

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

## PURPOSE

The purpose of H.R. 2901 is to give the official name, Lake Oahe, to the reservoir behind the Oahe Dam.

The Oahe Dam was constructed by the Army Corps of Engineers under the Flood Control Act of 1944. It is one of the largest earthen structures in the world, and impounds a maximum water surface pool of 376,000 acres with a shoreline of 2,250 miles.

The reservoir has never been named officially. It is fitting that the reservoir be named for the Indian people who first lived in the area. Oahe is a Sioux Indian word meaning "foundation, a place to stand upon, or a stepping stone." Oahe Reservoir is, in fact, the foundation of the Missouri Basin development program. It is expected to be the foundation of great future development. The name is already generally accepted and in common usage.

## ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT TO 11 A.M.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 11 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## RECOGNITION OF SENATOR YOUNG OF OHIO TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that after the reading of the Journal tomorrow the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. Young]

be recognized for not to exceed 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## ELIMINATION OF RESERVE REQUIREMENTS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate turn to the consideration of Calendar No. 989, H.R. 14743. It is being laid before the Senate so that it will be the pending business tomorrow morning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 14743) to eliminate the reserve requirements for Federal Reserve notes and for U.S. note and Treasury notes of 1890.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

## ADJOURNMENT TO 11 A.M.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 35 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, March 12, 1968, at 11 a.m.

## NOMINATION

Executive nomination received by the Senate March 11, 1968:

## U.S. CIRCUIT JUDGE

Otto Kerner, of Illinois, to be U.S. circuit judge for the seventh circuit vice Win G. Knoch, retired.

## CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 11, 1968:

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COUNCIL

The following-named persons to be members of the District of Columbia Council for terms expiring February 1, 1971:

Margaret A. Haywood, of the District of Columbia.

J. C. Turner, of the District of Columbia. Joseph P. Yeldell, of the District of Columbia.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COURT OF APPEALS

Austin L. Ficklin, of the District of Columbia, to be associated judge for the District of Columbia of Appeals for the term of 10 years.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COURT OF GENERAL SESSIONS

William C. Pryor, of the District of Columbia, to be associate judge of the District of Columbia court of general sessions for the term of 10 years.

James A. Belson, of the District of Columbia, to be associate judge of the District of Columbia court of general sessions for the term of 10 years.

Joyce Hens Green, of the District of Columbia, to be associate judge for the District of Columbia court of general sessions, domestic relations branch, for the term of 10 years.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA REDEVELOPMENT LAND AGENCY

Alfred P. Love for reappointment as a member of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency for a term of 5 years, effective on and after March 3, 1968, pursuant to the provisions of section 4(a) of Public Law 592, 79th Congress, approved August 2, 1946, as amended.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## Will America Also Go Down the Drain?

## HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial entitled "Will America Also Go Down the Drain?" published in the Arizona Republic of Sunday, February 11, 1968. The editorial is thought provoking and contains much good commonsense. I commend it to the reading of every Member of the Senate.

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

## WILL AMERICA ALSO GO DOWN THE DRAIN?

"Germany will militarize herself out of existence, England will expand herself out of existence, and America will spend herself out of existence." So said Nikolai Lenin in 1917. Germany has fulfilled the prophecy. England has fulfilled the prophecy. America is in the process of doing so.

Our country has already reached the point where our profligate, wasteful, extravagant and unnecessary government spending is threatening the entire future of our nation and our people. We keep being reassured that we can afford all those billions, that "the

people" need or want these expensive programs at home and abroad, that we only owe our huge debt to ourselves. But the dollar is in trouble. Inflation is increasing. We are losing gold at unprecedented rates. And taxes are still increasing.

In 1960 our total federal budget was \$94 billion. Last year it was almost double that—\$172 billion. The President has asked for \$186 billion for 1969. And every state is increasing expenses and increasing taxes.

Do we really need to spend all these billions? Do "the people" want to be taxed all those billions?

There have been 112 "new" federal programs since 1960. The President has asked for 16 new ones this year. Since 1960 only one federal program has been abolished. All the rest have been increased. Congress last year increased the budget by \$13.5 billion—more than the biggest total budget of Roosevelt's peacetime years!

We have spent \$152 billion on foreign aid and interest on what we borrowed to spread this money around to more than 100 countries. What good did it do? What good did it do you? What good is it doing now?

There is \$23 billion "in the pipeline" for foreign aid—all so far unsent. Yet the President keeps asking for more and more billions to add to it!

Do you want to spend the \$36.5 million Vice President Humphrey just promised to send to the Ivory Coast while the President was proposing a tax on American tourists going abroad?

The administration is spending millions to beautify our highways and tear down ugly

signs. At the same time it is spending \$5 million to erect new signs to put up along the highways!

Do you want to pay taxes to finance a \$2,350 picnic shelter in Manitowoc County, Wis.? How about the \$2.5 million we spent to build houses in Rio de Janeiro? The \$1 million we spent on trains in Thailand? The \$1.5 million we spent on a WAC barracks in Maryland just before the WACs were sent to Florida? Or the \$45,000 flagpole?

You paid \$33,398 for 130 knobs at the Pentagon that retailed at only \$210. You paid for 27,000 tons of food that was just plain "lost" overseas. That cost \$4.3 million, or the same amount that an entire city of 10,000 people pay each year in income taxes.

You are paying the salaries of 276,000 more federal employees this year than last. Non-defense spending has almost doubled since 1960. The national debt has increased 14 times since 1960. Since President Johnson entered the White House, your cost of living has increased 9 per cent!

The federal government spends \$17 billion on "research." That is enough by itself to wipe out this year's inflation-producing deficit. What is this research for? Nobody knows. The Library of Congress tried to find out and reported that nobody in the federal government knows how many research laboratories are federally financed or where they are!

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare spends more than \$100 million a year on research programs like "Understanding the Fourth Grade Slump in Creative Thinking." The Commerce Department spent \$95,-

000 to find out why shipping rates are lower on imported goods than exported goods.

The National Science Foundation financed a study of the 1966 governor's campaign in Maryland. What on earth for? The National Institutes of Health spent \$11,782 to finance "A Social History of French Medicine 1789-1815." It spent \$10,917 for "Emergence of Political Leadership; Indians in Fiji."

The Office of Economic Opportunity shelled out \$39,000 to find out why some underprivileged youths reacted favorably to "It's What's Happening, Baby"—a nationally televised rock and roll show praising the Job Corps. The National Science Foundation gave Stephen Smale, who organized demonstrations aimed at halting troop trains in California, \$6,556 of your tax money to go to Europe!

U.S. government agencies subsidize with your taxes \$2 billion a year in university "research." The result has been that 40,000 professors have stopped teaching to do federal "research." Dr. W. T. Lippincott of Ohio State University calls federal research grants "the most powerful destructive force the higher education system ever faced."

Is all this, and much more, really necessary? Is it even desirable? Does it do any good for the people of the United States who support it? Do you "demand" these services, implore your federal government to start new programs at the rate of more than 100 every 10 years?

The average American is being taken by his government and its sycophants to the tune of billions of dollars. He gets nothing back but the bills for hundreds of unnecessary and useless programs that the government loads on his back.

How much can you take? How much can the nation take? How much, before we go down in the dust under this intolerable burden?

Unless this is stopped—and soon—Lenin will be proved right. "America will spend herself out of existence" and we will all lose the "last best hope of earth" to the tyranny of communism.

## The Fight Against Famine Is Already Lost

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, a most interesting and thought-provoking article entitled "The Fight Against Famine Is Already Lost," written by Paul Ehrlich, was published in the Washington Post of Sunday, March 10, 1968. Mr. Ehrlich is a distinguished population biologist at Stanford University.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

THE FIGHT AGAINST FAMINE IS ALREADY LOST  
(By Paul Ehrlich)

The battle to feed humanity is over. Unlike battles of military forces, it is possible to know the results of the population-food conflict while the armies are still "in the field."

Sometime between 1970 and 1985, the world will undergo vast famines. Hundreds of millions of people are going to starve to death. That is, they will starve to death unless plague, thermonuclear war or some other agent kills them first.

Many will starve to death in spite of any crash program we might embark upon now. And we are not embarking upon any crash program. These are the harsh realities we face.

In 1966, the population of the world increased by some 70 million people, and there was no compensating increase in food production. Indeed, there has actually been a decrease in food production in many areas over the past two years.

According to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, advances made in food production in developing nations between 1955 and 1965 have been wiped out by agricultural disasters in 1965 and 1966. Last year, on the average, each person on Earth had 2 per cent less to eat. The reduction, of course, was not uniformly distributed.

Only ten countries, including the United States, grew more food than they consumed. Apart from the United States, all countries with large populations, including India, China, and Russia, imported more than they exported.

### SURPLUS ALMOST GONE

The United States has all but exhausted her store of surplus grain. Last year she shipped one quarter of her wheat crop, nine million tons, to India. A massive famine was prevented, although the threat persists today, made temporarily less ominous by a good crop year. But every month the Indian population increases by an estimated one and one-half million. In another ten years it would take the entire grain production of the United States to save India from famine.

The trends in both population growth and food production are clear. Only the United States will be in a position to donate food to starving countries, and a catastrophic gap will appear soon between her supply and world demand. The Department of Agriculture has predicted that the curve representing possible exportable American grain surpluses will intersect the curve representing the food aid requirements of 66 developing countries in 1984.

In an excellent book, "Famine 1975," William and Paul Paddock argue cogently that the 1984 prediction is optimistic and that calamity awaits us in the middle of the next decade. In either case, it is too late to prevent the famines and probably too late to do much to decrease their magnitude.

### THE OCEAN MYTH

For a moment, let us take the simplistic view that a solution involves only either increasing human food or limiting the human population. First let us look at the problem of increasing food supplies, either from the land or the sea.

We rapidly can do away with what I have called the "Food from the sea myth." With very minor exceptions, man hunts the sea, he does not farm it or herd its animals. At the moment, he cannot take advantage of its primary productivity and so must feed at levels in the food chain at which much of the sun's energy, bound by photosynthesis, has been lost in the inefficient transfers from producer to primary consumer to secondary consumer, and so forth.

There already are disturbing signs that our relatively meager present yield from the sea will be threatened by overexploitation of fisheries as the world's protein shortage gets more acute. And what of farming the sea? The insignificant bit that we do now (much less than 1/10 of 1 per cent of the yield) is done along the shoreline and is best viewed as an extension of terrestrial farming. No deep-sea farming is done now, even experimentally—and we lack the technical knowledge even if we wished to start.

Some very optimistic people think that with colossal effort and strict international controls, we might conceivably almost double our yield from the sea in the next decade or so. But it should be obvious to all that

such effort is not being made and that such controls are not being developed. And our experience with attempting such controls in the international whaling industry gives us little hope that they would be effective if they were imposed.

So from the point of view of the coming crisis, we can relegate the idea of saving mankind by tapping marine food supplies to the same fairyland as using hydroponics, synthesizing food from petroleum and using desalination plants to make the deserts into vast granaries. None is practical in the short run—indeed, most would present serious difficulties even if we had a century instead of a decade in which to act.

What about getting more food from the land? This could be done by bringing more land under cultivation and by increasing the yield on land now cultivated. An increase is clearly possible technologically; in many areas of the world, yields per hectare are far below those known to be possible. However, the reasons for the disappointing agricultural performance of undeveloped countries in the past and the reasons we can expect little improvement in the near future are clear.

One major reason is a lack of agricultural expertise in developing countries and a lack of sufficient aid in agronomy and related subjects to make up for this. But even more important are sociological forces. These include attitudes about the "proper" ways to raise crops and the prestige of agricultural science relative to other professions. Finally, there is the general insufficiency of communications and educational systems, which makes rapid changing of attitudes difficult or impossible.

It is true that some professional optimists claim that all is not lost. They say, for instance, that India in the next eight years can increase its agricultural output to feed some 120 million more people than it cannot after all feed today. To put such fantasy into perspective, one need consider only the strain such an increase would put on a highly efficient agricultural system.

Unfortunately, more is needed than fertilizer and pesticides—research, training of technicians and massive public information programs in countries where every family does not have a radio and TV set. A crash program (of which there is no sign) might supply the hardware in time, but the more important human engineering requires more time than is available, even if the developed nations were to make an all-out effort. Thus the answer is not to be found in increasing food productions.

The picture on the population control side is equally dismal. India has had a government-sponsored birth control program since 1951. In the 16 years since then, an increasing amount of money has been poured into the program and more and more people have been added to the bureaucracy running it. Today the head of the program is a top government official.

And what has been accomplished? At the start of the program, the Indian growth rate was around 1.3 per cent per year. Now it is pushing 3 per cent. At the start of the program, the Indian population was about 370 million; today it is around 550 million. After 16 years of efforts it is estimated that only 2 per cent of India's 95 million couples of reproductive age practice contraception systematically.

Recently India has been talking about compulsory sterilization for all males who have sired three or more children. Ignoring the political, sociological, legal and moral problems such a program would encounter, there is still the vast logistic problem.

As A. S. Parkes recently pointed out, even if the victims could be rounded up, it would take 1000 surgeons or parasurgeons operating eight hours a day, five days a week, eight years to sterilize existing candidates. And



the stock of candidates grows by leaps and bounds daily.

Furthermore, developing countries will not be saved by any of the other panaceas, such as the "pill," the IUD or "family planning," so beloved of the technological and social optimists. The "pill" requires consistent behavior, and people don't behave consistently. The IUD has long-range potential, but has been far from a panacea.

For instance, a concentrated program of IUD insertions was initiated in Hong Kong, which has had "family planning" for 31 years and now has more than 50 birth control clinics. From 1963 to 1967, some 55,000 IUDs were inserted in a population of roughly three-quarters of a million women between the ages of 15 and 45. Of these, some 21,000 IUDs have dropped out or been removed, the fate of the others being in doubt. On top of this, it has been reported that in one period of the program, the patients who received assistance were usually about 31 years of age and already had had six children.

Which brings us to "family planning." Justin Blackwelder of the Population Crisis Committee summed it up very nicely: "Family planning means, among other things, that if we are going to multiply like rabbits, we should do it on purpose. One couple may plan to have three children; another couple may plan seven. In both cases, they are a cause of the population problem—not a solution to it."

Population control is primarily a matter of human attitudes, not contraceptive technology. And human attitudes are not changing or being changed at anything like the rate necessary to minimize the coming catastrophe—a catastrophe which could not be avoided entirely even if men's minds were transformed tomorrow.

#### THE ONLY CHANCE

Mankind must now face the inevitability of massive famines, and act accordingly. Over the next few years, there must be an enormous propaganda campaign which will focus all people's attention on the basic cause of the famine—overpopulation. Everyone must be convinced that a reduction in the human population size and its stabilization at a reduced level are the only goals which can give Homo Sapiens a long-range chance at health, happiness and prosperity.

Men must learn to view the planet Earth as a spaceship with a strictly limited carrying capacity, and must reach a reasoned consensus as to the ideal size of its human crew. They must realize that determination of crew size is necessary before science and technology can design an optimum environment for that crew. If these lessons can be learned, and man can get through the "time of famines" without a thermonuclear holocaust, then the future will brighten considerably.

That future, for better or for worse, now depends very heavily on the behavior of Americans and the policies of their government. The United States, as the only world power with a prospect of food surpluses, should take immediate action in two areas.

First, it must set an example for the world by establishing a crash program to limit its own serious "population explosion." Then it must establish tough and realistic policies for dealing with the population crisis at the international level. We can hope that other Western countries will follow suit.

Some biologists feel that compulsory family regulation would be required to stabilize the population of the United States at a reasonable level—say 150 million people. Americans are unlikely to take kindly to the prospect, even though the alternative way of stopping their population growth may be thermonuclear war.

I have proposed four less drastic steps which might get the job done and which would at least make American intentions clear to the rest of the world. The steps are

socially unpalatable and politically unrealistic, but, unfortunately, the time when sugar-coated solutions could be effective is now long gone.

#### A TAX ON DIAPERS

The first step would be to establish a Federal Population Commission with a large budget for propaganda—propaganda which encourages reproductive responsibility. This commission would be charged with making clear the connection between rising population and lowering quality of life. It would also be charged with the evaluation of environmental tinkering by other Government agencies—with protecting the United States from projects such as the Federal Aviation Agency's supersonic transports.

The second step would be to change American tax laws so that they discourage rather than encourage reproduction. Those who impose the burden of children on society should, whenever they are able, be made to pay for the privilege.

The income tax system should eliminate all deductions for children and replace them with a graduated scale of increases. Luxury taxes should be placed on diapers, baby bottles and baby foods.

It must be made clear to the American population that it is socially irresponsible to have large families. Creation of such a climate of opinion has played a large role in Japan's successful dealing with her population problem.

Third, the United States should pass Federal laws which make instruction in birth control methods mandatory in all public schools. Federal legislation should also forbid state laws which limit the right of any woman to have an abortion which is approved by her physician.

Fourth, the pattern of Federal support of biomedical research should be changed so that the majority of it goes into the broad areas of population regulation, environmental sciences, behavioral sciences and related areas rather than into short-sighted programs on death control. It is absurd to be preoccupied with the medical equality of life until and unless the problem of quantity of life is solved.

Quantity is the first problem. If that one can be solved, perhaps we will buy the time for scientists in fields such as biochemical genetics to solve some of the problems of quality. If the quantity problem is not solved, the quality problem will no longer bother us.

#### PENALIZE THE PROLIFIC

If the United States can attack the problem at home, it will then be in a position to bring its prestige and power to bear on the world problem. Perhaps then the time of famines can be shortened. Even more important, perhaps the educational groundwork can be laid which will permit further cycles of outbreak and crash in the human population to be avoided. The United States should:

Announce that it will no longer ship food to countries such as India where dispassionate analysis indicates that the unbalance between food and population is hopeless. As suggested by the Paddocks, our insufficient aid should be reserved for those whom it may save.

Refuse all foreign aid to any country with an increasing population which we believe is not making a maximum effort to limit its population.

Make available to all countries extensive aid in the technology of population control.

Make available to all interested countries massive aid for increasing the yield on land already under cultivation. The United States most important export in this area should not be fertilizers but teachers who understand not only agronomy but ecology and sociology as well. Centers should be established in each developing country for training of technicians who can promote the in-

crease of yield while minimizing environmental deterioration.

The United States should use its power and prestige to bring extreme diplomatic and/or economic pressure on any country or organization impeding a solution to the world's most pressing problem. The United States has gone against world opinion in other areas—why not in the most important area?

Runaway human population growth is, in many ways, analogous to the runaway growth of cell populations which we call cancer. Today, attention remains focused on the symptoms of the world's cancer—food shortage, environmental deterioration and, to some extent, pestilence and war.

This focus must be shifted so that we do not waste time treating symptoms while the disease rages unchecked. The cancer must be excised. The operation may seem brutal and callous and the pain may be intense. But the disease is now so far advanced that only with radical surgery does the patient have any chance of survival.

### Soviet Deep Sea Research Leads United States

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following:

[From the San Diego (Calif.) Union, Mar. 3, 1968]

#### SOVIET DEEP SEA RESEARCH LEADS UNITED STATES

(By Everett S. Allen)

"The important thing about the Soviet oceanography program is not how large or how good it is, but the fact that it grew to be roughly the equivalent of the U.S. effort in less than 20 years."

This is the conclusion of Capt. T. K. Treadwell, deputy commander, U.S. Naval Oceanographic Office, writing a 1967 appraisal of the United States' position in marine sciences, compared to other major nations.

Capt. Treadwell continued: "Their growth rate in this area clearly exceeds that of the United States. If they continue at the same rate and we continue at the same rate, they will clearly be the world's leader in oceanography in another 20 years."

In similar vein, Dr. John P. Craven, chief scientist of the Navy's Deep Submergence Systems Project, has commented: "Based on studies of the Interagency Committee on Oceanography, President Kennedy in 1963 proposed a \$2 billion, 10-year program to explore and develop the oceans. In four years, we have spent less than one-sixth of the amount President Kennedy estimated to be necessary to achieve the goals he set forth."

Interviews with leaders in the field generally reflect this feeling—that we are doing much more in oceanography than we were 10 years ago but we ought to be doing more, not only in terms of money, but man-hours devoted to research, planning, education and tighter organization, as well.

The effort is inhibited, in part, by the costs of Vietnam, as are many areas of American life; it also suffers from governmental red tape; interagency rivalries lack of long-range planning; too little cross-discipline scientific teamwork, and growing pains, according to the ocean scientists themselves.

Their concern stems from the fact that,

for one thing, the submarine threat to the United States has been and is expected to remain a very serious consideration in defense planning. Yet, in the words of a presidential committee, we "hardly have sufficient information on the ocean environment for Navy antisubmarine warfare needs."

This is the conclusion of the Panel on Oceanography of the President's Science Advisory Committee (PSAC), which reported, "The most urgent aspect of federal involvement in ocean science and technology for the next five to 10 years relates to national security in the strictly military sense."

An important response to this lack lies in a Navy program called ASWEPS—Antisubmarine Warfare Environment Prediction Services—the purpose of which is to collect data on ocean surface and subsurface conditions affecting naval operations, and forecasting these conditions.

PSAC also found, "The general level of research in the Navy's Man in the Sea Project, aimed at enabling man to live and work in the ocean depths for an extended period, is inadequate. Insufficient attention has been given to biomedical problems of survival in the wet, cold, dark, high-pressure environment and our efforts in this field lag well behind those of other countries."

An oceanographer of national reputation who works closely with the Navy was blunt in his evaluation: "The deep submergence search and rescue program is not adequately integrated with the research program. The deep ocean research program is grossly underfunded."

It received \$24 million for fiscal 1967. This was less than the amount sought by the Deep Submergence Rescue Group, which, prompted by the loss of the submarine Thresher with its entire crew, urged development of Navy search and recovery capabilities through a program that would cost \$300 million over 10 years.

"The Man in the Sea Project lags behind industry in operating depths," said the oceanographer of national reputation. "Supporting research, that is the physiology of diving to deep depths, is lacking support."

Rear Adm. O. D. Waters Jr., oceanographer of the Navy, was more restrained, but conceded, "Sometimes there are lean budget years. We could use more in deep submergence and ocean engineering. Deep rescue and deep search programs are very costly."

Navy reaction to PSAC's recommendation that it step up development of new technology for ocean exploration or turn over the responsibility to a civilian agency was prompt. It created DOT—Deep Ocean Technology—which is concerned with extending the operating range of the submarine to great depths; advancing the technology of deep submergence systems and antisubmarine warfare techniques, and developing new materials, power sources, structures, equipment and instruments to support advanced weapons systems in and on the sea floor.

For these and related projects of oceanographic research, the Navy has asked that its annual funding, now at about \$300 million, be increased to \$1 billion by 1970.

Meanwhile, Russia clearly is surpassing the U.S. in shipping and fishing. Both closely related not only to economic health, but national security as well.

Donald L. McKiernan, special assistant to the secretary of state, says: "Between 1955 and 1965, the Soviet Union increased its annual fish catch 140 per cent, and the U.S. annual catch remained stable. Since World War II, the U.S. has fallen from second to fifth place in world ocean food production and we are apt to fall lower."

Charles L. Philbrook, Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, Gloucester: "In a brief span of 10 years, the U.S.S.R. has overtaken the U.S. in fish production. In the process, Rus-

sia has increased her production 100 per cent, to more than 5 million metric tons in 1965, or about 9 per cent of the total world catch. Total U.S. fish production has remained fairly static, averaging slightly below 3 million tons. It is conceivable that the Russians will lead the world in fish production within the next decade."

Bureau of Commercial Fishery officials would like to see their research budget expanded five times, from the present \$28 million annually, and believe that, with development of new, versatile vessels and accurate mapping of sea resources, the annual catch could be boosted from five billion to 28 billion pounds.

Space satellite technology could revolutionize our task of learning about the oceans, but lack of funds is preventing full use of satellite technology by ocean scientists.

Dr. Richard C. Vetter, executive secretary, National Academy of Sciences' Committee on Oceanography, said: "The Navy has a marvelous satellite navigation system receiver, expected to cost only \$20,000 to \$30,000 apiece. We ought to have one on every oceanographic ship. The chances are slim that we will have even three or four in the next year. It is poor management to have this capacity and send ships to sea without it. There are many other instances of similar frustration."

The purpose of the 1966 National Sea Grant College and Program Act was to strengthen the pool of trained manpower, to strengthen applied research and to improve the process of information transfer between the federal government, states, departments within academic institutions and sectors of industry.

The problem of the moment is that application for funds from scientific and technological communities has exceeded available money—for fiscal 1968, Congress appropriated \$4 million—by 10 to 1 and Sen. Claiborne Pell, D-R.I., author of the Sea Grant Act, fears that budget-cutting legislators may not grant the programs the \$10 million he feels is essential for normal growth in fiscal 1969.

Red tape government financing also is a headache. Dr. William A. Neirenberg, director, Scripps Institution of Oceanography, said, "There is a bureaucratic barrier between scientists who should know what ought to be done, and the people in government who can make the funds available. If the government wants to send a man to the moon, it finds a way of explaining this simply, of getting instant communication between scientists and legislators, but our programs have to be explained endlessly."

Other scientists echoed the view that "if we had one government agency to deal with instead of 20, at least we would know whether we were or were not going to get money. Individual agencies give us an atmosphere of unstable budgets."

Oceanographers hope their reports will offer an answer to those who think we should be doing more in marine science, who share with Dr. Vetter the belief that "within the framework of 50 to 100 years, any large country will have to have access to the resources of the ocean for survival."

## Cutback in Federal Aid Highway Funds: Says AAA, It Is "the Highway Yo-Yo"

### HON. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, the March 1968 issue of the American Motorist, published by the American Automobile Association, contains an editorial with which the people of Wyoming can find substantial agreement.

Entitled, "The Highway Yo-Yo," the AAA editorial notes:

The recent \$600 million cutback in Federal-aid highway funds to the States is an obvious sledgehammer tactic to bludgeon Congress into passing the tax surcharge measure this year.

The editorial continues by pointing out:

If the nation's interstate highway program is ever going to be completed it must continue in an orderly uninterrupted fashion, free from the fiscal yo-yo tactics of the present Administration.

I include the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

#### THE HIGHWAY YO-YO

The Administration has done it again. It has announced a crushing \$600 million cutback in Federal-aid highway funds to the states, an obvious sledgehammer tactic to bludgeon Congress into passing the tax surcharge measure this year.

What the average motorist may not understand is that this cutback in funds isn't a money-saving measure. It is akin to a bank president informing his customers that they may not remove any funds from their savings accounts. The Highway Trust Fund is a "savings account" made up of money paid by highway users in the form of various taxes. Money in this fund cannot, by law, be used for anything other than for highway construction.

When President Johnson signed the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1964 into law he said the Interstate highway program "is not costing the General Fund of the United States Treasury a single cent . . . this is one of our best investments. . . ."

If the nation's Interstate Highway program is ever going to be completed, it must continue in an orderly, uninterrupted fashion, free from the fiscal Yo-Yo tactics of the present Administration.

In October, 1966, some \$4.4 billion in funds was apportioned to the states for highways. One month later the funds were cut by \$1.1 billion.

In February, 1967, the funds were restored.

In August, 1967, some \$4.74 billion in funds was apportioned and in January, 1968, they were cut by \$600 million.

An effective Federal-aid highway program simply cannot exist with this kind of activity.

Mr. Speaker, Wyoming is expected to lose some \$20 million in Federal aid highway funds because of this so-called inflationary measure. The continuity of one of the most progressive highway programs in the United States will be broken, and when the funds are at last released, as they must be under law, they will buy less highway than could have been purchased this year because the funds will have been debilitated by inflation.

## The "Pueblo": How Long, Mr. President?

### HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 49th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.



Further, if the funds are being withheld this year to "dampen inflationary pressures," they will certainly raise havoc with these pressures when they are released en bloc next year or the year after. Or does the administration envision not releasing the funds at all?

Fortunately, there are indications that a new administration will return reason to highway policy when the 1969 calendar year rolls around. But for the balance of calendar 1968, the States will apparently have to seek piecemeal relief from the excesses of a cutback which makes neither dollars nor sense.

As the AAA says:

An effective Federal-aid highway program simply cannot exist with this kind of activity.

### Safety in Youth Camps

#### HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, this month we will greet the advent of spring, the gentle harbinger of the summer to come, when 6 million young Americans will go to summer resident or day camps. I feel certain that as legislators and as parents we share the same concern for the well-being of these children. However, it is estimated that less than half of all camps meet minimum safety standards, and, as the Washington Post has pointed out, while camp safety is primarily a State responsibility, only a few States have adequate regulations, and 19 States provide no regulation whatsoever. It is to meet this need that S. 1473, the Youth Camp Safety Act, of which I am a cosponsor, was introduced last year. This measure, which has the active support of the American Camping Association, is pending before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; it merits consideration by the committee.

I ask unanimous consent that the Washington Post editorial, entitled "Safety in Youth Camps," be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

#### SAFETY IN YOUTH CAMPS

Every parent of the 6,000,000 children who attend resident or day camps or participate in organized tours each year doubtless has some concern for their safety. Yet it is estimated that less than half of the camps of this type functioning in the United States meet minimum safety standards. Accidents are frequent, and it is difficult for parents to determine whether the camps to which their children may go are properly managed from the viewpoint of safety.

Senator Ribicoff is attempting to do something about the problem by sponsoring a bill to set up Federal standards for youth camp safety. His measure would encourage the states to accept those standards and to provide camp inspection machinery, with the aid of Federal grants. The problem is primarily one for the states to deal with, but only a few states have adequate regulations of their own and 19 states provide no regulation whatever of youth camps.

The bill has the support of the American Camping Association and of several similar

groups. Certainly its objective is a worthy one, and it seems to fall in an area where Federal-state cooperation could be useful.

### A Tribute to Bonner Frizzell, a Patriarch of East Texas

#### HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, it was my good fortune to grow up in an area of Texas that has been and continues to be blessed with great human wealth—a wealth best measured by the depth of character that has been bred there. I speak of the east Texas region around Henderson and Anderson Counties, an area that was home to such all-time Texas greats as John H. Reagan, James S. Hogg, Tom M. Campbell, and O. M. Roberts.

These are men remembered and honored in Texas for their devotion to human progress and for their life-long effort to strengthen what Professor Joe B. Frantz, of the University of Texas, has described as:

The tenuous but continuous thread of freedom that has woven itself through Texas, the Southwest, and the United States since Cabeza da Vaca first dented our topsoil.

As a youth in and around Chandler, Henderson County, Tex., it was my pleasure to grow up in the midst of men who were the inheritors and proud bearers of this great tradition. Among the finest of these was the respected superintendent of the Palestine, Tex., independent school district, Dr. Bonner Frizzell. This eminent educator, who labored 36 years in the area as teacher and administrator before he retired in 1950, has been a major inspiration and source of strength to me throughout the years, just as he has inspired countless others in subsequent generations.

Bonner Frizzell, originally from Henderson County, was a friend of my fathers and a friend of mine. Our families have been friends for generations.

This man of strong convictions, borne of noble ideals, refused to stand aside from the action and passion of his time, and his life has been a major force for human progress far beyond his immediate range of influence. His is the greatness that is the true greatness of Texas.

If one seeks to know what is the true spirit of Texas, and if one would know what it means to be a Texan, one would do well to reflect on the life of Bonner Frizzell.

Mr. President, on February 16, 1968, the people of east Texas honored Dr. Frizzell on his 86th birthday. During a birthday dinner at Palestine, Tex., a portrait of this great schoolmaster, painted by Miss Osjetea Briggs, was unveiled. The board of trustees of the Palestine independent school district paid tribute to him that night by announcing their unanimous decision to name the new Palestine High School library the Bonner Frizzell Library. At

this same magnificent occasion, Dr. Frizzell was named to the prestigious Anderson County Council of Honor.

It was with deep regret that Senate duties presented my attendance at this memorable dinner, but I sent a letter of tribute to Dr. Frizzell, dated February 13, 1968, which I understand was read during the dinner.

I ask unanimous consent that the following material relating to the life of Dr. Bonner Frizzell and to the recent dinner honoring that life be printed in the Extensions of Remarks to the RECORD:

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

#### ANDERSON COUNTY COUNCIL OF HONOR DINNER HONORING DR. BONNER FRIZZELL

Invocation, Dr. Robert L. Badgett, Pastor, First Christian Church, Palestine.

"The Old Schoolmaster," Don Norton, Master of Ceremonies.

Unveiling of Portrait, M. D. Stewart, Former Principal, Palestine High School.

Touch With History, Mrs. E. E. Tucker, President, United Daughters Confederacy.

School and Church, W. C. Wylie, Former Teacher, Palestine Schools.

The Unforgettable Character, Charles W. Wooldridge, Executive Vice President, T P and L Co., Dallas, Texas.

Presentation of Plaque, Harry Myers, Attorney, Life-long friend.

Benediction, Don Norton.

#### INSCRIPTION ON PLAQUE

We Humbly Honor Dr. Bonner Frizzell, Schoolmaster, Educator, Historian, Who Taught, Lived, Recorded, and Became A Part of the Proud History of His County.

Anderson County Council of Honor February 16, 1968.

[From the Elkhart (Tex.) Eagle, May 16, 1963]

#### DR. BONNER FRIZZELL: THE OLD SCHOOLMASTER

In his 81 years, Dr. Bonner Frizzell, Anderson County Schoolmaster, Educator, and beloved "old schoolmaster", rose from McGuffey's Reader and a Blueback speller in a one-room school—to a college professor. He has spent all his life furthering the cause of education.

"It is a great adventure—" he says, speaking of his life and many experiences. "Dealing with human personalities is the most rewarding thing on earth."

Dr. Frizzell was born in Pine Grove Community, between Palestine and Athens, on February 16, 1882. He attended high school in Athens, and later, Bruce Academy there. He built bridges for the railroad, worked in a clay and tile plant, and then clerked in a bank. At the age of eighteen, when school-teaching was merely a matter of keeping one lesson ahead of the pupil, he began his long career of education. Here he saw the need of more advanced learning, so he entered Texas Christian University, where he worked his way to a B.A. Degree. While in the college, he was secretary to the President and Captain of the football team. He was four times class president and one time the president of the entire student body. Writing fascinated him, and he served on all the school publications. In 1909, the year he received his B.A. Degree, he was also the class orator.

After graduation, Bonner Frizzell earned money to go to the Pulitzer School of Journalism at Columbia University by working as news editor of the Waco News Tribune. While at Columbia, he worked as the director of employment service and answered a

letter from Texas, he took the job he was offered as a professor, and then taught there until 1913.

That fall, he accepted an offer from Palestine Public School System to act as a principal of Rusk Elementary School. That same year, he married Miss Jennie Elizabeth Keller. Six years later, he became superintendent and business manager of the Palestine Public Schools, a position he held for thirty-one years, until his retirement in 1950.

During his administration, Dr. Frizzell made the Palestine School System into one of the finest in the state. Always the builder, he improved the schools by constructing more buildings, and by adding more on to those already built. As a part of a vast improvement plan, a new Rusk Elementary School was constructed, a new gymnasium and a band hall built for Palestine High School, and several other improvements made in the overall system. By 1939, the Palestine School System had ten modern buildings which would accommodate 3,000 students and eighty teachers. For a while, Dr. Frizzell owned the radio station K.N.E.T., and during the time, the high school had broadcasting equipment right in the building. As superintendent, he maintained strict discipline and down through the years, his students spoke with reverence of him and the "mark they toed."

Dr. Frizzell retired in 1950 ending his long career as a hired servant to education. However, as its chief ambassador, and as a staunch supporter of the Palestine school and its students, he fills speaking engagements before their groups, Parent Teacher Organizations and Civic Clubs. He is a life member in the Texas State Teachers Association, The Texas Congress of Parents & Teachers, East Texas School Men's Club, and the Anderson County School Executives. He is listed in "Teachers in Education," in "Who in The South & Southwest," and also "Who's Who in Communication & Transportation."

He is a Historian and an Educator. He is coauthor of the Texas supplement of Our Government, the State adopted Civic textbook. He has written many articles for newspapers, and does research in local and family histories.

By nature, Dr. Frizzell is a philosopher. He does most of what he calls his "philosizing" about education. He believes in a strict "standard" education. He firmly believes that as long as the students master thoroughly such subjects as language, math, government and the classics, they will be able to prepare for the future. Because of all the new vistas in science, there will be great changes, in all things, but the standard subjects will never change, nor will the need for them ever vary.

—The beard—? In 1953, he had a heart attack. The doctor forbid his shaving. A barber was too inconvenient, and the old schoolmaster would not risk his wife so near his throat with a razor—so he grew the beard. Well meaning friends and acquaintances are forever advising him as to how to trim it. Some prefer the goatee look, while others like his "Moses" appearance better. His wife has given up in her efforts to get him to shave it off. He declares that it's warm in the winter, and that it provides insulation in the summer. The old schoolmaster wears his beard and his age—with great dignity.

An eloquent speaker, at a recent dinner for school executives, he said, "I am prepared to believe that we are advancing . . . that we are strengthening our teacher training."

There was a note of pathos in his voice. The listener could look back across the years he had walked through the field of education during its most formative times, and knew that nowhere in all the tomorrows of the young people present—would ever be the grand adventure the old schoolmaster knew.

[From the Palestine (Tex.) Herald-Press, Dec. 15, 1967]

DR. BONNER FRIZZELL TO BE HONORED FOR SERVICE

(By Ernest Jones)

"Je suis pret—I am ready," is the motto of a Palestine man singled out to receive "flowers for the living."

On his 86th birthday, Friday, Feb. 16, the Anderson County Council of Honor will pay tribute to Dr. Bonner Frizzell for his notable contributions to education and the history of Anderson County. He will receive a plaque and a portrait.

Osjetea Briggs, counselor for the council, announced today the annual selection made by the council, an anonymous group of citizens who have presented such awards each year since 1954. Miss Briggs is painting a portrait of Dr. Frizzell to be presented to him.

"We are planning a testimonial for Dr. Frizzell to be held in the John H. Reagan Room of the Sadler Motor Hotel on his birthday," Miss Briggs announced.

She said the setting for the occasion is fitting because of Dr. Frizzell's particular interest in matters pertaining to the early history of this county so long dominated by the distinguished statesman, "the Old Roman" of Palestine.

Dr. Frizzell, dubbed a full Kentucky Colonel earlier this year by the governor of Kentucky, was born Feb. 16, 1882, and reared on a farm in the Pine Grove community in Henderson County. He is the son of William Asa-hoel and Frances Missouri Knight Frizzell.

He attended rural schools in Henderson County and high school and Bruce Academy in Athens, took a business course at Tyler and went on to Texas Christian University (including the Academy) 1903-09, where he was class and student council president. He was an editor on various student publications including Cap & Gown Daily during his college career, and later did graduate work at Columbia University and University of Texas.

At TCU he captained the 1906 football team, was a letterman four years and won the Mitchell Medal in Oratory. He was class orator in 1909, publicity director in 1908-09 and part-time secretary to the president two years.

He taught two 3½-month terms in Meredith Chapel rural school in Henderson County and was an instructor at Texas A&M two years, including one year as publicity director of that college.

Dr. Frizzell was principal of a Palestine grade school from 1913-18 and on the faculty of various summer college schools. He was director of summer normals of the University of Texas three years. During World War I, he served as Army YMCA educational director. In 1919, he was chief supervisor of rural schools and chairman of the Teacher Placement Bureau, State Department of Education.

He was superintendent and business manager of Palestine Public Schools from 1919 to 1950, and served also as secretary of the school board, 1923-50.

Along with all these activities, Dr. Frizzell worked as a carpenter on the T&NO Railroad, bank clerk, court reporter and abstractor, news editor of the Waco Tribune, special agent of the U.S. Census Bureau of Manufacturers.

