Left meeting, you will find some of the participants smartly dressed, others with dirty T-shirts and baggy trousers. A high percentage are Beatniks—wearing long hair and beards, unkempt clothes, and sandals. A few are Hippies, experimenting with drugs and enamored with esoteric rituals such as "love-ins," "be-ins," and "happenings." If you listen to their conversation, you will hear a steady flow of obscene and foul language. Sexual promiscuity is not considered in bad taste.

Most of the participants are students. The New Left is predominantly a college-age movement found in the college and university community—but not exclusively. Besides undergraduates, the New Left contains a wide assortment of other participants: college faculty members (mostly young), graduate students, guitarists, writers, intellectuals of various types, ex-students still "hanging around" the campus, curiosity-seekers, Communists, Trotskyites.

"We have within our ranks," comments the national vice-president of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the largest and best known of New Left groups, "Communists of both varieties, socialists of all sorts, three or four different kinds of anarchists, anarcho-syndicalists, syndicalists, social democrats, humanist liberals, a growing number of libertarian laissez-faire capitalists, and of course, the articulate vanguard of the psychedelic liberation front."

In this amalgam is found much nonsensical chatter but also serious conversation by some highly motivated and articulate young people seeking to understand vital problems facing our nation today, such as poverty, civil rights, world peace, automation, the student's role on the university campus, human dignity in a rapidly developing urban and industrial economy. *Here is the paradox of the New Left:* Many of the New Leftists are mere intellectual tramps who seek the exotic and eccentric as emotional outlets; but some, in one way or another, are seriously searching—not only for answers to society's problems but for values of human existence in a world of great uncertainty.

To equate the New Left with a political party or a tightly disciplined organization is to miss its true identity. It is is not an organization. It does not have a constitution, bylaws, or an official membership.

Rather the New Left is a *mood*, a *philosophy of life*, a *Weltanschauung*, a way of looking at *self*, *country*, and the *universe*. And in this mood lies its tragedy—and its danger!

For the New Left's mood—and philosophy of life—is not one of support for America and its traditions, of upholding moral and democratic values. Rather, it is one of defiance, hostility, and opposition to our free society. It seeks to destroy, not to build. Its whole approach is one of negativism—to criticize, belittle, denigrate the principles on which this nation was built. Cynicism, pessimism, and callousness are its mottoes. At its heart, the New Left is *nihilistic* and *anarchistic*.

Hence, to dismiss the New Left, as some do, as a collection of simpletons. eccentrics, and jocular fools is to commit a grave mistake. Its adherents should not, as so often happens, be judged strictly by their Beatnik dress and ways (repugnant as they may be to most Americans). New Leftism poses today challenging and provocative questions for the nation—questions that each thoughtful citizen should carefully analyze, study, and understand. Who are these young people? Why have they chosen to disparage the society and institutions that gave them birth? Why is their gospel one of nihilism? Why have they rejected the values of our Judaic-Christian civilization?

The imperative need for knowledge is shown by the rapid growth of the movement. Just a few months ago the SDS's national vice-president enthusiastically reported that his group had some 30,000 adherents. "Starting from almost zero," he said, "we have achieved that number in seven years; we have grown ten-fold in only two years." More and more the New Left is reaching into the high-school age group. *New Left Notes*, organ of SDS, comments:

> "The 600 members of SDS who are in high schools are the most underrepresented group in our organization. . . . A high school organizer would be able to make high school members more than peripherally involved in the affairs of SDS. Moreover, he could begin to help build a more solid high school movement. This would not be difficult."

To analyze the New Left is to become suddenly aware of the nihilistic wasteland it presents.

Basic to the New Left's mood is the idea that contemporary American society (contemptuously called the "Establishment") is corrupt, evil, and malignant—and must be destroyed. To reform it, to change it for the better, is impossible. It must—along with its Judaic-Christian values—be liquidated. "Let's face it. It is, to use the crudest psychological terminology, a sick. sick, sick society in which we live. It is, finally, a society which approaches collective insanity—a system of authority-dependency relationships which destroys life and health and strength and creates debility, dependency, and deathliness."

For that reason, members of the New Left take great delight in desecrating the American flag, mocking American heros, and disparaging American history. They contemptuously hiss and boo officials of our government and show scornful disdain for opinions with which they disagree (the New Left at heart is extremely totalitarian, intolerant, and opinionated in nature). They urge resistance to the draft (even on occasions try to interfere physically with the legitimate activities of armed-services personnel on college campuses present for the purpose of recruiting), burn or mutilate draft cards, endeavor to dictate to university administrative officials how these institutions should be run.

In this spirit of nihilism, the New Left manifests a nauseating air of self-righteousness, as if it alone knows how to solve the problems of twentieth-century society and alone can be trusted to carry out these solutions. There is almost a hysterical repudiation of the older generation (defined as any person over the age of thirty—though this age minimum is rapidly decreasing). The older generation (our "impotent, neurotic elders") is characterized as having sold out to "imperialistic monopoly capitalism" (note the use of Marxist terminology), and having "betrayed" the youth. Hence, it is not to be trusted—and no wisdom and advice can be expected from it.

Therefore, the New Left has little appreciation of and respect for history ("we have little or no sense of history") or for the accumulated heritage and wisdom of former years. By rejecting the past, they lack a clear view of the future and fail to understand the nature of man as a human being. They are anarchistic iconoclasts, breaking and destroying, whose eschatological vision has no practical or even idealistic idea of what the future should be. Their chief aim, despite their protestations to the contrary, is to destroy, annihilate, tear down.

Their heroes are Castro, Che Guevara, Mao Tse-Tung, Ho Chi Minh, or whoever they ebulliently believe is a fighter (preferably the romantic guerrilla type) against a "status quo" capitalist nation.

Ideologically, the ideas of existenialism, especially as reflected in the writings of the French authors Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus, have been influential. But a major influence has been Marxism. Karl Marx is frequently quoted in their writings. They talk much about the concept of "alienation," which derives in large part from Marx. By "alienation," they mean their separation from, and lack of allegiance to, the institutions of contemporary society. These institutions (such as our educational system, private industry, the government, the military services), they claim, are "choking," "stifling," and "stunting" young people, creating in them a "slave psychology." As one New Leftist put it: "From the moment he enters school, the student is subjected to innumerable procedures designed to humiliate him and remind him that he is worthless and that adults are omnipotent."

In part, the New Left's Beatnik style, their use of obscene language, their inclination towards drugs, is an attempt to shock their elders, a way of ostentatiously declaring their "freedom" from what they call the "old," the "decadent," the "bourgeois." All too frequently, the hallucinatory world of drugs not

only leads to permanent physical addiction but also makes even more difficult any transition to the world of reality. For many young people the use of drugs is a retreat, a withdrawal into a psychedelic world where they can evade making the basic decisions of life. This problem of drugs should not be taken lightly by our society.

How should this "decadent" society be destroyed? New Leftists are not sure. Their talk is vague but violent. "The only overtly political power we have," says one New Leftist, "is the power to disrupt. But even this limited power can be significant. . . . We need to develop techniques of creative disruption." To "radicalize" the youth, to build a "radical or revolutionary consciousness," to create a "sense of radical self-identity"—these are constant New Left phrases.

This mood of "creative disruption" in the past has been reflected in various *tactics of protest*, such as demonstrations, sit-ins, petition campaigns. But the mood of New Left protest, unfortunately, is now giving way to one of *resistance*. This is one of the tragedies of any movement of protest that refuses to find an outlet through legitimate channels of society and in cooperation with other groups—it moves to more radical, extreme, and bitter positions. Many New Left leaders, making judgments from increasing feelings of personal frustration and hatred, are talking in terms of *resistance* (a word frequently used by them) to the society they detest.

One SDS leader says:

"We have to build a movement out of people's guts, out of their so-far internalized rejection of American society, and present people with a revolutionary alternative to the American way of life.

"Many of us in SDS share a conviction that this is what has to happen. That we must resist, and that people must break free. None of us is sure we can win. All we can say is that there are other ways to lead our lives in the face of the obscenity of what American life is—and that we intend to live them that way."

Still another New Leftist talks about the movement's future:

"There is a continuing need for serious discussion of alternative scenarios for an American revolution. I do not believe advocates of electoral activity have offered one. . . . I feel the formation of counter-communities of struggle and the creation of local pockets of power is the way to begin to find a strategy of revolution."

After favorably quoting Karl Marx, an SDS writer says:

"It is important that we begin to talk in terms of five, ten, fifteen years because that is the time and energy it will take to build a Revolutionary movement and socialist political party able to take power in America. At this point, we in SDS must begin to write about and talk about socialist theory, so that we will be prepared to play a major role in developments, creating larger numbers of socialists, and developing socialist consciousness in all institutions in which we organize."

The news media not long ago quoted a top New Leftist as saying: "We are working to build a guerrilla force in an urban environment." "We are actively organizing sedition." Another stated: "I think violence is necessary, and it frightens me."

What does all this mean? That there are young people who disagree with society, who are willing to protest and make their views known—this is all to the good. America needs a questioning generation. It needs young people who will speak up frankly and firmly. The spirit of protest and dissent is inextricably interwoven in the fabric of American society. We want no silent generation. In a dangerous nuclear world, beset with uncertainty and fear, the human spirit will—and must—seek answers.

But when young people, in categorical and dogmatic terms, reject all society, and reject it with bitterness and disdain, questions should be asked. What is their purpose? What is their vision? What is wrong?

For a better society, conceived on Judaic-Christian realities, cannot be brought about by New Leftism. The New Leftists claim a high moral purpose ("Basically SDS politics stem from disaffection and a moral outrage . . .") and a spiritual sensitivity to injustice, intolerance, and unfairness. But how can this be?

When you sweepingly denounce the responsible leadership of the nation, even those who are honestly and sincerely trying to correct the many ills of our society (legitimate reform leaders are regularly lampooned by the New Left), who remains?

When you bitterly distrust the older generation and accuse it of the most base mendacity and dishonesty (usually without proof or facts), where is fairness?

When you find incidents of hypocrisy and sham in our society (there are some), and then indict all of society, overlooking what is good and positive, isn't this having a distorted vision?

When you speak (as does the New Left) in terms of a dogmatic moralism that considers itself right and all other viewpoints wrong, where are the possibilities of creative dialogue?

When you *denounce* and *denounce* and *denounce* and offer nothing constructive, what happens?

When you constantly view your country as being in the wrong but saying nothing really critical about Communism, or Castro, or Mao, or Ho, isn't this indicative of a preconceived bias?

No concrete proof exists that the New Left is sincerely interested (as it claims) in improving this country. That's why it is at heart a form of neo-paganism.

The whole mood of the New Left makes the movement particularly susceptible to infiltration and manipulation by the so-called "Old Left"—meaning the Communist Party and the Trotskyites. And that is exactly what is happening. The Communist Party, for example, and its youth front, the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, have deeply imbedded themselves in the New Left—helping organize demonstrations, participating in planning sessions, making policy decisions.

Not that the entire New Left is Communist-dominated. It is not. Some elements of the New Left have criticized the Communist Party. This criticism, however, is not so much opposition to Marxist-Leninist principles as opposition to Communist concepts of discipline and organization. Though sympathetic to Communist aims, they do not want to become Communist members and be caught up in the Party's bureaucracy.

As part of its youth program, the Party is today making strenuous efforts to reap benefit from the New Left. In a recent discussion of the New Left in the Party's theoretical journal, *Political Affairs*, a writer made these frank comments in an article entitled "Many Can Be Won for Communism:"

"I believe it is time for the Party to consider the New Left as a recruiting ground for militant cadre. . . . Proctor [one of the other writers] is correct in stating that there is a surprisingly large section of the New Left ready to listen to Communists, and willing to see Communist ideas in action. I hasten to add, and to join the Communist Party, if and when the opportunity presents itself. Let us prepare classes, develop open youth leadership, establish social contact with individuals of the New Left, and, in short, bring those whom we can into our ranks. In doing so we will go a long ways towards preparing our Party for the new radical period ahead."

Here is the danger—that a disciplined, experienced revolutionary organization, like the Communist Party, will be able to reach into the variegated, at times almost chaotic, New Left movement, recruit young people, and then train them into revolutionary cadres. Remembering the words of Lenin, the Party realizes that revolutionary zeal, vociferous and outspoken, is not of great value unless it is channeled into revolutionary cadres—the dedicated men and women who are trained for revolution. The tumultuous unpredictability of some of the New Left leaders makes the Party distrustful of them; but the New Left as a movement has given the Party an ideological bonanza undreamed of just a few years ago.

In the book of Isaiah (5: 4) a verse which often comes to my mind:

"What more was there to do for my vineyard,
that I have not done in it?
When I looked for it to yield grapes, why
did it yield wild grapes?"

Why the New Left? What has caused this nihilist group—small in numbers yet potentially great for evil? Why have these wild grapes grown in a society which has lavished so much time, attention, and wealth on its young people, to train them to be responsible citizens?

"We come from homes with all the status tickets," a New Left student told a newsman. "We were born into comfort and security. Our disaffection comes from having all that society has to offer—and feeling shallow. Other kids have the American dream before them. We were born into the American dream."

Maybe society has lavished too much of the wrong kind of things on these young people? Too much money for personal use? Too much permissiveness? Too much affluence? A high percentage of college-age New Leftists come from affluent homes—where they have never wanted in the physical things of life. Have too many parents placed a false emphasis in the lives of these young people, stressing the material rather than the spiritual? Have young people been taught to prize what is expedient and easy rather than to work hard and do an acceptable job?

Maybe we have emphasized too much the rights and privileges of the individual rather than his duties and responsibilities?

Just what are the churches doing? Are clergymen and concerned laymen devoting the attention they should to youth? Are they involved in a dialogue—a heart-to-heart conversation—with these young people, endeavoring to answer some of their probing questions about human existence, such as: Who am I? Why am I here? What is the purpose of life? What values have meaning?

All of us, clergymen and laymen, need to look deeper into our hearts to answer these questions.

1. We need to know our young people better. Young people want a helping hand, love, care, and nurture. There are too many broken homes, separated families, and failures of the parent-youth relationship. Too many parents don't know their children today.

2. We must realize that monetary affluence (money, home, swimming pool) cannot by themselves capture a child's affection. Money is too often used to bribe children—to keep them falsely happy, to simulate a parent-child relationship that doesn't exist. The irresponsible flabbiness of affluence has become a deterrent to spiritual growth.

3. We need to inculcate in our young people the idea that in a free society the single person counts. Too many of these young people complain of powerlessness, impotence, spiritual sterility. Their vision is distorted. They can, by exercising intelligence, moral example, and initiative, influence the world in which they live. Our society is not, except to the perennial pessimist, a closed, fixed society that defies efforts to change it.

4. We must emphasize that the generations must work together. Trust runs from child

to parent and parent to child. Civilization is created by the constant interaction of generations. In a society growing increasingly young, there must be a new respect for the wisdom of the elders.

5. We need to instill a love of country in the hearts of young Americans—that they are heirs of a great tradition of liberty and that if it is to remain meaningful it must be won anew each day. Patriotism is not old-fashioned. Being proud of country and flag is the natural response of concerned and intelligent citizens.

6. We need to encourage our young generation to understand fully that obedience to law is the heart of democratic society. If a person disobeys a law just because he doesn't like it, or feels it is wrong, this can only bring chaos. Our free society contains constitutional processes whereby laws can be changed. Unilateral disobedience is wrong.

7. Young people must realize that spiritual faith is the ultimate lifeline of fruitful living. God is the eternal hope. Man-made gods, like chips of wood, perish. They hold temporary thrall, but disintegrate in the burning sun of human experience. To live fully, abundantly, and courageously, man needs God.

In the history of the world no figure has reinforced the true and the good more than Jesus of Nazareth, and no book has wielded greater power for godliness and decency than the Bible. To know the Judaic-Christian realities afresh is the great consuming need of the younger generation today, and there is little hope of their renewal unless adults make these commitments their own. Never have the churches—clergy and laity—lived in a time of greater opportunity to exhibit the importance of faith and trust in God and of obedience to his will, and never in the history of our generation would their failure to do so be more calamitous.

CZECH INVASION PREDICTED, RUMANIAN INVASION WARNED BY HUNGARIAN FREEDOM GROUP

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to share with my colleagues in the House today a statement issued by the Hungarian Freedom Fighters warning against a policy of appeasement by the United States in Eastern Europe.

This resolution warns against the dangers of allowing the strength of NATO to dissolve, of turning a deaf ear to the cries for freedom in Czechoslovakia, and of sowing the seeds of appeasement where Soviet action in Eastern Europe is concerned.

It is a resolution that bears careful reading and contemplation because it points out that the current crisis in Eastern Europe is the result of the Soviet Union's ability to suppress freedom in a nation by military force without fear of reprisal.

I can only pray that the echos of marching feet into the Sudetenland in 1939 are not replaced in 1968 with Russian boots marching across the face of Europe because this Nation forgot the lesson of World War II.

The preface and resolution follow:

PREFACE

The Hungarian Freedom Federation, U.S.A., meeting in its Seventh Congress, comes together at a very auspicious time.

Only a few days after the ruthless Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, we met in an atmosphere of much questioning and even fear about the future of the balance of power between the East and West. As Hungarian Freedom Fighters, we are in a unique position to assess the meaning of the situation in Czechoslovakia.

In a public statement made August 31, 1968, by Representative Frank Horton (R–N.Y.), the American people were advised to "watch closely the proceedings of this Seventh Congress of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Federation, because the survivors of red tyranny against Hungary in 1956 have much to teach us about the current crisis.

It is in this prospective that we offer the following resolution.

RESOLUTION OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE HUNGARIAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS FEDERATION U.S.A. CONCERNING THE CURRENT CRISIS IN EAST EUROPE

The bridge designed by Western concern in search for betterment of the prevailing conditions in Eastern Europe and built by miscalculation of political realities collapsed under the weight of Russian tanks invading Prague.

Based on our unique personal experience and firsthand knowledge of Soviet tactics we warned the Secretary General of the United Nations as early as July 27th, 1968 in a telegram to be prepared for those eventualities which have since become facts.

In 1956, a spontaneous, popular, armed repudiation of Communism failed in Hungary despite the gallantry of the Hungarian people and of the unanimous condemnation of the Russian aggression by world opinion.

Just recently and in contrast, a carefully designed and officially controlled effort by the Czechoslovak Communist Party toward liberalization, within the framework of the Warsaw Pact was similarly crushed as soon as it became apparent that a meaningful degree of individual freedom in Czechoslovakia might be achieved.

The Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation U.S.A. never subscribed to the notion that a one-sided bridge-building policy can ever achieve any beneficial results.

The Seventh National Congress of the Federation presents the following conclusions:

1. Behind the Communist ideological tirades Russian imperialistic aims are hidden and realized by naked Russian aggression.

2. It is evident that the Kremlin's recent foreign policy decisions have been suggested by the military, alarmed by the possibility of losing control over tactically important geographical areas.

3. In view of the Russian generals' growing influence in policymaking, further aggressive moves of the Red Army can be expected in order to secure advantageous positions.

4. The invasion shortly following the Bratislava agreement demonstrates again the utter disregard of moral and international obligations by the Soviet government.

5. In the face of naked Russian aggression any relaxation of Western military alertness and preparedness seems to be suicidal.

6. The brute exhibition of force clearly showed to the Western Communist parties and sympathizers that they can count on the "support" an "brotherly friendship" of the Soviet Union only as long as they are willing to serve the interests of Russian nationalism over and above their own. The implementation of the concept of "humanized Communism" is hopeless under such circumstances.

The Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation U.S.A. deems the following measures necessary and feasible.

The resolutions made by the NATO ambassadors in Washington, D.C., on August 31st, 1968 and the policy described by the representative of the U.S. Department of State should be immediately and greatly expanded. In details:

A. A decisive, immediate and public repudiation of any secret obligations establishing the status-quo in Eastern Europe is needed if such obligations exist. If such obligations never existed diplomatic timidity shall not honor and perpetuate the de facto established lines of the status-quo.

B. To discourage further military adventures of the Russian Army the urgent revigoration of the NATO Alliance and the updating of conventional armament for the armed forces of the Alliance is imperative.

C. Recently established economic policies for better East-West relations must be reevaluated. As a starting step, a revocation of economic concessions should follow the Russian aggression in Czechoslovakia.

D. Inept and timid diplomatic statements, inviting aggression should be ceased by high level officials in the NATO Alliance. Forceful and unequivocal pronouncements, such as that made by the U.S. President warning against invasion of Rumania, should make it evident that no further aggressions will be tolerated.

The appeasement in 1938 resulted in World War II. An appeasement in 1968 may very well sow the seeds of World War III. History seldom repeats itself: still those who are unable or unwilling to learn from the lessons of the past deserve to be victimized by the repetition of history.

September 1, 1968 at the Seventh Congress of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation U.S.A.

DR. ANDRAS POGANY,
President.
BAAN VITEZ,
Vice President, World Federation.
LASZLO PASZTOR,
Secretary General.
ISTVAN GEREBEN,
Vice President.

THE ARMS RACE: TOO MUCH OF A BAD THING

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the United States faces a major decision on nuclear policy that will affect the nature of this world for a long time to come.

That question is whether to build new and more sophisticated nuclear weaponry or to negotiate an agreement to limit the proliferation of weapons of strategic warfare. At stake is the security of the world and the lives of millions of people.

Mr. Andrew Hamilton, writing in the New York Times Magazine of October 6, 1968, offers cogent and lucid arguments for working toward the limiting of those weapons as the way to provide security for the peoples of the world.

Mr. Hamilton states so well the futility of the arms race when he says:

The United States and the U.S.S.R. have reached a high plateau of mutual deterrence where strenuous efforts to achieve nuclear "superiority" are self-deluding. Yet in the absence of a mutual agreement to end the strategic arms race, both nations are con-

demned to continue adding more and new varieties of weapons to their forces, each nervously watching for a "technological breakthrough"—such as a perfect antimissile system—that would give its opponent a decisive advantage.

Given the mutual deterrence, any money which either the United States or the Soviet Union spends in the future on strategic arms, except to insure the survivability and deliverability of its nuclear deterrent, will have only an uncertain symbolic value, and most likely will simply stimulate strategic spending by the other side. The world provides a constant reminder that there are more important uses for its resources than a contest between wealthy nations for nuclear "superiority."

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I submit Mr. Hamilton's article for inclusion in the RECORD. It is essential, in our deliberations on the buildup of "deterrent weapons," that the futility of the arms race and its effect on our security are considered and understood by the Congress. I hope all Members will take the time to read it.

The article follows:

THE ARMS RACE: TOO MUCH OF A BAD THING

(By Andrew Hamilton)

WASHINGTON.—The United States and the Soviet Union, in the autumn of 1968, face major decisions on nuclear policy that will affect the nature of their rivalry for a long time to come. One choice is to explore, in the phrase of former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, their "mutuality of interests" in limiting the weapons of strategic warfare. The other, in the absence of negotiations, is to plunge into a new and possibly more frantic era of nuclear weapons competition.

Over the past seven years each of the two powers has acquired, at great cost, large strategic missile forces capable of destroying the other as an organized society. And each side has also kept a substantial number of long-range nuclear bombers, dating from the fifties, to supplement their missiles. At this point in history, their forces are roughly in balance. Neither side can deprive the other of its deterrent strength. A surprise attack by either would still leave the victim with more than enough surviving weapons to destroy the attacker. Each nation is strongly impelled to treat the other with caution.

This is the condition long proclaimed by McNamara as the goal of a rational nuclear policy. The United States and the U.S.S.R. have reached a high plateau of mutual deterrence where strenuous efforts to achieve nuclear "superiority" are self-deluding. Yet in the absence of a mutual agreement to end the strategic arms race, both nations are condemned to continue adding more and newer varieties of weapons to their forces, each nervously watching for a "technological breakthrough"—such as a perfect antimissile system—that would give its opponent a decisive advantage.

Short weeks ago, it appeared that the decision this fall would be to talk. President Johnson and Premier Kosygin were preparing to announce on Aug. 21 their plans for a Summit meeting to initiate negotiations on limiting offensive and defensive strategic missiles. But on Aug. 20, the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia. The announcement was cancelled.

Meanwhile, both sides were pushing new weapons programs. In June, Defense Secretary Clark M. Clifford indicated that the Sentinel antiballistic missile (ABM) system, intended as a thin protection against a Chinese attack, might be adapted to defend against the Soviet Union. He thus appeared to contradict McNamara, who constantly argued while in office that such a move would force the Soviets to add more than enough missiles to offset the ABM and so place the United States in greater jeopardy than before.

Simultaneously, a new and more deadly offensive technology made its debut. On Aug. 16, the Defense Department tested two new strategic missiles, the Poseidon and the Minuteman III, both carrying MIRV's (multiple individually guided re-entry vehicles). And in early September came word that the Soviet Union had also tested a multiple warhead rocket. The Russian test prompted Senator Henry M. Jackson to warn that the present American missile installations might not be sufficient to deter a Russian attack. "It opens the door," he said, "to a revision of all our fixed numbers."

McNamara established the present limits of U.S. missile strength in 1962, when he determined that there should be no more than 1,000 Minuteman launch sites. The Joint Chiefs of Staff had recommended an open-ended deployment schedule of 150 to 200 missiles a year. "It was the first big McNamara decision that the military didn't like," said a Defense aide recently, "a very traumatic experience."

The former Defense Secretary's belief that a quantative answer could be given to the question "How much is enough nuclear strength?" never won complete acceptance in the military or in Congress. On June 24—the day the Poor People's campaign was evicted from Resurrection City—the Senate was debating whether to delay the Sentinel system for a year to save $400-million which might otherwise have to be cut from domestic programs. Senator Richard B. Russell, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, argued that the Sentinel must be kept on schedule. The Soviet Union, he said, was already deploying an antimissile system, had caught up with the United States in land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM's) and was building new missile-carrying submarines. "I today cannot assure the Senate, as I have done year after year," Russell said, "that we are superior to any Soviet threat in the field of strategic missiles, because I do not know that to be the case, and I think there is a very grave doubt about it." His argument carried the day, demonstrating the power of the psychological approach to strategic weapons decisions—that the more you have, the safer you are.

During the Sentinel debate, Russell chided a fellow member of the Armed Services Committee, Missouri's Stuart Symington, who had declared the Sentinel to be a wasteful program of doubtful effectiveness. "The test of a weapons system," Russell declared, "is not in what it does when it is used; it is whether it is effective or not to avoid its use. . . . And if you have one that is so effective you do not have to use it, you have a success."

That is a kind of senatorial Stengelese for "The purpose of a deterrent is to deter." Like so much else that is said when strategic weapons are under discussion, it is reminiscent of medieval theological argument: apocalyptic in implication; logical, if tortuous; even true; but as a guide to decision-making, quite useless. And the advocates of nuclear "superiority" are urging decisions involving tens of billions of dollars.

Given the state of mutual deterrence, any money which either the United States or the Soviet Union spends in the future on strategic arms, except to insure the survivability and deliverability of its nuclear deterrent, will have only an uncertain symbolic value, and most likely will simply stimulate strategic spending by the other side. The world provides a constant reminder that there are more important uses for its resources than a contest between wealthy nations for nuclear "superiority."

The lesson has been slow to sink in. In July, 1961, the striking power of both sides was invested in bombers. In these weapons, the United States was strongly in the lead, thanks in part to misplaced alarm in the mid-fifties that we would come out on the short end of a "bomber gap." The United States had about 560 B-52 heavy bombers, about 40 supersonic B-58 medium bombers and about 900 aging B-47 medium bombers, all with intercontinental range. They were backed by about 1,000 tankers for mid-air refueling. The Soviet Union had about 150 Bear-model heavy intercontinental bombers. It also had 700 to 800 medium bombers, but a much smaller tanker fleet than the United States. Most of the medium bombers, if not all, were targeted against European and Asian points, not against the United States. (All calculations of Soviet strategic power in this article are based on United States intelligence estimates.)

Each side also had a small force of missile submarines. On the American side, five nuclear-powered Polaris submarines were operational, carrying 80 sea-launched ballistic missiles (SLBM's). The American submarines could remain submerged and concealed for three months at a time and could fire their 1,200-nautical-mile (1,380-statute-mile) A–1 missiles while submerged. The Russians had 50 to 100 SLBM's, but these had a range of only a few hundred miles, were carried aboard diesel submarines with limited station-keeping powers and were fired from the water's surface.

Finally, the number of land-based ICBM's on both sides, when measured against the rhetoric of the "missile gap" debate in the 1960 Presidential campaign, was indeed puny: The United States had 28; the Soviet Union just four.

Today the strategic forces of the two nations are as follows:

UNITED STATES

Intercontinental missiles: 1,054, of which 65 per cent are usually on alert while the rest undergo inspection and overhaul.

There are 1,000 Minuteman missiles in two basic models, Minuteman I (of which there are currently about 650) and Minuteman II, which is slowly replacing the earlier version. Both are solid-fuel missiles. They are deployed in reinforced underground silos designed to withstand nearby nuclear explosions. The silos are widely separated to prevent a single incoming bomb or missile from destroying more than one of them.

Minuteman II has more payload and accuracy than Minuteman I. The extra payload enables it to carry "penetration aids," like metallic chaff, to confuse Soviet radar defense. The extra accuracy makes it more efficient for destroying "hardened" military targets. The Minuteman I carries a warhead which probably is equivalent to slightly less than one million tons of TNT (one megaton); the Minuteman II warhead probably has slightly more than one megaton of explosive aboard. The missiles can be fired within a matter of seconds after a command is given (the command would come either from reinforced underground launch centers or from a flying command post). They would take about 30 minutes to reach their targets in the Soviet Union. Minuteman II missiles, carrying MIRV warheads, will also begin replacing Minuteman I's in the next year.

In addition, there are 54 Titan II missiles. These liquid-fueled giants, also deployed in underground silos, carry the largest warhead in the United States missile inventory. It is probably about five megatons, enough to destroy a city the size of the District of Columbia. But these relatively inaccurate big missiles are not easily adapted to the era of antiballistic missiles and MIRV's. They will be inactivated, and the presently planned ICBM force rounded off at 1,000.

Sea-based missiles: 656, of which about 400 are usually on alert at sea. Sixteen missiles are carried aboard each of the 41 Polaris submarines. The Polaris force is considered to be the most secure component of the United States deterrent, at least into the mid-nineteen-seventies. In the event of a Soviet first strike, virtually all of the submarines at sea would get off their missiles, attacking from the Mediterranean, the Norwegian Sea, the Indian Ocean and the northern Pacific. Per-

haps for this reason, the submarine force has been modernized more rapidly than land-based missiles or bombers, a fact that appears to be irksome to the Air Force.

Currently, 30 of the Polaris boats carry the third-generation Polaris A-3 missile, which has a range of 2,500 nautical miles. The remaining boats carry the 1,500-nautical-mile Polaris A-2. All of the first generation Polaris A-1 missiles have been retired. The A-3, first put into service aboard the U.S.S. Daniel Webster on Sept. 28, 1964, gave the submarine missile force the range and power to attack most targets in Russia and Communist China. It also made it possible for Polaris submarines to take up their stations further offshore, giving them wider reaches of ocean for concealment. A Polaris A-3 boat initiated missile submarine patrols in the Pacific on Christmas Eve, 1964. Polaris submarines are now based at Charleston, S.C.; Holy Loch, Scotland; Rota, Spain, and Guam.

A major feature of the Polaris A-3 is its multiple warhead, the first to be deployed by the United States. The missile's payload contains a cluster of three warheads, aimed shotgun-fashion at a single target. The warheads are designed to separate as the payload descends toward target, but to fall close enough together that their blast waves, like the circles generated by three pebbles falling near each other into a pond, will overlap to spread destruction over more than 40 square miles.

The three-part warhead of the A-3, like the penetration aids carried by Minuteman II, was a response to the first Soviet antiballistic missile, the Griffon. The decision to produce the A-3 came in 1960, when both powers were pushing development of antimissile systems. A Griffon installation was started at Leningrad in 1962, but it was subsequently abandoned, possibly when the Russians realized its shortcomings against Minuteman II and Polaris.

The multiple warhead of the A-3 also had a collateral benefit: it increased the efficiency of the missile for destroying "soft" targets such as cities. Assume that a missile can carry either a one-megaton warhead or three 200 kilotons (200,000 tons of TNT), plus some penetration aids such as chaff. Although the megaton warhead will create a bigger fireball or dig a deeper hole, the combined area of destruction wrought by the three 200-kiloton warheads will be at least 10 percent greater, according to calculations based upon the Army's handbook, "The Effects of Nuclear Weapons." It should not be overlooked that each of these "small" warheads is 10 times larger than the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima. The superior efficiency of several "small" nuclear explosions over one very big one is a key to the vast multiplication of missile power contemplated in the next step in the nuclear arms race, the deployment of the MIRV's.

Intercontinental bombers: about 680—some 600 B–52's and 80 B–58's. All of the B–47's have been retired, and the earlier models of the B–52 force and all the B–58's are scheduled for retirement in the next three or four years, to be replaced by a lesser number of FB–111's, a bomber version of the controversial TFX swing-wing attack aircraft. When the changeover is completed, the bomber force will consist of 255 B–52's and 210 FB–111's. Forty per cent of the present bomber force is kept on strategic alert, ready to take off in less than 15 minutes (the warning time provided by the Ballistic Missile Early Warning System).