He was an acting director of the Columbia University student employment bureau, a member of the Texas State Textbook Commission, correspondent for the Dallas News and Houston Post, first owner of Radio Station KNET, 1936-40, and chairman of the boards of directors of the National Educators Life Insurance Company, Educators Automobile Insurance Company, Educators Investment Corporation and Educators Investment Life Insurance Company.

He has been affiliated with numerous learned societies, civic, educational and reli-

gious groups and holds life membership in a number of these. He has been president of an impressive number of such groups and vice president of the Texas State Teachers Association.

In 1950, he was chairman of the Palestine City Charter Commission. His civic activities have been wide and numerous and he has had a long and deep interest and participation in public and political affairs.

Published studies, essays, sketches and articles are too numerous to list, and he has no less than 57 manuscripts not yet published, many of these of historical significance.

His research of Anderson County historical material has been prodigious.

His self-listed hobbies include Texas folklore, local history, hobbies, "Catomania" and "Cognomania" (for more than 50 years he has collected pictures and stories of cats and varied spelling of his own name involving more than 1,000 patronymic deviations).

In 1899-1902 he was a private in Company G, Third Texas Volunteer Guard. In 1903-05, he was sergeant of the TCU Cadet Corps.

He has traced his ancestry back to the Fraser-Frazier Clan of Norman origin in Scotland. He is a descendant of Nathan Frizzell of Maryland, a Revolutionary War soldier.

Dr. Frizzell was married June 26, 1913, to Jennie Elizabeth Keller of Palestine, daughter of William Victor and Henrietta Keller. Their two children are Jean Elizabeth (Mrs. J. Tuggle) and Eunice Louise (Mrs. R. C. Royston).

The distinguished former educator is confined to a wheelchair at present due to arthritis in Southern Heritage Retirement Home in Palestine.

[From the Palestine (Tex.) Herald-Press, Feb. 18, 1968]

HONOR PAID TO DR. FRIZZELL

(By Ernest Jones)

"In the words of Tiny Tim, 'God bless and keep us all.'"

Thus Bonner Frizzell, "the old schoolmaster," brought to a close a touching program in his honor Friday night on his 86th birthday at the Anderson County Council of Honor annual dinner in the John Reagan Room of the Sadler Motor Hotel, where 200 stood and cheered his entry in a wheelchair.

If prophets have been slighted by their neighbors, none ever can foresee a like fate for Palestine's senior educator, historian and churchman. By resolution of the board of trustees of the Palestine Independent School District, the new Palestine High School Library became officially the Bonner Frizzell Library, where finally a magnificent portrait of Dr. Frizzell is destined to hang.

And from Washington, Ralph W. Yarborough, Texas' senior U.S. senator, hailed the honor guest as the surviving member of a triumvirate of Texas Patriarchs, thus elevating Dr. Frizzell to the rank of the late Walter Prescott Webb and J. Frank Dobie.

Sen. Yarborough, in a letter read at the dinner by Osjetea Briggs, called Bonner Frizzell "a beacon light for the last generation. He has been a beacon light for this generation. He will be a beacon light for the next generation. May we have many generations who follow in his footsteps and emulate him. God bless Bonner Frizzell, the kind of life he's lived and the things he stands for."

The dinner program was a happy one. Don Norton, master of ceremonies, moved it along with wit and brevity.

M. D. Stewart, former high school principal, unveiled the portrait of Dr. Frizzell. "Old principals never die. They just lose their faculties," Stewart quipped.

Miss Ethel Reed, "Girl Friday" to Dr. Frizzell and two other superintendents, made the surprise announcement that the Board of Trustees by resolution had paid tribute to Frizzell's 36 years of services to



the local public schools by naming Bonner Frizzell Library to perpetuate his name. The resolution recited accomplishments for the school system and education for which it gave him credit and paid tribute to his services and scholarship.

Mrs. E. E. Tucker, Elkhart, president of the Davis-Reagan Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, spoke of Dr. Frizzell's family links with the Confederacy and how they influenced his life. Two of his uncles fought in the war and one witnessed the tragic death of Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston. Frizzell always was deeply interested in that historic period and was a speaker at many UDC and Sons of Confederate Veterans' functions, serving the Sons of the Confederacy Howdy Martin Camp at Athens as historian. His maternal grandfather, Kindred K. Knight, was ex officio chairman of the draft board during the Civil War.

"History is of the past but it is for the future. The future is made on the influences of the past. Dr. Frizzell has reflected that cultural heritage to upcoming generations."

Mrs. Tucker went on to say, "We never had to call on the Rangers or Sherlock Holmes to find out where Dr. Frizzell stood on any issue."

The Old South never bred a truer gentleman, a more courtly or cultivated personage or a more honorable citizen than Dr. Frizzell, she concluded.

W. C. (Clint) Wylie, himself a former Palestine educator, spoke as a longtime associate, expressing deep appreciation of Dr. Frizzell and his family.

From the time he came to the Palestine schools in 1919, the schools were "his life," Mr. Wylie said of Frizzell. "He started from scratch and did a marvelous job. His leadership was of the very highest. . . . He didn't look favorably on frills and furbelows. He said the greatest thing was the teacher in the classroom. He was a real scholar."

Wylie told how Dr. Frizzell worked at Austin with Henry Stilwell of Texarkana to obtain more money for Texas schools. He described the educator as a "purist in speech and thought," as a person with a most unusual vocabulary, a "born schoolmaster" who was meticulous with the taxpayer's money and believed in getting full value for a school dollar.

"He found a rundown school system and began working immediately to improve it."

Mr. Wylie also paid tribute to Dr. Frizzell's work in the First Christian Church as a deacon, elder and Sunday School teacher, member of the TCU and Jarvis Christian College board of trustees.

Frizzell devised about 1932 a way to pay teachers 12 monthly checks instead of nine, something that was of tremendous benefit to the teachers which has spread over the country since. And he obtained provisions for sick leave and other improvements for the teaching profession.

Charles W. Wooldridge, Dallas, executive vice president of the Texas Power & Light Company, who has served with that firm 37 years, spoke of Dr. Frizzell as a friend with whom he could differ on many things and still hold in the highest esteem.

With warm humor, Wooldridge spoke of his association with Dr. Frizzell when Wooldridge, a young engineering graduate from a then somewhat unrecognized school (Texas Tech) who was trying to get up in the world, spent six of the "happiest years of my life" among the red hills, the pines and the wonderful people here. He tried to trace the route he traveled to the realization of "what a wonderful man this (Dr. Frizzell) is."

He and Frizzell often played golf together at Meadowbrook. No. 4, a par 3 hole, was the nemesis for all but Frizzell, who, standing on the wrong side, would fire off a drive that rolled down and around a slant and back onto the green.

Here, the young Wooldridge associated with big people, but when he went home to the Glen Garden tournament in Fort Worth with Frizzell as a guest in his parents' home, there, Wooldridge ruefully related, he was exposed as "just little Charlie" to his home folks.

"We were at opposite ends of the pole on many issues. We discussed our differences of opinion. Of 10 issues, I suppose we disagreed on about eight. But because of his candor and understanding, we forged a respect and a camaraderie which, so long as I walk this earth, will make him an unforgettable character to me," Mr. Wooldridge said with deep feeling.

Then he told about the chairs that the schools had bought. Mr. Frizzell demanded they be of a certain make or its equivalent, and a stalemate developed over whether the "equivalent" chairs were as good as the famous name brand. Mr. Frizzell didn't think so. Wooldridge was nominated as arbitrator of the chair squabble. He was a husky young man. He smashed into the substitute chair and it broke into pieces. No one said a word, and Frizzell got the chair he preferred.

In times when loafing and stealing seem to be condoned, when hippies and weed smoking appear glorified and glamorized, while irresponsibility is almost accepted, Wooldridge suggested two things as needed: 1. Men flexible enough to accept progress: He (Frizzell) has been "years ahead of his time." 2. Stability to cling to the eternal virtues. Dr. Frizzell recognizes God as the author of truth. His moral code does not change. "I submit that Dr. Frizzell's life, his old-fashioned virtues, the stability of his foundation, is what the world needs."

In closing, Mr. Wooldridge said this old world is a little bit better because of the life and works of "this unforgettable character, this warm friend of mine and yours—our beloved professor, Bonner Frizzell."

Another long-time friend, Attorney Harry I. Myers, presented a plaque to Dr. Frizzell. "My heart is full of love for him because he gave me love," Mr. Myers said. He had known Frizzell since he came to Palestine and through all those years learned to love and respect him.

"I didn't always agree with him. He was thinking ahead. I'm proud to be selected to deliver this plaque. There is a saying, 'Things we do for ourselves die with us. Those things we do for others live forever.'"

The plaque was presented on behalf of the Council of Honor and acting for the citizens of Palestine and Anderson County.

Dr. Frizzell was asked if he wished to speak. He had his chair wheeled to the speaker's stand, where he stood and spoke slowly and distinctly.

"I am grateful beyond words. It is beyond my capacity to express my gratitude," he said.

He told a brief joke, and closed with the words of Tiny Tim.

Dr. Frizzell's wife, his two daughters, two nephews and two sisters-in-law were introduced by Toastmaster Norton at the opening of the program.

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, Feb. 25, 1968]

FROM SOIL OF EAST TEXAS TO CEMENT OF THE CITIES

(By Joe Murray)

East Texans, a people whose pioneer families sank their roots in the earth along side the pine trees, today have been separated from the soil and set down in the cement of the cities.

Dr. Bonner Frizzell of Palestine left the land at age 16 to seek the world of wisdom.

Today, his name is followed by an alphabet of degrees and his fields have varied from carpenter, bank clerk and court reporter to educator, author and orator.

On Feb. 16, his 76th birthday, Anderson County's Council of Honor saluted him with a banquet in tribute for his contributions to education and history.

#### FOR GOD'S CHILDREN

Dr. Frizzell, with a great gray beard that hides his smile, takes pleasure in looking back to the days of the land.

"The pioneers called it the country for God's children," he said. "They were impressed by the grass, the running waters, the fish and game."

"They were cultivators of the soil. Thrifty people, religious and hard-working."

"And they multiplied and replenished the earth with their descendants."

#### BORN IN LOG HOUSE

Dr. Frizzell, one of those descendants, was born in a one-room log house in Henderson County.

Like the other boys, he dug potatoes, chopped cotton and harvested corn.

But he also attended the rural schools and went on to Texas Christian University where he was both captain of the football team and class orator.

He then returned to the rural schools of Henderson County, this time as a teacher for \$35 a month.

"I taught them from a Blue Back Speller and there was none of this so-called progressive education," he said.

#### CLASSES MARRY

His high school consisted of two students, a girl in geometry and a boy in algebra.

"All went well until the Christmas vacation when my algebra class married my geometry class and I lost my high school."

Dr. Frizzell then went on to work his way through those many fields, finally becoming superintendent of Palestine schools in 1919 and remaining until 1950.

And he watched as others left the land.

"They diversified to fill public office, to become teachers and preachers, workers along the highway and shipbuilders on the Gulf," he said. "The way of life changed but not the people."

"It had been the simple life, the rustic life of the time," he said. "But we were happy. We had our amusements and diversions."

#### RECALLS RUSTIC LIFE

"There were the play parties when young people came from far and near to dance the Virginia Reel and sing the songs of the South. It was also an occasion for courtship."

"There were the square dances with the fiddle and guitar. The young people made the floor rock, all of which was disapproved of by the churches. The preachers would bear down on these sinful ways and cast the culprits from the congregation. Then they would repent and return to the fold."

"There were the revivals and camp meetings which would last for weeks with preachers of all denominations."

"And the political roundups. If you were a Confederate soldier—particularly if you had been wounded—you were reelected. And the political orators with their flourishes. When one would make a particularly stirring point, the young men would kick their heels and strut like prancing jackasses."

"The great orators are all gone now."

#### MEMORIES REMAIN

Today, the small farms are also gone, replaced by a few large ones.

The potatoes, corn and cotton have been replaced by beef, timber and dairy products.

The rich soil of the valley and the plains took the cotton. The rich wages of the cities took the men.

"But you know," Dr. Frizzell said. "When I was making \$35 a month as a schoolmaster, I saved more money than I ever did in later life."

"There was no occasion to spend."

SENATE OFFICE BUILDING,  
Washington, D.C., February 13, 1968.  
Miss OSJETEA BRIGGS,  
Palestine, Tex.

DEAR MISS BRIGGS: From my early boyhood at Chandler, Henderson County, 25 miles from Athens, the county seat, I would hear my father come home from Athens and mention the names Frizzell and Owens. Not until a half-century later, when Bonner Frizzell published his historical and genealogical book on the Owens and Frizzell families did I realize that the two families were closely related.

The Frizzell family was a great and honored family in my home county of Henderson and I became acquainted with its educational leadership in the three years that I taught in the rural schools of Henderson County in the 1920's.

From that personal acquaintance, Bonner Frizzell, a prestigious superintendent of the Palestine Independent School District, supported me in a race for Attorney General in 1938, though he had to proceed with care and circumspection because his actions were not approved by some or all of the school board of Palestine.

Years later in retirement, after a distinguished career as one of the leading school administrators of Texas, he grew a great beard, worthy of a riverboat captain, a poet, or an author, looking like Longfellow or William Cullen Bryant. Someone asked him why he grew a beard. Characteristically he said, "I no longer have to report to a board; now I am free." When I heard it, I thought of the eggshells he walked on in supporting me in that thirty-years-ago race of 1938.

That was only another beginning, another starter, after our earlier acquaintance. Our friendship grew and in the early 1950's, when the time came for the Democratic Party to be submerged or to fight, Bonner Frizzell was one of the stalwarts in that fight. He was not a mere supporter. Like a mighty oak, he was a comforting shade under which one could take refuge from the hot winds of great economic and political power in Texas. He was a staunch rod upon which to lean. He was a mighty force, with his intellect and his courage. Patriarch Bonner Frizzell of Palestine, Editor R. T. Craig of Athens, and a few more were like a rod and a staff of the Psalmist. They strengthened me, they encouraged me, they supported me. Support meant not merely voting for, it meant upholding my arms in the most difficult days of my life.

Bonner Frizzell is one of God's Noblemen, a great soul, the inheritor and bearer of a great tradition.

In his youth he was stimulated by all-time giants of Texas history, John H. Reagan, Jim Hogg, and Tom Campbell, those East Texas stalwarts who set the face of Texas forward for progress. Bonner Frizzell never forgot that road of progress, never deviated, never turned on his own ideals or his own people, but marched face forward for the progress, the greatness, and independence of the people of Texas. The great Patriarchs are thinning. Walter Webb and Frank Dobie are gone, but the fact that Bonner Frizzell lives and is here with us stirs every heart in Texas and makes it glow with a special pride.

He has aided me, he has strengthened me, he has encouraged me. His presence was worth an army. We might paraphrase Walter Scott and say, "Where oh where were Roderick then, his horn were worth a thousand men," but we've always known where Bonner Frizzell was. His horn has never been still. His voice present was worth a thousand men.

The lamps he has set in so many classrooms and the political fires he has set in so many just causes will burn on for generations after he is no longer with us.

Bonner Frizzell has been a beacon light

for the last generation. He has been a beacon light for this generation. He will be a beacon light for the next generation. May we have many generations who follow in his footsteps and emulate him. God bless Bonner Frizzell, the kind of life he's lived, and the things he stands for.

He ennobles Democracy. He typifies free men. He gives us a standard to work toward. Men like Bonner Frizzell are needed in these times.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH W. YARBOROUGH.

## Is the United States Really the World's Strongest Nation?

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

MR. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego, Calif., Union of March 3, 1968:

### IS THE UNITED STATES REALLY THE WORLD'S STRONGEST NATION?

(By Vice Adm. Ruthven E. Libby,  
U.S. Navy, retired)

For at least the last seven years we Americans have smugly accepted administration assurances that the United States of America is the most powerful nation on earth—a statement that millions of our citizens have interpreted to mean that no further effort by them either to support or to defend themselves is required.

Adoption of this philosophy by all our citizens would, of course, destroy whatever power we now possess in short order. By the same token, our national power currently is being seriously eroded by other philosophies which, if they become more widespread in this country, also will destroy it.

No one can doubt that potentially the United States of America is the most powerful country on earth. But several recent shocking and distressing events have created at least a reasonable doubt as to the exact degree of our power at the moment.

We have been told repeatedly by the highest-level Communist leaders that we are caught up in a protracted conflict with them that extends across the entire spectrum of human endeavor. As Adm. Arleigh Burke recently reminded us, "In Communist semantics a weapon system need not necessarily be a piece of military hardware. It can be any instrument of conflict—political, economic, military or paramilitary—that can be used to undermine free world interests."

It follows that if we are to win this conflict, we must be strong in all areas in which it is waged—strong politically, psychologically, economically (which includes fiscally) and militarily. As was the case with Achilles, a weakness anywhere can be fatal.

As a starter, let's examine our military establishment. Just how strong are we, actually, in this area?

At the risk of over-simplification, we can list four main constituents of military power: military hardware; the number of military persons available to use it and their individual competence—their state of training; the skill with which these two elements are combined and directed; and the national will and determination to use this force at the proper time, in the proper place, and in the requisite degree to insure our national security.

Consider these elements:

Hardware: Our deficiencies in arms and armament, ranging all the way from our

strategic nuclear aircraft capability and our defense in this area, down through combat aircraft, tanks, vehicles, bombs and ammunition for the M-16 rifle, have been so widely publicized that no point will be achieved by retabulating them here.

We have pursued nuclear "parity" to the point where we are about to be on the losing end of the megaton gap.

Despite the vast and proven superiority of nuclear propulsion for combatant surface ships, only a handful of navy ships now under construction will be so equipped. Although our naval forces currently outnumber those of the U.S.S.R., the Soviet Navy is growing rapidly and ours is not. Furthermore, the preponderance of Soviet naval power is in new ships; ours in ships of World War II vintage.

New, modern Soviet ships include 19 cruisers, 170 destroyers, destroyer escorts, and frigates, many armed with surface-to-surface missiles; almost 600 motor torpedo boats, many also missile-armed; and the largest submarine fleet in the history of the world 360 seagoing boats, 55 of them nuclear-powered.

And in the vital para-military merchant marine fleet, unless the United States takes prompt and drastic action to revitalize our dying merchant marine, it won't be very long before the rapidly expanding, thoroughly modern and aggressive Soviet merchant fleet drives U.S. flag shipping from the seven seas.

How about personnel?

No less an authority than Rep. L. Mendel Rivers, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, urged recently that our reserve forces be called up in order to fill "a dangerous gap" in our defenses. He declared that the Marine Corps deployments in Vietnam cannot be maintained without extending tours of duty unless there is a reserve callup. The latest airlift of 10,500 men to Vietnam, he said, has weakened strategic forces in the United States, affected our ability to meet other contingencies, and sent men back to war who had been back from Vietnam as little as 60 days.

What of the over-all state of training? Probably the present shape of the Atlantic Fleet is indicative of that in which all the other nondeployed elements of the service find themselves. The Senate Armed Services Committee's preparedness investigating subcommittee reported months ago (as was noted in this column) that thousands of trained personnel had been detached from Atlantic Fleet ships to provide crews for ships deployed to the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean and the 7th Fleet in the South China Sea. The result was that non-deployed Atlantic Fleet ships, while, numerically up to complement, were manned with warm bodies but little else. In sum, our deployed fighting men are competent, courageous, well-trained professionals; but they are about all we've got.

The last two elements can best be considered together, and the picture is not encouraging. The undeclared Vietnam war has been fought under the doctrine of "graduated response," promoted by former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara and Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, and almost entirely under civilian management and control.

Of this, Rep. Rivers says: "Probably no war in history has been more poorly managed from a civilian viewpoint." He said further that the administration has no victory plan for Vietnam, and that Gen. William Westmoreland, without any public complaint, has operated with restraints and limitations that would have driven a lesser man to complete distraction." And with respect to rumors that the general is about to be relieved, Rep. Rivers says: "The question is not whether we should remove Gen. Westmoreland. The question is whether we will ever start listening to Gen. Westmoreland."



Obviously our adversaries have no hesitancy about using military force when, as, and if necessary to achieve their purposes. Note how the Soviet navy promptly moved 16 cruisers and missile frigates into the Sea of Japan to interpose between the Korean coast and the puny U.S. Naval task group belatedly sent there in support of U.S. diplomatic demands (so far fruitless) that the U.S. intelligence ship *Pueblo* be returned and its crew released.

Note that the North Koreans thumb their noses at U.S. efforts to obtain the release of these hapless Americans, threatening "instant war" if we dare use force to effect their release, and getting away with it so far.

Note that Washington forbade the 7th Fleet commander, Vice Adm. William F. Bringle, to go to the rescue of Lt. (j.g.) Joe Dunn, shot down off Hainan Island.

Are we, or are we not, the most powerful nation on earth? If we are, maybe we should start acting like it.

### Feed Grain Program Is Poor Substitute

#### HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, many people throughout this land of ours have the feeling that the farmers are profiting highly from their diverted acres payments. Such claims have appeared from time to time in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

It was my privilege to read an editorial on this subject, "Feed Grain Program Is Poor Substitute" in the March 2 issue of the *Marshall Messenger*, printed in the heart of the Minnesota farm belt.

Because of the clarity with which this subject is treated, I share it with my colleagues by inserting it at this point in the RECORD:

#### FEED GRAIN PROGRAM IS POOR SUBSTITUTE

(By Don Olson)

Lyon county farmers who sign up for the Federal feed grain program will receive about \$3,267,231 in diversion and price support payments this year. This is based on a 90 per cent sign-up and 40 per cent of the corn and sorghum ground being diverted to other crops or uses. (See story on front page)

This sounds like a financial shot-in-the-arm for the farmers and the county as a whole. And, in one respect, it is.

But look at the financial sacrifice that is being made to collect the \$3 million.

In order to get the Federal payments, farmers will be diverting some 77,000 acres of corn ground. If, instead, this were planted to corn and if the average yield-per-acre were realized this Fall, farmers would harvest almost 5 million bushels of corn.

If the market price were \$1 per bushel, this would amount to \$5 million shot into the economy. And if, instead of \$1 a bushel, farmers were to receive a fair price for their corn, the 1968 harvest would mean over \$7 million to the farmers and our economy.

All of this does not mean that the *Messenger* advocates no farm programs at all. This would bring the over-night collapse of our rural economy. But farm programs are a mighty poor substitute for real, genuine farm prosperity.

If farmers are going to plant less corn this year, farm implement firms are going to feel the pinch along with seed corn dealers, fertilizer salesmen and others who help the farmer produce corn.

The \$2 million less that farmers will receive this year because of diverting corn acreage will be multiplied several times over in the economy of Lyon County, the state and the nation.

### Oil Pollution and Hazardous Substances Control Act of 1968

#### HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, the recent massive spill of oil in San Juan Harbor is a grim recommendation of support for President Johnson's Oil and Hazardous Substances Pollution Act of 1968.

Just last week, when the tanker *Ocean Eagle* broke apart at the entrance of San Juan Harbor, P.R., Representative GEORGE FALLON, chairman of the House Committee on Public Works, immediately sent me to the island for an on-the-spot inspection of the disaster requesting that I report my findings to him and the committee. Chairman FALLON, one of the most able and respected Members of this body, has for many years not only been concerned but active in the fields of water and oil pollution control and prevention. When the committee amended the Oil Pollution Act of 1924 a few years ago, he displayed his leadership and responsibility in this vital area that is so important, not only to his home area of Baltimore but also to the Nation.

Recent events have shown that accidents of this type can no longer be regarded as a once-in-a-lifetime event. Rather, the wave of the future is distressingly patched with oil slicks.

The *Torrey Canyon* and the *Ocean Eagle* have served notice that tomorrow's beaches, tomorrow's coastal and inland waters, tomorrow's recreation activities and fishing industry depend crucially on what we do today to prevent the buildup of such ecological disasters.

The prevention and control of oil spills should be the prime responsibility of those involved in the transportation of oil; spills, even spills that cause widespread havoc to beaches and wildlife often are free of responsibility.

Under present laws, it frequently takes a Philadelphia lawyer to figure out who is responsible for doing what, when an oil spill occurs. While the various agencies are trying to figure things out, the oil continues to spread havoc.

The President's excellent message, "to renew a nation," proposes a logical legislative proposal which would bring order out of chaos.

The Oil Pollution and Hazardous Substances Control Act of 1968 provides for centralized leadership and authority in dealing with this major environmental problem.

It would provide for laying down some rules for oil transporters, covering both prevention and cleanup. This legislation is urgently needed.

I salute the President for taking a tough stand on a tough problem.

The voters of the many Jersey shore communities which I represent appreciate the President's deep regard for the beaches and ocean communities of America. I commend him for his efforts in their behalf.

### The "Pueblo" Incident: Pattern for More?

#### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, as a combat soldier in Europe during World War II with experience as a prisoner of war, I have watched the growing crisis in world strategy with increasing concern. Recently, it was my good fortune to visit two key spots in free world defense, Southern Africa and the Republic of China; and by direct conversations with leaders of free governments to gain a far deeper insight into what lies ahead than can be obtained solely by reading.

Of the many incidents since the sinking of the U.S.S. *Liberty* in June 1967, during the Arab-Israel war, the capture and seizure by North Korea of another vessel of our Navy, the U.S.S. *Pueblo*, is of transcendent significance, vindicating the strong warnings of General MacArthur that were not heeded. It may be added, Mr. Speaker, that during MacArthur's classic testimony of May 3 to 5, 1951, before the Armed Services and Foreign Services and Foreign Relations Committees of the U.S. Senate, he repeatedly emphasized that if the United States did not bring the Korean war to a "decisive and victorious end," our country would have to accept the consequences of a disastrous defeat. Vietnam is a direct result of that failure in statesmanship and now we have the *Pueblo* incident with the threat of a new war on the part of North Korea.

Fortunately, we have in our country some able writers with the combination of knowledge and courage that the situation requires, among them Anthony Harrigan. In an admirable appraisal of the *Pueblo* incident in the February 12, 1968, issue of the American Security Council Washington Report, of which he is managing editor, Mr. Harrigan warns the people of our country of what they will have to face should hostilities be resumed in Korea.

By way of emphasis and elaboration, I would like to stress that the capture and seizure of the *Pueblo*, in Asiatic eyes, was a deep humiliation of the United States. Such humiliation has not been equaled since the early part of the last century, when the Barbary pirates preyed with impunity upon our naval and merchant vessels in the Mediterranean until Stephen Decatur and other naval leaders put a stop to their depredations.

As regards the *Pueblo*, there is increasing evidence of the denial of news about the case which the people of our country have a right to know. First in importance is, What were the orders under which the

commanding officer of the *Pueblo* was operating with respect to the following questions:

First, the action to be taken by him if attacked and/or boarded;

Second, was he, or was he not, prohibited from using his .50-caliber guns and small arms to repel attack and boarding?

Third, was he, or was he not, prohibited from scuttling his ship to prevent capture?

Fourth, did he, or did he not, use his men and arms to repel boarders and prevent capture?

Fifth, did the commanding officer have cause to fear not being backed up by his seniors had he resisted?

Sixth, what bearing did the Arnheiter-Alexander case have upon the commanding officer's failure to resist?

Still another question arises, if the *Pueblo* was not equipped to defend itself, why was it authorized to venture into a hazardous area without adequate armed protection, either of its own or by escort?

Mr. Speaker, I think that I speak accurately when stating that had the commanding officer of the *Pueblo* been Richard G. Alexander or Marcus A. Arnheiter that ill-fated ship would never have been boarded and captured, regardless of the orders under which she was operating.

The commanding officer of the *Pueblo* has the reputation of being an able, professional officer. His orders must have served to inhibit him to permit his ship to be "taken alive" in violation of the highest traditions of our gallant Navy. The fact that out of his crew of 83 only one was killed and a few wounded makes it obvious that the vessel put up little fight. Why?

Another question that should be answered is this. In view of the lessons learned from the attempted sinking of the *Liberty* by the Israelis in the Mediterranean, why was the *Pueblo* placed in a situation that invited the same treatment in the Sea of Japan?

The responsibility, Mr. Speaker, must lie in Washington—in the Department of State, the Department of Defense, and the Central Intelligence Agency. I hope that this responsibility is placed where it belongs and not unloaded on the hapless commanding officer of the *Pueblo* as the blame for Pearl Harbor was shifted from the conspirators who permitted it to Admiral Kimmel and General Short. Only the Congress, after due inquiry, can properly place such responsibility.

North Korea and the Kremlin bosses now have the United States "over a barrel." They have been encouraged to believe that Washington will take no adequate corrective action but will only make further efforts to appease and do nothing to offend them. They know also that Washington will not blockade the North Korean coasts.

Meanwhile, South Koreans have become understandably and justifiably disillusioned with the United States, requiring the President to send a special representative to Korea in an effort to improve relations. Nothing material will come of this for Washington will exert a check rein on South Korea to prevent that country from taking overt action.

North Korea certainly played a trump card for the Reds in taking the *Pueblo*. Its leaders, along with those of Moscow, Peking and Hanoi, are no doubt gloating over the latest humiliation of the "fearful paper tiger" of the West.

Mr. Speaker, is it not timely to reflect that North Korea in Red hands exists today because perfidy in the foreign relations of our Government betrayed a population which had trusted Washington's pledge for their total independence as a unified nation without division between north and south along the 38th parallel?

Were the Korean people consulted at any time concerning the secret agreement contrived by our Department of State to let Soviet troops occupy the north half of the Korean Peninsula for an unspecified period, a secret agreement which assured Red conspirators the opportunity to establish in North Korea a bastille force.

Mr. Speaker, this perfidious secret treaty brought about the deaths of tens of thousands of U.S. troops in the Korean war. The secret agreement was lamely explained by the State Department, along with similar secret agreements for betrayal in other parts of the world as being attributable to the haste and errors of wartime conditions. That is not easily accepted. But in any case why were the officials and staff members responsible for these so-called errors not brought to book with a thorough house cleaning of the Department of State?

Mr. Speaker, from the betrayal of half of Korea to the Reds into the visiting of a friendly government in Cuba in favor of the Red bandit Castro, a long succession of so-called errors has brought our country to the dangerous edge of real peril. In the interest of our national security, there must be a full inquiry into the incident with proper exposure of accountability wherever it may be disclosed.

In the light of these known events and the present critical situation of our country, the following article by Anthony Harrigan has special significance:

#### THE "PUEBLO" INCIDENT: COMMUNIST AGGRESSION IN NORTH ASIA

(By Anthony Harrigan)

WASHINGTON, February 12, 1968.—North Korea's seizure of the United States intelligence collecting vessel *Pueblo* in international waters clearly involved a three-phased objective: 1) humiliation of the U.S., 2) establishment of the image of Americans as "paper tigers", and 3) diversion of U.S. military might from the Vietnam theater of operations.

The seizure of the *Pueblo*, an unprecedented act of piracy in the modern world, certainly would not have taken place solely on the initiative of the Kim Il-sung regime in the North Korean capital of Pyongyang. North Korea is even more of a satellite of Moscow than is North Vietnam.

Kim Il-sung cannot claim that he is a Korean nationalist. Indeed, Kim Il-sung is not even his real name but is an alias for his true name of Kim Song-che. The origin of both the alias and the hard core leadership he heads dates back to the 1930's. Several hundred thousand Koreans had fled into Manchuria when Japan seized Korea in 1905, and into Russian Siberia when Japan occupied Manchuria in 1931. The Soviets enlisted and trained these men as guerrillas.

Such a Communist guerrilla force based in the Russian center of Khabarovsk was har-

assing Japanese army units in control of Manchuria. These so-called Khabarovsk veterans were led by an able Korean strategist named Kim Il-sung. He was killed in action by Japanese military police in 1937, but his reputation was such that the Soviets chose the then 26-year-old Kim Song-che to take both the command and the name of the deceased guerrilla leader.

In that command, the modern Kim Il-sung met many of his present day cabinet officers—men like Minister of Defense, General Kim Chang-pong; Minister of Foreign Affairs, General Pak-Song-chol; and the leader of the Korean Worker's Party which is the core of the Communist organization in that country, General Kim Il.

In 1940, the Khabarovsk veterans were routed by the Japanese and retreated to the Soviet Union, where they became the nucleus of the Russian-trained Korean Independence Brigade. At the end of World War II, it was this Brigade which led the "liberation," Communist style, of North Korea and laid claim to South Korea as the Japanese surrender led to evacuation from the Korean peninsula.

The present North Korean hierarchy is made up almost entirely of the Khabarovsk veterans of the 1930's, and the Soviet-organized Independence Brigade of the 1940's.

The Soviet-oriented North Korean leadership also is dependent on Moscow for weapons. By last June, North Korea had been newly equipped with Soviet SAM missiles and Mig-21 fighters. As Dennis Bloodworth, a British correspondent in Asia, has noted, "the Russians still control the powder train."

The North Koreans, as proteges of the Soviet Union, aimed in seizure of the *Pueblo* at nothing less than expansion of the war front in the Far East. In this dangerous enterprise, they are serving as proxies of the USSR.

Americans with an awareness of history will draw a parallel between the capture of the *Pueblo* and the sinking of the U.S. gunboat Panay by Japanese aircraft on Dec. 12, 1937. In sinking the Panay and killing and wounding American navy men, Japan managed to humiliate the United States. Even though authorities in Tokyo later apologized for the sinking, the United States lost "face" in Japanese eyes and in the eyes of other people in the Orient.

The United States is in danger of suffering a similar loss of "face" as a result of the *Pueblo* incident. For example, failure of the U.S. to respond strongly and effectively against North Korea could have a damaging effect on Indonesia. That South Asian nation of 100 million people has swung back into the orbit of the anti-communist nations of the Pacific world. Nevertheless, the Indonesians might jump back on the fence if they believed that the U.S. lacked the intestinal fortitude to punish a small North Asian nation that was pulling feathers from the eagle's tail.

It should be remembered, too, that the Panay incident proved to be a prelude to World War II. The Japanese interpreted America's failure to defend its naval rights with force as evidence of U.S. unwillingness to protect its vital interests. Thus the Panay incident served for the Japanese as psychological conditioning for the Pearl Harbor attack.

If the U.S. indulges in nothing more forceful than diplomatic talk and discussions at the United Nations, the North Koreans and their masters in Moscow surely will be encouraged to commit fresh acts of aggression both on the high seas and on land.

As the Soviets have orchestrated the politics of North Korea, it is only logical to conclude that they have planned the provocations engaged in by the North Korean armed forces which culminated in the capture of the *Pueblo* by naval patrol craft of the "Korean People's Army." Indeed, the U.S. public has been ill-advised of the develop-



ment pattern of communist aggression in North Asia as American forces scored gains in Vietnam.

Henry Scott Stokes, Far East correspondent of *The Times* of London, recently reported that while on a visit to South Korea late in 1967 he found U.S. Army officers saying that "a war was already beginning and noting specifically a likelihood that guerrilla activities would begin in 1968 on a significant scale."

As a matter of fact, seizure of the *Pueblo* came only after a number of naval incidents that were little-noticed in the United States. During the first 10 months of 1967 North Korean patrol boats seized 17 South Korean fishing boats. Indeed, the piratical attack on the lightly-armed *Pueblo* should be viewed in relation to the deliberate bumping of a U.S. destroyer by a Soviet warship in the Sea of Japan last year. The Soviets, with a long history of aerial buzzing as an harassment tactic, have adopted a similar tactic at sea. In the Mediterranean, Russian warships have cut into formations of the U.S. Sixth Fleet and engaged in other dangerous maneuvers that have almost caused serious collisions. The Soviet naval actions are crude attempts at intimidation. Russian Cold War planners apparently believe they can shove American warships off the seas. This kind of naval thinking is in character, for long ago the Soviets declared the Gulf of Finland a "closed sea" to foreign vessels. Unfortunately, the United States and its free world allies failed to maintain the principle of freedom of the seas in that portion of the strategic Baltic Sea. We have paid a severe price, in the waters off Korea, for neglect of a vital principle.

Dr. Stefan Possony, director of international studies at Stanford University's Hoover Institution and Military Affairs Editor of the American Security Council Washington Report, states with regard to the capture of the *Pueblo*:

"At no time in history has a foreign power captured as many highly trained intelligence specialists at one time."

Aside from the data the communists may learn about the American electronic counter-measures, there is the violence done to the freedom of the seas doctrine. The *Pueblo* incident raises the spectre of communist "pinprick" navies engaging in a dangerous game of adventurism against lightly-armed U.S. naval vessels and ships in the American merchant fleet. In addition, it will be necessary for defense authorities to provide adequate protection to the far-ranging force of electronic monitoring vessels that plays a key role in watching the military activities of communist states with sea frontiers.

Not only will surface and air cover be needed for such vessels, but the credibility of the U.S. will have to be restored insofar as enjoying supremacy at sea is concerned. The inability or failure of the U.S. to intercept the North Korean patrol boats that had captured the *Pueblo* has hurt America's image as an air and sea power capable of reacting swiftly and decisively on a global basis. If this image is not restored it is possible, for example, that Communist Cuba might be tempted to indulge in piratical acts of its own against U.S. ships operating in the vicinity of that island.

The North Korean threat has not been confined to the sea, however. In the last year, North Korea has strengthened its terrorist warfare organizations. One of these special military units consists of 24,000 men. It is trained to establish guerrilla bases in South Korea and to carry out assassination orders and other forms of political terrorism. In connection with this activity, Rear Adm. John Smith, American representative on the Korean military armistice commission, has charged the North Korean regime with embarking on "a continuing campaign of provocation, sabotage and assassination."

Gen. Mark W. Clark, who signed the Korean truce for the U.N. Command in 1953 when he was supreme commander of allied forces in the Far East, has put North Korea's latest actions in proper perspective. He said of the seizure of the *Pueblo*: "I believe this dastardly act of seizing the ship is part of a plan by the communists, Soviet included, to put a squeeze on us in order to get what they want and to get us to call off the bombing in Vietnam. I think the two are tied together."

As early as last July, the Korean Communists were laying the groundwork for a new outbreak of hostilities. Joseph C. Kun, writing in *The China Quarterly* (July-September, 1967), cited the "recent intensification of incidents along the demarcation line between North and South Korea." He linked the new difficulties to the elevation to the Politburo of seven important military leaders friendly to the Soviet Union. These leaders and Premier Kim Il-sung apparently were determined to establish a guerrilla beachhead as a second front for the war in Asia. By the use of patrol boats—first against South Korean fishing boats and now against a U.S. naval vessel—they also have resorted to guerrilla war at sea.

Much of the politico-psychological advantage that the North Koreans gained from the hijacking of the *Pueblo* would have been nullified had the United States moved swiftly in reprisal. The U.S. could well have learned a lesson from Israel. When Egyptian patrol boats armed with Russian missiles sank the Israeli destroyer *Eilat*, the Israelis promptly smashed a vital Egyptian oil refinery. But the U.S. lost the opportunity to respond in swift and telling fashion. A massive show of naval strength off the coast of North Korea is not the same as an actual strike at vulnerable communist targets.

Unwillingness to resort to force until all diplomatic avenues have been fully explored may be understood in the foreign offices of European nations. In the backward states of the world, or in nations where communist insurgency is a daily problem, the language of force is the only language that has an authentic tone to it. Every day of delay, moreover, has given the communists new opportunities to exploit the ship for propaganda purposes. Delay underscores for many countries the frustration of the strongest military power in the world. The ultimate propaganda success for North Korea would come if South Korea's government felt obliged to withdraw a significant portion of the troops it has sent to South Vietnam. The South Korean soldiers are among the best fighting men in the war. Their departure would be a real loss on the battlefield and a psychological shock to the South Vietnamese.