The B–52 aircraft in the alert force are mostly armed with four hydrogen bombs of about one megaton each, like those lost in the accidents at Palomares, Spain, and at Thule, Greenland. Some also carry two Hound Dog air-to-ground missiles armed with nuclear warheads. These supersonic missiles, with a range of more than 500 miles, are designed to attack radar installations, airfields and other air defense systems. The B–52's are also equipped with "electronic counter-measure" systems for confusing the radar that controls surface-to-air missiles. And they can carry the Quail, a small decoy missile that on radar screens resembles a B–52. A new short-range (100 to 200 miles) attack missile, with a nuclear warhead, will be introduced soon to the bomber force. B–52's will carry eight or more; FB–111's, a lesser number. The B–52's were originally designed for high-altitude attacks on the Soviet Union. But the introduction of Soviet surface-to-air missiles caused a shift to low-level attack plans. More than $1-billion has been spent to strengthen the bombers so they can withstand the buffeting of low-altitude flight.

The last B-52 came off the production line in 1962. But in periodic overhauls, the aircraft are virtually rebuilt from the frame out. Because of this, and because the large payload of the bomber allows the introduction of new electronic counter-measure "black boxes" and attack missiles, many high-level defense officials believe the B-52 will remain a potent part of the U.S. deterrent force into the nineteen-eighties, especially when supplemented by the FB-111, which can attack at supersonic speeds "on the deck." The Air Force, however, would like to replace the B-52's with a new large supersonic bomber known as AMSA (Advanced Manned Strategic Aircraft).

Defense: The United States deploys a large number of interceptor aircraft and surface-to-air missiles for continental air defense. It is developing an airborne control system for the interceptor force, employing down-looking radar to spot low-flying Soviet bombers. This development is known as the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS). And, of course, the U.S. is preparing the installation of the Sentinel ABM system.

The Sentinel will employ "area defense," using longrange "exoatmospheric" interceptor missiles known as Spartans. These interceptors will attack incoming missiles several hundred miles in space with very large nuclear warheads (probably several megatons). Because of the long ranges involved, some 15 to 20 Sentinel sites will be able to provide coverage to the continental United States. Key elements of the system, including launch sites and early-warning radars, may be protected with short-range Sprint missiles as an extra precaution. The Sentinel system design is considered adequate to handle an attack employing some 50 to 150 missiles, but would be "exhausted" by a much larger attack. It is now designed primarily as a defense against Communist China, which is expected to have a force of 50 missiles or more by the mid-nineteen-seventies. The first Sentinel sites will be operational in the early seventies.

SOVIET UNION

Intercontinental missiles: 1,050 to 1,100. Most of these are the model known to the United States as SS–11, considered to be equivalent to the earlier versions of Minuteman in range, payload and accuracy. About 200 or more are the model known as the SS–9. This is a very large missile with a payload comparable to that of the U.S. Titan II, and it is believed to have good accuracy. It could be outfitted in the future with multiple, individually aimed warheads. The Russian force also includes roughly 200 early-model ICBM's (SS–6–7–8) with payloads comparable to the large SS–9. However, these early models, unlike the SS–9 and SS–11, are deployed at unprotected, "soft" launching sites. (The United States retired the last of its "soft" missiles in the early nineteen-sixties.) The later-model Soviet ICBM's are launched from dispersed, reinforced underground silos. All operational models of Soviet ICBM's are liquid-fueled. Most of the SS–9's and SS–11's have been deployed in the last two years. In July, 1966, U.S. intelligence calculated, only 340 Soviet ICBM launchers were operational.

In addition to the intercontinental missile force, the Soviet Union has some 700 to 800 intermediate-range ballistic missiles capable of hitting targets in Western Europe. While these weapons are no direct threat to the United States, they strengthen Soviet deterrence of a possible American attack by exposing American allies to retaliation.

Sea-based missiles: Comparison of the U.S. and Soviet forces is difficult. Within the past year, the Russians have placed in operation perhaps two large, fast, nuclear-powered submarines comparable to the U.S. Polaris boats. These carry approximately 30 missiles capable of underwater launching, with a range of perhaps 2,500 to 3,000 miles. The Soviet Union also has 10 to 15 nuclear-powered submarines carrying three underwater-launch missiles each, with a range of approximately 1,500 miles. In addition, it has perhaps 150 shorter-range ballistic missiles mounted on diesel submarines, most of which cannot be fired while the submarine is submerged. And it has some 25 nuclear-powered submarines which carry six low-flying antishipping missiles each. These missiles are comparable to the one used by an Egyptian patrol boat to sink the Israeli destroyer Elath on Oct. 21, 1967.

In his presentation of the defense budget this year, McNamara excluded the missiles on diesel submarines and the low-flying missiles from his strategic comparison, saying they were probably not targeted against the United States. He credited the Russians with 30 missiles on other-than Polaris-type nuclear submarines as of mid-1967. The current figure appears to be at least double that number, mainly as a result of the introduction of the Polaris-type boats. Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover recently told Congress that the Soviet Union was embarked on a major construction program of missile submarines as well as attack-type nuclear submarines (used against other submarines and surface ships). But some senior Defense Department officials say there is no clear evidence that the Soviet Union is rushing to build a large number of nuclear missile subs.

Intercontinental bombers: About 155 of the Bear model, some armed with air-to-ground missiles. Defense officials exclude the Soviet medium bomber force of some 700 aircraft from the U.S.-U.S.S.R. strategic comparison.

Defense: In addition to these offensive forces, the Soviets have begun deployment of a thin ABM defense in the Moscow area, using an exoatmospheric interceptor missile known as the Galosh. These long-range antimissiles are capable of covering most of Western Russia. Work on the Galosh system has proceeded at a slow pace with no signs that it is being expanded or installed elsewhere.

The Soviets also have an extensive anti-bomber defense system, dating from the late nineteen-fifties, employing interceptor aircraft and missiles. Last year they showed off several new models of supersonic interceptor aircraft, suggesting that they plan to strengthen these defenses possibly in response to U.S. plans to improve its bomber force.

The Soviet Union has recently installed a line of defensive missiles across its northern approaches. Known as the Tallinn system, it is believed to be a high-performance antibomber net, with the added ability to shoot down bomber-launched missiles such as the Hound Dog.

Such is the current strategic balance. It is the starting point for any discussion on limiting and reducing strategic arms. But it does not, of course, tell the whole story. Important changes already are planned by the United States, and there are strong pressures in the Government for still further "improvements." The Soviets, likewise, are

known to have important new weapons in development. Before taking up the next stages in the arms race, however, it is useful to consider what would happen if the arsenals described above were used in anger.

The measurement of the nuclear deterrent power of both sides involves the morbid calculation of what would happen to the people of each nation in the hypothetical event of a nuclear war. These hypothetical events, or scenarios, divide into two classes: what happens if the Soviets strike first and the U.S. retaliates, and what happens if the situation is reversed. The scenarios do not discuss the political likelihood of the events they describe.

To appreciate the current surplus of U.S. strategic weapons, hypothesize a Soviet surprise attack with approximately 1,000 missiles on our missile and bomber bases, the purpose being to destroy American retaliatory power without being destroyed in return. Soviet bombers and a second round of missiles—the so-called second-strike force—would be reserved for destruction of American cities.

In the event of such a first strike, the United States would retain some 400 to 600 operative land-based missiles, according to conservative calculations of Soviet missile accuracy, and about 400 Polaris missiles, plus over 200 bombers able to get off the ground before the attack arrived.

Should only 100 of these retaliatory bombers penetrate Soviet defenses, carrying four one-megaton bombs each, and should 90 per cent of the U.S. missiles arrive on target, each with one megaton of payload, a total of more than 1,000 warheads would strike Soviet targets. McNamara has calculated that it would take only 400 warheads to destroy a third of Russia's population and three-quarters of her industry. Post-attack deaths from fallout, disease, starvation would bring fatalities to more than 100 million. The initial Soviet surprise attack and its follow-up would produce as many or more American deaths. The result would resemble mutual suicide.

Now assume that the United States struck first, using its entire land and sea missile force to attack Soviet ICBM sites and bomber bases. At most, these could knock out perhaps 800 Soviet ICBM's and half the bombers. The remaining Soviet ICBM's, submarine missiles and bombers could kill more than 100 million Americans in retaliation. And the missiles targeted on Western Europe could also be fired. The Soviet second-strike force does not have to deliver as many weapons as the U.S. second-strike force to achieve a comparable level of devastation because the population of the United States is more concentrated in cities and suburbs.

McNamara called the task of the nation's nuclear deterrent forces the "assured destruction" of any attacker. "In the case of the Soviet Union," he told Congress this year, "I would judge that a capability on our part to destroy, say, one-fifth to one-fourth of her population and one-half her industrial capacity would serve as an effective deterrent. Such a level of destruction would certainly represent intolerable punishment to any 20th-century industrial nation."

Tables presented by McNamara suggest that this task could be achieved with as few as 200 megaton-sized warheads delivered on targets in the Soviet Union. When this number is measured against the more than 1,000 warheads which could be delivered in the scenario described above, McNamara's comment of Sept. 18, 1967, that we have "more than we require" in the way of strategic weapons appears to be a weak understatement—even taking into account the extra weapons required to deter China and protect Western Europe. McNamara's explanation of this nuclear "overkill" was that "a strategic planner must be 'conservative' in his calculations. . . . Since we could not be certain of Soviet intentions . . . we had to insure against [a massive buildup] by undertaking ourselves a major building of the Minuteman and Polaris forces. . . . But the blunt fact remains that if we had had more accurate information about planned Soviet strategic forces, we simply would not have needed to build as large a nuclear arsenal as we have today." Going further, he told Congress this year that "if the Soviet offensive-defensive threat does not increase beyond the highest level now projected through 1972 in the latest National Intelligence Estimates, we will have more 'Assured Destruction' capability than we will probably need." In fact, each of the three components of the U.S. strategic forces—ICBM's, set-launched missiles and bombers—will be able to inflict "Assured Destruction" by itself in 1972 if matched against the most likely Soviet force at that time.

The improvements now planned for the U.S. missile force, McNamara said, are intended to offset the combined threat to the U.S. deterrent posed by an increase in Soviet offensive forces and missile defense, both projected by U.S. intelligence on the basis of what the Soviets have done in the recent past. The improvements include a radically new submarine-based missile, the Poseidon, which recently underwent its first test flight and a somewhat improved Minuteman III ICBM—plus possibly a Minuteman II with a cluster warhead like that of the Polaris A–3 missile. The new missiles will replace earlier versions, so the total number of U.S. launchers will not increase—unless, of course, the Johnson Administration or its successors change direction.

At similar ranges, the Poseidon will have twice the accuracy and twice the payload of the Polaris A–3. It will, in fact, have a larger payload than any U.S. missile except the Titan II. Poseidon will be installed in 31 of the 41 Polaris boats; the cost of altering the others is too great, and they will carry the A–3. The first Poseidon boat will be deployed in 1970 or early 1971.

Minuteman III will have a slightly larger payload than Minuteman II. The exact mix of the resulting force of Minuteman II and Minuteman III missiles has not been announced. Minuteman III is scheduled for deployment next year.

Far more important than the launch vehicles, however, is the new payload they will carry: the MIRV, or "space bus." This has been described by Dr. John S. Foster Jr., the Director of Defense Research and Engineering, as a "major breakthrough in missile technology." In a speech last December, Foster said, "this bus carries many individual re-entry vehicles with thermonuclear warheads. After the main booster has cut off, the bus keeps making minute adjustments to its speed and direction and after each adjustment it ejects another warhead. Thus each warhead is delivered on a trajectory to a different city, or if desired, all can be delivered within one city." With the introduction of MIRV, the ballistic missile becomes in effect, an unmanned bomber.

The development of MIRV has rendered useless the standard measurements of strategic power: numbers of missiles on launchers or cumulative megatons of destructive power. It has also rendered the task of limiting strategic arms far more difficult: A spy satellite can photograph a missile but has no way of telling how many warheads it packs (the Poseidon, for instance, supposedly will carry as many as 15 warheads; the Minuteman III, three or five, but they will be larger). The only way to check on missile loadings is on-site inspection, a requirement which until now has been a major bar to U.S.-U.S.S.R. arms agreements.

Paradoxically, the conversion to multiple warheads will mean a sharp decrease in the megatonnage carried by U.S. missiles at the same time that destructive power goes up. Each warhead on a Poseidon space bus will be small as modern nuclear weapons go, with perhaps one-twentieth of a megaton of explosive force—though even this is 2.5 times as large as the Hiroshima bomb. Because of the superior destructive efficiency of many small nuclear explosions over one large one, mentioned above, and the fact that few cities are perfectly regular in shape, 10 well-directed warheads of 50 kilotons each could be more effective against a city than the five-megaton warhead probably carried by the Titan II. But the principal reasons for MIRV are its ability to elude and overwhelm ABM defenses and its targeting flexibility. Figures supplied by Deputy Defense Secretary Paul H. Nitze to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in November, 1967, compared two hypothetical missile payloads of ten 50-kiloton weapons and one 10-megaton weapon. The missile with MIRV's could destroy 10 times as many airfields, 1.2 to 1.7 times as many hard missile silos and 3.5 times as many cities of 100,000 population, using one-twentieth the amount of explosive force.

With the completion of the planned Poseidon force, individually aimed warheads in the fleet will rise from 656 at present to more than 5,000—perhaps to more than 7,000. If the Minuteman III force is set at 500 missiles, total individually aimed warheads in the ICBM force will be at least double, from 1,000 to 2,000. The "metagon equivalents" in the combined missile force will increase, at a guess, from 2,000 to 2,400, while the actual megatonnage will decline. Even assuming that the Soviet Union extends and expands its antimissile system at the highest rate anticipated in the National Intelligence Estimates, McNamara indicated this year, the number of U.S. warheads that would be delivered on Soviet targets after a Soviet first strike would be considerably larger than the number that would be delivered if such a nuclear exchange came now.

Looking beyond the currently planned forces, the United States is conducting research and development on new weapons and means for protecting the deterrent—as a hedge against a future growth in Soviet forces, or for engaging in an all-out arms race should the brakes be taken off by some subsequent Administration. Testifying last April before the Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee, Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, made it clear that the military would like to proceed now with the final development and deployment of several new strategic systems, which could cost more than $100-billion over the next 10 to 15 years.

Listing projects not approved by McNamara for inclusion in the current (fiscal year 1969) budget, Wheeler said that the Joint Chiefs recommended that steps be taken to provide the Air Force with a supersonic, swing-wing heavy bomber as a replacement for the subsonic B-52, beginning in 1976. Known as the advanced manned strategic aircraft (AMSA), it would also eventually replace the bomber version of the F-111. AMSA would have a payload of 100,000 pounds—twice that of the B-52 and four times that of the F-111—but because of improvements in jet-engine technology and the development of movable wings it would be slightly smaller than the B-52 and would be able to take off from and land on far smaller airfields, so that it could be more effectively dispersed as a precaution against surprise attack.

The Joint Chiefs also recommended the rapid development of a new large land-based ICBM with several times the payload of Minuteman III, in order to have it ready for deployment by the mid-nineteen-seventies. This weapon is known as the improved capability missile (ICM). Both AMSA and the ICM are urged by the Air Force to offset projected improvements in Soviet antibomber and antimissile defenses. (To offset potential improvements in the accuracy and numbers of Soviet *offensive* missiles, including

the possible deployment of Soviet MIRV's, McNamara this year ordered the design of a new "superhard" silo which could accommodate either the Minuteman III or the ICM. The Defense Department is also considering as an alternative the possible defense of Minuteman missile sites with short-range Sprint antiballistic missiles which could be incorporated into the Sentinel system.)

The Joint Chiefs recommended, in addition, the construction of a prototype of a ballistic missile surface ship, which would have the mobility of the Polaris submarine but could carry far larger missiles. And they urged that the experimental F–12, a 2,000-m.p.h. interceptor, be placed in production for use in continental air defense. (The Defense Department recommended, instead, that the Air Force buy an improved model of the current F–106 interceptor.) Finally, the Joint Chiefs recommended expansion of the Sentinel anti-China missile defense into a full-scale, anti-Soviet defense, involving local protection for 25 to 50 cities as well as a more dense nationwide area coverage.

Wheeler said the Defense Department had approved military recommendations for studies of Air Force and Navy antimissile proposals. The Air Force study, known as ABMIS, for "airborne ballistic missile intercept system," would use antiballistic missiles carried by large aircraft. The Navy study, known as SABMIS (a "sea-based" ABMIS), would use ships stationed where their missiles could intercept ICBM's in mid-course. Wheeler indicated that the Joint Chiefs viewed SABMIS as a "desirable" program, but had some doubts about the cost-effectiveness of the Air Force proposal.

In addition, the Defense Department this year ordered studies of a new long-range sea-launched ballistic missile and of a new model of missile submarine which could operate at greater depths than the Polaris, to offset potential improvements in Soviet anti-submarine techniques; it would carry only one-fifth the crew, to reduce operating costs, now estimated at $1-billion a year for the Polaris fleet.

The Defense Department also is constantly looking at longer-range, more exotic uses of technology. To name a few: ballistic re-entry vehicles that maneuver like aircraft to dodge antimissiles; space-based antimissile systems that spread debris in the path of an ICBM; manned weapons platforms in space; nuclear-powered missiles and aircraft; planes which fly at hypersonic speeds (4,000-6,000 m.p.h.); lasers and chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction. But nothing presently on the horizon seems clearly destined to replace the intercontinental missile armed with nuclear warheads.

On the Soviet side, the possibilities for the near future include the development of mobile, solid-fueled ICBM's to offset the improved accuracy of U.S. missiles; expansion of the missile-carrying nuclear submarine fleet; deployment of more missiles or better missiles armed with MIRV's, or both; improvement, expansion and extension of the Moscow anti-missile system; introduction of a new bomber or at least of longer-range, bomber-borne missiles and the deployment of a force of intercontinental missiles equipped with the "fractional-orbit bombardment system" (FOBS). FOBS is fired into a low, 100-mile-high orbit, then brought down on target before it completes one trip around the globe. Its prominent feature is the ability to avoid the American early-warning system, cutting the warning time before it strikes to only three minutes. Thus it could be used as a weapon against missile sites and bomber bases. To preclude the successful use of FOBS in a first strike, McNamara two years ago ordered an acceleration in the development and deployment of "over-the-horizon" radar techniques for monitoring Soviet launch sites in order, he said, to "recapture the warning time" at present available to U.S. bombers in the alert force.

Looking beyond the immediate future, the Soviet Union also undoubtedly has a military research and development program that is seeking new means of attack and defense. Soviet leaders probably experience the same dilemma in this area that afflicts American Presidents. The only way to anticipate what the other side may discover, and to try to learn to cope with the new potential threats, is to operate an aggressive research and development program. But the people who conduct such programs constitute an important lobby for deployment of their projects—another in the list of pressures which give the arms race its built-in momentum. The U.S. and Soviet arms negotiators have their task cut out for them if they can ever get together.

THE WORK OF THE 90TH CONGRESS

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I have just sent out a newsletter to my constituents summarizing the work of the 90th Congress. The text of it follows:

BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL'S REPORT FROM CONGRESS TO THE EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

Congress—who cares? Although people are often apathetic toward Congress, there is a healthy tendency today to recognize the important, and even vital, role it plays in national affairs.

How Congress acts, or fails to act, determines public policy. And a few members of Congress can lead the public. For example, popular opposition to Vietnam policy slowly solidified around a dozen representatives in the House and the Senate. Congress can also resist change the public wants: effective gun control was delayed when Congress responded to a strong and effective gun lobby.

Other important issues fell one way or another only when Congress acted. Good consumer bills—like Truth-in-Lending and meat inspection—came from Congressional initiative. Tax reform and a Supreme Court nomination failed because key men in Congress opposed them.

Congress has a diverse membership and close ties with local communities. These characteristics sometimes slow its proceedings and may even make it appear old-fashioned. But the system protects a variety of viewpoints.

Congress matters because it can represent many views. Including yours.

WHAT THE 90TH CONGRESS DID

Reviewed Social Security, increased benefits 13 percent but put objectionable restrictions on welfare recipients; raised payroll taxes starting in 1969; helped state authorities plan better medical services, assisted "have-not" medical schools; extended the Food Stamp program for two years and increased funds for it.

Established the Public Broadcasting Corporation; extended the Teacher Corps; retained the anti-poverty program separate from other federal agencies but put some agencies under tighter local government control; funded model cities program but denied funds for the open housing law which it passed earlier; renewed the draft without serious attention to necessary revisions.

Banned the mail order sales of guns; set a study of obscene materials; aided local police but also loosened rights of accused and wiretapping restrictions.

Raised federal pay, including postal and military scales and veterans retirement pay; rejected the ill-advised request for a foreign travel tax.

AND WHAT IT DIDN'T DO

Ignored electoral college reform; delayed overdue Congressional reform; by choosing a weak gun control bill, it delayed the tougher controls it must eventually pass; retained "second-class" status for federal employees by ignoring bills protecting their privacy; accepted uncritically the administration's Vietnam budget while cutting foreign aid recklessly; failed to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee which irregularly brings ridicule and disgrace to Congressional procedures; because Vietnam made it easy to do so, it ignored basic reductions in both military spending and the need for vital new domestic programs; failed to approve a treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons; refused to balance domestic and military spending but instead cut the budget $6 billion, mostly from domestic programs.

ISSUES

Vietnam is an obscured issue this fall. It shouldn't be. As a dissenter from our war policies since 1965, I find that few people know how we blundered into Southeast Asia.

We took up the fight of the French and made the same mistakes they did. But because we are stronger, we thought we could win where they lost. We were wrong.

We can't win because you cannot defeat an idea, even a wrong one, with force. But we tried by supporting a corrupt government in South Vietnam. It can't win with its people's allegiance. And it shouldn't have ours either.

I believe the next President will end the war, precisely because there is no military solution. He should first end the bombing which we know is futile. Next, negotiators in Paris or Hanoi should end the war on these terms: (1) withdrawal of all foreign troops. (2) direct movement toward a coalition government truly willing to negotiate, (3) an internationally supervised election in South Vietnam and eventual reunification of the country.

The American presence hampers lasting peace in Vietnam. We should leave honorably.

Medical care still escapes our American skills of organization. We can deliver men into orbit but we can't get a doctor to the people who need him or find a way to insure that all children—rich and poor—get the basic medical check-ups they need. The result: we have the Western world's highest infant mortality rate.

I proposed legislation to train more and better doctors and do it faster and more efficiently. We also need more neighborhood medical centers, ringed around well-planned community hospitals. And we need different kinds of medical workers so we won't waste the time of a doctor when all we need is a good physician's assistant.

The federal government can do much more work in this field without taking over medicine.

Grapes are a symbol for renewed militance and compassion in the labor movement. The United Farm Workers asked for both national support and Congressional action to help organize Mexican-American workers. I supported their call for better labor laws and for effective enforcement of present laws to exclude alien strike-breakers.

I hope Congress will encourage concern by the bigger unions for rededication to their historical responsibilities to the poor and downtrodden.

Civil rights progress flows very slowly into the critical areas of jobs, housing and education.

A guaranteed job and annual wage can do today what the minimum hourly wage did 30 years ago. The idea is the same: a man needs a minimum income to live decently

and support a family. I will continue to support this plan for those able to work.

In education we must protect the gains we've already made and extend them with better federal help for local school programs.

Black Americans want nothing more, or less, than other Americans. They don't want disorders or riots, but justice and tranquillity. They want equal opportunity for education, a job and a good home. It is our common interest to help them succeed.

Guns and crime were topics which consumed many hours during this Congress after the tragic deaths of Senator Kennedy and Dr. King. Only a minority of members voted as I did for registration of weapons and licensing of owners. These measures won't end gun violence, but they will reduce the access to weapons and give police some control over their users. Strong gun control laws will protect, not hurt, the average citizen.

The police also need other help—better training, better pay and more public understanding. The best police I know understand that they need community support much more than increased firepower.

Older citizens need meaningful leisure and a chance for a community service. I sponsored a plan to hire retired citizens for part-time, paid work in their neighborhoods. Jobs like playground supervisors and job counselors can be done better by mature people.

But part-time work cannot support older citizens. We need higher Social Security benefits including broader Medicare with lower age limits. Also, we must end unfair rules on widows, single persons and outside income. We must use general tax funds for benefits and end the present total reliance on regressive payroll taxes.

Airport problems are no longer just an annoyance. They are a national crisis. In our three metropolitan airports, plane congestion and noise grows intolerable for both the flying public and airport neighbors.

The Port Authority is a defective instrument in aviation problems. It should abandon its role in the search for a fourth jetport. I want the federal government to build and operate a new airport until a new regional air authority is created. We also need strict limits on private planes over the city and a specific priority for controlled airline schedules at our major terminals.

I warned Congress and the nation last year that if air traffic problems were dismissed, the consequences could be tragic. Delays are hazardous. The danger of mid-air collisions over our city is increasing. Immediate action is imperative.

Israel remains the step-child of the Middle East and a pawn in the struggle between East and West. It needs American support to insure its existence and prevent another armed attack against it. The USSR is seeking to expand its influence into the Middle East. It is in the American interest to preserve Israel's integrity. Deterrent will prevent world conflict.

I encouraged the Foreign Affairs Committee, on which I serve, to support the sale of Phantom jets to Israel to restore the arms balance in the region. We should also encourage direct Arab-Israeli talks towards a settlement that guarantees Israel's independence.

Youth is our greatest asset. Its views affect public opinion which in turn affects Congress. Other generations swallowed goldfish, raided girls' dormitories or kept safely quiet. In dedication to important issues, in idealism and in energy devoted to public causes, this generation is the most influential in history.

It's no surprise that parents and their Congressmen don't understand youth. Their perspectives differ. What is remarkable is the concern today's youth have for the right issues: peace abroad, justice at home. But they must affirm their devotion to peaceful dissent.

The American buyer needs help. Our society still lacks marketplace justice. Although Congress led the way with good work on consumer information and safety, much remains to do.

President Kennedy named four consumer rights: to be informed, to choose, to safety and to be represented. I head a sub-committee which explores these basic rights. We found, this year, that the ghetto consumer pays higher prices and gets inferior food. We also found that the government has much consumer information that it will not release. We are trying to force disclosure of this important data.

One of my major objectives in Congress is creation of a Department of Consumer Affairs. Another goal is an Info-Tag plan which will require that essential consumer data be labeled on every important product. Business and labor have top representation in Washington. When the consumer has the same voice, he will get fuller information, safer products and a better choice when he shops.

New York City faces, with other large cities, problems beyond its scope. Our great cities serve not only their residents. They are national centers of commerce, industry, education and the arts.

But New York also inherits welfare and safety problems, slum housing, air and noise pollution and every other urban ill. I urged Congress to examine new approaches to city life: better metropolitan government; state-federal tax sharing for urban development; federal responsibility for welfare and private cooperation in renewing our inner cities.

MR. HARRY A. BARBOUR

HON. JOHN DOWDY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, it is with regret that I note to the Members of this body, the recent death of Harry A. Barbour, of Washington, who was well and favorably known to many Members of Congress for his assistance and good counsel on matters relating to local and national problems relating to slum clearance, public housing and urban renewal.

Mr. Barbour was one of the most experienced and knowledgeable experts in the field of Government housing. My colleagues and Members of the other body will recall his frequent appearances before committees to testify on legislation dealing with urban renewal and housing problems. His contributions were numerous and significant. His observations were based on his familiarity with the social and economic problems related to housing for low income families and his long personal experience with housing and redevelopment operations.

During 1962 and 1964, Mr. Barbour was a professional constulant to a special investigating subcommittee of the House Committee on the District of Columbia, on which committee I served as chairman. This committee was engaged in the investigation of the urban renewal program in the capital and Mr. Barbour discharged his duties with fine competence. It was his view that housing agencies of the Government should carry out their directives under acts of Congress for the provision of low rent or public housing for families displaced by slum clearance programs.

Applying this criterion to the southwest Washington urban renewal program, Mr. Barbour assisted the committee in its study of the first 10 years of slum clearance and redevelopment in the Nation's Capital. This study resulted in findings that although more than 5,000 slum dwellings had been demolished, and more than $100 million spent for redevelopment, not one low rent or public housing unit had been built for low income families.

Mr. Barbour entered the housing field in California as a public relations expert following the enactment of the first public housing law in 1937. Later he became the project director of the largest housing project undertaken by the Government for the construction of 22,000 housing units for shipbuilding employees at Richmond, Calif. His efficient management of this project brought it to completion on schedule in 2 years. As a result of his superior performance, he was commended and thereafter became a trouble-shooter and expediter for housing programs in California.

Because of health problems, Mr. Barbour withdrew from Federal employment in 1948 and several years later, in 1954, with his wife Frances and two daughters, established residence in Washington. Thereafter, he remained active as health permitted as a consultant to local communities in adjoining States and served as legislative representative of the National Parking Association and the Washington Parking Association.

Mr. Barbour was the son of a colonel in the British Corps of Engineers. He was born in New York City and lived with his parents in England and India. During World War I, he served as a captain in the British Army and thereafter returned to the United States. His active civic interest, his service to local communities and the Nation, and his wise counsel will be remembered and missed by all who knew him.

VOCAL OPPOSITION TO VISIT BY COMMUNIST LEADER

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the forthcoming visit to the United States of Mr. Milovan Djilas, a long-time leader of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, has produced very proper objections from the Americans who have ancestral ties to Yugoslavia. The peoples of Yugoslavia have suffered under the despotic Communist government which was imposed upon them after World War II in large part because of the support for Tito's forces that Stalin extracted from Roosevelt and Churchill.

Two leading organizations whose statements effectively express the thinking of many Americans concerned over the visit of Djilas are the Association of the Royal Yugoslav Army Combatants "Draza

Mihailovich" and the Serbian National Committee. I submit for the RECORD a letter that Dr. Ranko M. Brashich, chairman of the veteran group, sent to President Johnson and a letter that I received from the president of the Serbian National Committee:

ASSOCIATION OF THE R.Y.A.
COMBATANTS, CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
Flushing, N.Y., September 27, 1968.

Hon. LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

MR. PRESIDENT: Upon the request of the local chapters of this Association, I take the liberty of writing to you with regard to the forthcoming visit of Milovan Djilas, one of the top-Communists of Yugoslavia, which was reported by the press several days ago. Our members, who are loyal citizens of the United States and whose sons are fighting in Vietnam as previously in Korea, are very much disturbed by the sad news. For the following reasons:

1. Milovan Djilas is the man, who is personally responsible for death of thousands and thousands of Yugoslav patriots, innocent women and children throughout Yugoslavia during and immediately after World War Two.

2. He is the man, who invented the term "dogs' graveyards" for all those places where the said innocent victims of the Communist atrocities were buried.

3. He was chief propagandist of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for many years before, during and after World War Two; he fabricated innumerable lies against the United States, and he acclaimed Stalin as a living God!

4. He never retracted any of the said lies, and he is considered to be one of the greatest hater and enemy of the United States.

5. To bring such a man, who devoted his whole mature life to destruction of democratic institutions, religion and morality, at the present situation of this country, would equal as pouring kerosene to an open and burning fire! Do we not have enough of unrests, riots, demonstrations and the like, but we need to bring here an expert in such devilish profession of destruction to one of our Universities? How then can we blame our students for rioting and destruction, if we bring a "professor of destruction" to lecture them?

6. What difference our Department of State could claim between Milovan Djilas and Vladimir Dedijer, whom an entrance visa was denied few months ago? In my opinion, based on the simple and true state of facts, Djilas belongs to the same category like Dedijer, if he should not be considered worse and more dangerous than the latter.

On the basis of all the above, I respectfully request you, Mr. President, to instruct the Department of State to deny the entrance visa to Milovan Djilas, or, if already issued, to revoke the same, in the best interest of the United States.

Respectfully yours,
Dr. RANKO M. BRASHICH,
Chairman.

SEPTEMBER 27, 1968.

Congressman EDWARD J. DERWINSKI,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DERWINSKI: The Serbian National Committee, political spokesmen for Serbians in the free world, to its great sorrow, has learned that the notorious Yugoslav Communist Milovan Djilas has applied for a visa to visit the United States of America.

According to our information, Djilas is to receive a visiting fellowship from mid-October to early December as a faculty member of Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs in which capacity he will have the opportunity to indoctrinate American youth with Communist ideology.

A myth has been cultivated in America and elsewhere that Djilas is a "liberal," in spite of the fact that he is a Marxist, a real Communist. A myth has also been cultivated that Djilas and the Yugoslav Communist dictator Tito are in political disagreement. This is not true. Their mutual interest in international Communism is just as firm today as it was in the war days in Yugoslavia when Djilas served as a first lieutenant to Tito in the Communist takeover of the country. It is true that Tito had Djilas formally committed to jail. But no "prisoner" ever enjoyed such hospitality or benefitted so lavishly. Djilas was privileged to write several books which, in some unexplained manner, were published in the free world and for which he received substantial royalties.

Tito's regime has consistently refused to issue passports to many individuals who are relatives of emigre settlers. But Djilas, pictured by the naive as a critic of Communism, received his passport since obviously he is a confirmed Communist.

We believe it is pertinent in view of the pending visit, to acquaint the free world with this historical background on Milovan Djilas.

During World War II, during the period of the Communist civil war in Yugoslavia, Djilas caused tens of thousands of innocent Serbian people to be killed. In Montenegro, the country of his birth, Djilas ordered the execution of thousands of Serbian men, women, and children and even infants. They were slain at his orders without benefit of trial or hearing simply because they were nationalists and patriots. Djilas further caused all these slain to be placed in a special ditch after which, in blood-thirsty, macabre manner, he killed a dog, nailed the body to a stake and implanted it over the gravesite with the legend reading: "This is the grave of dogs."