If more trouble comes in Korea, the U.S. public will have to carefully appraise the danger and the defense requirements. Today, the United States has approximately 50,000 men in South Korea, including the 2nd and 7th Infantry Divisions. The South Korean Army has 540,000 soldiers organized in 18 regular divisions and 10 reserve divisions. The United States, with its military manpower strained to the limit in Vietnam, is in no position to augment the forces in South Korea, if ground war should break out. Thus the American people should understand that a new war in Korea would suddenly confront the United States with a decision as to whether to use battlefield atomic weapons for the first time. With a firm commitment to defend South Korea's freedom and territorial integrity, and without the manpower or the wealth to sustain a second costly conventional ground war in Asia, the United States might have to move with great speed to utilize atomic armaments.

These, in short, are the dimensions of the military and political problem arising from the hi-jacking of the *Pueblo*.

## Foster Calls for Increase in Basic Funding—Outline's Fiscal Year 1969 R. & D. Plans

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the Army, Navy, and Air Force Journal, Feb. 24, 1968]

### FOSTER CALLS FOR INCREASE IN BASIC RESEARCH FUNDING—OUTLINES FISCAL YEAR 1969 R. & D. PLANS

The Pentagon's research chief has warned that a "serious weakening" of the United States' long-term national security position could result unless more funds are provided to bolster Defense Department basic research programs.

Director of Defense Research and Engineering John S. Foster, Jr. told the Senate Armed Services Committee that DoD funding in the Research and Exploratory Development category has suffered "a critical 30% reduction" since FY 1964, that there has been a corresponding reduction in the number of new programs started each year since then, and that any reductions in the proposed FY '69 R&D budget also "will lead directly to the termination of significant programs." If recent year R&D budget-cutting trends are permitted to continue, Doctor Foster warned that: "our national technological position soon would be crippled and the effects would persist for several years."

Seeking Congressional approval of an \$8-billion RDT&E budget for the Defense Department for FY '69, the DoD research chief acknowledged that there initially had been "good reasons" (primarily SEA requirements) for thinning the research and exploratory development base in the post-FY '64 period, but now, he said, "the combined influence of already tight budgets and . . . Congressional reductions . . . has pushed this trend too far."

The budget proposed for FY '69, Doctor Foster said, "reflects a commitment to reverse this trend in order to seize more of the technical opportunities clearly linked to future national security problems."

"Without question," he emphasized, "the next generation of defense capabilities depends entirely upon the breadth and imagination of our basic and applied research now."

In his closed door testimony the Defense R&E Director: (1) pointed out that most recent increases in U.S. defense capabilities have been achieved largely as a result of previous efforts in the research and development field; (2) elaborated upon the complex and multi-faceted variety of threats which must be considered in all R&D program planning; and (3) enumerated item after item in the strategic and tactical weapons areas for which initial and/or continued development funding is programmed in the FY '69 budget.

Here are excerpts from his testimony:

#### THE THREAT

"To manage defense R&D we . . . examine any shifts in the actual and potential threats to national security. The purpose of each R&D effort is . . . measured explicitly in terms of improvements to our current capabilities to meet known or possible threats. . . ."

#### Soviet Union

" . . . we recognize that the Soviet Union—and China, of course—are still characterized by secrecy. . . . This produces uncertainty in our estimates of their current and likely future forces, and even more uncertainty about

the pace and goals of their advanced research. This demands that we carry out an aggressive R&D program to guard against surprises.

"Because we cannot be sure about the types and numbers of their planned deployments, we must develop, and in some cases even deploy, systems to assure that we will possess an adequate capability. This margin of strategic safety . . . has been substantial. We plan to continue this strategy. We openly explain the strategy in the hope that public disclosure of our general capabilities, our intent, and our R&D objectives, will deter attack. . . ."

#### Communist Chinese

"... the Communist Chinese did not carry out their first tests of an ICBM as early as we had thought possible. They appear to be at least six months behind our estimates of their earliest schedule."

#### Vietnam

"Turning to Vietnam, there is little question about growing threats . . . Attempts to overrun special forces and government outposts have intensified. . . . In NVN, redeployment of regular North Vietnamese Army units toward the DMZ suggests a threat of massive conventional engagements in I Corps. Also there are indications of buildup of coastal artillery which could pose an increased threat to Sea Dragon ships operating off NVN."

"Increased effectiveness of NVN anti-air systems (which involve improvements in combined SAM-MIG tactics) indicates greater potential air attrition in the future. This is a very serious trend."

#### New urgency

"Perhaps the most significant shift in threat during the past year occurred simply because we are using, and therefore revealing, many of our nonnuclear capabilities in Southeast Asia. Literally hundreds of advanced components and systems are being 'tested' in combat—electronic countermeasures, bomblet warheads, communications gear, and new ordnance."

"... while this operational experience helps us plan future R&D, it also means we lose a margin of technological surprise. Assessed along with the . . . estimated 10% growth in Soviet spending during the past year for military and space sciences, this 'disclosure' places new urgency on our entire R&D program."

#### STRATEGIC FORCES

"Our strategic systems R&D focuses on the key characteristics important for Assured Destruction: the *survivability* of deliverable payload after accepting a first strike attack, and the ability to *penetrate* any potential defenses . . ."

"Contributing to *survivability* are such capabilities as hardened missile silos, defense of missile forces, and underwater basing as in the case of our Polaris/Poseidon fleet. Bomber survival depends upon adequate warning and upon area defense protection . . . OTH radar will increase the bomber warning time . . ."

"In the *missile penetration* area, our R&D programs are structured to lead actual Soviet ABM defenses and to hedge against potential Soviet defense improvements. Multiple warheads will be available on Poseidon for high confidence 'exhaustion' of any type of defense. Other penetration techniques are in advanced development should they be required . . ."

"The SRAM missile now under operational development will significantly improve [bomber] penetration capability against potential terminal defense improvements. Several new penetration concepts are in the early stages of advanced development."

"In the future, OTH radars, AWACS aircraft, and modified interceptors will provide a way to move any air battle away from the North American populations and lessen the likelihood of successful penetration from either low or high altitude."

"In space defense, we are continuing to improve our satellite detection and tracking capability, and to develop anti-satellite weapons."

"In the command and control area our programs are oriented primarily toward an 'Assured Execution' capability. We are investigating alternative, more survivable communications links to the Fleet Ballistic Missile force and are considering the use of larger, longer endurance aircraft for airborne command and control systems. We are developing components for Air Force and Navy communications systems which will permit us to net all very low frequency radio assets into one common system."

#### TACTICAL FORCES

"The purpose of our research and development in tactical warfare is to provide the technical capabilities needed for U.S. forces to meet a range of possible conflicts, short of a major strategic war, with measured, effective responses . . ."

#### Air warfare

"The Overland Radar Technology (ORT) program was started to solve . . . technical problems that have prevented development of an integrated, self-contained Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) . . . we are ready to proceed with Contract Definition for AWACS in FY '68, and, assuming continued progress, with development in FY '69 . . ."

"We are continuing the development of follow-on versions of Standard Arm in FY '69 as well . . . The introduction of the F-111/MK II into the inventory should provide an improvement in radar bombing accuracy . . . Avionics for the A-7 D/E are expected to provide improvement in navigation and weapon delivery accuracy . . ."

"Weapon lethality will be increased through development of an improved family of general purpose bombs with greater penetration against hard targets and better fragmentation against area targets. The development of tactical nuclear bombs and standoff missile warheads is being continued . . . Guided standoff air-to-ground missiles are another means for precise ordnance delivery . . ."

"... Longer range projects to be initiated in FY 69 are: (1) a major air-to-ground gun development program with rounds optimized for specific categories of targets . . . and (2) a fuze program to develop improved proximity fuzes, delay fuzes and mine-type fuzes for GP bombs . . ."

"Communications needs require the development of a short-range squad radio and of special lightweight communication equipment for the forward air controller. An airborne near-line-of-sight relay is being developed to extend the range of battlefield communications . . ."

"We are also conducting concept formulation studies for a possible new aircraft, the A-X, designed for the close support mission . . ."

"Tactical aircraft studies have established the need for improved fighter aircraft (FX/VFAX) in the mid-1970's to perform the escort and air defense missions currently assigned to the F-4 and the F-3."

#### Land warfare

"... We are engaged in advanced development efforts on sensors to extend the reconnaissance capabilities of our ground forces . . . Our current vehicle, the M-114, does not provide the desired cross-country speed, mobility and quietness of operation. To overcome the shortcomings of our present equipment, we are conducting concept formulation studies for a new armored reconnaissance scout vehicle . . ."

"To provide the required increases in range and mobility for armored warfare, a self-propelled 155mm howitzer . . . is planned for FY 69 . . . We are also considering an armored

version . . . the XM-179 . . . We are performing concept formulation efforts on a rapid fire, lightweight 105mm howitzer system."

"Higher intensity conflicts may demand delivery of ordnance at greater than conventional artillery ranges. Tactical surface-to-surface missiles are being developed for this role . . . FY 69 funding is requested for continued development of the XRL [Extended Range Lance]."

"... We are completing the conversion of PERSHING from a tracked to a wheeled system . . . We plan to develop . . . the Mechanized Infantry Combat Vehicle (MICV-70)."

"The Main Battle Tank (MBT-70) is being developed to provide the heavy armor capability for the mid-1970's . . ."

"Three anti-tank missiles in our inventory and in development are the Shillelagh, the Tow, and the Dragon . . ."

"To provide the next generation of helicopters for tactical mobility, we plan to carry out concept formulation on the utility tactical transport (UTT) for squad lift, and on the light tactical transport (LTT) for platoon lift . . . The UTT and the LTT will be capable of all-weather operations . . . [They] will receive en-route protection, reconnaissance support, and suppressive fire support for debarkation/embarkation from . . . the compound helicopter (AH-56A) [Cheyenne]."

#### Sea warfare

"Our air ASW capability and the qualitative superiority of our submarines are being improved with development of a new torpedo, the MK 48. We are beginning development of an ocean-wide ASW command and control system; and developing new escorts (DX), as well as improved sensors, weapons, and command and control systems for our escorts . . ."

"The decision to develop the VSX—a new carrier-based ASW aircraft—is a major highlight of our FY 1969 program. The VSX will be able to search out several times the area now covered by the S-2 aircraft."

"For the submarine's ASW role, R&D programs emphasize improving sonar torpedoes, and communications. We have been working on the development of an improved torpedo since 1964 . . . We are also developing sonar improvements for submarines . . ."

"We are developing Extended Range ASROC and a command and control system for intra- and inter-ship use to improve coordinated ASW operations . . . We are . . . supporting the Navy's urgently needed escort replacement program, DX/DXG . . ."

"Two approaches to point [air] defense systems for individual ships are under development: 'The Advanced Surface Missile System . . . is a phased array radar which should improve our ability to operate effectively against attacks by cruise missiles, whether launched from the air or from ships, as well as against attacks by conventional aircraft . . ."

"New boat hull designs and propulsion systems are being investigated for landing craft, and a new amphibian, the LVTX12, has been developed . . ."

"The Marines need long-range shore bombardment support before and during amphibious operations. The Landing Force Support Weapon (LFSW) is in Concept Formulation for this purpose. The Lance missile also has the potential to meet this need and is cheaper; however, it must be tested in a sea environment . . ."

"Concept Formulation is also underway on a Landing Fire Support (LFS) ship which will provide major caliber bombardment capability for amphibious assault landings . . ."

"In amphibious shipping, we are developing the LHA, a landing ship that for the first time will transport a complete fighting unit . . . It features increased transit speeds, an improved over-the-beach cargo capability, and reduced unloading times."



## AIRLIFT

"The C-5A aircraft . . . will provide . . . necessary strategic mobility. All major milestones have been met, and we expect the planned operational date of late FY 1969 to be met . . .

"The Air Force has proposed development of a new intra-theatre transport aircraft (LIT) . . . The primary mission of this aircraft would be tactical deployment and resupply of mobile air and ground forces to areas otherwise inaccessible to surface transport and beyond the practical range of helicopter delivery . . .

"V/STOL aircraft, helicopters and hybrid helicopter-aircraft research and development activities are being conducted to provide a firm technological base from which to make a choice in fulfilling future requirements."

## THE SEA PROGRAM

A large share of the FY '69 R&D budget, Dr. Foster said, is programmed for SEA-oriented programs, where already, he disclosed, about 20 new items per quarter are introduced into the inventory for operational test and evaluation; about 35 items per quarter for operational use.

The bulk of the FY '69 SEA research program will, according to Dr. Foster, be allocated into various program areas as follows:

## Counter-infiltration

1. Work on technology "to allow us to find the enemy and determine his pattern of operation in jungle and other difficult terrain."
2. Improvements in ordnance delivery capability "so that we can hit targets accurately and decisively."
3. Development of counter-infiltration techniques and border security systems which can be effective in both peacetime or limited war environments.

## Neutralization of main force-type units

1. Work in target acquisition, and development of "accurate and discriminating" weapons.
2. Engineering support to reduce time and manpower requirements for construction of small camps and military bases, jungle clearing, and construction of defensive positions in hostile environments.

## Interdiction operations

1. Improved target acquisition capability for night and all weather attack.
2. "Real time" reconnaissance methods.
3. Quick reaction electronic warfare and electronic countermeasure programs.
4. Search and rescue in hostile environments.

## Pacification

1. Greater effort on village and hamlet security and on development of reliable communications.
2. Work in coordinated programs with AID, State, and other agencies in areas where R&D can play a role such as identification, intelligence, interrogation, and the application of defense technology to the nation-building process.

## Questionnaire

**HON. JOHN H. DENT**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago I mailed a questionnaire to every home in my congressional district. The purpose of my sending it was to better understand how my people feel about some of the many issues facing our Nation.

Over 120,000 questionnaires were sent out, and more than 20,000 returned. Because so many were returned, it has taken

all this time to compute the results. I am, however, gratified that so many good citizens saw fit to make their views known. In addition, I have received hundreds of letters and notes expanding on the answers given.

The tabulation of results follows; I find it both interesting and enlightening:

## INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

What policy do you favor for the United States in Vietnam?

(a) Expand the war with additional troops and bombings of North Vietnam in an effort to go all out to win. 49.6%.

(b) Continue Administration policy of supporting South Vietnam, with limited bombings of the North as a way of achieving a settlement. 10%.

(c) Restrict our efforts to South Vietnam and attempt to negotiate a settlement. 6.5%.

(d) Withdraw our forces from Vietnam. 8.6%.

(e) Submit the Vietnam situation to the United Nations for a settlement. 24%.

(f) No opinion. 1.3%.

What policy do you favor concerning the Middle East situation?

(a) United States political support of Israel. 12%.

(b) United States political and military support of Israel. 11.2%.

(c) United States political support of the Arab States. 0.5%.

(d) United States political and military support of the Arab States. 0.7%.

(e) Settlement handled by the United Nations, with the United States remaining neutral. 74%.

(f) No opinion. 1.6%.

What policy do you favor regarding the Panama Canal?

(a) Continuation of United States control over the Canal. 47.3%.

(b) Granting the Republic of Panama complete control over the Canal. 2%.

(c) Joint operation of the Canal by the U.S. and Panama. 45.7%.

(d) No opinion. 5%.

## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

Would you favor establishing a voting age of 18 for all national elections?

(a) Yes. 39.2%.

(b) No. 57%.

(c) No opinion. 3.8%.

## NATIONAL ISSUES

What policy do you favor concerning the War on Poverty?

(a) Expand programs and appropriate additional funds. 23.4%.

(b) Continue programs as they presently exist. 24.2%.

(c) Reduce existing programs and funds allotted for them. 21.2%.

(d) Eliminate the War on Poverty. 23.8%.

(e) No opinion. 7.4%.

What is your view on the selective service system (draft)?

(a) Retain the present draft system. 32.9%.

(b) Use the lottery system, with all young men between the ages of 19 and 26 considered equally eligible. 34.1%.

(c) Use the lottery system, pooling all eligible men, but starting with 26 year-olds. 8.5%.

(d) Use the lottery system, pooling all eligible men, but starting with 19 year-olds. 11.6%.

(e) Using the lottery system, but deferring college students. 9.4%.

(f) No opinion. 3.5%.

Which of the following most closely reflects your feelings on federal aid to education?

(a) Federal aid for school construction and supplies, only. 34.0%.

(b) Federal aid for teachers' salaries, only. 9.5%.

(c) Federal grants to the states to be used as they see fit. 35.4%.

(d) No federal aid to education in any form. 18.9%.

(e) No opinion. 2.2%.

Do you feel that Congress should help settle labor disputes?

(a) Yes. 41.9%.

(b) No. 51.4%.

(c) No opinion. 6.7%.

Do you favor federal financing of Presidential campaigns?

(a) Yes. 12.4%.

(b) No. 84.5%.

(c) No opinion. 3.1%.

Do you agree with President Johnson's proposal that a 10% surtax be placed on incomes?

(a) Yes. 20.8%.

(b) No. 71.4%.

(c) No opinion. 7.8%.

Due to the increasing cost of a college education, do you feel that parents should be allowed an income tax deduction for their children's college expenses (tuition, room, board, fees, books, etc.)?

(a) Yes. 77.7%.

(b) No. 19%.

(c) No opinion. 3.3%.

Although it will mean an increase in social security taxes, do you support the 12½% increase in social security benefits recently passed by the House?

(a) Yes. 61.5%.

(b) No. 34%.

(c) No opinion. 4.5%.

Do you favor celebrating Washington's birthday, Memorial Day, Independence Day and Veterans' Day on Mondays to allow for three-day weekends?

(a) Yes. 58%.

(b) No. 37.3%.

(c) No opinion. 4.7%.

Concerning the cost of living and maintaining a home over the past few years, have you found:

(a) That the cost of living has increased in relation to family income? 82.9%.

(b) That the cost of living has remained about the same in relation to family income? 12.3%.

(c) That the cost of living has decreased in relation to family income? 2.6%.

(d) No opinion. 2.2%.

Automobile manufacturers have stated that the federal safety regulations recently imposed have caused the price of new automobiles to increase. In view of this statement, do you favor:

(a) Maintaining present safety standards? 32.5%.

(b) Establishment of additional safety standards? 57.5%.

(c) Eliminating safety requirements in order to reduce the cost of new cars? 5.5%.

(d) No opinion. 4.5%.

One controversial issue facing the Congress is that of meat inspection. As a purchaser of meat, do you find that the quality of meat sold meets with your approval?

(a) Yes. 44%.

(b) No. 49.4%.

(c) No opinion. 6.6%.

In general, do you approve of the way President Johnson is doing his job?

(a) Yes. 51%.

(b) No. 40.3%.

(c) No opinion. 8.7%.

Mr. Speaker, several points come out clearly on these returns. For example, there is very strong sentiment for doing more to wind up the war in Vietnam. Nearly 60 percent of those responding to the question favor at least a continuation of the administration policy in Vietnam, with 10 percent for the continuation of that policy and 49.6 percent for expanding the war and going all out to win. On the other hand, only 8.6 percent prefer our withdrawal from Vietnam. Surprisingly, 24 percent would like to have the United Nations negotiate a settlement. In

any event, this is the one issue in which most of my constituents have an opinion. Fewer responded with a "no opinion" answer to this question than to any of the others.

A really big score for the U.N. came on the Middle East question. Some 74 percent favor U.S. neutrality in the dispute between Israel and the Arab States, with the U.N. settling the problem. Of those picking sides, Israel overwhelmingly received more support than the Arab States.

The Panama Canal question drew almost equal responses from those for a continuation of U.S. control and those favoring a joint operation of the canal by the United States and Panama. Very few would like the Republic of Panama to have complete control over the canal.

The establishment of a voting age of 18 for all national elections is still an unpopular proposal to the majority of my constituents. Some 57 percent were against it, with nearly 40 percent in favor of it.

The responses to the war on poverty question could hardly have been more equally distributed among four choices. Some 23.4 percent of those responding would like to expand the poverty programs, while slightly more would like to eliminate them. Also, 24.2 percent favor continuing the programs as they presently exist, and 21.2 percent would like to see them reduced. It could be said, however, that almost one-half of those responding favor at least a continuation along the present lines.

As far as our Selective Service System is concerned, the majority of my constituents are for the lottery system. Although nearly 33 percent are satisfied with the present system of drafting men into the military service, well over half favor some version of the lottery system.

Federal aid to education has become widely accepted, and now the only questions seem to be how and for what the money will be distributed.

A majority are against the Congress helping to settle labor disputes, and a great majority are opposed to Federal systems of financing Presidential campaigns.

A tax increase is never a particularly popular proposal, and the President's 10-percent surtax is no exception. Over 71 percent are against the surtax, with a surprising 20.8 percent in favor.

Tax deductions for college expenses and the recent social security increases were both accorded overwhelming endorsements by those responding, while the celebrated 3-day holiday weekend proposal was acceptable, though to a lesser extent.

Nearly 83 percent said the cost of living has increased in relation to family income, while only 12.3 percent felt it has decreased.

A significant majority favor establishing additional automobile safety standards even though it could mean an increase in the cost of cars. Over 32 percent want to at least maintain present safety standards, while only 5.5 percent are for eliminating safety requirements in order to reduce the cost of new cars.

More people are dissatisfied with the quality of meat sold in their markets than are satisfied. One particularly frus-

trated individual replied that he was perfectly satisfied with the quality of meat, but not especially happy with the way his mother-in-law cooked it.

The last question concerned the way President Johnson is doing his job, and 51 percent approve, while 40.3 percent disapprove. The remainder did not express an opinion.

Mr. Speaker, I have made it a policy to send out questionnaires each year, since I find the results of great assistance to me. Normally, I mail one to each home in my district. This year, however, I decided to also send one to each high school senior in my district, as they will be the voters of tomorrow. The results of nearly 3,000 responses by those seniors to the same questions their parents were asked follow:

#### INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

What policy do you favor for the United States in Vietnam?

(a) Expand the war with additional troops and bombings of North Vietnam in an effort to go all out to win, 47.3%.

(b) Continue Administration policy of supporting South Vietnam, with limited bombings of the North as a way of achieving a settlement, 14.8%.

(c) Restrict our efforts to South Vietnam and attempt to negotiate a settlement, 10%.

(d) Withdraw our forces from Vietnam, 8.9%.

(e) Submit the Vietnam situation to the United Nations for a settlement, 17%.

(f) No opinion, 2%.

What policy do you favor concerning the Middle East situation?

(a) United States political support of Israel, 8.4%.

(b) United States political and military support of Israel, 8.3%.

(c) United States political support of the Arab States, 1.4%.

(d) United States political and military support of the Arab States, 1.2%.

(e) Settlement handled by the United Nations, with the United States remaining neutral, 78.8%.

(f) No opinion, 1.9%.

What policy do you favor regarding the Panama Canal?

(a) Continuation of United States control over the Canal, 35.8%.

(b) Granting the Republic of Panama complete control over the Canal, 2.3%.

(c) Joint operation of the Canal by the U.S. and Panama, 4.4%.

(d) No opinion, 17.9%.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

Would you favor establishing a voting age of 18 for all national elections?

(a) Yes, 63.1%.

(b) No, 32.4%.

(c) No opinion, 4.5%.

#### NATIONAL ISSUES

What policy do you favor concerning the War on Poverty?

(a) Expand programs and appropriate additional funds, 50.0%.

(b) Continue programs as they presently exist, 28.1%.

(c) Reduce existing programs and funds allotted for them, 8.2%.

(d) Eliminate the War on Poverty, 6.7%.

(e) No opinion, 7.0%.

What is your view on the selective service system (draft)?

(a) Retain the present draft system, 43.5%.

(b) Use the lottery system, with all young men between the ages of 19 and 26 considered equally eligible, 16.7%.

(c) Use the lottery system, pooling all eligible men, but starting with 26 year-olds, 10.0%.

(d) Use the lottery system, pooling all

eligible men, but starting with 19 year-olds, 6.5%.

(e) Using the lottery system, but deferring college students, 20.9%.

(f) No opinion, 2.4%.

Which of the following most closely reflects your feelings on federal aid to education?

(a) Federal aid for school construction and supplies, only, 41.9%.

(b) Federal aid for teachers' salaries, only, 5.7%.

(c) Federal grants to the states to be used as they see fit, 46.9%.

(d) No federal aid to education in any form, 3.4%.

(e) No opinion, 2.1%.

Do you feel that Congress should help settle labor disputes?

(a) Yes, 52.7%.

(b) No, 31.9%.

(c) No opinion, 15.4%.

Do you favor federal financing of Presidential campaigns?

(a) Yes, 11.7%.

(b) No, 79.5%.

(c) No opinion, 8.8%.

Do you agree with President Johnson's proposal that a 10% surtax be placed on incomes?

(a) Yes, 9.6%.

(b) No, 73%.

(c) No opinion, 17.4%.

Due to the increasing cost of a college education, do you feel that parents should be allowed an income tax deduction for their children's college expenses (tuition, room, board, fees, books, etc.)?

(a) Yes, 90%.

(b) No, 6.4%.

(c) No opinion, 3.6%.

Although it will mean an increase in social security taxes, do you support the 12½% increase in social security benefits recently passed by the House?

(a) Yes, 50.3%.

(b) No, 29.3%.

(c) No opinion, 20.4%.

Do you favor celebrating Washington's birthday, Memorial Day, Independence Day and Veterans' Day on Mondays to allow for three-day weekends?

(a) Yes, 62.5%.

(b) No, 22.1%.

(c) No opinion, 15.4%.

Concerning the cost of living and maintaining a home over the past few years, have you found:

(a) That the cost of living has increased in relation to family income? 80.4%.

(b) That the cost of living has remained about the same in relation to family income? 12.3%.

(c) That the cost of living has decreased in relation to family income? 1.5%.

(d) No opinion, 5.8%.

Automobile manufacturers have stated that the federal safety regulations recently imposed have caused the price of new automobiles to increase. In view of this statement, do you favor:

(a) Maintaining present safety standards? 36.0%.

(b) Establishment of additional safety standards? 51.8%.

(c) Eliminating safety requirements in order to reduce the cost of new cars? 3.7%.

(d) No opinion, 8.5%.

One controversial issue facing the Congress is that of meat inspection. As a purchaser of meat, do you find that the quality of meat sold meets with your approval?

(a) Yes, 53.0%.

(b) No, 28.9%.

(c) No opinion, 18.1%.

In general, do you approve of the way President Johnson is doing his job?

(a) Yes, 44.3%.

(b) No, 37.7%.

(c) No opinion, 20.0%.

With relatively few exceptions, the seniors feel very much like their elders



on the issues facing the United States. Their responses on Vietnam and the Middle East are very similar, but they do differ on the Panama Canal question. The seniors generally favor a joint operation of the canal by the United States and Panama, while most of their elders are for a continuation of U.S. control.

On the voting age question, the students had an overwhelmingly affirmative reply of 63.1 percent. Only 32.4 percent felt a national voting age of 18 should not be established.

The war on poverty also elicited a greater favorable response from the seniors, with 50 percent favoring an expansion of poverty programs and only 6.7 percent for an elimination of the war on poverty. The percentages of their elders are 23.4 percent and 23.8 percent, respectively.

The seniors also seem to prefer the present draft system to a greater extent, and support deferments for college students. More of them, however, favor some form of the lottery system, as do their elders.

While a majority of my constituents do not feel the Congress should help settle labor disputes, a majority of the seniors feel Congress should. They are just as opposed to Federal financing of presidential campaigns and the President's surtax proposal, but a greater percentage favor tax deductions for college expenses than do their elders.

The adults responded more favorably to the social security increase than the students, while the latter expressed greater support for the 3-day holiday weekend proposal.

Student views on the cost of living and automobile safety standards closely resemble those of their elders, but they strongly disagree when it comes to the quality of meat sold. The seniors seem perfectly satisfied with that quality, while a majority of their elders are not.

Regarding President Johnson's performance, a majority of the seniors approve of the way he is doing his job. This question, however, seemed to provoke the most varied responses among seniors from the different schools in our area. For example, the seniors at Monessen High School voiced approval of the way President Johnson is doing his job by 53.6 percent to 29.0 percent, while those at Hempfield disapproved 57 percent to 25.7 percent.

Mr. Speaker, you can imagine the tremendous workload associated with sending out and tabulating so many questionnaires. But I will say again, that it is well worth the effort. A Member of Congress can only believe he knows how his people feel on certain issues, but when he knows how they feel, it enables him to be a better representative; and I always want to be the best possible Representative I can be.

#### Nasser's Half-Hearted Retraction

**HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-

ORD, I would like to include the following article from the Philadelphia Inquirer, of March 9, 1968, entitled, "Nasser's Half-Hearted Retraction":

#### NASSER'S HALF-HEARTED RETRACTION

One of the Big Lies of the six-day Israeli-Arab war last June was the charge spread by Nasser and others that American planes were used to help Israel. It was a lie; Nasser, Hussein and all the other Arab leaders knew it was a lie. The Israeli Air Force didn't require any help from any quarter in its devastating strikes.

There are multitudes of Arab people, however, who presumably still believe that the U.S. intervened on the Israeli side. Nasser did not want the Egyptians to know that the Israelis were able singlehandedly to defeat the combined Arab forces in less than a week; thus the handy fabrication about massive American air support.

The indirect sort of retraction now furnished by Nasser in the course of an interview with a Look magazine editor is a great deal less than the enormity of the original Big Lie demands. Nasser is not apologizing for his false charge; he is not telling his people that he lied to them. He is, as usual, trying to have it both ways; placate the U.S. and thus have diplomatic relations, and aid, restored, while at the same time continuing to give the public impression at home that we are the enemy. It is about time that our State Department and our aid-givers make up their minds not to reward Nasser duplicity.

#### Nation Cannot Buy Domestic Tranquility

**HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, the recently released report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders is yet another indication that this administration has only one solution for a problem—more governmental spending. This approach has been singularly ineffective in our foreign policy and there is little reason to believe that further extension of the welfare state concept will work at home. A recent editorial in the Midland Daily News, published in my district, is particularly pertinent to this point. I take great pleasure in presenting it for the RECORD, as follows:

#### NATION CANNOT BUY DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY

An initial reading of the summary of the report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders stirs resentment.

The commission appears to believe that money and the welfare state will solve the country's domestic problems.

Saying the price tag may exceed that of the Vietnam war, the commission infers that "dollar diplomacy" concepts are being applied.

The United States has not been able to buy its way out of world problems and there is little reason to suggest that this approach at home will do much more than compound the problems at hand.

There are dreamers who believe that the creation of thousands of new jobs will motivate the unemployed dropouts from schools or work assignments.

But the tragic fact in many cases and areas is that getting the job is not so important as is getting the individual to work. And this applies to the marginal people of all races.

Now comes a much-publicized report from a group appointed by the President of the

United States. These people are told that the rest of the nation will provide for them; that they will be provided with welfare geared to inflationary times; that the restrictions on increasing welfare payments for illegitimate births will be waived; that their government will build six million houses for them; that the pot at the end of the rainbow is in Washington.

The report encourages further riots because those who stirred up trouble last year can point to their accomplishments in shaking the dollar tree.

This is akin to demands by foreign countries for more American aid or else they will woo the Kremlin.

Meanwhile, the taxpayers who must work hard to pay for Uncle Sam's giveaways will cringe at the prospect of a national program to destroy incentives and to invite socialism and the welfare state.

Mayor Henry G. Marsh, of Saginaw made sense when he said: "We need money but we are deluding ourselves if we think money can replace personnel, individual, local responsibility."

The Saginaws and the Midlands of this nation are in the best position to determine the extent of local problems and to work toward their solution.

And much of the job is in keeping people working. The private enterprise system has provided the most and best-paying jobs in the world. Labor shortages exist throughout the land. There is opportunity for all.

May we work toward making sure that opportunity is shared by all who will accept its responsibilities.

#### Washington Does Not Have To Force People To Retire To Wyoming

**HON. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON**

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, I noticed in the February 25 edition of the Washington Sunday Star, a distressing fact in Joseph Young's excellent "Federal Spotlight" column, that at least one employee of a Federal agency faces relocation to Wyoming, apparently as a punishment for not retiring at the age of 55.

Apparently, according to Mr. Young's column, the employee in question refused to retire, ignored pressures to that end and, the agency threatened to relocate him in a remote post in Wyoming. The employee has nothing against Wyoming except that all his friends and relatives live here and he knows no one in Wyoming.

Mr. Speaker, aside from the strong feeling that a person's usefulness does not cease at an arbitrary age like 55, I consider it reprehensible that any such pressures should be put on a Federal employee, or any employee, for that matter.

However, if official Washington is inclined to regard life in wonderful Wyoming as a form of earthbound limbo, let me dispel that illusion because it is seldom that a person with the means to retire there needs any additional inducement.

If the unnamed bureaucrat in question is indeed transferred to Wyoming against his will, may I wish him well and assure him that he will soon have many good

neighbors in a State where friendships come easy and stay long.

This incident, in my mind, points up the need on one hand for the quick passage of the Ervin "bill of rights" for Federal employees, and on the other, need for a bureaucrat's refresher course on the advantages of life in the big sky country of wonderful Wyoming, where you can see the sun, feel the grass, drink the water, and smell the clean air without battling smog, fog, corruption, crime, or pollution.

If that is exile, then so be it.

I include the article to which I have referred in the RECORD:

#### NEW TYPES OF PRESSURE TO FORCE EMPLOYEES TO RETIRE ARE CHARGED

(By Joseph Young)

Charges of new types of government agencies' pressure tactics to force employees to retire are being heard by congressional committees.

Such charges previously had come to the attention of the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee headed by Sen. Sam Ervin, D-N.C., and the House Civil Service Manpower subcommittee headed by Rep. David Henderson, D-N.C. The charges involved employees being forced to retire on threats that they would otherwise be removed on charges of mental disability.

Now there are charges that employees are being pressured to retire by threats of reassignments to unwanted jobs, greatly increased workloads, transfers to jobs in remote and unacceptable locations, withdrawal of all work assignments so that employees have nothing to do, and other similar tactics.

In some agencies, as soon as employees reach the minimum retirement age, they begin to feel the pressure to retire.

One case, according to the charges, involved an employee who had spent his entire government career in Washington. On reaching age 55, with 30 years' service, his agency started pressuring him to retire. When refused, the agency threatened to relocate him to a remote post in Wyoming. The employee has nothing against Wyoming, except that all his friends and relatives live here, he knows no one in Wyoming, and at this time of his career and life he and his wife want to remain in Washington.

Other cases, it is charged, involve employees being given menial tasks after years of responsible assignments; heavy workloads all out of proportion to what an employee can reasonably handle; the "silent, ignored treatment," where an employee has nothing to do and his self-respect suffers accordingly.

All of this lends emphasis to the need for enactment of the Ervin "bill of rights" for federal employees, already approved by the Senate, but which thus far is languishing in the House Civil Service and Manpower subcommittee.

#### After 56 Years, Newspaper Work Still Fascinating

### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the Sunday, March 3, edition of the Cedar Rapids Gazette carried a feature story on one of the First District's most experienced weekly newspaper editors, Wiley Beveridge.

Mr. Beveridge is the editor of the Williamsburg Journal-Tribune. He has dis-

tinguished himself as a member of the fourth estate.

The article referred to follows:

WILLIAMSBURG EDITOR WILEY BEVERIDGE: AFTER 56 YEARS, NEWSPAPER WORK STILL FASCINATING (By Art Hough)

WILLIAMSBURG.—Wiley Beveridge had been carrying a Saturday Evening Post route in Goldfield, Iowa, for two years when a scout for the local weekly newspaper signed him up and gave him his start in the printing industry.

Now, 56 years later, Beveridge is publisher of the Williamsburg Journal-Tribune. He is a relative newcomer to Williamsburg, since he has only been here since 1957.

Wiley was 14 when he was hired by the Goldfield newspaper. He is now on the smiling side of 70.

#### MORE HOURS

He puts in more hours than he did a half century ago, but he'll admit that the pay is better now.

His first job was at \$1 per week for 25 hours.

After high school graduation his pay and the number of hours was raised. He got \$12, the then going rate for printer's devils in those parts.

Wiley was born in a community some 60 miles south of Chicago, but by the time he was in third grade the family was living in Goldfield, in Wright county.

"Goldfield was about 750 then," Beveridge recalls. "It has shrunk some since."

He started in Oct. 1, 1911, working on a four-page newspaper.

"It was all handset, every letter by hand" and it was great experience for a boy who already had the desire to be a country editor.

Wiley saved his money and by the fall of 1916 he was enrolled in Monmouth college in Illinois. It was there that he met Miss Margaret Gracey, who taught several years in the Newton, Iowa, schools, before they were married. Mrs. Beveridge is her husband's right hand man in the front office of the Journal-Tribune.

#### TO NAVY

Beveridge's schooling at Monmouth was interrupted by World War I. War was declared in April, 1917. Wiley stayed on through his sophomore year, but in the spring of 1918 he was excused from final examinations so that he could enlist in the navy.

In July, 1918, he was assigned to the Santa Oliva, a Grace Line ship which transported cargo to Gibraltar and Marseilles.

"We celebrated Armistice day, Nov. 11, 1918, coming down the Spanish coast from Marseilles to Gibraltar. We docked at Hoboken and later made four round trips transporting soldiers home from Brest, St. Nazaire, and Bordeaux."

The Santa Oliva brought back 2,000 soldiers on each trip.

Because he could punch a typewriter, Beveridge eventually was drafted as a navy yeoman and advanced to yeoman 2/c before his discharge in August, 1919.

Fresh out of the navy, Wiley hurried back to Monmouth and was graduated in 1921.

#### NEWSPAPERS

He then spent a short time on the Aledo, Ill., Times-Record, a 16-page county-seat weekly, before he was lured back to Monmouth to manage a print shop.

After 1½ years at Monmouth, he was put in touch with a publisher at Wyoming, Ill., who elevated him to resident manager of the Princeville, Ill., Telephone. He stayed there three years, doing all of the writing, setting type, and handling advertising. The paper had a staff of three, including the resident manager, but it was another step up for Wiley.

After another three years, Beveridge located at Lacon, Ill., where he was resident manager for seven weeklies located in Illinois and Wisconsin for four years.

After their marriage in 1928, Mr. and Mrs. Beveridge began to think about a newspaper they could call their own.

That same year, Charles O'Neal came to work for Beveridge. O'Neal also had his aim set on owning a newspaper.

"We pooled our resources and located at Sumner, November, 1930, in equal partnership."

Beveridge was by now a co-publisher, but it wasn't until 10 years after that that he took over as sole publisher of the Sumner newspaper. He sold out in 1947 and then, as he puts it, "floated" for a few years.

He was news editor of the Clarion newspaper, worked for a year in the composing room of the Press-Citizen at Iowa City, before Paul Lindemeyer, then a publisher at Strawberry Point, got in touch with him and told him the Clarion paper was for sale.

Beveridge and Lindemeyer bought the Clarion newspaper in the fall of 1950 and continued as partners for seven years. They sold out, Jan. 1, 1957.

Five months later, June 1, 1957, Wiley became publisher of the Williamsburg Journal-Tribune. He bought the paper from W. H. Halbasch, who had operated the newspaper for 20 years.

The Beveridges' son, Reid, was then 15. Reid went on to Monmouth, took his master's in journalism at Columbia university, and went immediately to Houston, Texas, where he is now an editorial writer for the Chronicle.

#### WITH IPA

Like all good newspapermen, Wiley's most appreciated honors have come from fellow journalists. In 1959, he was elected to Sigma Delta Chi, national professional journalistic society, and in 1961 "to my great surprise," he was elected to the board of directors of the Iowa Press Assn. He is now recording secretary of IPA and is slated to advance to the presidency in 1970.

Weekly newspapers greatly outnumber the "big city dailies" in Iowa. At last count there were 396 weeklies in this state.

Lack of linotype operators has forced many of these newspapers into offset printing, Beveridge agrees, but he intends to stay with the conventional letterpress type of printing.

His shop is well-equipped and—at least just as important—he has a good linotype operator he hopes will work for him forever. She is Mrs. Gerald Carney, who was employed by the Journal-Tribune when Beveridge came here. Her husband is employed by a Williamsburg lumber yard.