We also feel that the world should be informed that many kin of those slain (the warriors and followers of the great Serbian patriot, General Draza Mihailovic) are now settled in America as good and loyal citizens of this country. Their memory of Djilas produces strong personal feelings.

We feel it is also pertinent to note that the demonstrations of Serbian students in Belgrade last June were spontaneous national and political protests against the Communist regime in Yugoslavia. A myth that Djilas is a leader of Serbian youth was overthrown when the students rejected him and did not wish to hear him, considering him to be a fifth columnist for Tito. He is today a real fifth columnist against the free and democratic world.

There is a clear warning in the visit of Djilas with that of another Tito fifth columnist, Vladimir Dedijer. He abused the hospitality of the United States by lecturing at Stanford and other universities where he encouraged the American youth in disorder and disobedience. Today Dedijer "presides" over a Communist "Court," which has "tried" President Johnson and Secretary of State Dean Rusk as "criminals." What Dedijer does today against the United States, Djilas will do tomorrow in the interest of Communism.

By deed and nature, Djilas is a hardened Yugoslav Communist. He, like his leader Tito, is a shrewd, cunning manipulator working in the interest of international Communism. Both Tito and Djilas are accepted by many in the West as "liberal." They are, in reality, working for Communism against our free world society.

Sending this petition in the name of the Serbian National Committee, we earnestly beseech the President not to grant permission for Djilas to visit this great land of ours. He would desecrate the great traditions of this nation.

In the name of the Serbian National Committee,

Dr. MILAN GAVRILOVIC,
President.
BRANISLAV M. STANISIC,
Secretary.

FINLAND: THE NEXT CZECHOSLOVAKIA?

HON. JOHN R. RARICK
OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the guarded announcement that Bolshevik Dictator Kosygin is holding meetings with the President of Finland is reminiscent of the Soviet armed aggression last month which overthrew Czechoslovakia.

And the excuse offered the Finns for their country being subverted sounds familiar—the Russians are afraid of West Germany—the same propaganda used by the Soviet military forces to invade Czechoslovakia.

Strangley, the invasion threat follows a Finnish election wherein the Finnish Communist party lost strength at the ballot box.

Where are the cries of aggression—colonialism—exploitation—and imperialism from the unshaven hordes of flower children in our land?

Mr. Speaker, I place the release from Stockholm, Sweden, for the October 8, Washington Post at this point in the RECORD:

SURPRISE VISIT OF KOSYGIN SHOCKS FINNS

(By Wilfrid Fleisher)

STOCKHOLM, October 8.—Soviet Premier Kosygin will make a surprise visit to Helsinki Wednesday following a secret meeting today with Finnish President Urho Kekkonen aboard a ship off the coast of Finland.

This was made known in a communique issued by the Finnish Foreign Office tonight. It is reported to have come as a shock to the Finnish people.

Kosygin arrived in Hango aboard a Soviet submarine chaser yesterday and has since met with Kekkonen on the Finnish ship Saaristo. They will continue their discussions in Helsinki.

Kosygin was accompanied by eight Russian officials and Kekkonen is said to have had a similar staff.

It is not known who initiated the meeting. It coincided with an article in the Soviet newspaper Izvestia citing an alleged "growing West German threat against Finland" and calling attention to the 1948 Soviet-Finnish defense pact. It renewed charges that West Germany is carrying on "vengeful intrigues in North Europe."

Similar charges led to the crisis between Finland and Russia in 1961, when former Soviet Premier Khrushchev demanded that joint military action be taken to guard against a West German attack. Khrushchev, in a meeting with Kekkonen at Novosibirsk in Siberia, finally dropped the Russian demands for "military consultations."

Swedish commentators tonight were drawing a parallel with the Soviet propaganda that preceded the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia.

It was considered extraordinary that the Kosygin-Kekkonen meeting started on Monday, the second day of a Finnish provincial election, when right-wing parties registered a substantial headway at the expense of the Communists, whose strength was cut from

22 to 15 per cent of the electorate. However, the meeting was believed to have wider international significance than this.

THE NEED FOR A 161-KILOVOLT TRANSMISSION LINE BETWEEN GREAT FALLS AND BROWNING, MONT.

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, with your permission I include in today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement made by Mr. Leo J. Carmody, president of the Central Montana Electric Generation and Transmission Cooperative, in support of a Bureau of Reclamation appropriation for the construction of a 161-kilovolt transmission line between Great Falls, Mont., and Browning, Mont. Following Mr. Carmody's statement is a copy of the resolution on this matter that was adopted by the Central Montana Electric Generation and Transmission Cooperative, which I also include.

Unfortunately it is too late to obtain this appropriation this year. However, I want to bring these two items to the attention of my colleagues in the House. I have long been aware of the need of this transmission line and I am sure that my colleagues will see the justification of the project when they read the remarks made by Mr. Carmody in his fine statement.

The statement and resolution follow:

STATEMENT OF LEO J. CARMODY, PRESIDENT, CENTRAL MONTANA ELECTRIC GENERATION AND TRANSMISSION COOPERATIVE

I. GREAT FALLS-BROWNING 161 KV LINE NEEDED FOR BEST AREA RELIABILITY

A. *Bureau and Cooperative Pioneered Effort for More Reliable Service*

The Bureau of Reclamation and three of its customers who purchase Fort Peck hydro power namely, Glacier Electric Cooperative, Marias Electric Cooperative, and Hill County Electric Cooperative, were responsible for the initial steps to increase the transmission capacity to north central Montana, to meet the rapidly growing power loads and increase the reliability of service to an area that has had only radial transmission line service for some 20 years.

The Cooperatives have experienced many outages from this radial line which have caused "blackouts" in the area, one of which lasted for over 14 hours. This condition is certainly intolerable by today's standards.

The interested parties agreed several years ago that a 115 Kv transmission line extending from the Bureau's Great Falls Substation to its Shelby Substation could be an adequate solution to the problem. Following its usual practice, the Bureau notified the Montana Power Company on October 3, 1966 of its intention to seek Congressional authorization of the facility and inquired of the Company's interest therein.

In a letter to the Bureau, by Mr. J. E. Corette, then President of the Company, dated November 4, 1966, the Company raised some questions concerning the eventual delivery of Bonneville power to the Glacier area and indicated that it expected to meet its future requirements in the Conrad area by its own facilities. *There was no offer at this time by the Company to undertake joint studies with the Bureau and the cooperatives.*

Early in 1968 Glacier Cooperative requested that the Bureau consider a Great Falls-Browning 161 kv transmission line to provide for more reliable service to the Cut Bank-Browning area and provide increased capacity for the future delivery of Bonneville power for which the Cooperative was eligible after 1969. The Cooperative, the Bureau and BPA then reached agreement on facilities, construction schedule, the date that Glacier would become a Bonneville customer and on the annual payments to be made by Glacier to the Bureau starting in 1977 for the added facilities being provided by the Bureau.

B. *Company a Latecomer in Area "Planning"*

This plan was discussed with the Company in accordance with customary procedures. Subsequently, on April 26, 1968, Mr. George O'Connor, President of the Company, indicated in a letter to the Bureau that the Company's Conrad area would need "substantial transmission capacity very shortly" and that the Company was considering a potential load at Cut Bank. The Company requested that the Bureau now postpone its plans for the 161 kv transmission addition and proceed with a coordinated plan. Meanwhile, the Company proceeded to develop plans to take an oil pumping load (Continental Oil Company) from Glacier Cooperative that the Cooperative had been serving since 1960. The Company proposed to build a 38-mile 115-kv line extension from Conrad to the Cut Bank area to take the pumping load away from the REA-financed cooperative, which for 20 years had served a sparse area that the Company had previously refused to serve.

C. *Company misrepresented situation to Committees of Congress*

Mr. O'Connor, in testimony before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Public Works on May 6, 1968, reported, *"It is our understanding that the type of service Continental Oil Company desired from the Cooperative in the area is not available."*

"However", the Consulting Engineer for the Cooperative was not ever contacted by the Company, and he has stated unequivocally that the Cooperative *could* adequately supply the increased pumping load which the Continental Oil Company had requested. The Cooperative's engineer also estimates that the Company will sustain an annual loss in excess of $20,000 per year to serve a load which it now proposes to "pirate" from Glacier Cooperative. The Congress, which is now delaying the construction of the proposed Bureau 161 kv transmission line, is unfortunately serving to assist the Company in this unfair and harmful practice. This matter is a serious one on the face of it, but becomes increasingly more serious when the Company's previous record of piracy in central Montana is considered.

II. FUTURE EXISTENCE OF COOPERATIVES IS AT STAKE

A. *Company practices and court decisions make co-op territory insecure*

The effect of the Company's wheeling and power sales policy is to take away from REA-financed cooperatives the right to promote rural industry in their service areas. On top of this, the Company is continually pirating customers from the cooperatives in their service areas. Now the Company is using a Congressional Committee to stop the construction of an essential transmission line to adequately serve the rapidly growing loads of three preference customers so that the Company can construct 38 miles of transmission line for the ostensible purpose of serving a 3,000 kw oil pumping load.

The cooperatives fear, with some justification, that the Company's real purpose is to eventually take the growing towns of Cut Bank, Browning, and Shelby from the cooperatives, leaving to the cooperatives only some very thin rural farming area.

After all, the Company's proposed expenditure of funds to build into the area is not justified by this small pumping load. In view of its past practices, Montana Power could reasonably be expected to move to steal existing loads of the cooperatives in the area. When this happens, the cooperatives will have to raise the power rates to the remaining farm customers or sell the REA-financed rural electric systems to the Company. There is every indication that the Company's plans are to proceed in this manner, with the pirating of the Continental Oil Company load in the Cut Bank area being but the first step in a longrange "take-over" plan of the Company for the Browning, Cut Bank, Shelby area.

The following summary of cases which have been brought either before the state courts or the Montana Railroad and Public Service Commission since 1962 should indicate sufficient reason to justify the cooperatives of fear continued pirating by the Company:

(a) *Montana Power Company* v. *Park Electric Cooperative, 140 Mont. 293, 371, Pac. 2d 1 (1962)*. A property owner wanted to establish a sub-division with underground service. After talking to both the REC and the Company, he signed a contract with the REC. Both suppliers had lines close by. The area was outside the city and existing services in the area were served by the REC. Three years later, the subdivision was annexed to the city, after which the Company brought suit to enjoin the REC from serving. The Supreme Court in a split decision compelled the REC to release, and the property owner to take, service from the Company.

(b) *Montana Power Company* v. *Vigilante Electric Cooperative, 143 Mont. 119, 387 Pac. 2d 718 (1963)*. An area which the REC had served exclusively for 20 years was annexed in 1960. The company sued to enjoin the REC from serving any customers within the annexed area. The Supreme Court, in a split decision, ruled that the REC could retain its existing customers within the annexed area; all new customers to be served by the Company.

(c) *Montana Power Company* v. *Yellowstone Valley Electric Cooperative, District Court, Yellowstone County No. 44157 (1966)*. REC initiated service to a farm in 1938. In the early 1950's some of the farm was sold to a subdivider, who, after talking to both the REC and the Company entered into a contract with the REC for underground service. The property was at this time one and one-half miles from the city limits. The property was annexed to the city in 1960–62, and after the Vigilante decision (subparagraph (b) above) the Company brought suit to enjoin the REC from serving any new customer in the annexed area. The district court ordered the entire area released to the Company (about 160 customers). The Company, although not ordered by the district court, offered a substantial money settlement to the REC which was accepted, and the case was not appealed.

(d) *State ex rel Sinfield* v. *District Court, Montana Supreme Court File No. 11165, Per Curiam Order 6/66*. The REC and Company both had service available at the Sinfield property. Sinfield wanted REC's service, as it was cheaper. The Company successfully enjoined the REC from providing the service, and Sinfield petitioned to intervene in the case. He argued that since both suppliers were in the area, he should be permitted to exercise "freedom of choice." (REC services were predominant both in point of time and number.) The Supreme Court refused to review the District Court order denying Sinfield's petition to intervene, and the U.S. Supreme Court has now refused to consider the case.

(e) *Montana Power Company* v. *Vigilante*

Electric Cooperative, District Court, Broadwater County No. 5206 (1966). A county rest home was built outside the city limits in an area that had both Company and REC customers. The Board of County Commissioners requested both the REC and Company to submit bids. The REC standard rate was approximately $25 per month cheaper and the County thereupon contracted with the REC.

The Company sued both the REC and County to force the County to take its service. The District Court so ordered, holding that the Company had "service available" in the area. Case not appealed.

(f) *Montana Power Company* v. *Fergus Electric Cooperative, 149 Mont. 258, 425 Pac. 2d 329 (1967).* Peavey Elevator Company purchased a building site 300 feet of an existing REC line, in an area served by the REC for many years. Both REC and Company submitted bids, which showed the REC rate would save them over $1,000 per year. The Company hurriedly constructed over 2,000 feet of line to make "service available," and then brought suit to enjoin the REC's service. In a split decision, the Supreme Court held Peavey must take its service from the Company.

(g) *Montana Power Company* v. *Missoula Electric Cooperative, Missoula County District Court, filed 4/67:* The REC entered into contracts to provide service to a race track and new subdivision developing in an area in which the REC had initiated service over 25 years ago. The Company had invaded the area and brought a suit to enjoin the REC's service, claiming it had "service available." Hearing set for 5/67 was vacated with the REC agreeing not to connect any new customers in the area prior to a hearing. The matter is still pending in this manner.

(h) *Yellowstone Valley Electric* v. *Montana Power Company filed before Montana Railroad and Public Service Commission (hereafter called PSC), No. 5628 (1967).* The Company built 2½ miles of line, without cost, to Mr. Donaldson. The REC had been in the area for many years, and had an existing line within 300 feet. The Company has a regulation on file with the PSC stating a customer requesting a line extension must pay 25c per foot for extension beyond 1,000 feet. The Company had not charged Donaldson for the extension. PSC ruled that the Company could waive the extension charge when the Company found there was potential growth in the area. This case may be appealed to the district court in the near future.

(i) *Knobel* v. *Montana Power Company, filed before PSC, No. 5627 (1967).* In a companion case to the Donaldson matter above (subparagraph (h)) Knobel complained to the PSC that the Company had charged him $1,800 to make a line extension beyond the 1,000 foot limit, while waiving it in the Donaldson case. The PSC ruled that Knobel lived in a rural area while Donaldson lived in a "non-rural" area, although both lived several miles from the city limits.

(j) *Yellowstone Valley Electric* v. *Montana Power Company, Volume 25 State Reporter, page 92 Pac. 2d (2/1/68).* The REC had been the exclusive supplier in this rural area for over 25 years. A customer sold his home to Seth Holland, who requested (perhaps with some Company inducement) Company service. The REC brought suit to enjoin the company from serving, pointing out it would involve 1.7 miles of duplication of REC line and invade an established REC area. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Company.

(k) *Montana Power Company* v. *Yellowstone Valley Electric, District Court, Yellowstone County, No. 52047 (1968).* The REC had been serving this rural area over 25 years, when a country club was constructed in the area some 5–8 years ago. The Company duplicated several miles of REC line to provide service. In 1968, a property owner near the country club requested REC service which was less than 300 feet from his construction site. The Company also had service in the immediate area and sued to enjoin the REC. The District Court has ruled in favor of the REC. *This represents the first substantial victory in any REC action during the past 10 years!!* It will probably be appealed by the Company.

(l) *Yellowstone Valley Electric* v. *Montana Power Co., filed before PSC, 8/68 (pending).* The Company constructed 2½ miles of line to serve a man named Kinsfather, without applying the line extension regulation, and by totally duplicating existing REC service lines. We have been unable to get this set for hearing.

(m) *Park Electric Cooperative* v. *Montana Power Company, filed before PSC, 3/68 (pending).* The Company constructed 4,600 feet of new line to serve a Northern Pacific Railroad microwave tower without applying the line extension regulation. The REC had been serving the area for many years. We have been unable to get this set for Hearing.

(n) *Beartooth Electric Cooperative* v. *Montana Power Company, filed before PSC 4/28/68 (pending):* First count: The Company constructed 3½ miles of new line to a Northern Pacific microwave tower which was less than one mile from existing lines of the REC, in an area served for many years by the REC. Count two: The Company built 3 miles of line to serve a Northern Pacific microwave tower which is within 340 feet of the REC in an area served for many years by the REC. The line extension regulation was ignored in both cases. We have been unable to get this set for hearing.

(o) *Montana Power Company* v. *Fergus Electric Cooperative, on appeal to Montana Supreme Court.* The Farmers Union Central Exchange constructed a propane plant in a rural area located 500 feet from the Peavey Elevator site. (See subparagraph (f) above.) FUCE contracted with the REC for service and the Company sued to enjoin. Although FUCE installed a gas driven generator and has been operating the plant from this electric supply for over a year, the district court enjoined the REC from serving it. Oral argument should be presented before the Supreme Court this fall.