"Offset will be the saving grace for many small weeklies," says Beveridge, "if they can work together in groups. Some papers are going to teletypesetting used in conjunction with their letterpress operation, and that's good, too."

#### FASCINATED

After 56 years, Wiley is still "tremendously fascinated by this thing."

"Like all beginners, I had printer's ink in my blood. I always had newspapers as my goal. We were in debt up to our ears at Sumner during the depression, but we made it."

The "big story" in Williamsburg during Beveridge's tenure, might surprise a more cynical or sophisticated newspaper man.

"The biggest event of all time here was the construction of interstate-80. I observed it all the way, personally interviewing when paving was under way.

"Some thought I-80 would be detrimental to this community, but it isn't. Construction of two truck stops, restaurants, and motels at the interchange has helped employment in this area.

"People who are camping out or feeding themselves come off the interstate and visit Williamsburg. There frequently are picnics in the city park."



When Wiley sees strangers in town, he always makes it a point to strike up conversation with them—if possible—learning where they are from, why they are here, and where they are going.

"Business men benefit directly or indirectly."

Williamsburg also benefits from having industry within commuting distance.

"About 75 people from here are employed in Amana," Beveridge noted. "Some people come here to live because they can commute to their jobs elsewhere."

#### SEVENTY-TWO YEARS

According to the 1960 census, Williamsburg has a population of 1,342 and Beveridge estimates the population of the Greater Williamsburg area to be 1,702. The Journal-Tribune covers an east-west corridor with a circulation of 1,839. It is published on Wednesday with a Thursday dateline and is distributed by mail or over the counter.

The newspaper has been published here for 72 years. It now has a staff of eight, plus Publisher Beveridge, who helps out wherever he is needed, often making up pages in the back shop.

The paper is dependent on both advertising and commercial printing.

Many subscribers who know the paper is printed on Wednesday come to the newspaper office to get their edition.

"It is a good feeling," says Wiley Beveridge, "when people come in to get the paper off the counter Wednesday afternoon, rather than wait until Thursday's mail brings it to them."

### Hunger Reserve Bill

#### HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, on December 11, I introduced a bill designed to set up an additional reserve for wheat, feed grains, and soybeans so that there would be an adequate supply of such food to meet the needs that could arise from an emergency.

H.R. 14365—which I have called the hunger reserve bill—adds those protections which were sadly lacking in the bill that had been voted down in the House Agriculture Subcommittee.

These stocks consisting of up to 300 million bushels of wheat, 500 million bushels of corn or its equivalent in other feed grains, and up to 75 million bushels of soybeans, are to be considered a separate reserve as distinguished from those Commodity Credit stocks purchased as a regular function of our price support program. The hunger reserve will be stored in the hands of the farmer and cannot be moved, as is the case with CCC stocks, by the Secretary of Agriculture unless there is an emergency. Second, such stocks can be moved at not less than 100 percent of parity price.

In the President's farm message of last week, I was very pleased to see that the administration has relented from their previous stand and now added some of the very safeguards that we attempted to do by amendments in the earlier bill. The President urges swift passage of such a hunger reserve to be owned by the farmers, and asked that such reserve stocks not be sold at less than parity. These are the very two safeguards that

my bill will provide and I am pleased to have the support of the administration on this important matter.

### An Evening With Cordell Hull's Confidential Assistant

#### HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State and my predecessor in Congress from the Fourth Congressional District of Tennessee, certainly was one of the great men of our time—and of all times.

He has often been referred to as the "father of the United Nations." He fought for preparedness prior to World War II, he was deeply involved in the alliance that defeated the Axis Powers, and he had a firm belief in the necessity of a world organization where all nations could meet in a public forum and discuss and debate their problems and differences.

In this connection, I recently spent an evening with the late Secretary Hull's competent, knowledgeable, confidential assistant, Mr. Carlton Savage, of Washington, now retired from the State Department.

As a result of this evening, I have published in my newsletter, Capitol Comments, the following:

#### TURNING BACK THE PAGES OF HISTORY: AN EVENING WITH CORDELL HULL'S CONFIDENTIAL ASSISTANT

Recently I had the rare privilege of spending an evening with Mr. Carlton Savage, confidential assistant, adviser and close friend of the late Cordell Hull for more than a score of years. Mr. Savage, who has retired from service with the State Department in Washington, is a competent, sincere person who enjoys reliving the highlights of his life and close association with Secretary of State Cordell Hull, my distinguished predecessor in Congress from the Fourth Congressional District.

During our evening together, Mr. Savage provided additional insights into the life of the late Secretary Hull who, Mr. Savage said, considered "courage, character and fair-dealing" as the major attributes men should cultivate. This disclosure was especially interesting to me because I can recall some advice that the elder Hull gave me in my early years of service in the Congress. In that conversation, Judge Hull advised me to combine hard work with patience and perseverance for success in the Congress. I have found that advice eminently correct for service to our people, District, State and Nation.

Mr. Savage, as a talented writer, assisted Secretary Hull in preparing his lengthy memoirs. He has a rare and fascinating treasure of Hull documents and memorabilia, including a number of unpublished pictures. Mr. Savage accompanied Mr. Hull on all of his missions and took notes and minutes on all actions and proceedings. His memoranda trace the development and carrying out of the Hull Good Neighbor Policy and his constant fight to build this Nation's strength as the war clouds gathered prior to World War II. Secretary Hull's role in the Roosevelt Administration in cementing the alliance that defeated the enemy and his leadership in building the United Nations were relived again in discussing these events in history.

Secretary Hull was recognized and generally acclaimed as the architect and "Father of the United Nations." He participated in the planning conferences for the world organization at Dumbarton Oaks and at the San Francisco Conference when the UN was established.

Secretary Hull was also a brilliant political tactician and one of his greatest accomplishments in this regard was an agreement he exacted from Republican Presidential Candidate Thomas E. Dewey in 1944 for a bipartisan treatment of the United Nations plan in the presidential campaign. The pact was called the "Hull-Dewey-Dulles Agreement of 1944" and is considered one of the most unusual agreements in American history.

Standing at President Roosevelt's side as the war began and as the first impact of the Japanese aggression shocked the Nation, Secretary Hull emphasized the importance of strength as an assurance of ultimate peace. "Nation after nation," he said in 1942, "learned too late that safety against such attacks lay only in more effective force; in superior will; in concerned action of all free nations directed toward resisting and defeating the common enemies."

Following the Moscow Conference attended by the United States, Russia, Great Britain and China, Secretary Hull in a memorable address before a Joint Meeting of Congress on November 18, 1943—the only Secretary of State to ever address such a Joint Meeting—told how all of the participating nations agreed to support the concept of a world organization. He outlined the purpose of the conference: to plan for cooperation in a peaceful world following cessation of hostilities.

He was optimistic in hoping that there would no longer be a need for alliances, spheres of influence and balances of power. It was his hope that the UN would bridge the differences between nations. Although the UN has not fully realized these goals, as subsequent events show, the objectives of the UN continue to be desirable and worthwhile—a forum for discussions and solutions of the problems of the world and the promotion of peace.

The documents which Mr. Savage exhibited include an account of Secretary Hull's appearance before the American Society of Newspaper Editors in which he discussed the problems involved in working with the Russians against the common enemies.

Patience and perseverance was counseled by Secretary Hull as he praised the courage of the Russians in repelling German aggression. He said Stalin had treated him courteously, was well-informed, had a facility for pinpointing basic issues in discussions, and had a very good sense of humor. As the two parted following the Moscow Conference, Stalin thanked him profusely for his participation in the conference, turned away, walked a few steps away, returned to Secretary Hull and again shook the Secretary's hand vigorously.

Perhaps the most eloquent of the Hull speeches was an inspiring address entitled "The Need for Spiritual Rebirth," delivered March 22, 1941, which included this statement:

"We need today a resurgence of spiritual purpose and moral stamina. We must rededicate ourselves to the service, the defense and the nurturing of freedom under justice and law. Our homes, our schools, our churches, our leaders in every walk of life must inculcate this faith and this spirit."

Certainly these eloquent words and this message are as vital today as they were when this great statesman and Tennessean delivered them more than 25 years ago. Moral stamina, spiritual purpose, strength, patience and perseverance are needed today as we seek to solve our problems at home and abroad.

## The Senator Who Is "Mr. Kansas"

## HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, much has been written and said about the retirement of the senior Senator from Kansas, the Honorable FRANK CARLSON, at the end of this term. No other Kansas statesman, in my memory, has held such a high place in the hearts and minds of the people he serves, or has been so highly regarded by his colleagues in Government.

An article in the March 5 edition of the Southwestern Miller chronicles the highlights of his distinguished career of public service spanning a third of a century. This article also gives an insight into why Senator CARLSON deserves the rich accolades which are being accorded him. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to bring this excellent article to the attention of all who respect and admire those public servants who measure up to the highest ideals of statesmanship:

## THE SENATOR WHO IS "MR. KANSAS"

Events of a commonplace nature sometimes have surprising consequences. For instance, there was a midsummer rainstorm in 1932 in Cloud county, Kansas, that seemed to have no importance beyond ending a dry spell and stopping field work for a day or so, yet this small incident propelled Frank Carlson into a distinguished public career of more than a third of a century.

Mr. Carlson, then a young farmer near Concordia, had an evening phone call from Alfred M. Landon, who had just been nominated for governor. Said the candidate, "Frank, can you meet me tomorrow in Topeka? I want you to take the state chairmanship. With a man in the petroleum business as the nominee, it is imperative to have a farmer in charge of the campaign. Others will raise the money and do most of the work, but I must have you at the head of things."

The man on the farm hesitated. He had just bowed out of the legislature after two terms because service there interfered with his business, and his campaign experience was limited to his home county. Finally he yielded in part to his friend's entreaties, saying, "Well, Alf, if it rains tonight I'll meet you, but if tomorrow is dry I must stay home and put up hay."

Jupiter Pluvius opened up the spigot in the wee small hours. Mr. Carlson drove to the capital city and accepted the chairmanship and Mr. Landon was elected—the only Republican in the nation to defeat an incumbent governor that year. "It was a tough battle," Mr. Carlson recalled recently. "Times were hard in 1932 and a dollar was an important amount of money. Most of the time we had hardly enough in the treasury to buy postage stamps." Just before election, vast confusion was generated by a huge write-in campaign for a bizarre radio doctor who was known to many as Goat-Gland Brinkley, and he polled about 175,000 votes and nearly bowled over both of the old parties.

## FIRST NAMED TO HOUSE IN 1934

Declining the new governor's offer of any state post he might desire, Mr. Carlson returned to his farm but his successful management of the 1932 campaign impelled his party's local leaders to slate him for Congress two years later. The outlook was bleak, for it was not a Republican year and his opponent was the only woman ever to go to Con-

gress from Kansas. There was another hard campaign, but Frank Carlson won by about 2,700 plurality. He doubled that in 1936 and in four subsequent elections he increased his margin of victory each time.

## DEVELOPED PAY-AS-YOU-GO TAXES

Congressman Carlson served in the House 12 years. His principal committee assignments were to ways and means (taxation) and postal affairs, but he was also a leader in formulating the soil conservation program. Perhaps outstanding was his sponsorship of the pay-as-you-go plan on federal income taxes, to replace the old system of paying this year on last year's earnings, the result of which was that the taxpayer was always a year behind his tax liabilities. Upon the first try, his bill was defeated by nine votes, whereupon Speaker Sam Rayburn called the Kansan to one side and said, "Frank, your plan is right and must be adopted, but we Democrats can't permit a Republican to have the credit for this important step. Why don't you let one of our boys co-sponsor the bill?" Wise to the fine points of political finesse, Mr. Carlson adopted this advice and the bill soon became law.

## ELECTED GOVERNOR IN 1946

Two events converged during his sixth congressional term to take Mr. Carlson back to Kansas. The first was his daughter's decision to enroll at the University of Kansas and her parents' wish to live as near as possible to her. The other was the opportunity to become governor of Kansas. Both came to pass in 1946.

Governor Carlson's four years in Topeka were highlighted by a vast improvement in the state's mental health program, provision for the first time for state aid to elementary schools, addition of new buildings to state colleges, better pay for teachers and a comprehensive highway improvement plan. During his administration, he was chosen as chairman of the National Governor's Conference in 1949 and chairman of the Council of State Governments the next year.

## NOT TO RUN AGAIN AFTER 18 YEARS

Just before the end of his gubernatorial career, Mr. Carlson was elected to fill a vacancy in the U.S. Senate and to the succeeding six-year term. He was re-elected in 1956 and 1962 and thus is now in his eighteenth year in that great body. He is the only citizen of Kansas ever to be Congressman, Governor and United States Senator. He startled political circles by announcing recently that he would not be a candidate for a fourth term, although it is almost universally believed that he would easily be elected again.

## ACTIVE ROLE IN FARM LEGISLATION

When his party was in power, Senator Carlson was chairman of the post office and civil service committee. He has been on the important finance committee through most of his senatorial career, his earlier experience on the House tax-writing committee standing him in good stead. He is a member of the vital committee on foreign relations. He has taken an active part in shaping farm legislation, and on more than a few occasions his practical good sense has been most helpful to the agricultural trades in connection with various legislative proposals. He was a key adviser to President Eisenhower and a member of the Hoover Commission on Reorganization of the Executive Branch. He was a delegate to the United Nations in 1964, by appointment by President Johnson. He has been especially influential in tax and postal legislation. He is chairman of the committee that determines Republican committee assignments. He is in brief, an extremely industrious senator.

## TRIBUTE AS SHREWD AND BLUNT

In a recent editorial entitled "Frank" in Kansas' most prestigious newspaper, the

Emporia Gazette, William L. White, son of the famous William Allen White, wrote of his 1931 legislative colleague, "The current senior senator from Kansas was then exactly the same lean, blue-eyed, pink-complected, tow-headed Swede that he is today; shrewd, blunt, sparing of speech but always saying clearly whatever needed to be said but with no swirls nor flourishes."

A miller who has known the senator many years recently told me, "Frank Carlson typifies this state as nobody else does and he is literally Mr. Kansas."

Senator Carlson has a long record of participation in religious affairs. When he was 16, he organized a community Sunday School in his home area and was superintendent of a Baptist Sunday School for 20 years. He established a Bible class in Washington that is still active. He originated the Presidential Prayer Breakfast in 1953 and has presided at all of the annual occasions.

## REMOTE CONTROL FARM OPERATOR

Such is the career on the national level of the one-time farm boy, the son of immigrant parents who went from Sweden to Kansas. He attended rural schools, business college and Kansas State University. He began farming in 1914 in partnership with his father, and he ran the threshing rig that served the community. After military services in World War I, he farmed for himself on a corn, wheat and livestock place of 320 acres, now expanded to 600. Since 1935, he has operated this establishment by remote control. He told me a few days ago that this place in the valley of the Republican River produced more than 13,000 bushels of corn last year on 100 irrigated acres, adding that water is lifted but 30 feet from a thick gravel deposit.

Unsolicited have been honorary degrees from Kansas State University and eight other institutions. He is a board member of the Agricultural Hall of Fame, the Menninger Foundation and of the Private Colleges of Kansas. He was president of the Cloud County Farm Bureau.

Frank Carlson was Republican county chairman in the late 1920's and served in the Kansas legislature in 1929 and 1931. As chairman of the committee on assessment and taxation in the latter year, he drafted the state's first income tax law, an action that would not usually be regarded as a sure-fire route for political preferment. "We presented the facts about the state's needs to the people," he said, "and they haven't seen fit to change the basic concepts in the law even after 37 years."

## PROVERBIAL MEMORY FOR PEOPLE

The Carlson memory for faces and names—one of the most useful assets that a man in the political field can have—is proverbial. Once at a Kansas Wheat Field day, a dozen or more men from various parts of the state came up to shake hands, and I was witness to the fact that he called all by name and location. An admiring colleague who is himself no amateur in this art remarked, "I honestly believe that if Frank Carlson were to be taken blindfolded to any spot in Kansas, he would be able to identify half the men whom he would see when his sight was restored."

Frank and Alice Carlson will return to make their permanent home in Concordia soon after the end of the present senatorial session, he to preside over the operation of the farm and both to try to keep up with the progress of three grandchildren who with their father and mother live in Junction City. The Carlsons may not spend much time dwelling upon their past service to community, state and nation, nor upon the distinctions and honors that have been earned, but there are a lot of others who will long remember the fine type of citizenship that they represent.



## A Peace Corps Volunteer From Philadelphia Writes Home

**HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, a young man from Philadelphia, Lewis A. Wexler, has been a Peace Corps volunteer in Honduras for the past year and a half. Recently he wrote a letter home to his friends and acquaintances that I have had the pleasure of reading. I found it one of the most fascinating, informative, and inspiring accounts of the Peace Corps program that I have ever seen.

Mr. Wexler, the son of a well-known Philadelphia lawyer, Morris M. Wexler, is stationed in Florida de Copan, a town of some 3,500 in western Honduras. It is apparent from the letter that he enjoys his assignment and believes in the mission of the Peace Corps. His letter can give all of us a clearer glimpse into the everyday work of the Peace Corps, and I include the text of Mr. Wexler's letter in the RECORD:

FLORIDA DE COPAN,

Honduras, Central America, February 1968.

DEAR FRIENDS: Since coming to Honduras more than a year ago (October 10, 1966), I have wanted to write all my friends and acquaintances of my experiences in the Peace Corps. During the coming months, before I return to the United States, I hope to write more in this fashion of Honduras, Hondurans and the Peace Corps.

During the past year and several months I remember many of the highlights of my experience. The first few days in Honduras, the first few days in Florida de Copan, meetings of various groups to which only two or three people turned out, good meetings in which various town leaders took an interest, good projects, bad projects and frustrations, learning of cultural differences between Hondurans and Americans (both painfully and pleasantly), explaining Peace Corps to skeptical Hondurans, getting afloat of the politics of the community and country, the two visits of my Dad to Honduras, the warm reception he received at my site, and the questions I still receive about him, these are some of the many things I remember during the past year of Peace Corps Service. However, in my mind I do not look back upon the schools built, the new Savings and Loan Cooperative in Florida de Copan established and a central park constructed, but rather the many friends I have made in Honduras and the many experiences that we have shared together.

Peace Corps' Honduras 7 arrived in Honduras in early October of 1966. The first week was spent in Tegucigalpa, the picturesque Capital of Honduras. Not surprisingly everyone spoke Spanish. Even after three years of Spanish at the University of Pennsylvania, some study in Mexico, and an extensive course in Peace Corps training, I found myself immediately lost in the Honduran idioms and expressions. Irrespective of the difficulty with the language I fell immediately in love with Tegucigalpa. The Capital of Honduras was founded in the 16th Century (Honduras was discovered by Columbus on his last voyage in 1502) and flourished as a leading gold and silver center. Tegucigalpa lies on an old plateau along the Choluteca River and is a most colonial city. The Spanish influence is everywhere—in the adobe homes, the narrow streets, the public plazas, and the old churches. The city is surrounded by mountains and has a nice climate most of the year. It is a wonderful

old city and I am most happy to go there when I have an opportunity.

After a short stay in the small Republic's Capital, our group was assigned sites. Florida de Copan was to be my place of work for the coming two years. Copan is in the Western part of Honduras and is famous for the Mayan Culture which flowered many years ago. I felt suddenly lost when I was told that my site was away from other Peace Corps volunteers and a long way from any major city, the closest being San Pedro Sula, the banana center on the North Coast of Honduras. One week after our group arrived in Honduras we arrived at our respective sites. The Peace Corps volunteer I was to replace in the coming months, was with me. We arrived at a small town late on a clear night, and found ourselves in a small house in a town of about 3,500 people. This I learned was Florida de Copan. The first few nights I spent on the floor of this house and later moved into a boarding house. The first few weeks were spent learning Spanish and meeting the people. The people, at first a little suspicious and guarded, soon started to divulge many of the problems of the town. Food consisted mainly of rice, beans, eggs, and a little meat. After a few days of complete abstinence, I was compelled, by a most basic drive, to eat. Soon I became a "Cachacho," or a pure Honduran. Shortly thereafter I moved into the house occupied by the volunteer who had left my site, and food and housing were of less importance.

I promptly became involved in the affairs of the town. I was invited by the Mayor of Florida to attend all meetings of the municipality and was told of the full cooperation that I would receive from the town. I became quickly involved in building school projects with the help of Care, the formation of a Credit Union in the town, a park project, and agricultural projects. After many meetings, many failures and many successes, the townspeople responded slightly better to the needs of the town and to their civil responsibility. We have learned from our failures, and have taken great pride in our successes, but we have worked together and stayed together through many feuds, and adverse criticism.

Especially difficult for a volunteer in a foreign country is to learn what another people mean by "Si" or "No". Are the people only saying something to please an outsider? It takes time and plenty of work to get to know the people well enough to get down to brass tacks... it almost takes an entire year for the people to have faith in the worker who is pushing development in the town.

One of the most difficult problems in a small town in Latin America is coping with the political situations famous in this part of the world. The ruling power is always taking advantage of the party out of control. This is no exception in Florida de Copan. Some members of the community will not enter public buildings, others will not go to a session in another part of town. A volunteer cannot please everyone and must be sufficiently resourceful to rise above the petty arguments and feuds that stand in the way of development in Latin America. The people in the town cannot usually muster enough force to free themselves of these problems. A volunteer is able to do this as an outsider in the community, but must be careful not to be part of any one group or organization, for at the end of two years the people will have either no volunteer or a new volunteer who is not yet sensitized to the problems of the community. The Peace Corps must develop the human resources of the town sufficiently to help the people solve their own problems apolitically.

Skepticism is another great problem. What can an American do in this town? This American guy is just learning to speak Spanish and he wants to organize a saving cooperative. The Peace Corps is fine, but you do not have any money to give away. Everything else that we have tried before has failed. Why should we put our time into some-

thing new that is bound to fail? Nothing can ever be outside of politics in this town. I cannot trust the other members of the committee. The Peace Corps volunteer is a good guy, but the others! What is this rich American doing spending two years in our town when he can be living well in the United States? These are some problems which all Peace Corps volunteers hear during two years of service. It takes time to show that we do have an interest, and that we are not deceiving anyone. Peace Corps is contact with other people, communication of ideas, and making friends. We are presently working on the base constructed by former workers in community development. Hopefully, it will be easier in the future, for our group too will place additional blocks on the foundation built by our predecessors.

Two exceptional highlights of my past year with the Peace Corps were the two visits of my father to Honduras. In late March my Dad visited my site in Honduras. I still receive questions as to his whereabouts and his health. He was welcomed warmly and I believe will not forget his trip to Honduras. Last Spring we visited San Pedro Sula, the industrial center of Honduras, Tegucigalpa, Florida de Copan, and the famous Mayan Ruins of Copan. We also visited the Bay Islands, three off-shore islands that are yet undeveloped (attested to by the complete lack of tourist facilities). The islands are inhabited by English speaking people and are most interesting. Ask my Dad if he enjoyed his first trip to Honduras and he will beam and probably pull out pictures of Florida de Copan and a bus stuck in the middle of a river. His second trip to Honduras was only for a few days last October, but I enjoyed seeing him and taking a few days off from work. These two visits have made the past months even more enjoyable.

If I can answer any of your questions about the Peace Corps and Honduras. I hope you will not hesitate to write to me.

With best wishes for a happy and prosperous 1968, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

LEW WEXLER.

## Victory or Defeat Is the Choice

**HON. BOB WILSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego, Calif., Union, of March 6, 1968:

NO MAGIC SOLUTION IN VIETNAM: VICTORY OR DEFEAT IS THE CHOICE

It is an anomaly that as the Communist pressure and terrorism in Vietnam increases there is also an escalation of so-called debate in the United States of America that is framed in terms of "alternatives."

There are only two alternatives in Vietnam that should be of concern to us: Victory or defeat. The latter is grim and unthinkable, which leaves the former.

To gain victory at this late stage when the military war has been prolonged too long already means that Americans now will have to face up to some grim truths.

The first is that nobody will wave a magic wand to end the war in Vietnam. The victory will come largely as the result of the efforts of the South Vietnamese, ourselves and the scattering of allies we now have on the scene.

Another truth is that the war of so-called "graduated response" will at best lead to only a half victory—which is equivalent to none at all.

We must accept the fact that negotiation at this time, when the Viet Cong are staging their major offensive of the war, is self-defeating and delusory.

Communists have worked to near perfection the dogma of famed military expert Karl von Clausewitz that "negotiation is war carried out by other means."

Listen to the advice of Gen. Henri Navarre, commander for the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1953: "In 1953 we were faced with the Viet Minh, who like the Viet Cong today, were prepared to talk peace, but on their own terms only. To achieve those terms they tried to force a military victory so humiliating to us that the outraged politicians and pacifists at home would be prepared to call a halt."

Doesn't the situation sound similar? Today the graduated American response to Viet Cong initiative has brought Communist terrorism to the cities and 5,000 American troops are surrounded at Khe Sanh.

And Americans should listen to the military experts who say wars are won by power. Power means the capability to wage war, the skill to use the capability and the timeliness and will to do so.

We have the power. We have the skill to win in Vietnam. "Graduated response" dictated by civilians has robbed us of tactical timeliness. And we have the will to win among the public. A Copley Newspapers poll in California and Illinois showed 80 per cent of the people support the war; 73 per cent think a military victory is essential to stop Communists and three fourths said only more military pressure will make the Viet Cong negotiate.

So the final truth Americans will have to face is that they must make their voices heard in support of the United States commitment to hasten the military victory in Vietnam. The voices must be loud enough to drown out the babel of the minority of pacifists and persons of questionable motives.

Fortunately, the circumstances are right. The voices of individual Americans will be closely heeded in this, an election year. But we must speak up.

### **Congressman Claude Pepper Introduces Legislation to Pass Along the Full 13½ Percent Social Security Benefit Increase to Public Assistance Recipients**

**HON. CLAUDE PEPPER**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Social Security Act in 1935, he commented:

This law . . . represents a cornerstone in a structure which is being built but is by no means complete.

He foresaw, as did some others at the time, that the program being established then was one which would of necessity reflect and respond to changes in a dynamic society.

The Congress has understood this. Since 1935 the Social Security Act has been amended many times in thousands of different ways. As legislators, we have not hesitated to use the mandate of those who elected us to propose needed improvements in the programs under this act.

It is in this spirit of gradual improvement that I am introducing an amend-

ment, H.R. 15860, which would allow States to pass along to their public assistance recipients the full amount of the social security increase to which they are entitled under the 1967 amendments. My amendment will help to accomplish what I am certain most of us intended—an increase in the standard of living of all of our social security recipients equal to the 13½-percent benefit increase which we passed in December.

As our public assistance law is written, the States must take into consideration all income and resources of an individual in determining whether he is eligible for public assistance and how much his assistance will be. In recent years Congress has provided for some exceptions to this provision. In 1962, for example, we passed an amendment allowing the States to disregard a small amount of earned income in determining the assistance needs of recipients of old-age assistance and aid to the disabled. We have passed a more generous earnings provision for the blind, and also for recipients of aid to families with dependent children.

In 1965, when we passed a 7-percent increase in social security benefits, Congress provided that the States could, if they so elected, disregard up to \$5 a month of any income in public assistance cases. In this way, an effort was made to pass along part of the increase in social security benefits to recipients of public assistance. Without this provision, our neediest people—those on public assistance—would simply have their assistance checks reduced by whatever amount their social security benefits were increased.

Twenty-four States have taken some action toward implementation of this provision, resulting in higher income for many thousands of people, and hope of higher income for others whose States have not yet taken advantage of the Federal provision.

In the 1967 amendments the Congress increased the amount which States could disregard from \$5 to \$7.50. In doing so, Congress reaffirmed its position that all social security beneficiaries should get some advantage from a benefit increase. It is my conviction, however, that we should have done more than this.

The \$2.50 increase in the amount which the States may disregard is, in my opinion, an inadequate sum. When we voted for an increase in benefits of 13½ percent, we voted for what many in Congress considered an absolutely minimal increase. Our public assistance recipients who are also social security beneficiaries are entitled to at least this full amount. It is unnecessarily cruel to deprive them of it through Federal legislative restrictions.

It should be emphasized that the number of people who could potentially be affected by a pass-along provision is not small. For example, 1 million of the 2 million people on old-age assistance are also getting social security benefits. I would hope that in the months to come more and more States will see fit to take up the option now offered them to disregard some income in computing assistance benefits. But I would further

hope that they will have the option of disregarding an amount equal to the full 13½ percent social security benefit increase. The arbitrary limit of \$7.50 is inadequate and unjust. There should be no dollar limitation on the social security benefit increase.

It was the intent of those who participated in the framing of the first act that social security beneficiaries should receive amounts which are more than the minimum for survival. I believe that it was the hope of this Congress, too, that the 1967 benefit increase should represent a real improvement in the standard of living of our older people. It certainly was not the intent that older people might be allowed to suffer for the sake of State treasuries, which under present law can reap the benefit of the reductions in assistance payments.

I am sure that many of my colleagues in the House share the conviction that all of our social security beneficiaries should benefit from the recent increase to the fullest extent provided in the law. I urge them, in addition, to lend their support to my bill, which will make this conviction a reality.

### **Stop Blaming Whites**

**HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, in all of the welter of comment and conversation over the report released by the President's Commission on Civil Disorders, I was interested to read the findings of a Detroit psychiatrist, Dr. Elliott Luby, who is a professor of law and psychiatry at Wayne State University in Detroit.

Dr. Luby has just completed a study of racism for the National Institute of Mental Health and one of his key recommendations is that social scientists should stop blaming the white man for all the trouble.

As has been noted elsewhere, the riots in Detroit were, by and large, a well-employed group making an average of \$115 to \$120 a week and, according to Dr. Luby's findings, "group that was very optimistic about its future."

I think the doctor's report is worthy of consideration as we seek to find solutions to these problems and include an article appearing in the Chicago Tribune today, describing the findings of Dr. Luby and his associates at this point in the RECORD:

### **STOP BLAMING WHITES**

DETROIT, March 10.—A Detroit psychiatrist completing a study of racism for the National Institute of Mental Health says social scientists should stop blaming the white man for all the trouble.

Dr. Elliott Luby, associate director of Detroit's Lafayette clinic and professor of law and psychiatry at Wayne State university, says last summer's Detroit riot was "not an expression of apathy, hopelessness, and despair."

Instead, Luby said, it was an expression of the black man's "growing identity, growing pride, growing esteem, and an indication that the black man no longer is meas-



uring himself in terms of the white man." Luby's report on his findings was broadcast today by a Detroit radio station.

#### RECEIVED \$135,000 GRANT

Luby, who is white, was given a \$135,000 grant by the institute, a branch of the department of housing and urban development, to conduct his study. He and a staff of psychologists and psychiatrists interviewed 400 persons arrested in last July's riot and also talked to white people and Negroes in the areas where the rioting took place.

His findings are in direct opposition to a report released last week by the President's commission on civil disorders. The Kerner report placed much of the blame for the riots on white racism and on Negroes' poverty and despair.

Luby, however, said he is "becoming weary of social scientists" making white people "culpable for all of the difficulties which blacks have experienced in this country." He said "this seems to be the etiquette of social science research today."

#### RELATED TO DESPAIR

Luby said, "Riots in the past have been related to notions of hopelessness and despair, to unemployment and to poverty."

However, he said, "Our studies strongly suggest that the rioters were a well-employed group making an average of \$115 to \$120 a week, a group which felt that it had substantially improved its status in the community during the last three to five years, a group that was very optimistic about its future."

"And certainly this was not a despairing group of men, or an impoverished group. They in a sense were making a good income and they were rather confident about themselves and their future."

When asked to explain why such people would riot, Luby said, "The closer the distance becomes between the lower and middle class, the more militant and aggressive and assertive the lower class becomes."

#### SENSE OF IDENTITY

Luby said, "Black people . . . are now developing a sense of identity, a feeling of self-determination and feelings that they are able now to control their own community."

Luby said the civil disorders are "a sign of racial pride, a sign of an altered relationship between the black man and white man in the United States."

"And in this sense," Luby said, "it may either bode ominously for the future depending upon the white response or it may suggest that the black man is now on the threshold of making his most significant contributions to American culture and life."

### Navy Kept on Hook

#### HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, the Navy's handling of the case of Lt. Comdr. Marcus Arnheiter—its summary relief of this young officer from his command as a result of a conspiracy by two junior officers without so much as a court-martial—has attracted a good deal of attention.

Many naval officers and former officers have written me echoing the words of Capt. Richard Alexander—another young officer who was suddenly relieved of a choice commandpost for coming to Arnheiter's defense—how could this happen in the U.S. Navy?

Throughout this entire matter, the Navy has been somewhat less than candid with me and with the American public—and its deliberate attempts to cover what was originally a bad decision have not gone unnoticed.

Syndicated Columnist James J. Kilpatrick has written a number of articles on the Arnheiter case, and he, too, asks the same question.

Mr. Speaker, I include Mr. Kilpatrick's latest column in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

#### NAVY KEPT ON HOOK (By James J. Kilpatrick)

WASHINGTON.—The Navy has begun to return fire in the Arnheiter case, and a good thing, too—for it suggests that the top brass who have closed ranks in this sad affair are feeling pressures that may yet produce the full public airing that is urgently needed.

For those who just came in: Lt. Com. Marcus Aurelius Arnheiter, 42, is the gung-ho naval officer who took command of the USS Vance, an aging destroyer-picket ship, in December of 1965. It was his first command, after a brilliant performance as executive officer of the USS Ingersoll. It was also his last command. Ninety-nine days later, when his ship arrived at Subic from combat patrol off Vietnam, Arnheiter was summarily removed from command. He has since been beached in San Francisco, and passed over for promotion. His career has been utterly destroyed.

#### SHOULDN'T BE BURIED

Now, it may seem strange, at a time when so much is going on, for a columnist to return to the Arnheiter case. But if a gross injustice has been done to even one career officer—and a great many responsible persons are convinced that Arnheiter is a pathetic victim of cumulative blunders—the story of this one man ought not to be buried in topical news.

Until this last week, the Navy had preserved a stony silence on the Arnheiter case. Secretary Paul Ignatius was suggesting, deadpan, that there was no direct relationship between the Arnheiter case and the abrupt "resignation" of Arnheiter's articulate defender, Capt. Richard G. Alexander, as prospective skipper of the battleship New Jersey. For two months, the official line was that since Arnheiter had filed certain legal proceedings in California, the Navy could say nothing.

Now the Navy is insisting publicly that Arnheiter had his day in court, that the verdict against him was impressively reviewed, and that his "derelictions" abundantly justified the decision to deny him further command assignments. Without questioning the sincerity of these gentlemen, it has to be said that many an outside critic, after searching review of the case, will flatly disagree.

If Arnheiter were as completely in the wrong as the Navy now contends—if the case were all that black against him—it is bewildering that so many respected voices should have been raised in his behalf. Vice Adm. Thomas G. W. Settle, now retired after 51 years in the Navy, reviewed the entire Arnheiter file and gave the young officer complete support. Rear Adm. Dan Gallery has angrily described Arnheiter's ordeal as "the old story of big-shot professionals covering up each other's mistakes." Vice Adm. Lorenzo Sabin concurs. Even more significant, perhaps, is the eloquent testimony of enlisted men who served on the Vance under Arnheiter. They knew what Arnheiter sought to achieve.

And what was this? The evidence is convincing that Arnheiter inherited a sloppy ship, infested with cockroaches suffering from miserable morale and lax discipline. He had one month before going on the line. In this month, he sought by admittedly draconian measures to build a taut warship

out of an easy-going pleasure yacht. At every step of the way, his efforts were resisted by junior officers who resented discipline and conspired to undermine his measures.

#### STICKLER FOR RULES

Doubtless he made mistakes. Arnheiter is a spit-and-polish Dutchman, a stickler for rules, but a first-class fighting man. He lusted for action. The Navy has known such skippers in the past. And the rule spelled out in Navy manuals, when such officers get over-zealous, is to counsel with them. It is of the "utmost importance," says the regulation, that senior officers attempt to straighten out an erring commander before taking disciplinary action against him.

This wise policy was ignored in Arnheiter's case. Hearsay charges against him were circulated behind his back. He lost his command before he could say one word in his own defense. The Navy never lifted a finger against the junior officers who formented disloyalty. In the light of the Navy's own regulations, it is incredible that an officer's career could have been so ruthlessly destroyed on such flimsy evidence of such trifling allegations. Why did it happen?

So far as the Navy is concerned, Arnheiter is dead. His only hope for vindication lies in a congressional investigation, or in constant pressure by the press. He is one man, gravely wronged. So was Dreyfus.

### Noise Reduction

#### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, it is most unfortunate that blight seems to have become almost a way of life in America today. Decay in our cities, disfigurement of the countryside, air pollution which is ruining our lungs and killing many of our magnificent trees, and water pollution which is destroying plant and fish life as well as the natural scenic beauty of our lakes and streams.

And over it all hangs that horrible consequence of 20th century urban civilization—noise. Blaring horns, the rumble of trucks, construction clatter and bang, street drilling, and the shriek of jet airplanes all add to the cacophony with which we must contend each and every day of our lives.

Major steps have been taken to alleviate some of our many urban ills, thanks to the wisdom of our President. But little has been done to date to hold down the decibels.

However, there is a ray of hope. Noise is not just an unpleasant annoyance that must be endured as part of the price of progress, as President Johnson has so wisely seen. His proposal for abatement of jet aircraft noise should help to alleviate our most intolerable source of excessive sound.

It is clear that authority must be given to the Secretary of Transportation enabling him to certificate aircraft using noise as a criterion. The efforts in the area of research and development relating to noise reduction technology will be virtually meaningless in the absence of regulations to establish common standards.

The quality of our environment is a problem with which all of us in the Con-

gress should be concerned. Passage of H.R. 3400, which would implement the President's proposals, would represent a positive step toward improvement of this environmental quality.

### Detroit School Suit on Fiscal Equality

#### HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the Detroit Board of Education has begun a court suit which may prove to be one of the most significant legal actions of this decade. The suit threatens to end the long-standing disparity between rich and poor school districts.

The Detroit suit contends that education is a State responsibility, that the 14th amendment requires that the State provide equal education for all children, and that the entire State-aid program be revamped.

An excellent analysis of the Detroit position was presented March 5 in the Washington Post by J. W. Anderson. I commend this article to any of my colleagues who share my concern over the growing problems of education in this Nation, and by unanimous consent, I include the article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 5, 1968]

#### DETROIT SCHOOL SUIT ON FISCAL EQUALITY (By J. W. Anderson)

Detroit's School Board is now challenging, at last, the scandalous disparity between the rich suburban school districts and the poor urban ones. As a threat to the encrusted American tradition of free but unequal public education, the Detroit suit promises to be the most influential litigation since the great desegregation decisions 14 years ago.

For many years, Detroit argues, it has taxed property at the highest rates permitted by law and still it cannot match the quality of the schools in many other Michigan districts. Education is, after all, a state responsibility. If Michigan is going to educate its children, the city says, then the Fourteenth Amendment requires Michigan to provide equal education.

Prescribing equality of education is no simple matter in a big industrial state. Here Detroit makes a second claim, a truly radical one that moves far beyond dollars as a measure of equality. The city needs extra state aid to give the children of slums an equal opportunity, and the School Board's lawyers are asking the court to void any state aid law that fails to provide this additional help.

Harold Howe II, the U.S. Commissioner of Education, has been calling attention for some time to the nationwide inequities between city and suburb. "While the demands on the city's services and revenues have been increasing, its tax base has been decreasing as one corporation after another had heeded the siren song of handsome new industrial parks developed in the suburbs," Howe said last fall, in a plea to the States to revise their school aid laws. "Thus the proportionate amounts of money available to the city schools has been decreasing at the very time that the need for money has been increasing and as educational problems have become more intense."

A series of astonishing figures, developed by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, shows that school enroll-

ments are now actually rising faster in the central cities than in the suburbs throughout the country. This unexpected surge of new pupils is a burden for which the downtown schools are utterly unprepared.

As late as 1957, the Commission finds the central cities were still spending slightly more per school child, on the average, than were the suburbs. But by 1962 there had been a pronounced shift in favor of the suburban children. And by the school year 1964-65, when the cities were spending an average of only \$449 per pupil, their suburbs were spending \$573.

In the Washington area the difference was relatively modest: \$508 per child in the city schools, an average of \$562 in the suburbs. But in metropolitan Los Angeles it was \$424 in the city, \$654 in the suburbs. In Chicago it was \$433 in the city and \$578 in the suburbs; in Dallas, \$334 in the city and \$597 in the suburbs.

In Detroit, the Commission found, local taxes that year came to \$171 per capita. In Detroit's suburbs, they averaged \$141. But in the amount spent on schools, the comparison tilts in the other direction. Detroit could only spend \$454 per pupil, while its suburbs averaged \$539. Far more heavily taxed, the city was still unable to put as much into its schools as its suburban neighbors did.

But even dollar equality is not good enough. "These city children cost more to educate," Commissioner Howe said recently. "How much more? Nobody knows for sure. We can only guess at what it would actually cost to run a topflight city school system."

Detroit's School Board is asking the Wayne County Circuit Court (and beyond it, a succession of appellate courts) to enforce on Michigan a new definition of equality in school budgets. Statewide equality would mean, no doubt, the end of local school tax rates. The most obvious solution is a uniform state school tax that would be followed by a drift of budget decisions to the state level. It would be a severe wrench away from the custom of local control of schools, and it would come at a time when school systems are increasingly talking about decentralization. A very high order of political intelligence would be required to keep schools in touch with their surrounding communities if the main budget policies were being made by the State government.

Detroit's suit jeopardizes a pattern of local control as old as the public schools themselves. But in financing the schools, local option may indeed be no longer constitutionally supportable. By any definition of equality, the children of the big city slums are now suffering fiscal discrimination as damaging as the Southern racial discrimination of 14 years ago.

### We're Proud of Penelec

#### HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, Pennsylvania Electric Co. has a longstanding reputation for providing excellent service over a wide area of central Pennsylvania. It is also recognized as a mighty fine friend when it comes to community service and responsibility.

When Penelec and associated utilities decided to construct the giant Keystone mine-mouth generating station at Shelocta in Indiana County, Pa., residents of the area had every reason to be confident—on the basis of the company's excellent record—that the new facility would be designed in such a way as to

create minimum disturbance to the beautiful countryside.

Keystone responded with plans for cooling towers that reduce to a minimum the amount of water needed in steam generation and to preclude thermal pollution of the affected stream. It installed electrostatic precipitators that capture 99.5 percent of the fly ash that comes from coal combustion. And it constructed 800-foot stacks that disperse gaseous emissions far into the atmosphere.

Suddenly the striking industrial complex has become an appealing tourist attraction, a bonus that even the most optimistic could not have anticipated so early in the life of the installation that is now delivering power to the eastern seaboard. The large number of engineers and other personnel required to construct and maintain the plant, plus the work it provides for the men who man the mines which supply coal to the generating station, seemed reward enough to an area thankful for the economic stimulation Keystone was to bring.

On March 1 Penelec added some topping to its many contributions by presenting to Governor Shafer a long-term lease for developing as a public recreation area the lake built to supply the water for that plant. The 1,400-foot-wide body of water and 1,633 acres of land in Armstrong County will be maintained and operated by the Pennsylvania Fish Commission.

The Johnstown Tribune-Democrat's March 4 editorial, "Keystone Lake," explains the potential of the new recreation area. Under unanimous consent I insert it in the RECORD following reference to another Penelec project which adds still further to its stature as a good neighbor.

On March 5 Penelec announced its third annual evergreen tree program, a beautification project in which the company provides seedlings to be planted by local groups that include Granges, Scouts, 4-H Clubs, Future Farmers and Future Homemakers, campers, hikers, and even school classes as well as civic, business, and social organizations.

Penelec's program was inaugurated in 1966 as a practical approach to help make communities more attractive and to encourage sound conservation practices. Already more than 300,000 trees have been planted by 205 interested groups, and the total will exceed the half million mark this year.

Is there any wonder why central Pennsylvania is so proud of Penelec?

The Tribune-Democrat editorial follows:

#### KEYSTONE LAKE

Over the years, American industry has taken a lot of criticism (much of it deserved) about how it has exploited natural resources.

In more recent times, however, industry has taken one of the leading roles in conservation efforts.

Even beyond that, certain aspects of industrial development pay a dividend. For example, an industry's need for a supply of water sometimes pays off three ways—the industry gets its water; in doing so, conservation needs are observed; additionally, recreational facilities are provided.

That has happened with a project of the Pennsylvania Electric Co. Penelec has presented a long-term lease to Keystone Lake



and nearby land tracts to the state for use as a recreational area. The lake, located between Elderton and Sagamore in Armstrong County, serves the Keystone Electric Generating Station.

As a recreational area for use by Pennsylvanians, the sector will provide fishing, boating, picnicking and related outdoor activities.

So Keystone Lake will be serving industrial, conservation and recreational interests. The water will be used by the generating station. It will be pure enough to sustain fish life; therefore conservation is served. And it will offer a good place, within easy reach of many Johnstown district residents, for leisure activities.

More of this type of industrial-conservation coexistence would be welcomed.

## Miami's Progress in Housing for Elderly

### HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, as the population in America continues to grow by leaps and bounds, the need for suitable housing becomes more and more important. Already, there is a shortage of housing, in general, and of attractive and functional housing for the elderly and the underprivileged in particular.

An outstanding example of the progress being made in this increasingly important area of housing for the elderly appeared in the Christian Science Monitor of February 23, 1968. The Miami Housing Authority is to be commended for the imaginative and dynamic approach it has taken in the field of low-rent housing.

The article follows:

SMATHERS PLAZA: MIAMI—HOUSING FOR THE ELDERLY

(By Peg Robinson)

Civic agencies at times pick up an unflattering reputation for inefficiency. Not so the Miami (Florida) Housing Authority, known worldwide for its excellence. MHA chairman Martin Fine says the newly dedicated George A. Smathers Plaza "set a new standard for future buildings, both public and private."

Senator Smathers, speaking at dedication ceremonies Dec. 17, said "this magnificent new facility, which is complete with community center and surrounded by an attractive park environment, is tangible proof that housing for the elderly can be aesthetically pleasing as well as functional."

With the air of luxury apartments, the two structures—one six stories, one 13, plus a third, single story, for the senior day center—the complex might appear costly. It is not.

#### LOW COST NOTED

MHA executive director Haley Sofge cited \$10,238 a unit, which includes sidewalks, landscaping, parking surfaces, and community center.

This compares favorably with an Atlanta, Ga., project at \$13,500 and another at Nashville, Tenn., at \$12,500.

Neighbors were apprehensive lest public buildings would lower property values, but, forecast a Miami newspaperman, "It is clear the effect will be just the opposite."

So ready for occupancy were the "senior citizens" that 49 tenants celebrated Thanksgiving Day there, first of the 217 who moved in before Christmas. The average monthly rent is \$31.14; average yearly income of residents, \$1,551.

#### UNDERWRITTEN BY UNITED STATES

The program conducted in the one-story building emanates from the Metropolitan Senior Centers of Dade County.

While the \$1.9 million cost is underwritten by the federal government, it took two years to approve the design since nobody could find a precedent.

The original design by Miami architect Robert Bradford Browne uses only 10 percent of the 6.7 acres for the entire complex. The structures, of poured monolithic concrete exposed and stained, combined with tinted glass, are free of institutional gloom.

#### FINE PROJECTS

The halls are open to light and air, with offsets at intervals to give a sense of privacy.

Of its 172 dwelling units, 35 one-bedroom apartments accommodate couples and 137 efficiencies, single individuals, in a total of 575½ rooms.

According to Irby Giddens, MHA development director, five projects now under construction are:

A 17-acre site in the Perrine section for 128 family and 20 senior citizen units.

Scattered areas in Northwest Miami for 329 elderly people and 516 family units.

On the Miami River east of Robert King High Towers (another MHA accomplishment), 600 senior citizen units and 48 family apartments.

A northwest structure of 166 units for the aged and 11 family dwellings, and

The "Scott Homes," also northwest.

#### WOOD IMPRESSED

Inquiring whether Negroes want public housing in the downtown urban-renewal project, MHA discussed 147 acres in the central Negro district with spokesmen from chapters of the Urban League, Congress of Racial Equality, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Economic Opportunity Program.

Unanimously endorsed, 100 new units will be the first urban-renewal project.

Last November, Robert C. Wood, Undersecretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, after a countrywide tour of new sites, said he was impressed.

#### EXPANSION PLANNED

"If you can keep up with the progress made up to now, you will be an area in the forefront," he predicted.

The Smathers Plaza, a major accomplishment, was a kind of swan song for the MHA, which stepped aside Jan. 1 for Metropolitan Miami-Dade County take-over, having constructed 1,273 apartments in four years at a cost of \$14,899,633.

Mr. Sofge will occupy a similar office under the new aegis.

## The Federal Budget After Vietnam

### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the somewhat hopeful title I have given to my remarks is not meant as an indication that I join with those who envision a social-economic millennium upon the termination of the Vietnam conflict. To the contrary, I foresee many serious economic issues and decisions that we will have to face, and that we should begin now to study and evaluate them.

Recently I had the opportunity of preparing a paper for the Tax Foundation's 19th Annual Tax Conference on Decem-

ber 5, 1967, on this subject and I am inserting it in the RECORD at this point:

#### THE FEDERAL BUDGET AFTER VIETNAM

##### I. GOVERNMENT IN THE PRIVATE ECONOMY

Fortunately I can approach this subject with some intelligence, not my own, but that which has been supplied in compact and dynamic form by Dr. Martin R. Gainsbrugh in a paper delivered before the Subcommittee on Economy in Government of the Joint Economic Committee on May 10, 1967, entitled "The Government in the Market Economy" (pages 148-155, Part I of the Hearings before the J.E.C. on Economy in Government).

Dr. Gainsbrugh's statistics show clearly that the rhetoric propounded by the successful popularizer of the economic and political myth, Dr. Kenneth Galbraith, that the good guys with good works, namely the public sector, have been starved and the bad guys with bad works, namely the private sector, have been glutted is erroneous.

Let me recapitulate some of the data educed by Dr. Gainsbrugh for six of the seven economic dimensions he selected to determine the extent of government and private economic activity in our society.

The seventh dimension chosen by Dr. Gainsbrugh, government as a regulator or business structure and operations, I have omitted from my recapitulation. This is not because it is unimportant, but because it is into this area that, as a practicing political economist I would seek to channel the efforts of government as much as possible away from the other six areas, or dimensions, and it is by far the least expensive dimension of government.

##### Dimension 1. Government as a purchaser of goods and services

The combined expenditures of Federal, state and local governments, after eliminating duplications, were \$1.7 billion in 1903 and \$208.8 billion in 1966 (7.5 percent of GNP in 1903, 28.2 percent of GNP in 1966).

"The record of government as a purchaser clearly reveals that for two-thirds of this most prosperous century with its years of war and peace and of deflation and inflation, government demand has grown more rapidly than the private sector."

"The actual number of full-time equivalent workers directly employed in the public sector, including those in the armed forces, was about 14.6 million in March 1967, 60 percent of whom worked at the state and local level."

Direct government employment in 1929 totaled 3.3 million: 0.8 million Federal (0.53 civilian, 0.255 military) 2.5 state and local.

In 1947, the comparable figures were 7.1 million total: 3.5 Federal (1.9 civilian, 1.6 military) 3.6 state and local.

In 1966, total 14 million: 5.7 Federal (2.6 civilian, 3.1 military) 8.3 state and local (2.2 state, 6.1 local).

"In addition, estimates are available of the indirect employment arising from the \$67.9 billion of receipts of the private sector from government purchases in 1965. In combination, the direct and indirect employment arising from government totaled nearly 20 million jobs. Thus 26 out of 100 individuals employed in the U.S. in 1965 were at work directly or indirectly for the government. Two generations ago only 5 out of every 100 employed were public servants."

##### Dimension 2. Government as a supplier of free goods and services

Social welfare expenditures by all forms of government were in relative terms equivalent to 12 percent of GNP in fiscal 1966, while in 1900 they were about 2.4 percent and about 4.2 percent at the close of World War II.

Transfer payments from government represented about 8 percent of all personal income received by individuals in 1966 contrasted to 2 percent in 1929.

About 25 percent of the nation's entire

health and medical bill is met out of public revenues with medicare merely beginning.

In 1929, total government transfer payments were \$1.5 billion and 1.7 percent of personal income.

In 1966, the total was \$44.6 billion, 7.7 percent of personal income.

#### *Dimension 3. Government as a revenue collector*

In 1929, total government revenue was \$11.3 billion and 11 percent of GNP (\$3.8 billion Federal, \$7.5 state and local).

In 1944, total government revenue was \$51.2 billion and 24 percent of GNP (\$41 billion Federal, \$10.2 state and local).

In 1966, total government revenue was \$212.3 billion and 28.7 percent of GNP (\$142.5 billion Federal, \$69.8 state and local).

#### *Dimension 4. Government as a producer and seller*

Government's share of the total domestic tangible wealth has risen from about 7 percent in 1900 (or \$88 billion in current dollars) and 9 percent in 1929 (or \$423 billion) to an estimated 14 percent (or \$2,340 billion) in 1966. Conversely the share held by the private sector dropped from 93 percent in 1900 to 86 percent in 1966.

In 1958, of the total \$215 billion held by all governments, state and local governments held \$165 billion and the Federal government, \$50 billion.

However, in 1900 the Federal government's assets equalled its obligations. By 1958 the Federal government's debt had grown to be 8 percent greater than its assets.

In contrast, in 1900 the net worth of state and local governments (assets over their obligations) had increased from 3 percent to 6 percent of their obligations.

#### *Dimension 5. Government as money lender and guarantor*

Total outstanding Federal loans were: 1929, \$10 billion (\$2.2 guaranteed and insurance loans; \$7.8 direct); 1953, \$25.9 billion (\$15.8 guaranteed and insurance loans; \$10.1 direct); 1966, Est. \$136.3 billion (\$98.2 guaranteed and insurance loans; \$38.1 direct).

#### MORTGAGE DEBT OUTSTANDING AT YEAR END

(Dollar amounts in billions)

	Total, all holders	Financed or under- written by Federal credit agencies, total percent of all mortgages		Privately financed
		Amount	Percent	
1939.....	\$35.5	\$6.8	19.0	\$28.7
1950.....	72.8	24.9	34.2	47.9
1966.....	366.0	99.8	27.3	266.2

#### *Dimension 6: Government subsidy and quasi-subsidy*

"Federal subsidies have been estimated by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress to total about \$8 billion annually in recent years. The cumulative outlays for such purposes since 1950 are now about \$85 billion and this sum does not include veterans programs, foreign aid and some of the other major expenditures that might well be embraced in a broader definition of subsidy.

"Over half of all subsidies over this period has been extended to agriculture in connection with carrying costs and losses involved in price supports, agricultural surplus disposal abroad and soil-bank acreage restrictions. Business subsidies largely in the form of postal deficits and shipping and aviation subsidies have comprised about a fifth of all Federal subsidies. Subsidies to labor, largely for unemployment trust fund administration, have in turn totaled about \$6.5 billion or more than 7.5 percent of all subsidies. Other such aid has been directed toward home owners and tenants, private hospital

construction and health research facilities. Until very recently stockpiling of strategic materials had been regarded as a subsidy, but the new subsidy figures prepared by the Library of Congress no longer include this item. These stockpiles have of late been employed as an anti-inflationary device, with their actual or threatened release timed to exercise maximum leverage on efforts by private producers to raise prices, as in the case of aluminum or copper."

Martin Gainsbrugh has given us some dimensions by which to measure government extension into the market economy, but only to a limited extent has he given us the dimensions of the Federal government's extension vis-a-vis the state governments and the local governments. In considering a Federal budget it is important to have in mind not only total government vis-a-vis the private sector, but also the relationship between the three tiers of government, Federal, state and local.

Furthermore, it is important in considering the market economy to separate the two private sectors into for-profit and non-profit. The non-profit sector of the private economy becomes increasingly important as health, education, recreation, and welfare increases in importance in the society. Government in the U.S.A. has increased in size at the expense of both the for-profit and the non-profit private sectors. It would be valuable to know to what extent it is so for each. Furthermore, it would be valuable to know whether the ratio between the two segments of the private sector have changed materially in recent years.

However, data of this nature is hard to come by. For example, I have seen figures ranging from \$14 billion to \$17 billion as the amount of money that the private for-profit sector of our society spends annually on training and retraining. Both figures are really guesstimates, not truly estimates. It is also difficult to find what is spent on education in the non-profit sector, although not quite as difficult. Health figures are even harder to come by, and welfare figures are by far the most speculative.

Getting back to relationships of Federal, state and local government—Table 5 (Federal, State and Local Expenditures 1902-1966) in the Tax Foundation's 1967 *Facts and Figures on Government Finance* is quite informative.

1934 marks the first peacetime year that Federal expenditures exceeded local governmental expenditures, and 1941 represents the first peacetime year that Federal expenditures exceeded the combination of state and local governmental expenditures. Since then, the Federal government has continued to outstrip both state and local governments. Since the end of World War II, Federal expenditures have declined from a 2 to 1 ratio in respect to the combination of state and local expenditures to slightly below a 7 to 5 ratio. Incidentally state expenditures vis-a-vis local government rose from a 1 to 5 ratio in 1902 to a 1 to 1 ratio in 1950 where they have remained up to the present with just a slight adjustment giving a small margin in favor of local over state.

Since 1950, all three sectors of government have increased by over 200 percent. Federal expenditures rose from \$44.8 billion to \$137.8 billion in 1966, an increase of \$93 billion. State expenditures grew from \$12.77 billion in 1950 to \$38.2 billion in 1966, an increase of \$25.4 billion. Local expenditures increased from \$12.76 billion in 1950 to \$43.5 billion in 1966, an increase of \$30.7 billion.

#### II. FEDERAL FINANCES AFTER VIETNAM

If the events of the recent past have made anything clear, it is the enormous difficulty of forecasting Federal government revenues and expenditures in even one fiscal year. Long-term forecasts obviously are even more hazardous. Perhaps the only saving grace is that long-term forecasts, however inaccurate they ultimately prove to be, are usually forgotten and, if not forgotten, at least

forgotten. With that comforting thought in mind, I accepted your assignment today.

Discussions of post-Vietnam Federal finances are usually based on the assumption that nearly \$30 billion of war spending will almost immediately become available for other purposes. The implication is frequently made that we will be able to embark on a spending spree, particularly for those domestic programs which are said to be "starved" for lack of adequate financing.

I think it ought to be made clear at the outset that any sharp and sudden drop in defense expenditures at the end of Vietnam hostilities is highly unlikely. If anyone really expects defense expenditures to drop to the pre-Vietnam level, his perception of the world today and his reading of history are obviously different from mine.

It is quite clear that the end of the war will bring a de-escalation of defense costs related to Vietnam, but I suspect that such de-escalation will be somewhat gradual and that some of the funds spent for military purposes will necessarily be devoted to the important task of economic reconstruction to secure the peace.

In a world beset with hostility and continuing threats to American security, it also seems likely that other defense-related costs will rise and absorb at least part of Vietnam savings. The growing nuclear power of Communist China and the likelihood that she will develop a delivery capability in the near future has already led to a decision to construct a "thin" anti-ballistic missile defense system. If a decision is made to proceed with a complete system, which is at least possible, the costs will run to \$40 billion and very likely more.

The Middle Eastern crisis this summer and the recent threat of war between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus demonstrate again the kind of world we live in. However much we may want to avoid another commitment of American military power, we simply cannot count on our ability or our willingness to stand aloof from conflicts which threaten to upset world peace and stability. Certainly we must be prepared for any eventuality.

Finally, another source of growing defense expenditures arises from the rapid obsolescence of current military technology. For years the DEW Line served as our early-warning system against Soviet attack. Advances in technology have made the DEW Line obsolete and forced the development of more sophisticated and expensive systems of defense. I think there can be no reasonable doubt that this trend will continue into the future and put upward pressure on defense costs.

The only reason I have gone into this is to flash a caution signal for those who have already allotted Vietnam savings to their favorite domestic programs. I am very much afraid that such savings will be much less than we now anticipate. In addition, we cannot overlook the fact that we are starting from a budget deficit of \$20 to \$30 billion or more. Even if Vietnam costs were to disappear overnight, the budget would—at long last—be in reasonable balance with no large surpluses to spare.

I think the only reasonable assumption that can be made at this time is that the end of the Vietnam War would result in some reduction of defense expenditures over a period of a year or two, but probably significantly less than the full amount now being spent on the war. At the same time, a reasonable rate of increase in the gross national product would yield an additional \$10 to \$20 billion in administrative budget receipts at present tax rates.

Taking somewhat lower defense expenditures and higher revenues into account, we then have to choose between various policy alternatives such as tax reduction, increased outlays for essential services, additional aid to state and local governments, or debt reduction. These are the alternatives that the fiscal policy debate will revolve around after



Vietnam. What alternative or combination of alternatives should we choose? Let me indicate some of my own preferences and, in the process, at least suggest some guidelines which I believe should be followed in making that choice.

### III. GUIDELINES FOR FISCAL CHOICE

High on my list of priorities would be a reduction in the budget deficit and the problems of managing our public debt. It used to be said that deficits didn't really matter, but even the "new economists" now realize that the problems of debt management matter very much indeed. Not only may they hamstring monetary policy and create an inflationary potential in the economy, but if the deficits are too high, they put intense pressures on financial markets and contribute to the high interest rates which the "new economists" rightly deplore.

Anyone who questions the economic soundness of debt financing is likely to face the accusation that he thinks that debt is inherently evil. But this accusation is just a straw man designed to disguise the real issues. No one really thinks that debt is evil per se. But debt is an economic tool, like fire. It can be beneficial if properly used and destructive if misused. Every businessman knows that debt can be wealth-creating, neutral, or wealth-destroying, depending on how the funds acquired by debt are spent.

It is pointless to talk about debt in the abstract without any consideration of the spending to be made through debt financing. The real question for government is—are the funds borrowed from the public going to be used for permanent additions to the nation's wealth, including both its human and its physical capital, or for current but necessary outlays such as defense, protection of the wealth we have, or for temporary schemes to stimulate aggregate demand, which remove discipline in spending money wisely. This I deplore under any circumstances. Holding back legitimate government purchases of goods and services to wait more favorable markets is another matter, that is just good procurement practice and should provide all the flexibility needed for the Federal government to assist in smoothing out the economic cycles by increasing its purchases during economic downturn and holding back during periods of economic upturns. This kind of spending policy does not remove the disciplines needed to be certain that the dollar is spent efficiently. In other words, spending for spending's sake alone is to be eschewed.

In deciding whether or not to use the tool of debt financing, we must also consider the level of the Federal debt. If the debt is already too high in relation to economic activity and the wealth of the society, which it presently is, we should then be very reluctant to use debt other than to finance emergencies and avoid other projects, no matter how worthwhile. Even financing an emergency, such as war, requires that the proper debt ratio be sought as soon as possible after the emergency is over. For the next ten years, one of our budgeting objectives should be to get the Federal debt down below 20 percent of GNP.

What should be the proper size of the Federal debt? This question cannot be answered in a vacuum, but must be related to the amount of wealth and economic activity in the society.

The "new economists" seek to avoid the real issue by citing the fact that the Federal debt was 124 percent of GNP in 1946 and was only 45 percent of GNP in 1966, and then concluding that we are in a healthy fiscal situation. They imply that the economy can support a much higher debt at the present time, due to the increase in GNP since 1946. The fallacy in the theory of the "new economists" lies in the selection of the year 1946 as a benchmark. Is 1946 the year from which our progress (if any) in debt reduction is to be measured? The United States, of necessity, financed World War II heavily by debt

unparalleled in our nation's history. The question is not what the ratio was in 1946, but what it should be today. From 1870 to 1940, the ratio of debt to GNP in peacetime never rose above 20 percent.

There is little reason for rejoicing at a reduction of this ratio (which took over 20 years from its swollen postwar peak to a level more than double that which historically prevailed in the periods when the United States was growing most rapidly. The present level of the Federal debt gave us little flexibility to cope with possible future wars or economic crises which could require extensive deficit financing, as the "new economists" are now finding out. Interest rates have soared to their highest levels since the Civil War as a result of a war which the Administration boasts is not even a "large war," and is costing less in percentage of GNP than any previous war. Nor can this be defended as intentional inasmuch as the present Administration gives great lip service to the importance of maintaining low interest rates to attain social justice for the lower income groups and economic growth for us all.

In addition, two-thirds of the decrease in the burden of the debt (as measured by the debt-GNP ratio) is due to the serious depreciation of the dollar's value since 1946. This is one way to reduce the burden of the debt, because, through inflation, the government can relate its fixed obligations to dollars that are now worth less. It is, however, a very economically, costly, and socially inequitable way to reduce the debt burden.

Another way to make a judgment on the proper size of the Federal debt is to relate it to the physical wealth of the Federal government which backs up the debt. We can get some real insights into this ratio by comparing the Federal government's net worth with the net worth of state and local governments and of the private sector (both corporate and household sectors). In an article appearing in the *Morgan Guaranty Survey* (August 1966), Dr. John W. Kendrick pointed out that in 1900 the Federal government's assets equalled its obligations. By 1958, the Federal government's debt had grown to be 8 percent greater than its assets.

A favorite contention of the "new economists" is that the level of the Federal debt is not too high because the Federal debt has grown much more slowly since 1946 than the debt of state and local governments and the private sector. The statistical part of the argument is accurate, but it tells only part of the story. By choosing 1946 as a base year, the "new economists" have once again prejudged the argument in their favor. During World War II, while Federal debt was burgeoning, state and local governments actually reduced their debt because shortages of labor and materials made new building impossible for the duration. Similarly, private debt grew only slightly because of these same shortages. A large part of the percentage increase in state and local debt and private debt since 1946 must be attributed to the backlog of demand for construction projects and consumer goods which could not be obtained during the war.

The argument is also fallacious because it leaves out any mention of the net worth of the non-Federal sectors of the economy. From 1900 to 1958, the same period studied by Dr. Kendrick, the net worth of state and local governments (assets over their obligations) increased from 3 percent to 6 percent of their obligations. The surplus of asset holdings over debt obligations for state and local governments increased not only absolutely but as a percentage of total obligations. An even more striking picture holds true in the private sector.

I was disappointed that the Commission on Budget Concepts appointed by President Johnson to study and recommend reforms in the Federal budget advised against the establishment of a capital budget. I fully under-

stand the difficulties involved in determining whether expenditures are current or capital, but I think it is imperative that our Federal cost accounting reveal to the extent possible the useful life of goods procured. At present there are no such procedures.

There are many reasons for having this information. One in particular is in determining how the expenditure for the item is to be financed. For example, should the Federal highway program have been financed out of current general revenues, out of revenue bonds, or as it is out of earmarked taxes going into a trust fund over a period of 15 years? If the useful life of the highways could be considered to be thirty years instead of 15, then financing the capital asset through taxing the users could have been stretched out longer than the 15 years.

Debt is a very useful tool for financing a capital asset and spreading its charge more equitably over the total usage. Debt is a useful tool for financing emergency current expenditures out of future income. Yet using debt to finance emergency and necessary current expenses, such as for a war to preserve wealth, requires paying back that debt in an orderly fashion out of the future general revenues because this current expenditure for defense, though essential, creates no wealth to tax as does the capital expenditure for highways.

Likewise expenditures for retirement benefits are not in themselves wealth-creating and therefore must be identified as current rather than capital expenditures. This bears on the determination of whether these expenditures should be financed out of current general revenues, with debt, with a user tax trust fund concept, as the Federal highway program, or some other concept? The social security system is financed under a concept totally new to our other systems. It is a pay-as-you-go system with a small trust fund set up to guard against short run contingencies, financed by an earmarked tax which gives some appearance of being a "user tax," but upon analysis is not. It actually depends upon political assumptions, namely that Congresses of the future will vote the taxes to pay the benefits for the present taxpayers when they qualify for benefits under the law if it is still in existence when they reach the age of 65.

It is difficult to project Federal budgets into the future without having cost accounting which reveals the current or capital nature of the expenditure, unless all Federal governmental expenditures are to be treated as current.

While on this point, it is important to note that local governmental expenditures are rather clearly separated into current and capital expenditures inasmuch as most capital items are financed through bonds against general or special revenues. Furthermore, local governmental expenditures relate quite closely to preserving and enhancing the wealth which serves as the base of the tax so in some respect expenditures for maintaining schools, streets, fire and police protection all preserve and enhance the value of the real estate which lies at the base of the tax.

### Next priority tax rate reduction

In addition to reducing the budget deficit, I would place a high priority on tax rate reduction. Federal income tax rates, even after the 1964 cuts, are still beyond the point of diminishing returns and still causing judgments to be reached for tax reasons rather than economic reasons.

In other words, high tax rates still impede the full development of the present Federal tax base (economic activity) and also stunt the growth of the ultimate base upon which this base of economic activity itself relies, namely wealth. The tax take is, therefore, less than it would be if the rates were lower and applied to a larger base. We could

today embark upon a 20-year program of reducing Federal income tax rates every two years and continue to increase our Federal revenues.

The best tax system is that which encourages individuals and businessmen to increase their incomes and profits. I think there is no doubt that our tax system today is heavily weighed against such incentives.

In emphasizing both a reduction in taxes and in the government's budget deficit, I don't want to leave the impression that there will not be justifiable increases in public expenditures. Obviously, in a complex and growing society, gross public spending will increase over time, although not necessarily per capita public spending. The real questions are how fast spending is increasing and what the public funds are being spent for.

In theory, as a society grows in wealth and standard of living, increased choice between goods and between services—discretionary purchasing power—becomes of greater importance. Indeed, it becomes a valuable statistic in determining how the society is growing in influence. Discretionary purchasing power has two ingredients. 1. The purchasing power itself which can be, based upon choice, a consumer dollar or an investment dollar. 2. The increased variety of goods and services on the market from which to make the selection if the person decides it shall be a consumer dollar.

Reading between the lines, one can see that as variety of goods and services increase the percentage of the market once held by the purveyors of traditional lines of goods and services declines to make way for the new goods and services. Indeed, the old line may even be phased out completely, like the horse and buggy, if the new line meets the needs of the people better.

Government goods and services, Federal, state and local, are no different from products of agriculture, steel, power, chemical, etc., or services of transportation, communications, insurance, health or law, etc. As variety increases their percentage of the consumer dollar will decline. Of course, population increase may still provide a quantity increase in the demand of the goods and services. Furthermore, as productivity increases occur, the number of people necessary to provide the particular goods or services declines. Today 6 percent of the people produce the food and fiber for themselves and the other 94 percent. At the beginning of our Republic 94 percent of the people produced food and fiber for themselves and the other 6 percent of the society.

The points I am leading up to are these. There is no reason to assume that as our society becomes more affluent . . . and complex in the process, that government goods and services should assume a greater or even the same percentage of the purchasing dollar they have had. Quite the contrary, if productivity increases are coming about in the providing of government goods and services . . . and these productivity increases should be coming about . . . then fewer people should be providing the increased amount of goods and services, including an increased variety. And the total costs of these governmental goods and services should be a lower percentage of GNP or of purchasing power than before.

If 6 percent of the people can provide the agricultural needs of our society when formerly it took 94 percent . . . because of productivity increases and increased variety of goods and services available . . . then on the same logic a much smaller percent of our people can provide military defense to our society and do it by taking a lower percent of our GNP.

Indeed, technological advancement in military science has advanced rapidly, and it is quite clear that percentage-wise fewer people are required to be in uniform even during a war to defend the country than in the

Napoleonic wars and those wars leading up to the present one.

This factor becomes of basic importance in discussing Federal budgets of the future.

Government spending, Federal, state and local, must be related to governmental purposes—supplying the needs of the people for those goods and services which it is deemed to be most efficient to provide through the mechanisms of government. The governmental purposes must be translated into purchases of goods and services in order to achieve broad objectives or goals. To insure prosperity, to end poverty, to insure domestic tranquility, to provide for the national defense, and to promote the general welfare are goals. Only by developing specific programs can we fulfill these goals. This means spending for a purpose—a purpose that can and should be disciplined by modern cost accounting and by cost-benefit ratios. When the private sector can provide the goods or services needed, the government should provide them only in the event of other overriding social reasons.

One source of confusion that needs to be cleared up is the difference between the impact of the aggregate level of Federal spending and particular types of Federal expenditures. Some types of Federal expenditures are capital expenditures and do add to our productive capacity and the nation's stock of wealth, both physical and human. It should be clear that when the productive resources of our economy are fully employed, government spending for current consumptions or even for capital purposes takes resources that otherwise might be used to increase our capacity to produce.

Those economists and policy-makers who have emphasized the aggregate impact of Federal spending on economic activity have tended to erode the fiscal discipline upon what a sound expenditure policy must rest. The aggregate economists have said, in effect, that we must have spending for spending's sake, in order to stir up economic activity when aggregate demand is insufficient. This philosophy undermines a sound and wealth-creating expenditure policy.

If the purpose of Federal spending is to equate demand to the economy's capacity, then what does it matter what you spend the money for, so long as it is spent? In my view, expenditure policy must relate to what the money is spent for. If Federal outlays are for investment purposes, they must increase wealth and earnings. If they are for current expenditures, they should not exceed present revenues, except in periods of identifiable emergencies, and the length of those periods must be related to the basic wealth already in being. Military expenditures are designed to protect the wealth and the institutions of society today. But these expenditures are non-wealth creating in themselves, and should therefore be eliminated whenever possible and certainly supplemented as soon as possible by future wealth-creating expenditures.

We should always remember that direct Federal expenditures are not the only way to meet public problems. In fact, at present many ineffective and inefficient Federal programs address themselves directly to such problems as education, training, and retraining, and air and water pollution. Much direct and effective private sector aid could be channeled into these and other areas merely by providing tax credits against Federal income taxes.

Let me state the case for this most needed reform in Federal tax policy. This reform is in accordance with, indeed is really restating, American classic tax theory, namely, that we do not tax money which is being spent for a social purpose which, if it were not being spent privately, would require government expenditures. Putting it another way, we know that when we extract money from the private sector to pay for the expend-

itures of governmental services, we are going to have some impact on the economy. We seek to keep that impact at a minimum. We prefer not to tax low incomes, we prefer to tax high incomes, not so much for equity as efficiency in getting the money with the least economic impact. We prefer to tax wealth, not the process of creating the wealth. We do not tax money spent for desirable social purposes. Equity in tax law really relates to efficiency in collecting taxes. Taxpayers in the U.S. pay voluntarily—I think the psychology of making criminal penalties on tax evaders is not so much the threat to the evader as it is reassurance to the payer that all are in the same boat and no one is favored.

This is the theory of the tax neutralists. This is the classical tax theory in America. There is a new school of tax writers who are not neutralists. Because the power of taxation to produce economic efforts and to render economic decisions is so great, and I might add, so subtle, these theorists advocate an old system as if it were new, to mulct rather than to tax. They seek to write tax laws to deliberately produce economic decisions—their decisions—to channel expenditures into certain areas supplanting the private decision-making process with the political process.

In our Federal income tax laws, we have always given a deduction for donations to charitable and educational institutions. These new tax theorists say thereby the government subsidizes these institutions. I say we give the deductions not to subsidize, but rather on the theory that we do not wish to tax this area. As a matter of policy, set by law in expenditure policy, we prefer to obtain the money to run the government from other areas. This is money being spent for social purposes which, if it were not so spent, is requiring or well might require the government to spend it directly.

So a tax credit to individuals who spend money on education or businesses which spend for training, both of which I advocate, is entirely consistent with American classical tax theory. If the private sector does not spend the money for these purposes, then the people through their government would probably do so as a last resort—although I submit, much more inefficiently.

Much has also been said recently about the proper fiscal relationship between state and local governments, and the Federal government. I disagree with those who believe that the Federal government, either through revenue sharing or some form of block grants, can provide swift and flexible remedies to state and local fiscal problems.

In my view, revenue sharing and block grants are undesirable since they must inevitably involve some Federal control no matter how much people like myself will endeavor to minimize it—Congressional responsibility to the taxpayers it affects could not allow otherwise. The political pain of imposing taxes must always be tied to the pleasure of spending tax money if expenditure discipline is to be maintained to insure that programs are carefully designed and administered.

I also want tax collection for efficiency's sake to be close to the agency of government that is going to spend the money so that there is a minimum of cost in transferring the money from the agency that collects it to the agency that spends it. Also a closeness between the people who raise the revenue and those who spend it imposes a discipline on the spending agencies since they have a better understanding of the cost of spending.

Another reason I oppose revenue-sharing and block grants is because I believe the state and local governments can and must take better use of their own revenue sources. The Tax Foundation is familiar with my views on the property tax and how well it has



responded since World War II to meet local fiscal needs. In my view, the property tax is not overburdened but in many localities, particularly those states and local governments which cry "poor mouth" the loudest, it is poorly structured and in some scandalously and inequitably enforced, if enforced at all. It does need to be modernized in most communities, and there fortunately are states and localities which provide the prototype, if we will only start doing our homework to identify them.

The property tax, a tax on wealth, not economic activity I must stress, needs more understanding and certainly a lot of updating if we are to enjoy its maximum advantages. The property tax is dependent upon sound and equitable assessment policies which, in turn, depend upon sound zoning laws and up-to-date building codes equitably and vigorously enforced. It requires an understanding that idle land—raw land—should be taxed at a somewhat higher rate than improvement on the land, so that there will be an encouragement to put land to its most productive use. The property tax is the one tax of all the taxes available to governments that is antihording, the incentive of the imposition of the tax being to make the asset productive so that the earnings are available to pay the tax to preserve the net worth of the asset, and hording, I submit, is a basic sin to a productive economy.

Not only should land be taxed at a somewhat higher value than improvements, but land should also be assessed and taxed with major consideration given to the location of the land—its "site value." These tax procedures can readily and effectively be coordinated with zoning laws, local policy, and the work of the city planner.

I also advocate a payment to state and local governments of sums in lieu of real property taxes on Federal property and improvements located within a local jurisdiction. This tax reform is only basic equity inasmuch as the Federal agency derives the same benefits as other property holders from schools, streets, sewers, fire and police protection, et cetera, and it would, in an immediate and obvious sense, provide additional revenue for the state and local government. This tax change would also serve to impose a greater degree of discipline on the Federal government in its acquisition and retention of land for Federal purposes because of its conformance with up-to-date cost accounting.

The property tax should be the major fiscal tool of the local governments, but there is room for the implementation of other useful fiscal measures. Among the most promising fiscal techniques in terms of revenue potential and also tax equalization are the local payroll and the local income tax.

Local income taxes and payroll taxes assume a greater measure of desirability, first of all because they allow a shift in fiscal emphasis from the Federal government to the local government. By lessening Federal payroll and income taxes in favor of local payroll and income taxes, we spend our revenue directly from those people paying the taxes to those spending the tax revenue. This shortening of the distance traveled by the revenue dollar will result in a cutting of administrative costs. Secondly, greater local spending of increased local revenues means more of our spending will be subjected to the "discipline of closeness"—the discipline which emerges when people spending the dollars must also directly raise the tax revenue. Toward this end, I would develop the urban payroll and income taxes and provide that the urban income and payroll taxes levied be deductible from Federal obligations.

In developing an intelligent Federal budget, it becomes of paramount importance to determine what services and goods the government must provide in-house and what through the private sector.

It is noteworthy that Bulletin A76, which

has finally been updated by the Bureau of the Budget, establishes the guidelines for determining what government should produce for itself and that which it should procure outside the government. Unfortunately this Bulletin is little known and discussed by economists, accountants and political scientists. Here in many respects is the heart of the question of what our Federal budgets of the future are going to be like.