B. Federal investment in area may be jeopardized

The Federal Government has a big financial stake in seeing that such load stealing is prevented. First, there is the Bureau's investment in the Fort Peck-Havre, Rainbow-Shelby transmission lines and associated substations. Recent records of the Bureau show the investment in Federal Facilities in the area to be in excess of $3,400,000.

1966 REA data indicates the following REA loans to the local cooperatives:

Cooperative:	*Loans*
Glacier	$6,400,000
Marias	2,960,000
Hill County	5,222,000
Total	14,582,000

In total, some $18 million in Federal investments could be jeopardized in the future if the Congress continues to assist the Company in pirating customers from the cooperatives and the Bureau, by withholding funds for the construction of certain needed federal transmission lines. Congress should attempt to get some positive assurances that joint planning and construction programs be "the order of the day" and that it will not condone, by failing to provide adequate appropriations for federal transmission lines, a continuation of the piracy that is shown by this record.

C. Monopoly position of company threatens coop's future power supply

The cooperatives in Montana have, over the past 10 years, made a minimum of demands on the Bureau and the U.S. Congress for federally financed transmission facilities. They have attempted to get by on some very restrictive power supply contracts with the Company and on some costly wheeling arrangements between the Bureau and the Company. It is noted that the Montana Power Company, which has the highest rate of return in the nation, also imposes unreasonably high wheeling charges on REA-financed cooperatives. It is also noted that, in an area where rural area development is urgently needed, the Company has extremely restrictive power supply contracts.

The Montana Power Company imposes four zone wheeling rates on the Bureau for delivering Bureau power to cooperatives, namely: Zone 1–1 mill per kwh (50 miles), Zone 2–1.5 mills per kwh (100 miles), Zone 3–1.8 mills per kwh (150 miles), Zone 3–mills per kwh (over 150 miles).

In contrast, the Company only pays the Bureau 1 mill per kwh for wheeling Company power over the Federal system for a distance in excess of 150 miles. From this the Congress can see that this Company takes significant advantage of the federal transmission system when it is in its own best interest.

The latest power contracts which the Company has offered to REA cooperatives, which cannot be served directly from the Bureau's transmission system or afford to pay the exorbitant zone wheeling rates of the Company for delivery of Bureau power, contain some very restrictive provisions which make such contracts unacceptable to the cooperatives. For instance, present practice is that the cooperative and the Company estimate the future needs for each delivery point of the cooperative for the next calendar year. In the event the cooperative requires power for new loads in excess of estimated demand, the Company is to be notified. If the Company agrees within 30 days to serve the added load, the contract will be amended accordingly. If the Company does not agree to supply such additional power requirements within 30 days, the cooperative is given the right to purchase such additional power from another supplier.

The fly in this ointment is that, in the Montana Power Company's area, there is at present no "other power supplier" except the Bureau and the Company's present excessive wheeling rates make Bureau power unattractive for the development of the much needed rural industry in Montana.

The cooperatives' only remaining choice in this situation is to install relatively costly diesel generation to meet the New load. In this day of rapidly advancing technology in the utility industry, the Congress, the Bureau and the Company should not drive the cooperatives to high cost diesel generation as they try to develop rural industry.

III. COMPANY LINE TO CUT BANK, BORROWING AREA WILL BE A HUNTING LICENSE

The Company cannot justify the construction of their proposed line for the sole purpose of serving a 3,000 Kw oil pumping load. The only other logical reason for such construction is to put them in a position to "raid" the cooperatives service area. It seems apparent that they intend to utilize their monopolistic position as an unrestricted hunting license to "gather in" cooperative customers.

IV. USBR 161-KV GREAT FALLS-BROWNING LINE STILL CONSTITUTES BEST, LOW COST DEVELOPMENT FOR THE AREA

The 161 Kv Bureau line to Browning would provide complete loop service to the entire area whereas the proposed Company 115 Kv line to Cut Bank would not provide relief from "blackouts" in the Browning area which contains substantial load, including service to Glacier National Park as well as the central headquarters of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation.

The Bureau 161 Kv line would provide adequate capacity to the area for an extended period of time whereas the Company 115 Kv line would be inadequate by 1972 according to engineering studies made by Company and Bureau engineers.

TRUDEAU: A POTENTIAL CASTRO IN CANADA

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, interest continues on the background and activities of the new Prime Minister of our northern neighbor, Canada.

With terrorist activity on the increase in Mexico and other Latin American countries — Americans should expect Canada to be infiltrated as a base of anti-American activity. Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau leaves much to be desired—especially considering his preelection promise to recognize Red China and the current talks between Canadian officials and the Peking government.

Some insight into Prime Minister Trudeau may be gained from a memorandum prepared by Igor Gouzenko, former Soviet cypher clerk, who defected to the West and who was responsible for cracking a Russian Communist spy ring in the United States and Canada in 1946 which resulted in an espionage conviction of Fred Rose, a one-time member of Parliament. Under unanimous consent I include Mr. Gouzenko's memorandum following my remarks in full content:

MEMORANDUM: TRUDEAU, A POTENTIAL CANADIAN CASTRO

(By Igor Gouzenko)

Because Canadian and U.S. press, radio and television largely ignored the past activities and writings of Trudeau, the public is not aware of a real possibility that on the 6th of April, 1968, the next Prime Minister of Canada might be a self-admitted radical socialist, and Canada might with ever increasing pace turn into a second Cuba. The situation is already pregnant with a multiple threat to Canadian freedom.

The present Minister of Justice, Pierre Elliot Trudeau, was elected to Parliament only in 1965. Before this he was professor at the University of Montreal; he was the founder of a radical left magazine, Cite Libre. He is careful not to call himself a communist, but as a matter of record, he was once barred from the United States as a communist. Below is the clipping from the Toronto Daily Star, dated February 16, 1968:

"In another revelation, he admitted he was once blacklisted by U.S. immigration authorities because they suspected he was a Communist."

Yet in spite of this background, shortly after Trudeau was elected to Parliament in 1965, Prime Minister Pearson appointed him his Parliamentary Secretary, and then made him, of all things, the Minister of Justice.

Pearson now supports Trudeau in the leadership race in obvious preference to other candidates. Press, radio and television are giving Trudeau unprecedented publicity, building him up as an intellectual, ignoring the fact that many of his so-called new ideas are borrowed from the outworn, reactionary writings of Lenin and Mao.

The Liberal Convention will choose not just a new leader, but a new Prime Minister. The next Prime Minister, therefore, would be elected not by the Canadian people at a general election but by several hundred delegates at the convention. The responsibility of the delegates, therefore, takes truly a historic proportion.

Pearson's own background is well-known. Elizabeth Bentley testified under oath that Pearson was giving the Soviet spy ring information. Below is the clipping from the Toronto Daily Star, dated April 5, 1967:

"RECALL PEARSON ALSO MENTIONED BY WOMAN

"Miss Bentley identified Dr. Norman and Mr. Pearson—and a third Canadian official whose name has never appeared publicly—as sources of information for her spy ring. Her testimony has never been made public but a good deal of it has been leaked to friendly segments of the U.S. press. The Scripps-Howard newspapers obtained a complete transcript but plans to publish this were killed, reportedly as the result of a personal intervention by John Foster Dulles, then the Republican designate for secretary of state."

Personally I believe that Elizabeth Bentley was telling the truth. The Chief of the F.B.I., as a matter of fact, confirmed the validity and authenticity of her testimony. He said that on no occasion (and she gave several names) had she proved to be telling lies.

The behavior of Pearson during the 1953–54 requests of the U.S. Government to interview me was revealing. Instead of welcoming the representatives of the friendly nation, or at least being indifferent, he strongly opposed their coming to Canada. As a result, the routine request was turned into an international incident. Moreover, when at last the U.S. Senator and Congressman were allowed to come to Canada, the ensuing conditions were even more revealing: I was not allowed to mention not one Canadian name. Pearson was clearly afraid that I might know something about his activities. Actually, I wanted to give advice to the U.S. and Canadian Governments which if it were put into effect would be of great value in the fight against Soviet espionage.

There were several other episodes which revealed the sympathies of Pearson. One recent development was on November 20th, 1967. Pearson gave to one of the top Canadian civil servants, Robert Bryce, a five thousand dollar award in recognition of his "outstanding service".

"[From the Ottawa Citizen, Nov. 20, 1967]

"TOP PUBLIC SERVANT WINS $5,000 AWARD

"Deputy finance minister Robert Bryce has received a $5,000 award for outstanding achievement in the Civil Service in 1967.

"The award, the highest the government can make to a public servant, will be presented to Mr. Bryce by Governor General Michener on December 4.

"News of the presentation came as a complete surprise to Mr. Bryce.

"He was attending the federal-provincial finance meeting last week when a note from Prime Minister Pearson advised him of the honor.

"Today for the benefit of newsmen Mr. Bryce declared that his $5,000 was indeed taxable because it had been presented by his employer—the Government of Canada.

"The rate of taxation on the $5,000, he calculated, would be 50 per cent or higher.

"His wife had plans for whatever is left of the award. She wants to take Mr. Bryce away on a holiday.

"But he noted that this winter looks like a very busy one for the Finance Department —he's not just sure whether he can take time off.

"The prime minister sent his warmest congratulations to Mr. Bryce: 'You are well aware that I consider that Canada's public service has no equal—that public service unmistakably bears your imprint.'"

But Robert Bryce was known to belong together with some other Canadians and Americans to a communist study group in Washington where he served. He also was known to be a close friend of Alger Hiss.

This information is alone not enough to charge a man, but is an alarm signal which any statesman whose interest of state security is at heart should never overlook.

Yet this man was not only allowed to remain in the Canadian civil service, but was promoted to a position of tremendous influence in Government polices, and of having access to practically every Government secret. The Royal Commission of 1946, which investigated my revelations, had warned about mortal danger of communist study groups as a training ground for the Soviet spies.

Below is the part of Section II, Chapter 5 (Recruiting Methods) from the Royal Commission Report of 1946, pages 47–48:

"A good illustration of the ease with which The Director in Moscow was able to obtain espionage agents from the secret membership of the Canadian Communist Party in selected Canadian organizations is provided by the Research Group consisting of Halperin, Durnford Smith and Mazerall, under the leadership of Lunan. Two of the three scientists were members of a Communist cell made up of scientists most of whom were employed in the National Research Council in Ottawa. There is no evidence that before the end of March, 1945, any members of this group contemplated espionage against Canada or any other illegal activity—though they did take pains to keep their political views and the existence of their study-group secret from the associates with whom they worked. Lunan reported of them to Rogov that before he approached them for espionage purposes:—

" 'They already feel the need for maintaining a very high degree of security and taking abnormal precautions at their normal meetings (about once in two weeks), since they are definitely not labelled with any political affiliation. One or two have even opposed the introduction of new members to our group on the grounds that it would endanger their own security.'

"But the Soviet Military Intelligence organization desired to have additional spies in Canadian scientific research organizations. The interview between Rose and Lunan, leading up to the meeting between Lunan and Rogov, resulted in the latter giving Lunan instructions to enlist Halperin, Durnford Smith and Mazerall as espionage agents. Whereupon within a few weeks the three Canadian scientists are found engaging actively in the espionage operations.

"Thus within a short period of time what had been merely a political discussion group, made up of Canadian scientists as members of a Canadian political party, was transformed on instructions from Moscow into an active espionage organization working against Canada on behalf of a foreign power. It is particularly startling that none of the initiative for this transformation was supplied by the three scientists themselves."

A few days after the award was announced, it became known that Robert Bryce, as Deputy Minister of Finance, ordered the cancellation of the International Service of the CBC, supposedly on an economy drive. This programme (six channels of it) was beamed to the people behind the Iron Curtain.

This is precisely what the Soviet government wants: to cut off the last outlet of democracy so that an enslaved people behind the Iron Curtain would lose the opportunity to hear the voice of freedom.

Below is the article from the Globe and Mail criticizing Bryce's so-called "economy":

"UNBEARABLE DRAIN?

"(By Dennis Braithwaite)

"I cannot bring myself to believe that the Government's proposal to scrap the CBC's In-

ternational Service—Canada's short-wave radio voice—is based, as stated, on considerations of economy. The corporation's annual budget is in the neighborhood of $150-million; scrapping IS would reportedly save about $3.8-million, a mere trifle. Think of what would be lost: a unique, unduplicated service of Canadian news and general information—propaganda, if you like—prepared and broadcast in 11 languages to a measurable and responsive audience of European listeners. The International Service's multilingual broadcasters and full-time staff of 207 employees are the prime fashioners of Canada's image abroad; there has never been any suggestion that they are not doing this job well. Are they perhaps doing it too well? Six of the foreign-language broadcasts emanating from IS's Montreal headquarters are directed to listeners behind the Iron Curtain. Have the Communist countries objected to these transmissions? If they have, then the Canadian authorities should say so, instead of trying to convince the public that the modest budget of the International Service constitutes an unbearable drain on the federal Treasury. How can the International Service now be considered redundant when only last year the Government's white paper on broadcasting recommended that it be granted more funds in order to expand its services? Has President Charles de Gaulle, or some of his Quebec followers, perhaps, objected to the IS broadcasts in French? Has the Quebec Government hinted that it should control any French-language broadcasts beamed to Europe since it alone speaks for the French nation in North America? Or is Ottawa simply acting in anticipation of any or all of these objections?

"For a nation that this year spent hundreds of millions in an almost hysterical effort to catch the world's attention, haven't we become strangely reticent and isolationist all of a sudden? What about our struggle for identity? Won't there be a kind of hush all over the world when those short-wave transmitters at Sackville close down?

"According to our Ottawa bureau, Deputy Finance Minister Robert Bryce is the man who is putting the Indian sign on the International Service. Are we really going to let a penny-pinching bureaucrat decide this vital matter of external relations (assuming we are willing to swallow, as I am not, that austerity is the prime factor)?

"We have a standing Committee on Broadcasting. Let the committee hold public hearings on the expendability of the International Service. Let it call as witnesses, among others, the director of the service, C. R. Delafield, External Affairs Minister Paul Martin, the president of the CBC and some of our academic authorities on foreign affairs.

"Let them ask Robert Bryce what he would do with that $3.8 million, if he had it."

Robert Bryce, the friend of Alger Hiss and of Lester Pearson, gave to the Soviet government a most valuable New Year's gift, straight on a golden platter.

This episode with Bryce showed Pearson's pecular sympathies. Moreover, while stepping down as a Prime Minister of Canada, Pearson is doing everything in his power—and he can do a great deal—to insure that his successor would have them too, and more so.

Trudeau was hardly known before. Now the newspapers are full of him. This time he tries to camouflage his radical socialist nature as much as he can. The communists, the leftists, and the simply naive people in the communication media are helping him in this camouflage.

However, one has only to look at his actions and his writing of recent years, to realize that a new Castro is on the rise.

Please, consider the following:

(1) Trudeau was barred from the U.S. Below is clipping from Toronto Telegram, June 24, 1967:

"BARRED FROM THE UNITED STATES

"And he must be the only Justice Minister in Canadian history who as a private citizen has been barred entry to the United States after attending an economic conference in Moscow."

(2) Trudeau founded the magazine Cite Libre which was radical socialist publication. Some newspapers in Quebec called it a communist publication.

(3) Trudeau attended the Communist sponsored economic conference in Moscow in 1952, and on his return wrote pro-Soviet articles.

(4) Trudeau twice went to China, was received there personally by Mao, and on his return wrote, together with another man, a book, glorifying Mao, praising the communist regime in China, condemning the nationalist government in Taiwan, and condemning the United States actions toward China.

(5) Trudeau wrote passionate articles against U.S. action in Korea, echoing communist propaganda.

(6) Trudeau wrote articles condemning the U.S. action in Vietnam. These articles were as violent as anything found in Communist publications.

These are only a few revealing facts out of many others.

I would like to draw your attention to the articles in Maclean's magazine dated February 24, 1962; and in the Weekend magazine dated March 26, 1966.

The article in Maclean's magazine written by Peter Gzowsky was a build-up of Trudeau, who was a professor at the University of Montreal, and a little known man at that time (1962). But throughout this article sticking out like thorns are facts which Trudeau is now doing his best to hide. Some of these facts will be mentioned on pages 10–11 of this memorandum.

It is interesting to note also that in Weekend's article, Pearson was quoted as saying that he never met Trudeau before the latter was elected to Parliament in 1965. Yet on the same page of Weekend's article (the first column) one learns that Trudeau had worked for more than two years in the Privy Council in Ottawa as an economic adviser. He obtained this position with the help of Robert Bryce who was the Clerk of Privy Council at that time. It is hard to believe that Pearson failed to see Trudeau there. It appears that Pearson makes special effort to emphasize that he never met Trudeau before. The significance of this will become clear on page 10 of this memorandum.

Even more revealing than Maclean's and Weekend's articles is the book Trudeau wrote in 1961 entitled "The Practice and Theory of Federalism". It revealed Trudeau as a potential Castro advocating the changing of Canada into a radical socialist state. The communist programme of power seizure is openly Trudeau's programme.