Just as there is an A76 to attempt to draw a rational line between the goods and services to be provided by the Federal Government vis-a-vis the private sector, so there should be the counterpart of A76 to draw a rational line between that which should be provided by local or state government vis-a-vis the Federal government.

Furthermore, A76 only gives us insight into the goods and services provided by the for-profit private sector vis-a-vis government. There should be an A76 to establish the guidelines to determine when the non-profit sector of the private sector should be providing the goods or services vis-a-vis both government and the for-profit sector.

I must admit to a bias against the non-profit sector . . . to a degree. My definition of a non-profit organization is one with a poor accounting system. Capital, whether used by government, non-profit or profit organization, is a reality. It must be procured like anything else in the market. If the capital is to exist, people must save and to save they must have some incentive . . . and once having saved there must be a further incentive to have them invest . . . spend the savings for creating new wealth, in the form of factories, machinery, trained manpower and management.

This brings me to my final, and perhaps most important, point. How large should government be in relation to the private economy? At what point does the growth of government weaken the private economic structure upon which government itself depends for its revenues? There are not yet any definitive studies on the subject, but my suspicion is that we are rapidly reaching this point in the United States.

Dr. Gainsbrugh of the National Industrial Conference Board, as I have said, testified earlier this year on this subject. He pointed out that "the long-run secular trend indicates government absorbing an even larger share of national output, thereby expanding its influence not only as to what shall be produced but also where and by whom."

Some of the figures are startling. Government—Federal, state and local—took less than 11 percent of the nation's current output as recently as 1947, but by last year, the figure had nearly doubled. The employment picture shows the same trend. In 1965, 26 percent of all individuals employed were working directly or indirectly for government. Two generations ago, the figure was only 5 percent.

As you might expect, the growth of government has been accomplished by a considerable step-up in the rates of taxation. The public sector today collects the equivalent of about 29 percent of our national output compared to 17 percent nearly 30 years ago. Federal receipts alone are now greater than the nation's total annual output as recently as 1941.

One of the most striking and important discoveries in the Gainsbrugh study was the movement of government into areas of activity previously reserved for tax-paying enterprises. The government's share of domestic tangible wealth has increased from about 7 percent in 1900 to 9 percent in 1929, to an estimated 14 percent in 1966. Perhaps the classic illustration of government intruding into industries previously financed and owned privately is the electric power industry.

There is more that could be mentioned if time permitted—government as money lender and guarantor, government subsidies and

their effects, and the growing regulation of business by government. But I think enough has been suggested to indicate the dimensions of the threat which exists to our private economic system. I can think of no more meaningful subject for study by the Tax Foundation and the Joint Economic Committee than that of the optimum size of government in relation to the private sector and the threat to our system posed by the growing economic power of government.

These, then, are some of the vital guidelines which I believe we should steer by in the coming decade. I wish I could confidently report that the debate on our future fiscal policy is proceeding constructively and free of the mythology of the "new economics." What concerns me most is that many of the right questions are not yet even being asked. The only hopeful sign I see is the growing awareness that government is not necessarily the only or the most effective instrument to meet social needs. The increasing interest in mobilizing the talents, capital, and energies of the private sector to meet public needs is encouraging but requires constant emphasis and attention. I hope that the Tax Foundation will make this—and some of the other subjects which I have discussed today—an important part of the program of study and public education in the years ahead.

## Census Reform Support Growing

HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, the need for a limitation on compulsory census questions, provided for in my bill, H.R. 10952, is endorsed day after day by the newspapers of this country. Letters from hundreds of citizens reflect the same strong belief that personal privacy must be protected by eliminating many prying inquiries or providing that most questions may be answered voluntarily. I am delighted that so many Americans share my concern and are appealing for congressional action.

It is not necessary for me to belabor the issues concerning the press in calling for census reform. I commend the following editorials to my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, as they persuasively demonstrate why 1968 must be the year to protect personal privacy by adopting census reform legislation.

The editorials follow:

[From the Wilmington (N.C.), Sunday Star-News, Feb. 18, 1968]

IS PRIVACY SACRED?

Should a person be liable for a fine and jail term for refusing to answer a Census question about his plumbing?

Is one's Constitutional right to privacy violated if the Bureau of the Census compels him to answer whether he owns an air conditioner, how many weeks he worked the previous year, and how many times he's been married?

Several Congressmen think so. They object to the 50-question, 20-page questionnaire which the Bureau of the Census plans to mail to one-fourth of the U.S. households in 1970. Failure to answer all questions can result in a \$100 fine and 60 days in jail.

Congressman Jackson Betts of Ohio who doesn't like it, has introduced legislation to limit the questions in the Census of Population and Housing that can be asked under penalty of fine and imprisonment. "I feel

it is outrageous that the citizens should be threatened with imprisonment for failure to comply," he told Congress.

A majority of independent businessmen feel the same way. A poll conducted by the National Federation of Independent Business found 83 per cent of the business proprietors in favor of Congressman Betts' legislation, with only 13 per cent opposed, and 4 per cent undecided.

In North Carolina, 81 per cent are in favor, 13 per cent opposed, and six per cent undecided.

The nation's independent businessmen, who frequently complain about the increasing paperwork required of them by the government and the continual invasion of privacy, are obviously receptive to the arguments put forth by Congressman Betts on the Census questionnaire.

He points out that if a citizen wishes to assert his right of privacy, by refusing to answer Census questions, he may be subject to prosecution like a criminal. The penalties were provided years ago to promote compliance and accuracy, but since then, the questionnaire has been expanded to include questions of housing, unemployment, and personal history.

Congressman Betts, calling the proposed questionnaire, "a monstrosity," says the form has deviated from its original Constitutional purpose, which is to determine the population of the states so that the House of Representatives can be apportioned. Congress has failed to assert some control over the Census and protect the right of privacy, he says.

"Does the government need to know if a person has an air conditioner, the condition of his plumbing and if he shares his shower?" he asked in appealing for Congressional action. "I don't really think so."

"These are questions that simply require the taxpayers to conduct market research for private industry."

His bill would limit the categories of questions which a person must answer under penalty of law to a few essential ones: name and address, relationship to the head of the household, sex, date of birth, race, marital status, and number of visitors in the household at the time of the census.

Any other questions would be asked on a voluntary response basis.

The Bureau of the Census has answered criticism by saying the restriction "would devalue the significance and importance of the national Census at a time when its results are more critically needed than ever before."

Congressman Betts contends that the proposed form is so long and complex that many persons will be overwhelmed by it and others will object to "its detailed trivia." He expressed the possibility that "the nuisance of it all may in fact decrease accuracy."

Putting the few essential questions on a computer punch card would better promote accuracy, he suggested.

Congress has put up little resistance to the infringement of privacy, he said, because information did not circulate so widely.

But now, there is a proposal for a Federal Data Bank, a computer system which would combine information from various government agencies to develop a complete dossier of information on an individual.

"The dimensions of this are momentous," Representative Betts told a Congressional subcommittee. "Information is power and the government would have complete files on everything about a person within minutes after the push of a button."

[From the Meriden (Conn.) Journal, Feb. 16, 1968]

#### THE NOSY CENSUS TAKER

In 1970 one-fourth of the households in the United States will get a 20-page, 50-question form to fill out, and even now it's being described as an invasion of privacy.

If you refuse to answer questions on the form you can be arrested, fined \$100 and be put in jail for 60 days.

The original intention of the census was to take a count of the people of the states so that the House of Representatives could be reapportioned. It has since become that and a lot more. You may be asked anything now from whether you share a shower to how many days you worked last year and how many times you've been married.

The feeling that it's none of the government's business is beginning to grow. Several congressmen are trying to rally support for legislation to restrict what the census taker is permitted to ask you. A poll conducted by an organization of independent businessmen found 83 percent of its members in favor of this kind of legislation. In Connecticut the figure was 80 percent. Significantly, a lot of information collected by the census amounts to free market research for industry. Even businessmen, as the poll would indicate, are opposed to this.

A bill proposed by U.S. Rep. Jackson Betts of Ohio would limit the categories of census questions a person must answer to essential ones: name and address, relationship to the head of the household, sex, date of birth, race, marital status, and number of visitors in the household at the time of the census.

The Bureau of the Census defends its nosiness by saying restrictions "would devalue the significance and importance of the national census at a time when its results are more critically needed than ever before."

Significant to whom? Important to whom? Critical by whose standards? Will someone explain?

[From the Toledo (Ohio) Times, Feb. 19, 1968]

#### CENSUS SNOOPING

The U.S. Constitution provides that a census of the population shall be taken every 10 years for the purpose of determining the apportionment of the House of Representatives. The Census Bureau is attempting to convert this simple head count into a nationwide snooping operation into the personal affairs of the people of this country.

For example, the bureau proposes to ask people if they have been married more than once and what was the date of their first marriage. In what way do these questions contribute to determining congressional apportionment? If a congressional district has 10,000 persons who have been married twice, three, or nine times, how does this alter the membership of the House? After all, a man does not get one vote for having one wife and two votes for having had two marriages.

Another proposed question, rather impertinent we think, is, "Do you share a shower?" Or try this question for absolute insanity, "How do you enter your home?"

The amount of rent payments, the value of your property, and many questions concerning your home equipment and appliances are to be asked in the 1970 census in a nation which once maintained that a man's home is his castle. The census takers also are interested in knowing if you have a radio, a television, a telephone, a clothes drier, a home food freezer.

What purpose, and more important, what business is it of the Federal Government's to ask if you own a particular appliance or gadget? Such information might well be of value to the manufacturers of these appliances so that they could concentrate selling campaigns in areas where few of their products are in use. But the question arises whether it is the function of the Federal Government to use tax money to conduct research for private industry. Let the appliance manufacturer conduct his own research if he wants new markets for his products.

Rep. Jackson E. Betts, an Ohio Republican, has introduced legislation to limit the official census of population to seven simple, direct questions which he says will meet constitu-

tional requirements for congressional districting.

Says Mr. Betts: "These questions would be mandatory and any other question would have to be listed on a separate form marked plainly as voluntary and could contain such sociological and household research items as government, business, or academics desired."

As it stands now Americans will be threatened with a 60-day jail sentence or \$100 fine for not responding to questions having nothing to do with essential facts about population. We agree with Representative Betts that Congress should act before the 1970 census to prevent harassment of people living in the United States by questions which are nobody's business but their own.

[From the San Rafael (Calif.) Independent Journal, Feb. 12, 1968]

#### WHAT IS LEFT OF FREEDOM WITH NATIONAL DATA BANK?

"The more than 120 bits of information which our citizens could be required to give the Census Bureau in 1970 may seem harmless in themselves. If each answer were separated from the respondent's name and the files confidentially maintained in Census Bureau, perhaps personal privacy would not be threatened by this extensive citizen interrogation by our government. Even today, however, this is not the case with the sale and sharing of so much population and housing data by the Census Bureau. Tomorrow, a national data bank will be the center for consolidated personal factsheets on every American and present protections of privacy may be thrown to the winds."

The speaker was Rep. Jackson E. Betts, R-Ohio, in behalf of his resolution to reduce to seven the number of 1970 census questions every American head of a family would be required to answer.

Rep. Jerome R. Waldie, D-California 14th District, would go farther. He would make no question compulsory.

What concerns these two and other congressmen is a long list of questions proposed by the Census Bureau, with a provision that refusal to answer could result in a federal prison term. The matter is now in the hands of a House committee.

The growing snooper of the census is interesting.

The first federal census, in 1790, asked only for name of head of family, address, number of free white males of 16 years and up, free white males under 16, free white females, all other free persons, and number of slaves.

The list of questions gradually lengthened until it totaled 45 in the 1890 census—the 10th. At that point, somebody apparently called a halt, for it was down to 21 in the 1900 census and 20 a decade later. Then it began creeping up again, totaling 31 on the latest census, in 1960.

However, in 1960 something new was added: a census of housing. This was a "sample" census. A designated number of householders in each census tract was asked a long list of questions, including: "Is there a bathtub or shower?" and if so, "Is it shared with another household?" Check which fuel used for heating, cooking, heating water. How many televisions, radios? Is there a washer? A dryer? Gas or electric? Etc., etc.

Now the Census Bureau proposes to include these, plus five new ones, in the 1970 decennial population census. It proposes that everybody would have to answer—or face a prison term.

This is what has aroused Betts, Waldie and some others in Congress.

Involved are (1) invasion of privacy, (2) what may be done with the data collected, and (3) compelling that the person answer, with refusal to do so a federal crime more serious than driving a stolen automobile across a state line.

Aside from the penalty for not answering,



the question of use of the answers is a very serious one. The Census Bureau proposes to feed them into a computerized national data bank which would provide cradle-to-grave information on everyone in the U.S.

Beside such a data bank, "Big Brother" in George Orwell's "1984" would be but a fumbling amateur. If every resident were required to lay bare all sorts of personal information in answering more than 120 census questions—with the alternative being a federal prison term; and if all his answers were then fed into the data bank, along with his income tax returns, military record, or no telling what else—what privacy would there be left to invade and who, even in jest could call himself a free man?

[From The Tulsa (Okla.) Tribune, February 14, 1968]

#### UNCLE SAM'S LONG NOSE

The Census Bureau is planning to ask a lot more personal questions in 1970, according to Congressman Betts of Ohio.

He says they will inquire: How many people share your bathroom? If you have been married more than once, how did your previous marriages end? How do you enter your home? What is the value of your property?

Not only that, but they now want the right to conduct a national census every five years, instead of every decade.

We can see how an intelligent head count, along with some pertinent public data, can help our government conduct its business more effectively, and we have no objection to that.

But if the Census Bureau is going this route, we have some questions of our own to ask first:

In an age when privacy for the individual is shrinking relentlessly, is this sort of official pry really justified? Are not the gains in terms of governmental efficiency in danger of being outweighed by the loss of private identity which Americans like to feel?

When every American is punch-carded, processed and computerized down to the most personal of detail, what will we really have gained?

It is said that every animal has a "shelter instinct," a form of psychological retreat from which he can exclude all other animals. Who voted in favor of Uncle Sam poking his nose in there?

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) Star, Feb. 18, 1968]

#### INVASION OF PRIVACY

The Fourth Amendment of The Constitution of The United States of America reads in part, "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects . . . shall not be violated."

On Monday Representative Jackson E. Betts (R-O.) told the Women's National Republican club that the questions planned to be asked in the 1970 census constitute a violation of this amendment.

Such questions as "How many people share your bathroom?" "If you have been married more than once, how did your previous marriages end?" and others violate the precepts of the Fourth Amendment.

Betts said the penalty to be imposed for not answering these questions is a "fine of \$100 or 60 days in jail." He says this is a clear violation of constitutional guarantees, such as the "secure in your papers clause, and the freedom from arrest clauses."

We've said before that such questions are nobody's business except the individual involved. A person's name, address, age, occupation, race, sex and other germane questions are properly part of the business of head counting, which is the primary purpose of the census.

But a person's physical habits, marriages or lack of them, whether he uses the front or the back door is by no means the business of a government of free individuals. Such ques-

tions are the ones you might expect to be asked in a totalitarian state like the Soviet Union but not in the USA.

Before 1970 and the census rolls around we strongly urge Congress to pass legislation limiting the questions so that they do not in any way invade the privacy of the least or the greatest in this land.

[From the Long Beach (Calif.) Independent-Press-Telegram, Mar. 2, 1968]

#### CENSUS MAY ASK FOR UNNECESSARY ANSWERS

(By L. A. Collins, Sr.)

"Should a person be liable for a fine and jail term for refusing to answer a census question about his plumbing?" The above question is out of a release from the National Federation of Independent Business. It goes on to ask:

"Is one's constitutional right to privacy violated if the Bureau of the Census compels him to answer whether he owns an air conditioner, how many weeks he worked the previous year, and how many times he's been married? Several congressmen think so. They object to the 50-question, 20-page questionnaire which the Bureau of the Census plans to mail to one-fourth of the U.S. households in 1970. Failure to answer all questions can result in a \$100 fine and 60 days in jail.

"Congressman Jackson Betts of Ohio who doesn't like it, has introduced legislation to limit the questions in the Census of Population and Housing that can be asked under penalty of fine and imprisonment. 'I feel it is outrageous that the citizens should be threatened with imprisonment for failure to comply,' he told Congress. A majority of independent businessmen feel the same way. A poll conducted by the National Federation of Independent Business found 83 per cent of the business proprietors in favor of Congressman Betts' legislation, with only 13 per cent opposed, and 4 per cent undecided.

"The Nation's independent businessmen, who frequently complain about the increasing paperwork required of them by the government and the continual invasion of privacy, are obviously receptive to the arguments put forth by Congressman Betts on the Census questionnaire (when applied to individuals). He points out that if a citizen wishes to assert his right of privacy, by refusing to answer Census questions, he may be subject to prosecution like a criminal. The penalties were provided years ago to promote compliance and accuracy, but since then, the questionnaire has been expanded to include questions of housing, unemployment, and personal history.

"Congressman Betts, calling the proposed questionnaire, 'a monstrosity,' says the form has deviated from its original Constitutional purpose, which is to determine the population of the states so that the House of Representatives can be apportioned. Congress has failed to assert some control over the Census and protect the right of privacy, he says. 'Does the government need to know if a person has an air conditioner, the condition of his plumbing and if he shares his shower?' he asked in appealing for Congressional action. 'I don't really think so. These are questions that simply require the taxpayers to conduct market research for private industry.' His bill would limit the categories of questions which a person must answer under penalty of law to a few essential ones: name and address, relationship to the head of the household, sex, date of birth, race, marital status, and number of visitors in household at the time of the census.

"The Bureau of the Census has answered criticism by saying the restriction 'would devalue the significance and importance of the national Census at a time when its results are more critically needed than ever before.' Congressman Betts contends that the proposed form is so long and complex that many persons will be overwhelmed by it and others

will object to 'its detailed trivia.' He expressed the possibility that 'the nuisance of it all may in fact decrease accuracy.' Putting the few essential questions on a computer punch card would better promote accuracy, he suggested.

"Congress has put up little resistance to the infringement of privacy, he said, because information did not circulate so widely.

"But now, there is a proposal for a Federal Data Bank, a computer system which would combine information from various government agencies to develop a complete dossier of information on an individual.

"The dimensions of this are momentous,' Representative Betts told a Congressional subcommittee. 'Information is power and the government would have complete files on everything about a person within minutes after the push of a button.'

This is one issue that will take a lot of support from the people back home if Congress is to adopt the bill introduced by Rep. Betts. The bill is H.R. 10952. If you feel there should be fewer questions to be answered you should write Congressman Hosmer and any other members of the House you may know. The Census Bureau is now working out the 20-page questionnaire to be printed next year.

[From the Mount Vernon (Ohio) News, Feb. 22, 1968]

#### PROTECTION FOR PRIVACY

Sen. Frank J. Lausche proposes legislation to block penalties against anyone who does not wish to answer some of the more personal questions planned for the 1970 census.

As it now stands, you can be fined up to \$100 for refusing to tell the value of your home, whether you worked last week, and a few other questions in that vein.

Rep. Jackson E. Betts of Ohio has been complaining for some weeks about a census invasion of privacy, and Sen. Lausche proposes to do something about it.

The senator's proposal deserves consideration and, probably, enactment.

We'll grant that census data of this type may be valuable to specific businesses, but why should the taxpayers' money be used to gather data for specific businesses, and why is it any of the government's business at what age you had your last baby, what you think your home is worth, or—as long as you are not getting government aid—if you worked last week?

Yes, we know the Bureau of the Census tells us its records are confidential, and such figures are used only statistically. There have been too many tales of government snoopers getting into income tax records, first class mail, and other supposedly private and confidential information. Federal income tax records are now open to states and cities for local income tax checks.

We are fast losing the privacy which is the right of every free person, and the census of 1970 would be a good time to call a halt to the erosion of this right.

Rep. Betts, Sen. Lausche, and others who seek to defend this right deserve support in their effort.

[From the Greenfield (Ind.) Reporter, Feb. 13, 1968]

#### HOW FAR SHOULD THE CENSUS GO?

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Is one's Constitutional right to privacy violated if the Bureau of the Census compels him to answer whether he owns an air conditioner, how many weeks he worked the previous year, and how many times he's been married?

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to one-fourth of the U.S. households in 1970. Failure to answer all questions can result in a \$100 fine and 60 days in jail.

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A majority of independent businessmen feel the same way. A poll conducted by the National Federation of Independent Business found 83 per cent of the business proprietors in favor of Congressman Betts' legislation, with only 13 per cent opposed, and 4 per cent undecided.

In Indiana, 84 per cent are in favor, 11 per cent opposed, and 5 per cent undecided.

The nation's independent businessmen, who frequently complain about the increasing paperwork required of them by the government and the continual invasion of privacy, are obviously receptive to the arguments put forth by Congressman Betts on the Census questionnaire.

He points out that if a citizen wishes to assert his right of privacy, by refusing to answer Census questions, he may be subject to prosecution like a criminal. The penalties were provided years ago to promote compliance and accuracy, but since then, the questionnaire has been expanded to include questions of housing, unemployment, and personal history.

Congressman Betts, calling the proposed questionnaire, "a monstrosity," says the form has deviated from its original Constitutional purpose, which is to determine the population of the states so that the House of Representatives can be apportioned. Congress has failed to assert some control over the Census and protect the right of privacy, he says.

"Does the government need to know if a person has an air conditioner, the condition of his plumbing and if he shares his shower?" he asked in appealing for Congressional action. "I don't really think so."

"These are questions that simply require the taxpayers to conduct market research for private industry."

His bill would limit the categories of questions which a person must answer under penalty of law to a few essential ones: name and address, relationship to the head of the household, sex, date of birth, race, marital status, and number of visitors in the household at the time of the census.

## H.R. 15859: Needed Legislation for Beautification of Public Buildings

**HON. CLAUDE PEPPER**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I am again introducing legislation to require that at least 1 percent of the money available to construct Federal buildings shall be used to provide for decorative art in such buildings.

During my entire career as a legislator, I have been concerned with the cultivation of art and the encouragement of American artists. In 1938, I introduced a bill, S. 3296, into the 75th Congress to provide for a permanent Bureau of Fine Arts. As a Senator, I also authored S. 2967 in the 76th Congress. Neither of these bills were enacted, but my interest in this legislation never flagged. I was privileged, 27 years later, to intro-

duce H.R. 6196 in the 89th Congress, to establish a National Foundation on Arts and Humanities and strongly supported the extension of this act earlier this month when it came before the House. It was, of course, a great source of satisfaction to me that the Congress established a National Foundation and that it now promises to aid in promoting excellence in artistic endeavor, befitting a mature, civilized nation.

My bill requiring artwork in public buildings grows out of this long interest in the arts. Certainly the quality of our architecture is a clear sign of our appreciation of beauty. It was Winston Churchill who said:

We shape our buildings; thereafter they shape us.

Public buildings which are drab testify to a dearth of spiritual sensitivity. But a building enhanced by fine paintings, murals, or sculpture truly helps "shape" the esthetic appreciation of those who enter.

I think it is important to note that this bill is another effort in a general reawakening of our Nation's awareness of "beautification."

The President's Task Force on the Preservation of Natural Beauty recently reported:

The Federal Government . . . is the greatest single builder and landowner in the Country. As a consequence—though often without specific intent—it greatly influences the quality of our environment merely as a matter of good housekeeping. The Federal Government should insure that its physical installations not only serve their immediate purposes efficiently but also enhance the appearance of their general setting.

I think this bill I am introducing will serve the purposes espoused by the President's task force, as well as the President himself who said in his message on natural beauty that beautification "requires attention to the architecture of building."

Some Federal agencies involved in construction activities have shown admirable attention to the importance of art. The Federal Housing Administration, for instance, in a policy statement of February 27, 1964, emphasizes the use of art by American artists in multifamily housing projects developed with FHA mortgage insurance. FHA authorized up to 1 percent of the estimated cost to be spent for art.

My bill would extend this kind of due concern for beauty in building to the structures built or contracted by the Federal Government for its own use.

In summary, the legislation I am introducing today will: first, benefit artists, by providing them opportunities for creating decorative art; second, beautify our public buildings, by requiring at least 1 percent of the cost to be used on decorative art in these buildings; and third, further art itself, by encouraging the creation of murals, mosaics, paintings, sculpture, ironwork, pottery, weaving, wood carving, stonework, and artistic work in other media.

The bill establishes an advisory board which will advise and consult with the Administrator of General Services in carrying out the intent of this bill. The board will be composed of the Chairman of the National Endowment for Arts, the

Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute, and seven other members appointed by the Administrator from among private citizens interested and experienced in artistic fields.

Mr. Speaker, this Nation is second to none in economic and political power. But the noblest aspirations of a people come to expression in the artifacts of their creative genius. I should hope that our public buildings would be not only monuments to our power but symbols of our appreciation of artistic achievement.

I am privileged to continue my own efforts to further art in America with this bill. And I am heartened that with our present national awareness of beauty in our environment, this measure will be promptly and carefully considered by the Congress.

March Newsletter of Congressman  
Jack Edwards

**HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the message contained in the March newsletter of my colleague Congressman JACK EDWARDS. His comments are as follows:

### DON'T BLAME THE RIOTERS

Well the President's Commission studying last summer's riots has reported and has found everyone at fault but the rioters. While this is not surprising, it nevertheless is disgusting to read a 250,000 word report which took 7 months to prepare only to find that, they feel, police brutality ranks as one of the major causes of the riots.

Now we will be called on to spend about \$2 billion each month to cure all the ills of the rioters. Sure jobs and education will help, but interestingly enough the report found that those arrested in the riots in Detroit last summer had a higher than average education and most of them had a good job.

I guess the riot report will give the lagging Great Society a real shot in the arm. However, early reaction in Congress would indicate a very cautious attitude. There is a general feeling, in which I concur, that crime, violence and riots must not be rewarded.

### NEW FLAG FILM

I am happy to announce the availability of a 15 minute film depicting the history of the American flag which is for use through my office.

This 16MM color and sound movie was produced by the U.S. Marine Corps and it illustrates many important happenings in our history through tracing the symbol and use of the American flag.

The film, *The Story of Old Glory*, is perfect for use by schools, civic clubs, church groups, scout meetings and is one that will be enjoyed by all age groups.

The film can be obtained on a loan basis by contacting my Mobile Office, 319 Federal Building, 433-3581, ext. 404.

### GOOD NEWS FOR OUR RIVER SYSTEM

The President's Budget for fiscal year 1969 contains the following items of interest in Southwest Alabama.

I will be working to obtain appropriations for these projects which mean so much to the growth of our area. All projects are under control of the Corps of Engineers.



Alabama River—\$110,000 for operation and maintenance.

Alabama River Channel—\$1,261,000 for construction.

Bayou La Batre—\$80,000 for operation and maintenance.

Claiborne Lock and Dam—\$4,900,000 for construction.

Dauphin Island Bay—\$25,000 for operation and maintenance.

Millers Ferry Lock and Dam—\$8,900,000 for construction and \$400,000 for operation and maintenance.

Mobile Harbor—\$1,200,000 for operation and maintenance.

Mobile Harbor (Hollinger's Island Channel)—\$57,000 for general investigation.

Perdido Pass—\$402,000 for construction.

Tennessee Tombigbee Waterway—\$500,000 for advance engineering and design.

#### DID I GET YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE?

Every residence in the 1st District should have received my 4th Annual Legislative Questionnaire last month. If you have not yet completed yours and returned it to me, please do so today for I value your opinion on these important matters which are being considered in Congress.

#### WHAT NEXT L. B. J.?

It seems a good percentage of those VIP's invited to the White House for official functions recently have been show business personalities. It must be paying off, because now the American taxpayer is being called on for \$200,000 to "prop a flop". The money has been earmarked for the purchase of tickets to sagging Broadway shows!

If the shows are good we will buy our own tickets; if they are not, we won't. What is wrong with this simple economic fact?

Should the Senior Bowl and Junior Miss Pageant be eligible for a federal grant in the event they have vacant seats at performances? This action further points up the little regard this Administration has for the taxpayers of our country.

#### EDWARDS LEGISLATION

Listed below are bills I have introduced in the House of Representatives recently. I will work for the passage of these measures and will continue to press for favorable action on other bills I have pending in committee.

H.R. 13983—Amend Title I of the Housing Act of 1949 to protect state and local governments against the loss of tax revenues which would otherwise result from acquisitions of property in Urban Renewal projects.

H.R. 12208 and H.R. 14256—To protect American iron, steel and textile companies from unwarranted foreign competition and to assist in the balance of payments problem.

H.J. Res. 996—To amend the Constitution to give Congress the power to override decisions of the Supreme Court, by a two thirds vote of Congress.

H.R. 14777—Amend Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to allow state and local school authorities to plan their school programs without outside interference.

H.R. 14959—To amend the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act to prescribe penalties for the possession of depressant, stimulant, and hallucinogenic drugs by unauthorized persons; to increase penalties for the unauthorized sale, delivery, or disposition of such drugs; and for other purposes.

H. Con. Res. 625—Require France to begin payment of World War I debt to U.S.

H. Con. Res. 640—To help the balance of payments problem by encouraging American industry and American public to ship and travel on American ships.

#### GOOD NEWS FOR PINE HILL

I was pleased to announce recently the grant awarded to Pine Hill by the Economic Development Administration, to expand the cities water system and to install a sewer

system, all of which will help to create some 115 new jobs.

The total cost of the project is \$359,500 and the city of Pine Hill will invest \$71,900. Completion of the 100,000-gallon water storage tank, extension of water mains, and sewer system construction will be completed in about 15 months.

These improvements are in part largely due to the great plant being built nearby, MacMillan Bloedel United, Inc., which will employ over 700 people.

#### BALANCE OF PAYMENTS AND THE MERCHANT MARINE

The Balance of Payments problem still plagues us. Travel restrictions are not the answer. But I believe a strong Merchant Marine can provide a large part of the answer. A study has just been completed which shows that if we had no American Merchant Marine, our Balance of Payments deficit would be 30% higher. Think, then, how much we could improve our balance of payments deficit if we just had an adequate Merchant Marine transporting a larger share of our American Commerce. Everytime we pay foreign flag ships to transport our goods, we are just eating into our gold supply. It just doesn't make sense.

#### THE GIGANTIC FEDERAL BUDGET

Although President Johnson said his record one hundred and eighty-six billion dollar budget for the coming fiscal year was tight and stringent, examples still come to light indicating that no really extensive effort was made to do away with unnecessary spending.

Congressman Durward Hall, Missouri Republican, pointed out recently that the budget provides for two projects for the study of blackbirds. They will cost more than \$60,000.

One is a grant of \$50,400 to the University of Wisconsin to prepare "An Ecology of Blackbird Social Organization." Ecology is a ten-dollar word describing the pattern of relationships between creatures and their total environment.

The other is an \$11,200 grant to the California Polytechnic College for a study of "Competition and Social Organization in Mixed Colonies of Blackbirds."

There are many other instances that indicate the United States Government has been spending, or plans to spend, money on projects that appear to be questionable or unnecessary. I know the budget can be cut. I know there are non-essential expenditures which can be omitted. I will be working towards this end as the appropriations bills come before the House.

#### COAST GUARD EXPANSION IN MOBILE

The U.S. Coast Guard has shown its continuing interest in the Mobile area in announcing its plans to construct additional facilities at the Coast Guard Air Station at Bates Field. Over \$2 million will be spent to make this the largest Coast Guard Air Station in the nation.

This expansion, coupled with the new buoy tender and sea rescue base to be developed at Brookley Field this year, will give the Mobile area the finest air-sea rescue service in the country. The Coast Guard is adding greatly to the growth and economy of the First District.

#### The Need for Health Manpower

#### HON. JOHN BRADEMAs

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. BRADEMAs. Mr. Speaker, on March 4, President Johnson sent to Congress his message on health in America.

I was most encouraged to note that one of the major themes of this message was the growing need for health manpower.

Health care today requires the services of a wide range of skilled and unskilled personnel. Our hospitals, clinics, nursing homes, and private medical and dental practitioners must be adequately staffed to insure that every citizen obtains quality medical care.

The essential ingredient, then, in planning for health is health manpower. Whatever health legislation Congress passes will be successful only to the extent that we have the necessary personnel to carry out the programs. And our need is not simply for more physicians and dentists; we must increase the health manpower supply at all levels, from hospital orderlies and technicians to doctors in the highly skilled specialties.

Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, we must look beyond current needs to the future requirements for health in our society. According to many experts in the field, the health manpower shortage is now critical and all indications are that it will become much worse as population growth continues and the expectations of our society regarding health services increase.

Mr. Speaker, the challenge of planning to meet health manpower needs of the future rests with us in Congress here and now.

I hope all Members will give careful consideration to the President's message on health and to the legislative measures which he has urged.

#### VFW Midwinter Conference

#### HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, the Veterans of Foreign Wars led by their Commander in Chief Joseph A. Scerra, of Gardner, Mass., are holding their midwinter conference in Washington, March 9 to 12. The purpose of the conference is to bring to Washington the leaders of the VFW so that they may confer with Members of the Congress and officials of the executive agencies to discuss national goals of this great veterans organization. Many of the goals of the Veterans of Foreign Wars are under consideration in the Congress today.

This oldest of the major veterans organizations is led this year by a friendly, purposeful man who has ably, forcefully and courageously led the VFW to new heights in membership and results. Joe Scerra had hardly begun his year as commander in chief before enplaning to South Vietnam to serve as a Presidential observer at the national elections held in that tortured land last fall. He returned to take up the fight for veterans benefits and with his term only half over we would have to say at this time that Joe has had a very good year. To mention just one of the major accomplishments of his year—and I pick this one out because the VFW has been preeminent in focusing attention on this problem—we

have seen a reversal of the policy of the executive branch of our Government with respect to the closing of our national cemeteries. The back of the closure policy has been broken. We can go on now to resolve the issue instead of hiding it.

We all know that when winter begins to fade in Washington so also come our young people from all over these United States. We have also come to know that when the VFW holds its Washington conference each March these veterans bring with them a very special group of our youth.

These are young Americans, not yet out of high school, who give us fresh insight into the meaning of this democratic society which we cherish. These are the winners of the VFW Voice of Democracy contest. From every State in the Union, and also representing young Americans living in Panama, Okinawa, and Korea, the winners were selected from a group of entrants numbering almost 400,000 high school students. We look forward to meeting this fine group of Americans. They are representative of our youth and their belief in our heritage and their dedication to our purposes is shared by those many young Americans, only a few years older than they, who wear the uniform of our country. We, of the U.S. Congress are delighted to join with them in welcoming these fine young Americans.

The story of the young Americans serving in our Armed Forces is well told in an article which appeared in the January issue of the VFW magazine, edited by John Smith, entitled "The True Young American." As the article points out the true young American can be found on the battlefields in Vietnam—not in demonstrations. I commend the article to the membership of this House and to all Americans. One feature of it that will be of particular interest to my distinguished colleagues is the reference to two Americans of the younger generation serving their country in Vietnam whose father fought with valor in an earlier conflict and now serves with distinction in this body. The young Americans are Jim and Jack Teague. And their father, of course, is our respected chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, the Honorable OLIN E. "TIGER" TEAGUE. We thank the VFW for this contribution toward keeping the proper perspective toward our young people.

The VFW has grown to the point where its membership now totals almost 1½ million. We hope they continue to grow and continue to provide the enlightened leadership which is reflected in the top priority legislative and security goals which VFW Commander in Chief Joe Scerra has presented to the Congress. These are goals which have been well considered and well presented. They follow:

#### V.F.W. NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE GOALS, 1967-68

The President's historic message outlining the Nation's responsibilities to veterans and the establishment of a Presidential Study Group to conduct a comprehensive study of compensation, pension and other veterans benefits, makes it possible to advance in giant strides toward the attainment of long-sought goals. Most hopefully these milestones will provide the basis for further as-

sistance to those who have served in the Armed Forces and thereby rendered a special service to the Nation which entitles them or, if deceased, their survivors to special consideration.

Our course of action during the coming year: To broaden and improve existing programs, to win acceptance of new veterans concepts, creation of a Standing Senate Veterans Affairs Committee.

#### Compensation

The compensation program for service connected death and disability for all veterans or their dependents must be continuously revised to maintain an adequate standard of living, taking into consideration cost of living increases, loss of earnings growth capability and equitable adjustment of payments to widows or eligible dependents to sustain their rights through periods of changing status.

Specifically, the compensation programs must provide—

1. Compensation payments set well above the government standards for other assistance programs.
2. An extra measure of compensation for disability due to combat or extra-hazardous service.
3. Automatic cost of living increases.
4. The vesting of permanent rights in widows.
5. Special consideration for disability entitlement should be accorded all former prisoners of war.

#### Pension

The V.F.W. recognizes the principle of pensions for non-service connected disabled veterans in the conviction that they have made sacrifices in the national interest above and beyond that required of citizens who did not serve in the Armed Forces and that such military service performed by such veterans entitles them to financial aid.

Fairness requires substantial increases in income limitations to raise the program above the level of Government standards for other assistance programs, insurance against reduction or loss of pension from increases in Social Security and restructuring of both pension programs.

Specifically, the pension program requires:

1. \$600 to \$1000 increases in income limitations.
2. Permanent protection against reduction or loss of pension from future social security and other retirement increases.
3. Restructuring of the pension programs by raising income limitations and pension payments with provision for minimum pension guarantee for those in lower income categories.

#### Veteran preference

Continued vigilance by V.F.W. to preserve veteran preference in employment.

#### GI bill

1. The V.F.W. recommends that the rehabilitation assistance authorized for those who have served in the armed forces since January 31, 1955 be broadened to provide assistance commensurate with current economic conditions and provide one and one-half days education and training benefits for each day of military service.

2. The widows and orphans of veterans who were killed or who were disabled in service should be eligible to receive career-oriented education training.

3. The veterans GI loan program should be put on a permanent basis with provisions for restoring eligibility upon repayment of previous loans.

#### Cemeteries

The Executive Branch has run roughshod over the right of veterans to burial in a national cemetery. The Congress and the administration have a moral responsibility to move ahead with a reasonable and equitable national cemetery program.

Specifically, resolution of the mounting crisis requires—

1. Transfer of jurisdiction over national cemeteries to the Veterans' Affairs Committee in the House of Representatives.

2. A national cemetery system adequate to provide a national cemetery in every State.

#### Medical care

Medical care for veterans must be maintained at the finest and highest level possible.

Specifically, the VA medical program requires—

1. Upgrading of facilities and equipment.
2. Training, employment, and retention of the finest medical and nursing personnel.
3. Improve post-hospital care program by providing more nursing care facilities for elderly veterans and VA approved community care for psychiatric patients.
4. All overseas veterans be entitled to hospitalization as a matter of right without further qualifications.

#### Senate Veterans Committee

The Senate has approved establishment of a Committee on Veterans' Affairs as a provision of a Legislative Reorganization Bill (S. 355) now pending in the House. House opposition to features of the bill other than the creation of a Senate Veterans Committee makes passage very doubtful. We believe it necessary, therefore, for the Senate to act independently to:

1. Create a standing Committee on Veterans' Affairs in the U.S. Senate.

#### V.F.W. NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS GOALS, 1967-68

##### Preamble

The V.F.W. believes that morally and strategically the United States has no choice but to take whatever military steps are necessary to achieve victory in South Vietnam. We believe, further, that anything short of complete victory will destroy chances for ultimate peace and will undermine the security of the United States.

##### South Vietnam

1. Support whatever action is required to conclude the war with victory.
2. Oppose any form of truce, cease-fire, or coalition government that could impair winning a full victory.
3. Oppose recognition of the so-called national Liberation Front.
4. Blockade North Vietnam.

##### Military personnel

1. Increase military pay, allowances, and retirement benefits.
2. Provide government or commercial transportation to home for military personnel on leave prior to and upon return from overseas duty, and those on convalescent and emergency leave.
3. Support legislation for pay-and-a-half for military personnel while voluntarily serving in Vietnam beyond minimum required tour of duty.
4. Free mail for military personnel overseas or hospitalized.

##### Military policy

1. Support full-scale anti-missile defense system for United States.
2. Oppose merger of and retain a strong national guard and reserve.
3. Support programs for U.S. supremacy in space and oceanography.
4. Support a U.S. built enlarged and modern merchant marine as a vital element of defense.

##### Foreign policy

1. Retain full U.S. control of Okinawa.
2. Oppose ratification of proposed Panama Canal treaties.
3. Urge U.S. withdrawal from U.N. if Red China is admitted.
4. Retain full U.S. control of Guantanamo Bay.

Mr. Speaker, we wish to conclude our remarks by stating that during my long



service on the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, I have come to appreciate the fine cooperation of the Washington office of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Executive Director Cooper T. Holt and Director of National Legislative Service Francis W. Stover have particularly been a great aid in bringing the objectives of the veterans to our attention.

### Sicilian Trip

## HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, more than 7 weeks ago, a series of earthquakes struck a triangular area of Sicily bounded by Salemi, Poggioreale, and Santa Margherita di Belce. The initial destruction, the death of 300 persons, the injury of 1,000 was reported throughout the world. But little attention has been paid to the disaster's aftermath, the misery and deprivation in which the survivors are living.

At the request of individuals and relief agencies seeking to help the victims, I went to Sicily to see firsthand what the needs of the survivors are and to help raise the funds needed to assist in rebuilding the blighted area.

I have found that the Sicilian Regional and Italian Central Governments are doing a magnificent job to aid the disaster victims. But the deprivation, the destruction, and the urgent needs are so striking that the two Governments cannot be expected to return the region to a normal life in any reasonable period of time without extensive aid from other nations.

The American people and their Government already have contributed almost \$3.5 million to aid the refugees. In January, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union donated \$50,000 to help the Sicilians. My investigation reveals, however, that as generous as this is, it is still not enough.

There are four major areas of need:

#### HOUSING

Eighty thousand Sicilians now are homeless. Some are living in shacks fashioned out of paper; others in freight cars, and others in tents supplied by the Italian and United States Governments.

Half of these refugees have houses which could be repaired, but are uninhabitable at this time. The remainder have absolutely nothing to return to.

Five villages were completely devastated. The quakes, which struck January 14 through 16 and again January 25, ravaged 7 percent of four more villages and 50 percent of still another four villages.

Although most of the refugees have been moved into tent cities where basic food and medical attention are being provided, the situation is not encouraging.

First, many of the people can bathe only once every 2 or 3 weeks. In most of these tent cities, is a grave threat of epidemic.

Second, refugees will soon be moving from tents to barracks, where families

of up to eight persons will be living in one 12- by 18-foot room. Most of these rooms will have neither windows nor bathing facilities. Because of the poor heating and ventilating systems in the rooms, the refugees will have to withstand subfreezing temperatures in the winter months, and extremely high temperatures during the summer season.

Third, the tent cities cannot provide the basic community services destroyed by the earthquake. Although homes are of the highest priority, there must be funds to build schools, hospitals, fire and police stations, utilities and village stores.

#### FOOD

Big commercial kitchens in the tent cities distribute free bread, spaghetti and a little meat to the refugees. All other foodstuffs—like fruit, coffee, and sugar—the people must purchase.

Those not living in the Government centers are receiving food allowances equivalent to \$3 a day for a family of five.

Many Sicilians are still without food because they cannot reach the Government center or fear to leave their homes and farms, as uninhabitable as they may be. They have no way to produce their own food requirements.

In many cases, children are without milk, which before they could get on their family farms. This is true in Calatama, for example, where there also is a shortage of clothing and blankets to shield the refugees from the cold.

The refugees fear that the Government's food subsidies will stop by mid-April because of a shortage of funds. They point out that this was the experience of the victims of the floods which struck Florence in the fall of 1966.

In an effort to produce as much food as possible, the Italian Government quickly repaired the region's roads and arranged to transport the farmers from the centrally located tent cities to their farms and villages, scattered on the hillsides of the mountainous region.

Unfortunately, the extensive loss of farm animals and tools sometimes makes this transportation useless. The refugees simply have no way to work their fields.

These basic losses probably will result in a tremendous cut in this year's harvest, forecasting widespread hunger this spring and winter.

There is evidence that unless a great deal of help arrives immediately, the hunger pattern may last for 3 to 5 years.

#### PERSONAL NEEDS

The Italian Government has promised to give each refugee family 500,000 lira—about \$833—to cover all losses except houses. As generous as this amount is, it still cannot be expected to sufficiently cover the costs of the huge losses suffered by these people.

Their lives have been completely disrupted.

The earthquakes not only crumbled their houses, farm buildings, stores, and public buildings; killed their farm animals, relatives and neighbors; ruined their tools; but the disasters deprived them of their basic personal belongings essential to daily life—clothing, sheets, towels, razors and blades, toothbrushes, combs and hairbrushes, shoes, soap, and a hundred other items.

#### ECONOMY

Although the largest Sicilian population centers of Palermo, Trapani, and Marsala did not suffer overwhelmingly from the quakes, the island's entire economy is expected to be affected by the disasters. Thus, the earthquakes truly dealt a blow to 4 million persons.

While the Sicilian economy struggles to return to normal, the Italian Government must spend between \$50 and \$60 million merely to provide temporary housing for the refugees.

Rebuilding the damaged homes and providing permanent housing for those whose homes were totally destroyed will cost between \$450 and \$600 million.

These figures do not include the allowances promised to the refugee families nor the cost of helping the people recover their farm animals and tools so they may work again.

The floods in Florence in 1966 crippled one-third of the Italian economy. Nevertheless, it was beginning to surge upward in 1967. The cost now of repairing the damage of the Sicilian earthquakes will be a tremendous financial drain on the Italian Government.

#### PROPOSALS

The Italian Government must have help in aiding the refugees. The Sicilians are a proud, hard-working people. They must be given the opportunity to earn their own way in life. This is a drastic emergency which must be met through drastic efforts.

In ordinary times the United States never has to be reminded to respond to the needs of peoples of other nations. When disaster strikes, when people are hungry, the American people give quickly, willingly, and generously.

Unfortunately, this Nation now faces major needs within its own borders. As the report of the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders reemphasized only a few days ago, our own cities, our own poverty-stricken citizens need prompt attention at the same time as we courageously are helping to fight a war to guarantee the freedom of the peoples of Southeast Asia.

Therefore, I am not calling upon our Government for a massive and costly Federal program to aid the Sicilians.

The U.S. Government can help in some way, but the burden of America's assistance to these unfortunate victims of nature will have to fall upon the private sector of our Nation and our citizens as individuals.

There are five major ways in which the American people and other fortunate nations can help the Sicilian refugees.

First. At relatively little cost, the U.S. Government can make available food surpluses to help feed the 80,000 refugees and the farm animals still alive. The food can be given free of charge or at a minimal cost.

As a member of the House Agriculture Committee, I plan to draft such a proposal.

Second. The United Nations with its many humanitarian agencies must donate funds and emergency supplies to the Italian Government in this time of great need.

Third. The American people must dig into their own pockets to find funds to

establish a loan agency to provide capital for the Sicilian merchants to rebuild the stores and provide the services which the villagers depend upon.

In addition, our citizens must realize the huge amount of money needed to purchase food to broaden the diet of the refugees and avert disease in the near future; to buy clothing, building materials for homes and farms, animals, tools, school supplies, and personal belongings.

Thanks to the Italian Red Cross and the Italian medical community, the refugees are receiving adequate medical attention. But money is needed to purchase additional medical supplies.

I also urge the American people to search their closets, attics, and basements to find clothing and personal items so desperately needed by the refugees.

Fourth. American manufacturers and firms could perform a great service by contributing the personal items and medical supplies that are needed in great quantities. Vitamins, toothbrushes, soap—items like this would be a tremendous help.

Fifth. Finally, volunteers in the health and social service fields, preferably ones who can converse in Italian, are sorely needed to aid the Pontifical Relief Commission perform its services.

The people of Sicily have been plagued by natural disaster. Two summers ago, landslides left thousands without shelter. Only last fall, Palermo was infested with millions of rats. And Mount Etna, on the island's eastern tip, erupts periodically.

The island's residents have always been poor; some would term them poverty stricken. But the Sicilians were just beginning to emerge from their history of financial strife when January's earthquakes struck them down again.

They are a proud people who ask no unnecessary charity. They need only the consideration one neighbor should show to another during periods of distress. I hope that the American people and the international community will express their concern for their Sicilian friends in tangible form.

### Rarely Obeyed, Seldom Enforced

#### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1968

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a recent editorial of station WJBK in Detroit, Mich.

This fine editorial points out the folly of enacting additional firearms legislation which would only make gun ownership by the law-abiding citizens, for sporting or protective purposes, more difficult. It would have no effect on the criminal element who obtain and use guns illegally.

The editorial follows:

#### RARELY OBEYED, SELDOM ENFORCED

Early Monday morning on a Detroit street, one car backed into another. An argument

developed, both drivers carried pistols, one of them was shot dead.

It wasn't exactly headline news as Detroit racked up homicide No. 57 for 1968, compared to 37 on the same date last year. Nor was it any surprise to police that neither of the two pistols was registered, although Michigan has long required permits for hand guns.

Carrying a concealed weapon can, on paper, get a man five years in prison. And often it's the only charge police can lodge immediately against a suspect. More often than not, however, good police work is thwarted as the courts answer concealed weapons charges with little more than a legal slap on the wrist—a token fine and probation, for example.

Of some 24-hundred persons picked up on concealed weapons charges in Detroit last year, only about 12-hundred have been convicted of anything. Nearly 500 were freed outright, with 746 cases still pending. Most of the convictions that were obtained came on reduced misdemeanor pleas.

All of this causes us to again wonder how anyone can think a new law calling for registration of all firearms would be any more effective than the old law covering only hand guns.

Citizens with larceny or worse in their hearts who pack hidden weapons aren't about to sign them up, law or no law.

### Agricultural Census

#### HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, on February 29, I introduced a bill which would prohibit the use of questions directly relating to production, acreage, operation, and financing of any farm or farmer in the agricultural census. Since then, the mail that I have received on this subject has been completely in support of this legislation. I hope that enough interest can be stirred up on the proliferation of Government inquiries and questionnaires probing into the private life and business affairs of our citizens to result in a hard-nosed review of this situation.

Some of the statistics from the President's budget in and of themselves are indicative of the need to review the activities involved in the census of agriculture. New obligational authority for the Bureau of the Census is reported as:

[In millions]

Fiscal year 1967	\$27.2
Fiscal year 1968	37.3
Fiscal year 1969	43.0

The fiscal year 1969 figure includes \$3.2 millions for preparatory work for the forthcoming census of agriculture.

At the same time, the President requests \$14.7 million in NOA for the Statistical Reporting Service of USDA—an increase from the estimate of \$13.8 millions for fiscal year 1968. This Service has the responsibility for "providing the official estimates on this Nation's agriculture, including acreage, yield, and production of crops, stocks, and value of farm commodities, numbers, and inventory value of livestock items. Data collected and published on prices paid and received by farmers are basic to computation of parity prices."

The SRS reports that in 1967 they distributed 9,240,000 questionnaires and had 232,000 objective survey contacts—measurements and interviews.

I fully appreciate the need for accurate agricultural estimates. However, it seems to me that it is high time that the situation is reviewed from both an economy view and considering the constant interference in citizens' private affairs.

### Myth of Anti-Americanism

#### HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, while there are many detractors in this country who seem to oppose our firm stand against Communist aggression in Vietnam, it is commonly thought that our allies are overwhelmingly opposed to our resistance to the aggressive actions of North Vietnam against South Vietnam.

I have been heartened in recent days by two documents, one of which came from a cousin of mine, a Britain named Tom Sowler, who quite vividly expressed gratitude at our resistance, as follows:

As far as Vietnam is concerned the attitude of myself and all my friends is frank disbelief. We have seen General Westmoreland (a British name) many times on tele and always he has filled us with confidence. We have believed that everything was under U.S. control for he said so. To what can we cling as truth when we see the terrible trials of that savage and cruel fighting in Vietnam? Has someone in high places badly underestimated the situation? No war has ever been fought for less selfish motives but when must the senseless waste of young lives cease? You are in Vietnam for an ideal. Your country is being bled white for others. How reminiscent it is of British struggle in all corners of the world when we were strong. Pax Britannica! The suffering. The misunderstanding. The cost in human lives. Blameless lives. From all this you will realize that I am confused. I thought you people at considerable sacrifice had got Vietnam sewn up. And now! Is this just the beginning of something larger? You must stand firm you Americans. Without your stand we all are lost. But can we really believe the casualty figures? It would seem to me that your suffering must be greater than is admitted or else the Viet Cong is much less. We too over here talk of the credibility gap. For God sake put up somebody who means what he says and says what he means.

In addition, a recent column in Time magazine indicates even the British press is not solidly opposed to our country's defense of freedom.

As a portion of my remarks, the column, "Myth of Anti-Americanism," from Time, March 1, 1968:

#### MYTH OF ANTI-AMERICANISM

With mounting stridency, the British press has criticized the U.S. role in Viet Nam, portraying it as a misguided effort in a hopeless cause. But there has always been a minority of U.S. supporters, and one of them is Daily Mail Columnist Bernard Levin, an acid-tongued critic of everything from theater to world affairs.

Levin noted in a recent column that he had spent the previous night at the opera. His readers, he assumed, had spent it watch-



ing television or enjoying other pleasures. "A lot of Americans and South Vietnamese, however, spent it dying."

#### THE WORLD'S ABUSE

On that note, Levin sailed into British complacency. He expressed the kind of all-American sentiments that a U.S. commentator today would voice only at the risk of being laughed out of the league of sophisticated pundits. "They spent it dying," continued Levin, "so that you can go on watching television, reading books and helping the children with their homework, and so that I can go on listening to Wagner. I don't know about you, but I am grateful and will now say why." As Levin saw it, the confrontation in Viet Nam may be "confused and horrible, its aims blurred, its cost in innocent blood unaccountable. But if it is lost, if the Americans finally get tired of doing the world's work for nothing but the world's abuse, if South Viet Nam is left to its fate, then what will follow, as surely as Austria followed the Rhineland, and Czechoslovakia followed Austria, and Poland followed Czechoslovakia and six years of world war followed Poland, is a nuclear confrontation on a global scale between the forces at present engaged in one tiny corner of the globe."

With that, Levin sat back and braced for a flood of criticism. In fact, he received more mail on the column than on anything else he had written in his eleven years in journalism, but he found his 450 letters running 3 to 1 in support of his position. Last week he mused over the reaction in a column for the International Herald Tribune. "We can now firmly discount the myth that practically nobody in Britain understands and supports the American stand over Viet Nam," he wrote.

Most of his press colleagues still disagree with Levin. Evening News Columnist Kenneth Allsob suggested that "this fire-eating warrior" of the press "ought to volunteer for a suicide squad and parachute into Viet Nam." But one barometer of popular opinion, the Daily Mirror, which heretofore had had almost nothing kind to say about the U.S. in Viet Nam, last week paid tribute in a front-page editorial to the courage of U.S. troops.

Address by Richard M. Nixon

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Richard M. Nixon, delivered on February 3, 1968:

ADDRESS BY RICHARD M. NIXON, AT CONCORD, N.H., FEBRUARY 3, 1968

The finest hours in our nation's history have been triumphs of the American spirit.

We now are engaged in a great test of that spirit. Throughout the land, bitter conflicts are being waged between the races, between the generations, between ideologies, between advocates of lawful change and of chaotic violence.

When the leaders of a great nation lose the trust of its people, when they lose touch with its spirit, the soul of the nation is torn.

When Lyndon Johnson took office five years ago, he proclaimed the slogan: "Let us continue."

Today, five years later, President Johnson is saying to the American people: Let us

continue what we have been doing for the last five years for another four years.

So the question the American people will be answering with their votes in 1968 is: Shall we continue?

The only answer to his question is: When the strongest nation in the world can be tied down for four years in the war in Viet Nam, with no end in sight; when the richest nation in the world cannot manage its own economy; when the nation with the greatest tradition of respect for the rule of law is plagued by rampant lawlessness; when the nation that has been a symbol of human liberty is torn apart by racial strife; when the president of the United States cannot travel either at home or abroad without fear of a hostile demonstration—then it's time America had new leadership.

I don't think America can afford four more years of Lyndon Johnson in the White House.

This is not a time to continue what we have. It's a time for a new beginning.

When I say we need new leadership, I am speaking not simply of leadership able to deal with pragmatic problems like those of military strength and economic management, or of housing and jobs and education. This has to be done and it can be done. But I mean something more.

We need leadership that recognizes that the real crisis of America today is a crisis of the spirit.

What America needs most today is what it once had, but has lost: the lift of a driving dream.

Let us look at America now, at the start of this final third of the 20th Century. Whether peace and freedom survive in the world depends on the United States, and the great question is whether we can meet this challenge.

In a material sense, our assets are immense. Our economic strength is unquestioned, and our military strength can be whatever we choose to make it.

But in what should be our area of greatest strength, we have lost something. Back in the days when America was one of the weakest nations of the world, when this granite state was one of only thirteen, then America's ideals were more powerful than they are today. America meant more to the world. It was a symbol of liberty and hope. It was weak militarily, poor economically, but rich in its devotion to a new concept of freedom.

The tragedy is that somehow, while that concept has driven this nation higher, faster, than any nation at any time, the American idea has been losing its meaning for the world and for America.

There are two reasons: the world has changed, and America has changed.

Then we were a new nation in an old world. Now we are an old nation in a new world.

At home and abroad we must recapture the American dream.

America did not create freedom, but freedom did create America. The trouble is that we have let both the word and the concept grow stale. The word "freedom" has become a cliché, and the concept has too often been made an excuse for inaction.

If we are to restore the vitality of the American ideal, we have to bear in mind that freedom is not static. Like any other living thing, freedom has to grow to survive.

Today we live in a period of unprecedented change and growth in the world, a time when young people at home and new nations abroad are groping for new directions—and a static concept of freedom simply is not enough.

Let us dedicate ourselves not only to the preservation of freedom, but to the expansion of freedom.

The place to begin is here at home. We cannot provide an example abroad unless we

set an example at home. None of the battle-grounds on which we are engaged, none of the places in which we are being tested, is more important than the ground we stand on here. For the ultimate testing-place of America is America itself.

And this is the time to begin. It's time to move on to a new freedom. The old negative freedoms—freedom from hunger, freedom from want, freedom from fear—are no longer enough. The new freedom has to mean freedom for the poor as well as the rich, freedom for black as well as for white; and it has to mean not only freedom from but freedom to. It means freedom to grow, freedom to choose, freedom to travel, freedom to create, freedom to work—and freedom to enjoy the fruits of our labors.

Let us recognize that rights have no meaning—freedom has no meaning—without the opportunity to exercise those rights and to use that freedom.

For most of us in America, the American Revolution has been won and the American dream achieved. But there are millions for whom the dream has been an unreachable vision.

The prophets of despair, the peddlers of hate, would have those millions believe that by taking up arms—whether literally or figuratively, or both—they can destroy a society that they see only in fragments, of which they see only the underside and not its promise or its glory.

They have to be persuaded, first, that they cannot—and they cannot.

But second, they have to be shown the other side of that society, and they have to be shown it as a reality, which they can attain.

It has not been so. Let us begin by confessing that fact.

It must become so. Let us proceed by accepting that commitment.

How do we do this?

We do it first, by turning the power of freedom to the uses of freedom.

The question today is not whether we provide food for the hungry, homes for the ill-housed, jobs for the jobless. The question is how.

And here we have one of the great, fundamental issues which the people will decide with their votes in November. The Johnson Administration's approach to every problem is to begin with government. Ours is to begin with people. The trouble with their approach is that it has failed. What they forget is that what has made America great has not been what government has done for people, but what people have done for themselves.

The choice we face today, very simply, is this: Do we continue down a road that leads to big government and little people? Or do we take a new road, one that taps the energies of the greatest engine of productivity the world has ever seen—the engine of American industry and American private enterprise?

I say we take this new road.

This means providing tax credit and other incentives for business to go where the need is, and to do efficiently what government now does so inefficiently.

Let me be very precise: I am not saying that government is the enemy. After all, it's our government; it belongs to the people. It has a role to play. But government alone simply is not capable of doing the job that needs to be done. And even more importantly, it's not capable of giving fire to the spirit and life to the dream.

Government would be capable if all we cared about were the old freedoms from. But it fails because it stunts the new freedoms to.

Whenever a new government program is proposed, there is one test that we should apply. Does it limit freedom? Or does it expand it?

There are those who say that there's nothing new about relying more on private enterprise. After all, American business is older than the American government. But what is new is both the capacity and the will of private enterprise to do the job. During this past third of a century, while we've been loading more and more onto the shoulders of government, private enterprise has been undergoing a quiet revolution. Its leaders have developed a social conscience far beyond anything the leaders of the 20s or the 30s would have recognized. And at the same time, technology has thrown wide the windows of the possible. It's private enterprise, not government, that has been turning the wonders of science to the service of man. The American system of private enterprise is the greatest instrument of change and of progress the world has ever known. And the skills and the resources it now commands are those that we need if the new freedoms are to be made a living reality for all of our people.

And its use of free private enterprise that can provide for all of us an opportunity to participate in this great adventure.

There's another thing we need if we're to make our freedoms real. We need the civil order that makes freedom possible. We need the rule of law to sustain the light of hope, and the light of hope to sustain the rule of law.

This above all is itself a matter of the spirit—the spirit of justice, the spirit of law, the spirit of reconciliation. And this must come from our national leadership.

To a crisis of the spirit, we need an answer of the spirit.

Ours is an exciting time to be alive, and an exciting place to be alive.

To the young people of America today, I say this: it's true that you are inheriting a world you never made. But this was also true of every generation. The great, exciting difference is that you live in a world you can change.

Never has it mattered so much in the world what the people of one nation do—the choices they make—the vision they hold out.

It's our chance today, and your chance tomorrow, to give a new dimension to the American dream, a dimension which can change America and enable America to help change the world.

As we make the American ideal of freedom come true here at home, America will be able, by its example, to help bring a new freedom abroad—a freedom powered not by the force of arms, but by the power of ideas and the force of example.

The world is waiting for that kind of a message, for that kind of an idea, for that kind of action. For it has become a world of young nations, and young people, tired of the old isms, wanting the material things of life but also wanting something more.

That something more is what America has always meant to the world. And, if America is to heal its spirit and find its soul again, that something more is what America needs today.

### An Appeal to the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for an End to the Oppression of Its Jewish Citizenry

**HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently it was my privilege to participate in a

Chicago Citywide Leadership Conference on Soviet Jewry.

I have already included my remarks delivered at this meeting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Today, I would like to include in the RECORD a statement which is being distributed by the Chicago Citywide Leadership Conference and which dramatizes very succinctly the plight of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union today.

Mr. Joel Ollander, secretary of the conference and Midwest regional director of the American Jewish Committee, worked very closely with Dr. Jerald C. Brauer, dean of the divinity school at the University of Chicago and chairman of the leadership conference, on this statement asking all Americans to join in this appeal.

It is my hope that many cities across America will join this imposing crusade to end the oppression suffered by the Jewish citizens of the Soviet Union.

The statement being distributed by the Citywide Leadership Conference on Soviet Jewry follows:

#### STATEMENT

To the members of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

From citizens of the City of Chicago meeting in conference on the oppression suffered by the Jewish citizenry of the Soviet Union.

We call upon you . . . the leadership of the Soviet Government, to recognize the flagrant violations of human rights perpetrated upon your Jewish citizens by some of your regimes' policies and practices—direct and indirect. We call upon you, the leaders of the Soviet Government, to enforce and defend the constitutional rights of your Jewish citizens to the same extent you have done so in the case of other national and religious groups in the U.S.S.R. We call upon you to recognize and to honor your pledge to support the international rights of man, as you have subscribed to them publicly many times in the past.

To prevent your Jewish citizens from a free exercise of Judaism, their age old faith—the maintenance of religious seminars, the publication and distribution of prayer books, the production and distribution of religious articles—violates your own solemn guarantees. To prevent your Jewish citizens from freely pursuing their national culture, and to deny the rights of Jewish intellectuals to fully express themselves in their national language—Yiddish—through books, nationwide newspapers, schools and the theatre, will serve as a continual reminder of the violation of your own constitutional guarantees. To discriminate against your Jewish citizens in public life, to promote and nurture propaganda campaigns using anti-Semitic stereotypes, to encourage discriminatory application of maximum penalties, only brings the inequitable administration of your constitution into sharper focus.

We respectfully and urgently request that you take proper cognizance of our statement and take appropriate steps to reinstate with all speed the constitutional guarantees for the benefit of your Jewish citizens. This will undoubtedly help eliminate the seeds of racism and discrimination which still last, and enhance the progress of all of the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Respectfully,

Miss Cathy Johnson, Alabama Voice of Democracy Representative

**HON. JOHN BUCHANAN**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, Alabama has every reason to be proud of its representative in the annual Veterans of Foreign Wars voice of democracy contest, Miss Cathy Johnson, Alabama winner, is a senior at Shades Valley High School in Birmingham, Ala. She is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Edward C. Johnson. Last August Cathy became the first Alabamian to be elected president of the American Legion's Girls' Nation.

An excellent student, Cathy ranks first in a class of 400, with an academic average of 4.0 plus. She is a national merit finalist. To this outstanding academic record, she has added a remarkable list of extracurricular achievements. She is chairman of the Jefferson County Democratic Youth Advisory Committee. Last year she was elected Alabama Girls' State governor, before going on to become Girls' Nation president.

She was a 1968 finalist in the Alabama Junior Miss Pageant, where she was elected "Miss Congeniality." She has also been selected by the students and faculty of her school as "Miss Shades Valley," and the "most likely to succeed."

Cathy is president of Usherettes—school hostesses—treasurer of the National Honor Society, and editor of her school's yearbook. She is a member of the student council, interclub council, French National Honor Society, French Club, American Field Service Club, pep squad, Chemistry Club, and History Club. She has also served as a page in the Alabama Legislature for two sessions.

I commend to all my colleagues her speech on the theme "Freedom's Challenge," which follows:

Three men entered a space capsule. They were to be the first in America's moon shot program. Sixty seconds and an electrical spark later, Astronauts Grissom, White and Chaffee were dead.

A young man and his wife were riding down a Dallas avenue acknowledging the admiration of their public. Three rifle shots later the vitality that was President John Fitzgerald Kennedy no longer existed.

A boy stepped out from behind a tree in a Vietnamese swamp. A shot rang out and another American soldier lay dead.

It is these men and those thousands like them who comprise the generation immediately preceding ours. It is the unique quality of this and every previous generation in the history of this nation that they realized that freedom is not free. They have stood up for every man's right to think and act as he chooses. They have fought throughout the world to prove that nothing is at last sacred but the freedom of the individual. They have died to make this land free and they have given this the greatest of all to our generation.

This concept of the American heritage is reminiscent of the story concerning the old man on his solitary journey through the woods. He comes to a deep chasm in his path yet crosses it easily, but he turns on



reaching the other side and builds a bridge. A fellow traveler asks him why he should do such a thing when he will never again have the opportunity to take advantage of it. The old man answered that he saw a young man following him and realizes that he may have difficulty in crossing this chasm. He is building the bridge for him. This bridge is the American heritage.

We have accepted this gift but not the responsibility which necessarily goes along with it. We have crossed freedom's bridge but have not turned on reaching the other side in order to build those bridges which the generations of Americans future so desperately need. We have taken our heritage with no strings attached. This cannot be done. If we are to maintain our precious liberty, we must say as John Kennedy did, "I do not shrink from this responsibility, I welcome it."

We have to be able to stand up on our own two feet and declare to all the world this is my country. May she always be in the right, but my country right or wrong. There is no other alternative. Our generation has been blessed with a greater heritage than any other generation in the history of the world—liberty. We must preserve it at all costs. The American freedom is the hope of the world and it is our responsibility and ours alone to keep it alive.

This is our challenge. We will not be able to accept it if we stand silently at a football game while our national anthem is being played. If we watch Red Skelton portray an old man at a parade and see him cry when his flag goes past and our hearts do not swell up inside us until they almost burst, then we are not prepared to take an active part in this country's affairs.

We will be able to accept freedom's challenge if and only if we can pledge that whether America's future shall have war or peace, it shall have freedom and take this pledge we shall.

### Dr. Jose A. Mora Urges Greater Freedom of Action for His Successor

**HON. DANTE B. FASCELL**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1968

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, in May of this year Dr. Jose A. Mora will retire as Secretary General of the Organization of American States, a position he has held for the past 12 years.

Dr. Mora's tenure has witnessed the emergence of the OAS as a viable organization from one that had previously been ceremonial. His leadership and skill have substantially contributed to the growth and maturity of the OAS. Dr. Mora is due a great vote of appreciation by all those who believe in a fight for unity and strength in the Western Hemisphere.

Starting in 1961 with the creation of such agencies as the Alliance for Progress and the Inter-American Development Bank, the Organization became more representative of the entire hemisphere through its responsibility for administering development programs. All nations have been encouraged to participate as full partners with the duties and obligations that accompany such a commitment.

In a recent article in the Miami Her-

ald, Latin American Correspondent William Montalbano reported on his interview of Dr. Mora, who has some provocative observations on the future of the Organization of American States. Mr. Speaker, I commend this article to the attention of our colleagues, since I believe what Dr. Mora had to say should be given careful consideration:

**MORA URGES: "FREE NEW OAS LEADER"**

(By William Montalbano)

Dr. Jose A. Mora, retiring secretary-general of the Organization of American States (OAS), has called on hemisphere governments to allow his successor greater freedom of action.

Mora, who leaves office in May after 12 years as OAS chief executive, said in an interview with The Herald that he believes the responsibilities of the secretary-general need to grow as the OAS matures.

"People say the secretary-general needs more power. But the question should be phrased: How can we make better utilization of the secretary-general? Political power does not lie with the secretary-general, but with the OAS Council," Mora said.

Each voting OAS member—21 Latin American nations and the U.S.—has a single vote in the council, where a two-thirds majority is required for action.

"The secretary-general can do only what the member governments vote by majority to do. It is a very delicate proposition. If there is no consensus, it is difficult to act. This is the frustration of the secretary-general."

"And when there is no consensus, it is sometimes the secretary-general who is blamed," Mora said with a wry grin.

Mora was in Miami to dedicate a bridge at the Interama site. He returned to Washington Saturday.

A dapper 70-year-old Uruguayan who has been a diplomat on one level or another since 1926, Mora has been accused of being a weak chief executive, a charming but ineffectual figurehead unwilling to act firmly.

Part of the problem is in the nature of the job, which places the secretary-general in the middle between the Latins on one side and the U.S. on the other.

Then, too, there is the fact that for most of its early years—the OAS was formed in 1948—only the smaller Latin American countries wanted the organization to be anything more than ceremonial.

In fact, if not in name, the OAS initially was merely an extension of U.S. foreign policy and a convenient forum in which decisions taken unilaterally by the U.S. could be ratified and "legitimized."

Raul Roa, foreign minister of the Fidel Castro regime, once termed the OAS "the American Ministry of Colonization."

This began to change in 1961 with the creation of such development agencies as the Alliance for Progress and the Inter-American Bank. The OAS was given responsibility for administering development programs and what has been called a "Latinization" of the organization began.

Since Mora took office in 1956 to fill an unexpired term—he was reelected to a full 10-year term beginning in 1958—the annual OAS budget has grown from \$3 million to \$17 million plus a special fund of \$10 million.

The changing U.S. position toward the organization is that the OAS should be a stronger force for hemispheric decision and should be administered by a strong chief executive.

It was for this reason it supported Galo Plaza, a former president of Ecuador and United Nations troubleshooter highly regarded in the hemisphere, as Mora's suc-

cessor. Plaza was elected this month on an unprecedented fifth ballot.

A former University of California quarterback who speaks accentless colloquial English, Plaza is expected to improve the image of the OAS. He is also with U.S. support, expected to have a freer rein for action than Mora enjoyed.

Mora feels greater responsibility will inevitably fall to the post of OAS secretary general.

"The secretary general needs greater authority for more jobs; especially in peace and security. The mechanisms are established and in the future he will have more possibilities of taking action quicker," he said.

Mora dismisses charges the OAS still exists primarily to satisfy the U.S.

"I have a great respect for the American states. I am sure they wouldn't be in the organization today if it were an 'American Ministry of Colonization.'"

"The rules of the game are changing. They are more decent today. People tend to forget how it was in the beginning of the century. When the Marines went into Nicaragua then they stayed 20 years. When they went into Santo Domingo in 1965 the OAS played a major role in the peace-keeping and they were withdrawn in a year."

"We must recognize that the OAS is a very peculiar organization. We have the richest country in the world and very poor countries sitting at the same table. The OAS has to conciliate the different interests."

"In order to obtain the solution it would like on a certain matter, the U.S. needs a lot of votes. And not every majority is an easy one."

In Mora's view, a U.S. attempt to impose its will on an unpopular measure in the OAS today would result in grave—and perhaps fatal—damage to the inter-American system.

"The Latin countries are conscious that they need the OAS. And the U.S. needs the OAS today as much as Latin America," Mora said.

"Once of our main tasks has been to introduce integration. The governments and people of Latin America are realizing they can't live alone; that policy doesn't end at the national frontier."

"Countries little by little are accepting restrictions on their sovereignty for the common good, that they wouldn't have dreamed possible a few years ago."

Mora's term has spanned the creation of the Alliance for Progress, the Communist takeover in Cuba and the civil war in the Dominican Republic, where he was instrumental in arranging a ceasefire and which he regards as the organization's single greatest success during his administration.

"We established contact with both sides in Santo Domingo and saved the situation when many people thought it was impossible."

Plaza and Mora have been friends since 1946, when Plaza was Ecuadorean ambassador to Washington and Mora represented Uruguay there.

Mora's position in the recent balloting for secretary general was studiously neutral, but he is close to the Uruguayan government, which supported Plaza in all five ballots.

"I am confident Plaza will be a great secretary general. There is a tremendous opportunity to develop the OAS and accomplish larger tasks."

Mora is enormously pleased with the agreement reached last week in Maracay, Venezuela, to establish a \$25 million fund to foster educational and scientific development in Latin America under the auspices of the OAS.

"This completes a great era of change that began in 1961. Our main concern is the development of Latin America—in all fields. Education and science are the latest."

"We must . . . dedicate the OAS to the political development of the Americas. Our economic and social and technical plans are no good if the politicians don't understand them."

"We must form political leaders with a vision of development. Too often projects are frustrated by politicians who then complain the Alliance for Progress is not working."

"What we need are parties who will take 'Development' and carry it as a political banner."

**Congressman Claude Pepper Introduces Legislation To Encourage Retired Professors To Return to the University—An Amendment to the Higher Education Act of 1965**

**HON. CLAUDE PEPPER**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, we are all concerned with the problems and progress of education in our colleges and universities. Our history of dedication to a fine system of higher education in this country has laid the foundations for the strong and proud nation we have today and holds out the promise of future greatness. But, we cannot rest on our achievements; we must continually strive towards goals for tomorrow, always seeking to improve what we have created, for as John Galsworthy once noted, "If you do not think about the future, you cannot have one."

Planning for tomorrow is a critical aspect of higher education. In recent years, Federal legislation has made an important contribution both to that planning and to its implementation. I have been proud to support such legislation during my years in Congress, and I have viewed with satisfaction the results of our efforts. We have accomplished much. The National Defense Education Act, the Higher Education Facilities Act, and the Higher Education Act are milestones on the road to excellence in higher education. They have benefited thousands of students by enabling them to pursue their studies in the sciences, in literature, and in education.

As a result of this and other legislation we have hundreds of teachers and professional people who might otherwise not even have attended college. Support of higher education activities has indeed been a worthy endeavor of Congress—an endeavor which I have been privileged to share.

However, there remains much to be done. Today it is my pleasure to introduce—as H.R. 15858—an amendment to the Higher Education Act of 1965. By authorizing a program of individual grants, this bill would encourage retired professors to conduct research or teach at developing and rapidly growing institutions of higher learning. Enabling these men and women to continue their careers is of vital importance to this Nation if we are to achieve excellence in higher education.

The rapid growth of institutions of higher learning in recent years coupled

with a burgeoning school enrollment has created a critical shortage in the teaching profession at the college level. And, if current forecasts are accurate, the situation is not likely to grow any better in the near future.

Currently there are somewhat more than 6 million students enrolled in institutions of higher education; it is estimated that by 1975 there will be a total number of nearly 9 million. This means that by 1975 the total demand for full-time equivalent staff will be more than 454,000 men and women—an increase of nearly 150,000 over today's levels. Finding this manpower is going to be a major problem for college and university administrators in the years to come. While a difficult dilemma, it is not one which need be insurmountable.

At least a partial solution to the problem can be found in encouraging the many able and talented retired professors in the country to return to their classrooms and laboratories. An untold number of these men and women are forced into a premature retirement—simply because the calendar says they are "too old." They are condemned to spend their last years in unproductive and unwanted idleness.

Such waste is unconscionable, especially at a time when our national manpower is suffering such a tremendous drain from the war effort. We cannot ever afford such enormous extravagance in use of human resources.

The years required to educate replacements for these men and women, the experience which their combined years of teaching offer, the tragedy of talents unused—all are factors which call for a prompt draft of such individuals and their immediate return to the universities, colleges, and junior colleges of our country.

By setting up a program of grants to attract retired professors to teach or conduct research at developing and rapidly growing institutions of higher learning, this bill would serve as an impetus to that draft. It would underline our concern with the critical staffing problems faced on campuses all over the country, and it would help administrators to take action on them. These grants would help colleges and universities, strapped by the demands on their financial resources for expansion at all levels, to secure competent and enthusiastic staff. Talent and a sincere desire to teach are necessary prerequisites for teachers of any age, and these would encourage teachers with such attributes to continue their professions.

The difficulty of securing adequate funds to pay a high-level staff has in recent years been a major hurdle for developing and rapidly growing institutions. They must compete with their sister schools not only for staff, but to attract students, develop curriculum and obtain needed construction funds. All of these take money, and in a field as vital to our national well-being as higher education, all areas deserve priority in spending.

For that reason, this bill provides an economic solution to a dual problem—the need of institutions for trained, ex-

perienced staff and the need of a generation of highly capable professors to use their skills in teaching and research. I respectfully urge its passage.

**The Four Chaplains Award: Chaplain Robert L. Reiner**

**HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, each year, the Chaplain Alexander D. Goode-Ben Goldman Lodge, B'nai B'rith, located in the heart of my district at 527 Lexington Avenue, presents the "Four Chaplains Award" to a chaplain in each service who, in the words of the past chapter president, Mr. Herbert Drexler, "has best personified the act of brotherhood and sacrifice performed by the four chaplains who died in the sinking of the SS *Dorchester* during World War II."

This award is known and highly prized by chaplains of all faiths in the military forces. The award serves as an inspiration for all chaplains to continue their efforts toward the ideals for which the award was created, and thus promote brotherhood and patriotism.

The last recipient of this award was Chaplain Robert Louis Reiner, the first U.S. Navy Chaplain of the Jewish faith to serve with the U.S. Marines in South Vietnam.

It reads:

Presented to Chaplain Robert L. Reiner for distinguished service in the field of interfaith relations.

Chaplain Reiner's biography follows:

Chaplain Robert L. Reiner, Lt., CHC, USNR, serves on the staff of the Commandant of the Third Naval District. He is attached to the office of the District Chaplain, 90 Church Street, New York City.