Some Canadians are glorifying Trudeau as a champion of federalism, and a critic of separatism. Naive people see in him an answer to all Quebec's troubles. But after reading Trudeau's book, which is more frank than Trudeau's present day speeches, one realizes that Trudeau is advocating federalism not as a counter-action to separatism, or, as he tells us now, a means of unifying the country, but as a mighty method of seizure of power by radical socialists, a convenient way of turning Canada into a radical social country, which is just another name for Communist country. Don't forget, the Communist Russia's official name is U.S.S.R., Union of the Soviet *Socialist* Republics.

Here is a revealing quotation from Trudeau's book, pages 372–373 (1961 edition):

"ON STRATEGY AND TACTICS

"The revolutionary bases, in spite of their insignificant size, are a great political force and strongly oppose the power of the Kuomintang, which spreads over vast regions . . . Revolution and revolutionary wars proceed from birth to development, from small to large, from lack of power to seizure of power . . . — Mao Tse-tung.

"If the whole of the Canadian electorate could miraculously be converted to socialist ideals at one fell swoop, there would be no reason to discuss strategy in the present contest. Socialism would be achieved with or without federalism, and socialist administrations would be installed at every level of governmental affairs, no matter the form of the constitution."

Note the last words, "no matter the form of the constitution." In other words, Parliament is of no importance, it is important who is the Prime Minister, and whom he appoints on a vital and strategic position, so in the ripe moment to turn Canada into a radical socialist state.

In another paragraph Trudeau called Mao a "superb strategist", and Trudeau left no doubt, that Mao's teachings of seizure of power became part and parcel of Trudeau's theory and practice:

"In the absence of PR it seems obvious that the multi-state system of a federal constitution is the next best thing. (Indeed the experience of that superb strategist, Mao Tse-tung, might lead us to conclude that in a vast and heterogenous country, the possibility of establishing socialist strongholds in certain regions is the very best thing)."

Below is the key phrase, the essence of his book:

"Section I will show that, other things being equal, radicalism can more easily be introduced in a federal society than in a unitary one."

So Trudeau tells his converts that radical socialism can be more easily introduced in the federal society in "one fell swoop".

Just in case the seizure of power in the whole country would not work out he still sees federalism as a very valuable tool because:

"Federalism must be welcomed as a valuable tool which permits dynamic parties to plant socialist governments in certain provinces, from which the seed of radicalism slowly spread."

It is significant to note that even some left elements (moderates) in Canada (not radical socialists) begin to have doubts about Trudeau. They question why Trudeau did not join the NDP party? For the simple reason that chances of this party to come to power in the near future are nil. This is why he joined the Liberal party in 1965, the party which was already in power. With the help of Pearson he is now one of the front runners in the leadership race. He joined it not to become a liberal, but, as he repeatedly and openly wrote in 1961, to pave way for the radical socialists to seize and to turn Canada into a radical socialist state.

Trudeau's thirst for power is also revealed in the following paragraph which he wrote as recently as August 1967 when he was the Minister of Justice only a few months.

"The only constant factor to be found in my thinking over the years has been opposition to accept opinions. Had I applied this principle to the stock market, I might have made a fortune. I chose to apply it to politics, and it led me to power—a result I had not really desired, or even expected.—Pierre Elliott Trudeau: Federalism and the French Canadians."

Not one of the ministers—and some of them were in cabinet for 10 or more years—talked so much about power. And in his self-grandeur Trudeau was not telling the truth. It was not his talents that led him to power, but Pearson who pulled him by the ears upstairs. If not for Pearson, Trudeau would be now a back-bencher in Parliament babbling his leftist speeches for nobody's particular concern. Pearson made him his Parliamentary secretary and the Minister of Justice, and it is Pearson who is now pulling strings so that he can win the leadership race.

Please read this paragraph from his quotation that appeared in Weekend magazine, March 26, 1966:

"It's inevitable that a political critic, if he chooses to pass over into action, must join a party he has disagreed with."

This is a typical outline of the communist method of infiltration.

In another of his writings (August 1967) Trudeau in typical communist terms revealed so clearly that all reforms which were made up to now but which do not suit his radical ideas were bourgeois fads and therefore meaningless:

"We possessed a wealth of immense syntheses and elaborate superstructures; we went overboard on constitutional or judicial reforms, the most obvious merit of which was their lack of contact with reality. Lenin said that such superstructures were bourgeois fads, and I can well understand why: they allow the middle class to play around with a great many concepts, to give the impression that nearly everything is to be reformed, and yet never be forced to change the slightest thing in actual fact.—Pierre Elliott Trudeau: Federalism and the French Canadians."

Another revealing quotation from his book:

"And in terms of political tactics, the only real question democratic socialists must answer is: 'Just how much reform can the majority of the people be brought to desire at the present time?' "

Note the words "brought to desire". This is undisguised communist language. We know by what means Stalin "brought" the Russian people "to desire" the taste of socialism, or how Castro or Mao are doing it now—by means of jails, tortures and shootings.

The suspicion that Trudeau was a Soviet spy

On November 23, 1953, the Toronto Telegram published on its front page the following words:

"Last week American author Victor Lasky charged Mr. Pearson with determined effort to block U.S. investigation of Soviet espionage. Lasky did not mention Miss Bentley's list but asserted that her testimony had been that Mr. Pearson, when he was in the Canadian embassy in Washington during World War II, had "transmitted vital information to a Red spy ring she headed through a young man, a wealthy Canadian Communist, a member of her ring.' "

Trudeau fits into this description of the young, wealthy Canadian perfectly:

(1) He was in the U.S. at that time attending Harvard University.

(2) He was a young man at that time, about 21–23 years old.

(3) He was and still is a wealthy man. In fact, he is a millionaire, inheriting his wealth from his father.

Another wealthy Canadian communist, Professor Raymond Boyer, who was convicted as a Soviet spy in 1946 as a result of my revelations is also a millionaire. He is the second or third richest French-Canadian. However, he does not fit into the description of "young Canadian". He was during these years in Canada working on RDX, and he was not exactly a young man at that time, about 35 years old.

There are other suspicious episodes in Trudeau's life:

(1) During Bay of Pigs invasion he tried to row a boat from Florida Keys to Cuba, but was detained by the United States Coast Guard on suspicion of spying.

(2) Trudeau travelled across border of Cambodia and Vietnam at the height of the Indochinese war. He was arrested crossing the India-Pakistan line.

(3) He was arrested in Jerusalem. Later he admitted that he was poking around.

(4) Trudeau was accused by some Quebec newspapers in 1962 after his return from Moscow, where he attended Communist sponsored economic conference, of having received "secret directives" from the Kremlin.

Now Trudeau is making an attempt to block the future disclosures of the Soviet spy rings.

In 1953–54 I officially presented to the Canadian and American governments my Five-point Programme. The aim of this programme is to bring more "Gouzenkos" on our side with the documents that would expose the Soviet spy rings. The time proved by now that this is the only practical and effective way to fight the Soviet espionage. Below is the clipping from the United States News and World Report with my outline of Five-point Programme:

"[From U.S. News & World Report, Jan. 1, 1954]

"Q. What are your points?

"A. I would do it this way: Every potential escape has many problems to think about—where to find a job, how will he be protected if he brings documentary evidence, will he be treated as a friend, will he not be forgotten in time and be left in the cold? These and many other thoughts you will have to explore, because there is not now an adequate provision in democratic societies to meet such instabilities. It is time to establish such provisions. A solution of this problem is essential, because it is as real a problem as that of Communist agents and the damage they do to our society.

"Here is my suggestion for the solution:

"First, a special type of citizenship law should be enacted so that every escapee who brings documentary evidence which can stand scrupulous investigation leading to the disclosure of Communist activities should become a Canadian or American citizen without complicated procedure and without delay.

"Second, the law should provide lifelong protection for such a citizen if he desires it, and the protection that's provided should be friendly and understanding, and detached from personality. In other words, the man must be insured safety whether he is an ugly, unpleasant, and irritable person, or not.

"Third, the man should be given material security in the shape of parliamentary grant such as has been given to war leaders who served the country well. Such security should be given in the form of a Government annuity or any other form agreed upon by the representatives of the people. Inevitably he will have many enemies, and the greater his financial security, the greater his safety. There can be no question about that.

"Fourth, such a man should be given all assistance in finding employment that suits his ability and talent.

"Fifth, and this is very important—such a man should be given as a matter of right a document in which the Government acknowledges that his service to the country entitles him to all the assistance and help.

"The effect of this would really be tremendous. In fact, it would pull the very ground from under the Communist spy masters. Never again would they be sure of their men. Never again would their indoctrination and threats be effective. The very cement by which they keep their spy organization together would be destroyed. The more completely this is recognized, the more clearly the value of such laws would be seen."

As one can expect, Pearson fought this programme to the extent that he misled the Parliament. I would like to draw your attention to the front page of the Toronto Telegram with the article, "Gouzenko challenges Pearson", dated November 21, 1953.

Now Trudeau, as a Minister of Justice, introduced the Bill of Rights with the changes in criminal code. One of the proposed changes is that "evidence obtained illegally cannot be introduced in court."

"[From the Toronto Daily Star, Feb. 3, 1968]

At the present time in Canada, evidence obtained not only by means of an unreasonable search, but by actual illegal means (for example, theft) is generally completely admissible in the courts.

"Under the Trudeau document such evidence would be inadmissible."

On the surface it sounds all-right, and some people already hailed it as a progressive piece of legislature safeguarding the human rights.

But behind the facade of loud words, there is hidden the Trudeau's trick. If this kind of law had existed in 1945 when I brought the documents exposing the Soviet spy ring, then these documents would have not been admitted in court. Thus, the Soviet spies would not have been convicted.

Here again, we see that Trudeau is doing valuable service to the Soviets by making camouflage attempt to safeguard the work of the Soviet spies.

Trudeau already threatened to cripple the United States war effort by stopping the sale of nickel to the U.S.

Trudeau is not yet Prime Minister, but he has already made unveiled threat to undermine the U.S. efforts in holding communist aggression in Vietnam. I quote from the Telegram, dated March 4, 1968:

"Mr. Trudeau said Canada could cripple the U.S. war effort by stopping all nickel sales."

If Trudeau talks this way now, he will talk and act more decisive when he becomes Prime Minister. Castro at first stages of his climb to power has made more efforts to hide his communist nature than Trudeau is doing now. Still Trudeau is very successful at it: he is posing as an intellectual, throwing clouds of words presenting old, out-worn communist ideas as if they were new and progressive.

When Castro came to power and consolidated his victory by terror, some Western reporter asked him why did he hide the fact that he was communist, he answered: "I wanted to fool bourgeoisie."

Let us hope that Canadian people would not be fooled by Trudeau. I am sure that if the public were aware of the situation the delegates at the forthcoming Liberal convention would never endorse Trudeau.

Let us understand it clearly: even if Trudeau would not be able to turn Canada completely into second Cuba before the general election (in 1970), he surely would place in all important positions in the civil service and in the Government his men. Already all four editors of his magazine Cite Libre which many in Quebec considered communist publication are placed in vital organs of communication. Below is a clipping from Maclean magazine, dated February 24, 1962:

"Yet, for all its influence, Cite Libre has always been an amateur magazine. Its first capital was $300, which was subscribed by the six men who started it. Those six men, and the four who joined the group shortly after its inception, were involved in other things as well. Some of them have since achieved some prominence: Pierre Juneau is executive director of the National Film Board; Roger Rolland is regional program director of French networks for the CBC; Charles-A. Lussier is in charge of Quebec House in Paris; Gerard Pelletier is editor of French Canada's foremost daily newspaper, La Presse."

This is mighty high percent for the staff of the small amateur magazine to make so good a career.

Last week Juneau, one of the editors of Cite Libre, was promoted even higher—to the position of new BBG chairman.

"[From the Telegram, Toronto, Mar. 19, 1968]

"JUNEAU NEW BBG CHAIRMAN

"OTTAWA—(Staff)—Pierre Juneau was named chairman of the Board of Broadcast

Governors yesterday, succeeding Dr. Andrew Stewart."

The process of changing Canada into a radical socialist state with Trudeau as Prime Minister would go then with ever increasing speed. The ultimate result would be an unrepairable damage to democracy and freedom. Actually, our very survival is now at stake.

Kim Philby's lesson

If the British authorities back in the 30's had paid attention to the fact known at that time that Kim Philby was leftist during his student days at Cambridge, and had blocked Philby's entry into British Intelligence Service, then the monstrous damage that Philby as a Soviet spy inflicted to freedom would be prevented.

Below is the clipping from Maclean's magazine dated April, 1968:

"For those who seek answers to these questions, Philby's book offers scant material beyond the comment that 'as I look over Moscow from my study window I can see the solid foundations of the future I glimpsed at Cambridge.' It was then, in the early 1930s, that he and many of his contemporaries espoused either socialism or Communism."

It is interesting to compare Philby's words with those of Trudeau who too remembered his student days as a turning point of his political make-up. Below are two clippings from Maclean's magazine dated February 24, 1962, with Trudeau's words:

"I had no idea until I got to Harvard how far behind we were," he explains, and his voice has a tinge of rancor.

"At Harvard, and later even more so, my eyes were opened to what we'd been missing in Quebec, and I didn't like what I saw."

The similarity is striking.

Let us not forget Philby's lesson. It was too bloody, too costly to be ignored. Freedom has lost many hundreds of its brave fighters because of Philby.

And I am convinced that Canada will lose much more if Trudeau would be elected Prime Minister. Recent history teaches us how easy it is to lose freedom and how it is impossible to regain it.

When you are going to vote the fate of our country will be in your hands. Think million times—for each man, woman and child in Canada—before you cast your ballot.

THE 25TH ANNIVERSAY OF ALLIED CHEMICAL CORP.

Hon. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, on October 7 I had the pleasure of attending a dinner in observance of the 25th anniversary of the location of the Allied Chemical Corp., in Morris County, N.J., one of the two counties which make up my congressional district.

The main address at this affair was given by the Honorable John T. Connor, corporation president and former U.S. Secretary of Commerce.

Mr. Connor's remarks on the relationship between business and Government at all levels are most interesting and I commend them to my colleagues.

The speech is as follows:

Distinguished guests, good friends, ladies and gentlemen, this is a happy day for me and a happy day for all of us at Allied Chemical. We welcome you most heartily.

Anniversaries traditionally are a time for nostalgia and this is no exception. I know that many of you can recall that 25 years ago, when Allied Chemical first arrived in this community, much of Morris County was farmland. We had purchased the former Otto Kahn estate on Columbia Road in 1942, but wartime shortages kept us from constructing any buildings, so in 1943 we rented an old umbrella factory on Abbett Avenue in Morristown and called it a research laboratory. Almost overnight, employment skyrocketed to 25! Du Pont must have trembled!

But we were on our way. And though neither party had it uppermost in mind, our partnership in progress with the people of Morris County had begun.

It has been quite a partnership.

In 1948, construction was completed on our Central Research Laboratory on Columbia Road, and we moved out of the umbrella factory—although some old-timers I understand, still get misty-eyed whenever they think of it.

Fortunately, our new Central Research Lab was a much better place to work, and its construction permitted us to increase employment to about 150 people.

Then, in the '50's, we built what is now our Plastics Research Building and our General Chemical Research Laboratory, both of which were doubled in size in the early '60's. We also built—and expanded—a Central Research Laboratory Annex Building, a new Process Laboratory Building, and a General Chemical Research Pilot Plant Building.

As a result, our employment in the county has grown from our original staff of 25 to 2200 today. And our annual wage payroll has climbed from about $100,000 at the beginning of our partnership, to over $24 million annually at the end of June.

I might comment that 1968 has not been a very profitable year for Allied Chemical. Our recent write-offs and write-downs, which have affected third quarter earnings so drastically, have gone a long way toward enabling us to put our house in order and we look to the future with confidence and enthusiasm.

By late 1970, when we move more operations out here from New York City, Allied Chemical's employment in Morris County will increase to approximately 3200 people, and our annual payroll will rise to over $34 million.

As our investment in Morris County has grown, so has our return to the community. In 1967, for instance, our real estate and personal property taxes combined amounted to more than a half million dollars. Also during that year our company's local purchases of goods and services in the county totalled about $1.1 million. And to add to those numbers, our employees have borrowed approximately $5 million in home mortgages from Morristown lending institutions.

So our roots here are deep and growing deeper. We therefore are especially appreciative of the understanding and support of dedicated people like yourselves. Because of it, this is the kind of community in which a growing business can feel comfortable, happy and very much at home. There is in Morris County a magnificent intangible—a climate, a rapport, a style, if you will—which any businessman needs, like air itself, if he is to be successful in meeting his obligations to employees, shareowners, customers and society.

Morris Township and Morris County no longer are largely farmland. They are dynamic, expanding, ever-changing urban areas—and their citizens increasingly are facing dynamic, expanding urban problems and demanding dynamic, expanding urban services. Top-flight schools, top-flight transportation and recreational facilities, top-flight hospitals, top-flight government administration do not come automatically and they do not come cheaply. But they are worth the effort and the cost, and the enlightened businessman knows it.

Depending on the time and the place and the issues, business and government—and I mean all levels of government—frequently have been on opposite sides of the fence in this country. But experience and common sense make clear that the goals we have in common are far more important than any possible disagreements over how to achieve them. And the more that businessmen and government leaders make the effort to conduct an honest dialogue about both the goals and the disagreements, the more apparent this becomes.

With more and more of our human, financial and material resources being committed to Morris County, I hope the day is fast approaching when we in Allied Chemical and those of you in local government—and certainly you other businessmen here—will get to know one another on a first-name basis, when we will feel really free to level with each other about matters of mutual concern, when all of us make it a point to keep the other fellow informed as a matter of routine, rather than only on matters of crisis.

Can local industry and local government conduct a meaningful dialogue, for example, on how to insure an adequate long-term supply of quality housing? In our view, this is something the community *must* have to meet the needs of the growing numbers of people who will be employed in Morris County. I emphasize *adequate* and I emphasize *long-term* because the businesses which have already invested heavily in Morris County—and those we hope will do so—must think in terms of the long pull; and their need for people—particularly for high level professional people—is mounting. If we, or the other employers, are to succeed in attracting these people, a realistic solution to the question of housing supply is essential. The question I want to leave with you this evening is, in what ways can all of us cooperate to get it solved?

Many of you have been thoughtful enough to tell me how much you appreciate the fact that, over the years, Allied Chemical and its employees have sought to be a part of—rather than apart from—the total life of this county. With the full support and active encouragement of top management, our employees are fulfilling their civic responsibilities—and getting a lot of personal satisfaction and enjoyment—by serving on a variety of local governing bodies, planning boards, fire departments, service clubs and organizations such as the YMCA, Big Brothers, the Urban League, and other worthwhile agencies.

Frank Norton, now Corporate Vice President in charge of Operations Services, headed up this year's Morris County Girl Scout capital fund drive. Allied Chemical's Morris County employees, as a group, received the United Fund's Kellogg Award last March for their outstanding participation and contribution of $27,000 in the Fund's 1967 drive. Jim Farrell, Vice President in our Industrial Chemicals Division, is in charge of the United Fund's 1968 campaign.

I, too, am presently involved in an effort that I believe is important to you and to all of us here in New Jersey. As a co-chairman with Mark Anton of the bi-partisan Bonds YES Committee, I am working to inform our citizens about the three bond questions, totalling $990 million, to be considered on November 5th's ballot.

To us in Morris County, approval of the three bond issues will mean the scheduled completion of our new county college, payment of the state's share of the vocational education facilities at Morris Hills Regional High School, construction of a new community mental health center in the county, and desperately needed help and improvements at overcrowded Greystone Park.

The transportation bond would provide for

better commuter rail service in and out of Morris County and would ensure the start of new roadway projects such as Route 24 from Springfield to Morris Plains and the further dualization of Route 10 east to Livingston.

In view of the importance of these interrelated bond issues to the future of our county and state, I would ask that each of you give them your careful consideration, and hopefully, your overwhelming approval on election day.

For its part, Allied Chemical—as a company—has been trying in numerous ways to meet its corporate citizenship obligations. We have been cooperating closely with the Urban League to help place Negroes and other minority group members in jobs they are qualified to hold—in our company, and with other Morris County employers as well. Earlier this year, we also granted four scholarships to cover the cost of a year's tuition at the new Morris County Community College for minority group students; we expect to continue this program into 1969.

Tonight, I would like to tell you about another approach we plan to try—with the cooperation of the community—in order to help deserving Morris County youngsters finance their education beyond high school.

All of us are aware of the continuing rise, year by year, in the number of youngsters seeking higher education—be it college, trade school, nursing school, or whatever. And I think we are equally aware that despite enrollment pressures, a growing number of places are available in the schools, provided the youngster or his family can afford the cost of higher education—not just of tuition, but of books and living expenses.

While scholarships, jobs and loans are often available, in many cases there is still a shortage of cash that prevents a youngster from geting the higher education he wants. The shortage could be as much as $1,000 annually, or as little as $100, depending on individual circumstances.

We have discussed this matter with Les Rear, the Superintendent of Schools in Morris County, and have come to the conclusion that there is a real need for educational assistance to close the gap between the amount many students and their families can afford through personal means, plus scholarship aid, and the actual costs of getting a post-high school education.

In recognition of this, and in keeping with our corporate citizenship responsibilities, I would like to announce tonight our intention to help establish a *Community Educational Assistance Fund* in Morris County to help *needy* students from this area finance the cost of continuing their educations. I say "announce our intention" because this is something on which we would like to act hand-in-hand with the community, rather than on our own. Specifically, Allied Chemical is prepared to underwrite the costs of establishing a Community Educational Assistance Fund, including the costs of forming an independent tax-exempt corporation to administer it, and the recruitment of trustees from business, education and community. In commemoration of our twenty-fifth anniversary in Morris County, we would contribute $25,000 over the next five years as "seed money" with which to establish such a program, *provided* the community as a whole is sufficiently convinced of the need *to match our contribution* with a similar one of its own. And to be crystal clear, this would not be an Allied Chemical fund, but a community fund, to which we—and the community—would contribute. And proceeds would be used to help needy students finance their post-high school educations and not limited to those who go to colleges.

This is the first opportunity we've had to discuss this proposal outside our own Allied Chemical family, but we hope it will appeal to other corporations, businesses, family foundations and individual citizens, and that they will want to share in the fund's establishment and in helping our county's sons and daughters continue their education. We would hope the first awards from this fund could be made in 1969; further down the road, we believe that with widespread community support and encouragement from one or two large donors, it is entirely possible that the fund eventually could sustain itself from the income of its endowment.

And now, my friends, since anniversaries are a time not only for a look behind and a look ahead, but also for enjoying good company and camaraderie, I am going to bring the formal part of this evening's activities to a close. If there are any of you who still haven't met some of us, we hope you'll come by and introduce yourselves before the evening ends. In the meantime, let me say again that my associates and I plan to work most sincerely for a long continuation of the happy partnership between Allied Chemical and Morris County and to aid and abet all of you in promoting a lifelong continuation of the fine spirit which so obviously exists between Morris County and its citizens.

Ladies and gentlemen, for Allied Chemical, for Morris County, for our twenty-five-year-old partnership in progress, the best is yet to come.

THE RESEARCH GAP

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1968

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, following is a statement by Richard M. Nixon, Republican presidential nominee, on October 5, 1968, in which he discusses "The Research Gap":

THE RESEARCH GAP: CRISIS IN AMERICAN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Most of our attention in October 1968 is focused on the crucial problems of our country that cry out for solution: war, crime, disorder, injustice and a runaway cost-of-living.

But there is another, quieter crisis at hand. It may seem less urgent and it gets fewer headlines, but it poses unparalleled dangers and opportunities.

I refer to the crisis in American science and technology.

The American scientific and technological community plays a key role in maintaining our well-being and our national security. Science and technology compose a new Atlas that upholds our economic growth, our military defense, our educational system, and our bright hopes for the future of man. The role of science and technology is so large, so complex, and so pervasive, that we sometimes merely take it for granted. At other times, we fear it unreasonably, resent its power, ignore its role and deny its great promise for the future.

Science has served mankind faithfully and well. It has dramatically extended the average lifetime, shortened geographical distances, increased industrial productivity, reduced poverty, and in the long trial of war, contributed significantly to the cause of freedom. Since World War II, it has helped build deterrent forces that have prevented another major conflict among the great powers.

If science and technology were to founder or stagnate, many of our hopes would collapse. To the extent that we neglect this source of our greatness, and to the extent that we fail to preserve the conditions of openness and order that made our progress possible, we are living off the land of civilization without refertilizing it. We must not let such a negative drift gain momentum.

Instead, we must bring about a new dawn of scientific freedom and progress. As the world's investment in science expands, the impact of technological progress will be more profound. Scientific knowledge doubled between 1750 and 1900; again between 1900 and 1950; yet again between 1950 and 1960. By 1970 it is expected to double again. In twenty years the world may be as enormously different from today as 1968 is different from 1900.

How much this change will benefit mankind will be determined largely by the location of world leadership in science and technology. If the free world maintains scientific superiority, the growth of science will support the growth of economic and political freedom.

We have this advantage: free societies provide a more attractive setting for intellectual activity than do totalitarian societies. Since World War II almost all the movement in the scientific community has been from East to West. A totalitarian lead in research and development is likely only if the U.S. follows short-sighted policies.

Today, the United States is shortchanging its scientific community. We are risking the opening of a research gap between our efforts and that of the Soviet Union.

Faced with dynamic possibilities for science, the current Administration is hobbled by the static philosophy that technological potentialities are limited—that we have reached a technological "plateau."

This attitude is particularly perilous in the realm of defense. The belief that a static balance of power can be maintained, based on a common "plateau" of technological achievement, ignores the dynamic and volatile progress of science today, which is incomparably more rapid and variable than ever before.

In few areas of development is activity so intense and productive as in Soviet military research and development. Although lagging for years, the Soviet Union in 1967 was for the first time estimated to be spending more on defense research and development than the U.S. Thanks to rapid scientific and technological advances, Moscow now commands a full panoply of offensive and defensive strategic weapons, including an orbital nuclear delivery capability; ever-improving tactical military equipment, communications facilities, surface naval and merchant vessels; and a large number of nuclear powered, swift and quiet submarines. Together, these advances could—if we stand still—ultimately make the Soviet Union militarily dominant.

The real danger, however, does not stem from existing weapons, but from possible breakthroughs by the huge Soviet research and development establishment. The United States can afford to be selective in our own weapons only if we are resolute in maintaining a comprehensive lead in research and development. Recent events have already put our lead in jeopardy.

Soviet scientists have taken a bold new stride in their drive toward a landing on the moon while American scientists have been confronted with shortsighted cutbacks not only in the space program, but also in overall American research and development efforts. James Webb, Director of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, resigned with the prediction that the Soviet Union might soon surpass the United States in space; one week later came the new Soviet moon probe, which Mr. Webb said "shows a capability that could change the basic structure and balance of power in the world."

These events culminate an ominous period in U.S. research and development. While the Soviet Union continues to graduate twice as many scientists annually as the United States, the American scientific community is demoralized by the present Administration's

wavering attitude toward research and development.

During the Eisenhower Administration, funds for research and development grew by an average of about 15 percent annually. By the end of the present Administration, while world scientific knowledge continues to grow at a rate of over ten percent annually, inflation, spurious economy moves and basic policy miscalculations are effectively reducing U.S. research funds every year.

The sudden decline in the Federal commitment over the last four years coincided with a 20 percent increase in the number of U.S. scientists. These new men of science, often trained through the Eisenhower Administration's National Defense Education Act, thus faced a contraction of opportunity in the research and development field. Some of them are now turning to other fields.

Scientific activity cannot be turned on and off like a faucet. The withdrawal of support disperses highly trained research teams, closes vital facilities, loses spinoff benefits, and disrupts development momentum. The current Administration has even struck at the lifeline of our future progress—science education. NASA, for example, has cut its graduate student grants from 1300 to 50. The Defense Department cut aid to colleges by $30 million; the National Sciences Foundation budget was decreased by one-fifth; and the National Institutes of Health funds were reduced by an estimated 25 percent. Especially hard-hit in the reductions is aid for post-doctoral students, who serve as graduate student instructors. The decline of science education is the most damaging indictment of present Administration policy; it threatens to cripple the national effort in science for years to come.

Apart from scientific manpower, fund reductions are idling masses of equipment purchased at great cost in previous years. In the name of economy, the current Administration cut into muscle.

The United States must end this depreciation of research and development in its order of national priorities.

The importance of new emphasis on research and development in defense needs no further elaboration. The needs and possibilities in the civilian realm, however, are less well recognized. Our future economic growth and competitive trade position depend on maintaining our technological lead. New breakthroughs are likely to improve human life in a multitude of ways—from increasing life expectancy to rebuilding our cities.

If our research priorities are to reflect the national interest in these areas, the Federal Government must offer vigorous leadership. Beyond the need for reasonable and responsible increases in subsidies for basic research, there are several specific goals that are of such commanding importance that the government should commit itself now to their achievement.

For example, we must develop new methods of treating the mentally ill. At present, we spend some $15 billion annually on mental health. One half of the hospital beds in the country are occupied by mentally ill patients. About 10 percent of the American people spend some time in a mental hospital; the patient load in the country's mental hospitals continues to rise. Research on the molecular and chemical structure of the brain is producing important data relating to certain psychological maladies, including schizophrenia. Further efforts may well lead to medications that allow drastic reductions in the need to hospitalize the mentally ill. This would end untold suffering and save the country billions annually. The benefits are worth a major Federal commitment. At present, the effort is being cut back.

A second imperative worthy of federal support is development of a source of cheap energy. Dr. Alvin M. Weinberg, Director of Oak Ridge National Laboratory has said: "The basic raw materials for civilized life are energy, water, food and certain minerals. Energy is the most basic of these. If inexhaustible and really cheap energy were available, we could use it to pump fresh water from long distances or even to extract fresh water from the sea; we could use this water to produce agricultural products; we could electrolyze water . . . get hydrogen . . . and manufacture nitrogenous fertilizer; we could reduce metals from their ores, and even convert coal into liquid fuel. But energy is the primary requirement.

With the goal of fulfilling that requirement, I believe that we should step up the Atomic Energy Commission's breeder reactor project, which could provide virtually inexhaustible energy at an extremely low cost. At present, this project is going forward very slowly though its promise for mankind is as great as any other likely development.

Another area is which there is great potential is the laser—a new device that may be able to accomplish such diverse ends as building tunnels, vaporizing coal, intercepting missiles, communicating in space, and curing retina defects in the eye. Pollution research promises new ways to prevent the poisoning of the air we breathe and the water we drink. The possibilities in the realm of transportation exceed most of the dreams of science fiction. New computer technology promises great increases in industrial productivity and great relief from drudgery.

Our firm national purpose should be to stimulate these developments by broad support of science and intelligent cooperation between government and private enterprise.

Today, although Government is to some extent in control of large areas of the nation's research and development effort, it is not really in control of itself in this field. There is little cross-fertilization among agencies and departments of the Federal Government responsible for research and development. Ideas and programs that might have applications in other departments are frequently unknown. The President's science advisors and the National Science Foundation limit themselves chiefly to broad questions of national science policy.

It would be an urgent goal of my administration to devise effective means by which it could cooperate with industry and the academic community in an effort to make maximum use of scientific advances to help solve major national problems. This effort also would seek to assist state and local governments.

Our goal is to make the United States first again in the crucial area of research and development.

A new national commitment is a necessary investment in the future. However, this aim must not be exploited as a mandate for the growth of federal power. There should be no Federal scientific czar. I would propose to use the new miracles of science not to expand the powers of government, but to enhance the vitality of private enterprise and to increase the mastery of the individual over his own fate. Government must support and stimulate technology, but except in the realm of defense and to a large extent in exploration of space, government must not dominate the effort.

In most areas of science, Washington should serve as as catalyst, sponsoring research and scholarship. Even in areas where Washington must necessarily take the lead, government must stand ready to relinquish to private enterprise projects in which the national security or the national interest do not require public control. One example which could be initiated in other fields is the space communications satellite (COMSAT), a partnership between business and government for the benefit of all.

In other areas such as housing, transportation and medical technology—where the international implications are not so great—private enterprise could take full responsibility. It should always be remembered that most of our greatest inventions were the products not of large-scale planning and control but represented the efforts of individuals working alone or in small groups on the frontiers of science. We must never surrender America's greatest asset—the freedom and initiative of its private citizens and economy. In embracing the promise of technology we must never stifle the spirit of man.

In a way, the feelings of bitterness and frustration in our time stem from a sense of claustrophobia; problems close in on us and we become preoccupied with dangers and difficulties. But by the exploration of the infinite and the infinitesimal, we can gain new perspectives, which offer visions of new solutions. We can cure disease, create cheaper energy, eliminate the pressures of scarcity. We can reinvigorate our society by opening new dimensions of hope, new vistas of change.

We must transcend the cramped horizons of the last few years and embrace the opportunity for genuine progress.

SENATE—*Monday, October 14, 1968*

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid, cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of Thy holy spirit, that we may perfectly love Thee, and worthily magnify Thy holy name.

Our fathers trusted in Thee and were not confounded—in Thee we trust. In Thee is our sure confidence that the way of the Republic is down no fatal slope but up to freer sun and air.

May the Lord lift up the light of His countenance upon you and give you peace—peace in your own hearts, peace in this dear land of ours, and a just peace throughout all the earth, now and evermore.

We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Friday, October 11, 1968, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA PARKING FACILITY ACT—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on