He recently returned from thirteen months duty in South Viet Nam where he was attached to the 3rd Marine Division. He was the first U.S. Navy Chaplain of the Jewish faith to serve with the U.S. Marines in South Viet Nam. As a circuit riding chaplain he traveled more than 10,000 miles providing Jewish religious services for all Jewish personnel in the I Corps Area. This northern sector south of the Demilitarized Zone included Hue-Phu Bai, Da Nang, Chu Lai, and Quang Ngai. Prior to serving in South Viet Nam, Chaplain Reiner was attached to the District Chaplain's Office, Fifth Naval District, Norfolk, Va.

Chaplain Reiner is a native of the state of Washington, and a graduate of the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. He also attended the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel. He was ordained as a Rabbi at the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. He also received a Bachelor of Hebrew Letters and a Master of Arts in Hebrew Letters from the Hebrew Union College.

He has served pulpits in Youngstown, Ohio, Ashland, Ky., Walla Walla, Washington, Pueblo, Colo., West Point, Ga., and Jasper, Ala. He is a member of Seattle Lodge #503, B'nai B'rith, and Aberdeen Lodge #52 of F. & A.M. (Masonic Lodge).

His affiliations at the University of Washington included: Sigma Alpha Mu, social fraternity, president of Alpha Phi Omega, a national service fraternity and honorary com-



posed of former Boy Scouts, Hillel Student Council, Purple Shield, and underclassman's activities and scholastic honorary, and Business Manager of Campus Chest, an all university charity drive, Chairman, Campus Division of Jewish Welfare Fund Drive, Religious and Cultural Chairman of B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, a religious and social organization for Jewish college students. He also attended Brandeis Camp Institute, Santa Susa, Calif. His Service Decorations and Citations also include: Presidential Unit Citation; Viet Nam Campaign; Viet Nam Service Award and National Defense Ribbon.

## Let Us Move Forward To Lower Noise Levels for the Population

**HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I address myself to the increasing crescendo of noise that has accompanied our advancing technology, and in support of the President's proposals to combat what is being described as "noise pollution."

I have urged privately and publicly that some means of control or supervision must be exercised over the ever-increasing noise problem that is attacking Americans today.

The President has turned his attention to this menace by urging Congress to act on some form of noise abatement legislation. The bill is in, now it is up to us to act.

In the quid pro quo of advancement, you often gain faster transportation methods but give up tranquility and peace around large cities and their airports.

It would be indefensible for me to attack aircraft as the only noise polluters of the century, when our cities have become a veritable factory of noise. I do believe aircraft noise abatement must come first.

As we build larger and faster transport planes, larger and more powerful engines are needed to lift the weight from runways. The ratio of power to noise seems to increase algebraically in favor of noise.

The President's interest in noise pollution and the serious need for abatement comes at a time when many residents of areas near our Nation's airports are literally begging for relief.

In some respects, technology has outperformed itself. We have the power and the thrust, but we have not found a way to reduce the noise and maintain the power. I am aware that research projects are presently engaged searching for ways and means of reducing noise while at the same time retaining the power of the engines. The results are coming slow.

I am confident that the technology which has brought us to where we are today will develop a quiet and powerful engine, but until that time we must act to prevent the noise irritant from affecting more people.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues here today to join in support of legislation

which will authorize aircraft noise abatement regulations.

The President has shown us the course, now we must enact the legislation to serve our people.

## Bingo Notices

**HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, earlier in this session, I introduced H.R. 13171, legislation which would permit the mailing, by nonprofit organizations, as third class mail, notices of bingo in States where such contests are lawful.

It is unfair that churches and charitable organizations cannot use their ordinary bulletins to report on their own fund-raising activities when horse and dog race tracks may advertise in newspapers which are mailed at reduced rates.

I would like to read into the RECORD a sample of some comments I have received from charitable organizations about H.R. 13171:

We most heartily endorse your action taken in behalf of Bill #13171 regarding Bingo which would permit charitable organizations to use 3rd class mail to advertise their Bingo nights."

JOEL EIGER,

Shellbank Jewish Center.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

We wholeheartedly support your legislation with reference to allowing the use of notices for Bingo to go through the third class mail.

JULIAN STEUER,

President, Flushing Jewish Center.

FLUSHING, N.Y.

We congratulate you on your just and forthright appeal for legal Bingo publicity and advertising.

Rev. STEPHEN C. SCHUBERT,

Pastor, St. Mary's Rectory.

WOODSIDE, N.Y.

On behalf of the 1,000 members of the West End Auxiliary, of the Peninsula General Hospital, I want you to know that we support the passage of legislation H.R. 13171.

Mr. HAROLD R. ROBERTS,

President, West End Auxiliary, Peninsula General Hospital.

EDGEMERE, N.Y.

The officers and members of the J. W. Person Post do hereby submit their signatures in support of the legislation H.R. 13171.

VICTOR V. ALLEGRETTI,

Commander.

S. JOSEPH SCOONAMILLO,

Corresponding Adjutant J. W. Person Post 14, American Legion.

KINGS COUNTY, N.Y.

The Board of Directors of Queens Child Guidance Center welcomes and supports the legislation you introduced on the mailing of Bingo information.

HOWARD D. STAVE,

President, Queens Child Guidance Center.

JAMAICA, N.Y.

This congregation, which through its two constituent units, viz. the Men's Club and the Sisterhood conduct Bingo, heartily approves and endorses your bill H.R. 13171.

SAMUEL HOFFMAN,

YMHA-YWHA Cong. Mishkan Israel-Linas Hazedek of Jamaica.

JAMAICA, N.Y.

Please be advised that this organization is in full support of your bill. If we can be of any assistance, please let us know.

ANGELO J. LIBRIZZI,

Co-Chairman, Bingo Committee, Rockaway Council No. 2672, Knights of Columbus.

ROCKAWAY BEACH, LONG ISLAND.

... we must fully agree with the intent of this bill which could aid us in raising the funds needed to provide services not rendered by the city, state or federal government for the mentally retarded. We intend to rouse support for this legislation among legislators, our parents and friends and from other organizations similar to ours who are affected.

IDA RAPPAPORT,

Executive Director, Association for Children with Retarded Mental Development, Inc.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I wish to advise that I am in full concurrence with your Bill, H.R. 13171, which will allow the mails to be used for circulars and pamphlets concerning Bingo.

JULIUS ALTSCHULER,

President, Temple Shalom.

FLORAL PARK, N.Y.

## Safe Drinking Water Act of 1968

**HON. WILLIAM D. FORD**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the Safe Drinking Water Act of 1968, recommended to us by President Johnson in his conservation message today, would authorize three important steps in our efforts to protect the health of Americans.

Under terms of the President's proposal, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare would receive stronger authority to, first, develop, adopt, and enforce improved standards relating to chemical contaminants in drinking water; second, conduct a comprehensive study of the safety of public drinking water supplies in this country; and, third, determine whether any further steps are needed to insure supplies of safe drinking water.

As the President points out, many Americans give little thought to the safety of the water they drink. But the water they drink is not always as safe as it should be.

In fact, about 30 percent of the public drinking water systems in this country fall below the Federal standards maintained for drinking water.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the problem to which the President calls our attention is a critical one. I support his request for the Safe Drinking Water Act of 1968, and I urge the Congress to approve it.

## India Begins a Long March From Famine to Self-Sufficiency

**HON. DONALD M. FRASER**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, in January, along with Representative PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN, I was privileged to visit India as chairman of a congressional delegation from the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

While in India, we visited the Tajore district of Madras State, an important rice-growing area. There we saw the intensive agricultural development program under which the Agency for International Development, the Ford Foundation, and the Government of India are cooperating in a package program to provide farmers with all of the factors needed for a major advance in food production.

The story of the dramatic results of this effort is told in a feature article in the March 19 issue of *Look* magazine. The article was written by senior editor Ernest Dunbar.

Since so many news articles about foreign aid seem to feature what has gone wrong, it is a particular pleasure to include in the *RECORD* this story of real accomplishment:

### INDIA BEGINS A LONG MARCH FROM FAMINE TO SELF-SUFFICIENCY

The magnitude of India's problems is enough to shake the staunchest believer in man's ability to control his destiny. In that congested Asian subcontinent, a third the size of the United States, more than half a billion people jostle for survival. Increasing at the rate of more than a million mouths a month, India's peoples have long been assailed by poverty. The most recent catastrophe, two successive years of record drought, brought a proud race to the vertiginous edge of famine. Now, spurred by the specter of megadeaths, India has begun an agricultural upheaval that may take this populous nation out of the shadow of starvation and, ultimately, through a technological breakthrough, to an adequate diet for all its people.

India's food miracle began with a sign no bigger than a grain of rice, the food that is the staple diet for a majority of its people. Though India contains a third of the world's area under rice production and produces 31 percent of the global rice output, its average yield per acre is among the lowest. Its 600 pounds per acre compare dismally with Spain's 3,230 pounds, Japan's 2,250 pounds or the 3,100 pounds per acre output of Italy. Primitive farming methods (like sun-drying rice on roads), an unpredictable climate and a shortage of arable land kept food bowls low and anxieties high. While the U.S. could be looked to for wheat aid, it does not grow enough rice to spare. With population figures relentlessly bouncing upward, Indian authorities had to somehow shock the nation's rice production out of its doldrums or face disaster.

In the first blush of independence from Britain 21 years ago, India's economic planners had slighted agriculture, deciding instead to devote a major portion of their nation's energies and limited financial resources to industrial expansion. After several crop failures and the widening of the gap between produce and people, the New Delhi government decided that success on the

farm had to take priority over building more steel mills.

The situation India faced was this: Most of its 50 million farmers have very small holdings (92 percent of them own less than two acres each), are largely illiterate and have the traditional rural suspicion of new-fangled seed and farming methods. They are often in parts of the country serviced by poor roads and are thus difficult for government extension workers to reach and persuade. Money for chemical fertilizers was not something they had lying around, and grain prices were too low to warrant going into hock with the local moneylender in order to finance fertilizer or pesticide purchases. Like his hard-bitten Yankee counterpart of the past, the Indian farmer was going to have to be convinced if food production was to be accelerated. And moreover, grain prices would have to rise.

In 1960, the Indian Government, with the help of Ford Foundation specialists, began its "package district" program. The package-district idea was simple: The only way to encourage the kind of dramatic agricultural advances India's circumstances demanded was to funnel all of the services, seed and expertise called for into seven wheat- and rice-growing areas carefully selected because of their favorable climatic conditions and energetic cultivators. The aim was to provide these farmers with everything they needed for a major advance. Low-interest loans were given to enable farmers to buy equipment, pesticides, fertilizers and seed, which were shoveled into cooperatives within ox-cart reach of most farms. A battalion of technical advisers biked and bused over the countryside, providing answers for those who needed them and running checks on the progress of the program.

"We felt that if farmers in nearby districts could actually see the kind of payoff these advanced methods could bring, they'd come around quickly enough," said one Delhi cabinet minister.

But the timing proved premature. Too little was known about the soil conditions, and the kind of seed initially furnished did not produce markedly improved yields. More important, though the government set up price supports for grain, they were still not attractive enough to stimulate the extra effort needed from farmers.

Then came a series of events that may touch off a new era in Indian agriculture. Because of severe droughts in 1965 and 1966, grain prices rose, inducing even the most conservative cultivators to search for better ways of growing more food. At the end of 1965, a resolute Indian Government announced that it had set 1971 as the target for "self-sufficiency" in food, and significantly increased its investment in agricultural projects. Another major lift came from India's own experimental agricultural institutes, which raced to develop new strains of high-yield seed that would mature in less time (thus allowing two, possibly even three, crops a year) and would be disease-resistant.

One result of these experiments was a hybrid rice seed called ADT-27 that delighted farmers and officials alike last fall by enabling growers in one package district, Tanjore, to triple the size of their *rabi* (spring) crop. The elements of that success story are a combination of determination, hard work—and a magnificent assist by the weather.

Tanjore is a Puerto Rico-sized district located near the southern tip of India in Madras State, long known as the "rice bowl of India." Situated in the steamy Cauvery River delta, the district is a vast sea of rippling green rice shoots. Much of Tanjore is watered by an extensive irrigation system, parts of which are as much as 900 years old. There are as many acres of rice under cultivation in the district (1½ million) as in all of the United States; and Madras State, of

which it is a part, normally grows enough rice (almost 4 million tons) to take care of Madras needs, with a portion left over for shipment to other regions. Though Tanjore had been a package district since 1960, it was the decision to try ADT-27 there that catapulted the area into Indian agricultural history. The hybrid seed, a cross between a local variety and a Japanese strain, was the product of 11 years of research at Madras's Aduthurai experimental station (from which it got the designation ADT).

The new seed, which grows well even under poor conditions, matures in about 105 days, in contrast to the 180 days required by the seed traditionally used by Tanjore farmers. It does not need as much fertilizer or technical know-how as some other varieties in order to thrive, and its taste, often a sticking point in India, is acceptable to local consumers. Equally important, the yield from ADT-27 is up to four times as great as that obtained from the old variety. Tanjore had another asset: a gritty, determined project director named Mooliyil Mukundan. Backstopped by Ford Foundation consultants, Mukundan and a staff of 750 "village workers" trained in a short crash program fanned out in the district to persuade, cajole, entreat a portion of the district's farmers to try the new seed. Mukundan and his assistants tried to make the risks minimal. "We studied weather conditions for the last 16 years," he said. "We did the same for humidity, maximum and minimum temperatures, hours of sunshine and volume of rainfall."

In 1965, the new seed was demonstrated on 5,000 acres. In 1966, the area was increased to 200,000 acres; and in 1967, it jumped to 600,000.

Last year, moving ahead, Mukundan encouraged Tanjore's farmers to make a change in their centuries-old cropping pattern. He asked them to risk sowing ADT-27 on a double-cropping basis. "By now, the cultivators have faith in us," he says, "and we never make people feel we're pushing them into anything." Over the course of four months, farmers were brought together in batches for two-day training sessions. A farm program planned for each man told him how much seed he would need, the amount and proportion of fertilizer, pesticides, with credit arranged so that he could buy them. In those four months, 200,000 farmers were trained. At times breaking through copious bureaucratic snarls, Mukundan and his fellow workers got the material to the places where it was needed.

The result, with that big assist from last fall's excellent monsoon rains, was a three fold rise in the area under ADT-27 cultivation and, with the double-cropping, a sharp net increase in rice yield of some 450,000 tons, the equivalent of five percent of India's total food-grain gap in 1966-67.

Mukundan scoffs at the idea that Tanjore's farmers are resisting change. "Tradition does not stand in our way here," he argues. "The difficulty now is providing enough seed and fertilizer for all the farmers who want it."

While the prospect of a bumper crop was still a gleam in the eyes of local farmers, national and state government officials realized that the huge harvest would present unprecedented problems. Paddy (as unmilled rice is termed) must be dried within a short time after harvesting, or it germinates and becomes undesirable for human consumption. The traditional Tanjore practice of placing paddy on the roads to sun-dry would have been inadequate because of the enormous yield—three times the usual crop—and because the grain was to be harvested during the monsoon rains. With only about 40 percent of the crop to be consumed locally, government officials at all levels realized they'd have to pool their resources if the paddy was to be dried, stored and shipped out fast enough. In what became a remarkable ex-



ample of Indian intergovernmental teamwork, trucks and railroad cars were marshaled from various parts of the county and funneled into the Tanjore district to carry away the marketable surplus. Even more spectacularly, in four months, the government rushed through the construction of some 20 mechanical drying centers to cut paddy spoilage to a minimum.

Tanjore's success with its "miracle seed" and its double-cropping innovation is not the only advance in the Indian food struggle. Still more impressive wheat-crop yields have been scored in the Punjab, northern India's wheat-producing region. In Punjab's Ludhiana (like Tanjore, a package district receiving a variety of special agricultural services), a new seed, bred by crossing a local strain with a Mexican variety, has resulted in a dwarf wheat that can absorb generous amounts of fertilizer without "lodging" (falling over), as did the area's traditional wheat.

The new high-yielding strain has enabled Punjabi farmers to reap crops more than double those of only four years ago. The changeover has been dramatic. In Ludhiana alone, farmers who planted 20,000 acres in the new wheat last year will plant 200,000 acres in 1968.

The two successive droughts of 1965 and 1966 masked the beginnings of the Indian agricultural transformation. But with the highly favorable rains of last year, the evidence of the nation's food effort is now becoming visible.

The recent bumper grain crop, according to estimates, totals more than 100 million tons. India's previous high had been 89 million tons in 1964. (The 1966-67 drought-affected harvest was only 75 million tons.) Government officials now hope to be able to stockpile at least three million tons to build up a reserve. But while such a reserve would help ease India's chronic shortages, it would only be about five percent of the country's annual grain consumption, and could easily be wiped out by another drought. So the U.S., which last year furnished India with 6.1 million of the 10 million tons of grain that had to be imported, has already pledged to send 3.5 million tons in 1968 to help build up stocks. (The U.S. also had a bumper grain crop.)

While the quantity of food available to India's millions is increasing, the quality of it is something else again. The Indians' diet, basically rice or wheat, is woefully deficient in protein. Some vegetables are consumed, but such protein-rich foods as meat, poultry, eggs, fish and milk are not part of the average Indian's meal. The lack of protein shows up in a high infant-mortality rate, in chronic illnesses and in a general lack of physical well-being.

Chidambra Subramaniam, an ex-food minister, now an official of India's ruling Congress party, has lamented: "The most tragic aspect of protein hunger is that it strikes at the most vulnerable sector of the population—the children. On the basis of my own state of Madras, where I was minister of education, it has been estimated that between 35 and 40 percent of the children of India have suffered permanent brain damage by the time they reach school age because of protein deficiency. This means we are, in effect, producing subhuman beings at the rate of 35 million a year."

As the peoples of India move vigorously to solve their hunger problem by growing more food, they are hobbled by their propensity for growing people. Between 1950 and 1965, when the country's grain-production rate rose nearly 3 percent (about the same as that of the U.S. then), the annual population increase was 2.5 percent. The two-year drought erased even that slight edge.

India's masses multiply at the rate of 55,000 mouths a day, and the annual increase is more than the total population of Aus-

tralia. Under Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the nation's lagging population-control program has moved ahead in the last year with new determination and a healthy step-up in government funds. The man who directs the drive is spirited, chain-smoking Dr. Sripati Chandrasekhar, a U.S.-educated demographer. The official goal is to cut the country's birthrate from its present 41 per thousand to 25 by 1975. (Dr. Chandrasekhar vows he'll make it 20.)

"We are using what I call 'a cafeteria approach' to family planning," he says, "offering the 'loop,' or intrauterine device, the pill, condoms, vasectomies [male sterilization surgery] and tubectomies [the female sterilization operation]."

To get the word into every corner of India's 500,000 villages, where 80 percent of the people live, the health ministry has fielded a formidable array of persuaders. The red triangle, symbol of family planning, is seen everywhere. Slogans urging birth control are pasted on walls, threaded into radio programs, shouted from loudspeakers atop propaganda trucks, insistently pushed in rural dispensaries. At first, the emphasis was on the "loop," but in the wake of complications that slowed down the acceptance of this device by women, the stress has now shifted to male sterilization.

After a vasectomy, which is performed in about 15 minutes, the patient walks away and can usually return to work after a day's rest. The female operation, more complicated, requires up to ten days' hospitalization. So far, about 90 percent of the operations have been performed on men. In most Indian states, those who undergo these operations get time off and a payment of 20 rupees—\$2.60—which means a lot in a country where a peasant's workday brings about 26 cents.

The Indian Government has budgeted ten times as much money for its family-planning program in the next five years as it spent in the previous five, but a Himalayan-sized task remains. Though 2,600,000 persons have been sterilized so far (the goal in 1968 is 1,500,000), there are about 100 million Indian couples of reproductive age.

The U.S. Government and foundations are providing money, materials and research to help the Indian Government in its desperate struggle against human inundation. India must somehow match its farming revolution with a successful effort to brake its runaway birthrate. If it can, its triumph will be without parallel in man's history.

### Letter From Vietnam

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month, the pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian Church here in Washington, Richard C. Halverson, distributed a letter from a young Navy lieutenant in Vietnam. The message contained in that letter moved Reverend Halverson and a great many members of his congregation, of which I am proud to be a member.

Under unanimous consent, I include the brief note from the Reverend Halverson to his congregation together with the full text of the letter from Lt. Bob Jones in the RECORD at this point. The material referred to above follows:

FOURTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,  
Washington, D.C., March 1968.

DEAR FRIENDS: The following letter was written by a young Navy Lieutenant who attended Fourth Presbyterian Church regularly last August when he was assigned here for special studies before going to Viet Nam. So anxious was he to get to the church, having previously heard about it, that he walked from Wisconsin Avenue, a distance of 3 miles, the first Sunday he came.

The letter impressed me as a real Macedonian call to prayer, therefore, I am duplicating it and sending it to you urging you to do likewise in the hope that it may reach, as he wishes, a million Christians.

God bless you.

RICHARD C. HALVERSON.

FEBRUARY 26, 1968.

DEAR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN CHRIST: This unusual method of communication is being used because of the urgency of the situation. Some of you don't even know me personally although we have corresponded. For you, I am a Navy lieutenant stationed in Saigon since 10 October, converted to faith in Christ 3½ years ago.

As you know these are times of great crisis and turmoil in Vietnam. Much destruction and killing has occurred. The number of homeless refugees is in the thousands. There are much greater needs in this country today than existed even a month ago. My information is extremely limited. The lines of communication throughout the country are sketchy at best. From my scant knowledge of the situation, I know of one Christian church on the outskirts of town that was 70 percent destroyed. There are 100 in the congregation, including children. A church with adjoining primary and junior high school just two blocks from my billet is housing about 200 refugees, all of whom are Christians except for one family. Many of them are homeless with nothing to their name except the clothes they wear. Included in this group are 31 orphans. Up north a Christian and Missionary Alliance leprosarium was destroyed, six U.S. missionaries killed and one wounded, and the lepers driven away.

Being a Christian I believe that obstacles are opportunities when Christ is involved. Consequently I feel there has never been a greater opportunity for the Christian witness in Vietnam. The door of religious freedom is wide open. President Thieu, a Catholic convert, is interested in the welfare of the Christian church in Vietnam because of the good work it is doing in his country. The biggest missionary effort in Vietnam, the Christian and Missionary Alliance Church, has 342 churches in-country, many indigenous. Many other churches and organizations are represented and are working with the Vietnamese. Now they are all working to help alleviate the suffering of these people, both Christians and heathen, and restore or rebuild the church. And they are doing a wonderful job, too. At the International Protestant Church in Saigon between 11 and 17 February 100,000 piasters (\$847.45) was collected to help the needy Christians. This is good but I feel that more important than money is the power of prayer. Much prayer is required for specific needs in this country. That is why I am writing to you, to solicit your prayers for Vietnam. I am asking you to pray for all of the following:

1. God's protection for His children in Vietnam.
2. The Vietnamese Christians will turn to God for comfort and help.
3. That this situation will strengthen their faith and trust in the Lord.
4. The Vietnamese Christians would trust the Lord to prepare them for whatever happens, to offset the fatalistic influence of their culture.

5. That the material needs of the people and churches would be met through God's grace.

6. That the witness of the church under these circumstances would draw unbelievers to faith in Christ.

7. That the V.C. and Hoi Chanh (returnees) would be turned to the saving knowledge of Christ.

8. That these Christians would accept God's teachings of Matthews 5: 44, 45; Proverbs 25: 12, 13 and 24: 17, 18. etc.

God's word is so full of promises about prayer. I believe He can do more through the believing prayers of His saints than can be done by all the government and private relief programs that this and the rest of the countries of the free world can mount.

Of course, if while you are in prayer about this the Lord should lay it on your heart to want to do more than pray, I would like to suggest some people that you could communicate with. These are only the ones I know about, but your church may know of others:

Rev. Gordon R. Cathey, Christian and Missionary Alliance, APO San Francisco, Calif. 96243. Mr. Vern Betsch (of the Navigators), B. P. 94, Saigon, Viet Nam. Mr. David Standing, Wycliffe Bible Translators, CORDS/REF/SIL, APO San Francisco 96243.

Mr. Doug Cozart, World Vision, APO San Francisco, Calif. 96243. LCDR. Max C. Ellers, CHC, USN, Box E, COMNAVFORV, APO San Francisco 96214. Mr. Do Duc Tri\*, c/o Lt. R. D. Jones, USN, Box 7, U.S. NavAdvGru, APO San Francisco 96214.

Since none of these people are aware of this letter let your communication be in the name of Christ and please keep mine out of it. John 7:18

I would like to include part of an article that appeared in the devotional, Our Daily Bread, published by the Radio Bible Class, which may speak to your heart as it did mine. "A little boy who lived in the slums was brought to Christ by the workers in a local mission. Not long afterward someone tried to shake the child's faith by saying, 'If God really loves you, why doesn't somebody take better care of you? Why doesn't He tell somebody to send you a better pair of shoes?' The boy thought for a moment and then said, as tears rushed to his eyes, 'I guess He does tell somebody, and somebody forgets!'"

If you believe this effort is in the Lord's will, will you please:

a. Send the extra copies of this letter to your Christian friends, if you received extra copies, inviting them to pass it on to their friends.

b. Show it to the pastor of your church and ask him to:

(1) Include these prayer requests in the weekly prayer meeting.

(2) Use one collection to support needy Christians in Vietnam.

c. Pray that this information would reach at least one million Christians by the end of March.

In his book, *True Discipleship*, William MacDonald says: "The tragedy of much of life today is the failure to appreciate our high calling. We are content to spend our years 'hugging the subordinate,' or 'majoring in minors.' We creep instead of fly. We are slaves instead of kings. Few have the vision of claiming countries for Christ."

Will you claim Vietnam for Jesus Christ in prayer and faith?

Yours in that blessed hope,

BOB JONES.

\*Mr. Tri is the head translator for Naval Forces Vietnam, a Christian for more than 40 years and very active in the Saigon Vietnamese Christian churches.

## Inflation's Impact on U.S. Foreign Trade

### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, an article entitled "The Threat to U.S. Trade" in the February 24, 1968, edition of *Business Week* magazine explores the effect on imports of continuing domestic inflation. This is a very serious problem, as a diminishing trade surplus will affect adversely our balance of payments which is already badly in deficit. Increased imports are a natural result of domestic inflation, the key cause of which is Federal Government deficit spending.

The article referred to follows:

#### THE THREAT TO U.S. TRADE

(NOTE.—Imports have been climbing fast lately and trimming the nation's surplus in international trade. This poses another problem for the dollar's defense.)

Inflation, the bugaboo that is menacing the domestic U.S. economy, also threatens to squeeze the nation's vital trade surplus in 1968.

The surplus is earned by American manufacturers, farmers, and other producers who sell more goods abroad than foreigners sell to the U.S. This excess of exports over imports is the only big plus in the U.S. balance of payments; it helps offset outflows for such things as tourism, military outlays and investment.

But the surplus was a disappointing \$4.1-billion last year, compared with a peak of \$7-billion in 1964. President Johnson, in announcing his program to ease the dollar drain, predicted a \$500-million improvement in the trade surplus this year. But it is more likely that there will be some further shrinkage to around \$3.6-billion (chart).

U.S. exports will continue to rise—in fact, they should get an extra lift from improved business conditions in some of the United States' biggest trading partners, such as Germany. But soaring demand for imports may more than offset any pickup in exports, Commerce officials fear. Such was the trend in the final months of 1967, and preliminary figures for January don't show much improvement.

War. Of course, trade is volatile and can change swiftly under the impact of unforeseen events. The biggest unknown variable is Vietnam: A peace settlement or a slowdown in the fighting could ease the demand for imports and improve the U.S. trade outlook dramatically; escalation could take another bite out of the trade surplus.

The pressure of the war on the economy is the main reason why the White House keeps urging a reluctant Congress to enact a 10% income tax surcharge, in order to dampen demand. For the same reason, the Federal Reserve is putting a rein on the money supply.

"We must temper the rise in demands here," Federal Reserve Chairman William McChesney Martin, Jr., told Congress last week, "in order to avoid surges in imports and to keep our exports competitive."

Strikes. There are other, special factors squeezing the trade surplus. The marathon strike at U.S. copper mines that began last July has sent copper imports sky-high. Steel users are buying more foreign steel as a hedge against a possible strike later this year.

Whatever the causes, the danger is that shrinkage in the U.S. trade surplus will offset some of the dollar savings that are expected from the Administration's balance-of-

payments program to curb dollar outflows for direct investments, bank lending, and tourism. As one means of shoring up the trade balance, the Administration has tentatively proposed a "border tax" of 2% to 3% on imports, with a similar subsidy to exporters. Washington is sounding out European capitals on whether they will accept such a move, or alternative steps to bolster U.S. trade, without retaliating against U.S. exports.

#### I. FLOOD FROM ABROAD

Imports showed a substantial increase last year—around 5%, to a total of \$26.8-billion—even though the U.S. economy was running in low gear through much of 1967. This year, it is feared that imports will jump by 8% or more.

Detroit auto makers, for example, had expected car imports would run around 700,000 last year. The actual figure was much higher—766,000. Now Chrysler Chairman Lynn A. Townsend predicts that 800,000 foreign cars will be sold in the U.S. this year.

Privately, other auto makers say this forecast may be on the low side. In the fourth quarter last year, auto imports made a startling jump, from \$317-million in the third quarter to \$532-million in the final three months. Detroit doesn't know exactly why imports are growing so fast, but purchases by affluent two-car families are clearly a factor.

Steel inflow. A similar sharp upturn in steel imports at the end of 1967 has steelmen worried. Says Edmund F. Martin, chairman of Bethlehem Steel Corp. and of the American Iron & Steel Institute: "This accelerating pace is likely to carry through at least the first three quarters of 1968 and will undoubtedly lead to a total for the year far above the 11.5-million tons imported in 1967."

Other steelmen forecast imports at 13-million to 15-million tons. At that rate, foreign steel sales in this country may total from \$1.6-billion to \$1.9-billion compared with \$1.3-billion last year.

The outlook is similar for other categories of imports.

Higher levels of business activity will tend to fatten imports of industrial raw materials. A gain in plant and equipment spending could mean heavier imports of everything from heavy machinery to office equipment. Further gains in construction activity would mean more timber coming in from Canada. The pickup in consumer spending promises to bring in more radios and television sets, clothing, footwear, toys, and other items. Fuel oil imports rose sharply in the final months of 1967 as supply patterns returned to normal following the Middle East war; this year, petroleum imports are expected to climb higher still.

#### II. CHANCES FOR EXPORTS

Exports also showed a substantial gain for 1967 as a whole: up \$1.5-billion, or about 5%, for a total of \$30.9-billion. But while imports soared toward the end of the year, exports actually declined by \$150-million in the fourth quarter.

Throughout the year, the slowdown in Western Europe's economies kept a damper on U.S. exports. In addition, huge grain crops in Europe and other areas sent U.S. farm exports into a nosedive. Sales of U.S. foodstuffs fell by 12%, despite rice shipments to Vietnam.

This year, U.S. agricultural exports should climb again. Overseas grain crops are likely to be somewhat smaller, and prices of such U.S. commodities as corn and soybeans look more competitive.

A business revival in the Common Market should also help U.S. exports of industrial products, ranging from chemicals and machinery to jet aircraft.

The Common Market Commission is forecasting a 4.5% growth rate for the six-na-



tion bloc, compared with 2.5% last year. It bases its optimism on signs of a solid recovery in Germany and pump priming in France and Belgium. Common Market imports are expected to grow 10% or more above last year's total of \$30.5-billion; the U.S., which supplies about 20% of the bloc's imports, should share in this expansion.

Outside the Common Market, the outlook is dimmer. Britain's austerity program will pinch imports from the U.S. And the sterling devaluation—followed by devaluations in Denmark, Spain, and other countries—could shave \$300-million to \$400-million off U.S. exports.

Japan, a huge buyer of U.S. merchandise, is putting reins on its economy. Canada, too, is trying to battle inflation; it promises to be a less eager customer in 1968, especially for autos and capital equipment. Australia and South Africa are also expected to buy less from the U.S.

What it seems to add up to is a respectable gain for exports. The problem, for Washington and for U.S. producers, is what to do about the expected spate of imports.

U.S. travelers spent some \$4-billion abroad in 1967, while foreign travelers spent only half that much in the U.S. So the U.S. ran a \$2.1-billion tourist deficit last year, \$500-million more than in 1966.

To help bridge the gap, a Presidential Task Force on Travel this week outlined a program that will make it less costly for foreign travelers to come to the U.S., and less costly for them once they arrive. The panel also suggested that the U.S. stop requiring visas of foreign business travelers and tourists.

Some of the rate cuts—on hotel rooms and car rentals—take effect at once. Lower plane, train, ship, and bus fares will follow once the various agencies say yes. When this happens, U.S. tour operators say they will start offering lower-cost packaged tours to foreigners.

Flurry of activity. Meanwhile, other elements of the Administration's tough, new balance-of-payments program also were in the news this week.

The Commerce Dept., which is running the mandatory controls on direct investments abroad, unveiled an unwieldy, multi-page form—FDI-101—that some 4,000 U.S. companies must use in detailing past overseas investments. The form must be returned by Mar. 22, and another one—FDI-102—covering investments in the first quarter of 1968 is due May 15. Commerce also said it is about to create an appeals board that will have the last word on questions about the controls.

At the same time, the House Ways and Means Committee heard stiff opposition from travel industry witnesses and others.

### March 17, 1968—American Legion's 49th Birthday

**HON. BURT L. TALCOTT**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, March 17 is the 49th anniversary of the formation of the American Legion. Born to fight our battle for peace, to preserve the memory of those who gave their lives for our country, to care for their widows and orphans, and to engage in civic activities to enrich human endeavor, the American Legion can be proud of its accomplishments.

There are more than 3 million Legionnaires. The American Legion has no "day" of its own. Perhaps this is proper because the Legion, through the individ-

ual Legionnaires, and their families, perform valuable civic services every day of the year during peace, as well as war.

Mrs. Elizabeth Bertram, a renowned poetess, of Templeton, Calif., has written a poem in recognition of these 49 years of service to our country. As a member of the American Legion, I commend it to everyone's reading and place it in the RECORD at this point:

For forty-nine years, since the day you were born,

You've defended the Flag through sunshine and storm;

You have grown from a handful to two million strong

With others awaiting the chance to belong.

Though conceived on the battle fields long, long ago

You have each, for the homeland, faced hardships and foe.

When the shooting had stopped, and Discharge set you free

You still carried on through Law and Decree

Making sure that our Nation keeps faith with its dead,

But in gratitude cares for the living instead.

You have made of the widows, the orphaned, the ill,

Your reason for being. You are doing it still.

From different wars, and with years in between,

You have welded together a hard-hitting team

Of the oldest GIs and the new discharged Youth

For God and for Country; for Freedom and Truth.

Your standards are noble, your purposes pure,

You have built on foundations designed to endure.

With Service your watchword and Peace as your goal

You're the living example of a great Nation's soul.

You're the unselfish Legion—all for one—one for all

Answering "Ready" to each duty's call,

Still giving your best, as you did in the field

When stubborn, raw Courage forbade you to yield.

For forty-nine years you have carried the ball

In village and City and Government Hall.

I salute you—I love you, Comrades and Friends,

As each, at his station, "Maintains and Defends."

Though medals and monuments tell of your worth,

And praises are heard to the ends of the earth,

What greater honor can anyone win

Than the privilege of wearing that tiny Bronze Pin?

—ELIZABETH BERTRAM.

### Members Who Have Served in Congress at 80 and Over

**HON. BARRATT O'HARA**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, due to the circumstance that, at 85, I am the oldest Member of the House in accumulated years, it is not unusual for me to receive a letter from an interested student of the American political scene

requesting to know how many persons past 80 have served in the Congress of the United States. The information that I have gathered in an effort to reply to such inquiries is by no means complete, although I have had the efficient assistance of researchers of the Library of Congress, but for what it is I am happy to pass it on to my colleagues and others who may be interested.

The Honorable CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona, is the oldest Member of the other body at the present time. He will be 91 in October. The late Senator Theodore Francis Green, of Rhode Island, was 94 when he voluntarily retired. The Honorable Shelby M. Cullom, of my own State of Illinois, died in office at 85 in 1914 and I, then Lieutenant Governor of Illinois, attended the funeral service and accompanied the body to the cemetery in Springfield, Ill.

Illinois, it is interesting to note, leads the States in the number of Members past 80 who have served in the House. Former Speaker Joseph Cannon, 87, Adolph J. Sabath, 86, Thomas J. O'Brien, 86, BARRATT O'HARA, 86 in April of this year, James B. Bowler, 82, and WILLIAM L. DAWSON, 81.

Those from the other States include:

John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, served in the House of Representatives, March 4, 1831, until his death February 23, 1848, at age 80.

William B. Allison of Iowa, served in the U.S. Senate, March 4, 1873, until his death on August 4, 1908, at age 79.

Henry Clay of Kentucky, served in the U.S. Senate, November 10, 1831–March 31, 1842, and March 4, 1849, until his death on June 29, 1852, at age 75.

Robert Crosser of Ohio, served in the House of Representatives, March 4, 1913–March 3, 1919; March 4, 1923–January 3, 1955, when his service ceased at age 80.

Robert L. Doughton, of North Carolina, served in the House of Representatives, March 4, 1911, until his retirement on January 3, 1953, at age 89.

Carter Glass, of Virginia, served in the U.S. Senate February 2, 1920, until his death on May 28, 1946, at age 88.

Andrew Jackson Houston, Senate, died at age 87 in office (1941).

Justin S. Morrill, served in the U.S. Senate March 4, 1867, until his death on December 28, 1898, at age 88.

Edmund W. Pettus, of Alabama, Senator, 1897–1907, died at age 86 in 1907 in office.

Charles M. Stedman, of North Carolina, Senator, 1911–30, died at age 89, in office.

Edward T. Taylor, of Colorado, served in the House of Representatives, March 4, 1909, until his death on September 3, 1941, at the age of 83.

Francis E. Warren, Senator of Wyoming, 1890–93, 1895–1929; died at age of 85 in office. His funeral services were held in the Chamber of the U.S. Senate.

The Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress lists the following Members of Congress older than 65 as of the election of November 8, 1966:

All States: 24 Senators, 40 Representatives. Alabama: Senators Lister Hill, John J. Sparkman.

Alaska: Senator Ernest Gruening.

Arizona: Senator Carl Hayden.  
 Arkansas: Senator John L. McClellan.  
 California: Representatives George P. Miller, J. Arthur Younger (deceased), Cecil R. King, James B. Utt.  
 Colorado: Representatives Byron Rogers and Wayne Aspinall.  
 Florida: Senator Spessard Holland; Representatives James Haley and Claude Pepper.  
 Georgia: Senator Richard Russell.  
 Idaho: Senator Len Jordan.  
 Illinois: Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen; Representatives William L. Dawson, Barratt O'Hara, William T. Murphy, John Kluczynski, Leslie Arends.  
 Indiana: Representatives Ray J. Madden and Charles Halleck.  
 Iowa: Senator Bourke Hickenlooper, Representative H. R. Gross.  
 Kansas: Senator Frank Carlson.  
 Kentucky: Senator John Sherman Cooper.  
 Louisiana: Senator Allen Ellender, Representatives F. Edward Hébert and Otto Passman.  
 Maine: Senator Margaret Chase Smith.  
 Maryland: Representative Samuel Friedel.  
 Massachusetts: Representatives Philip J. Philbin, Harold Donohue, John McCormack.  
 Mississippi: Senator John Stennis.  
 Missouri: Senator Stuart Symington, Representative Paul C. Jones.  
 New Hampshire: Senator Norris Cotton.  
 New Mexico: Senator Clinton P. Anderson.  
 New York: Representatives James J. Deane, Emanuel Celler, Abraham Multer.  
 North Carolina: Senators Sam Ervin and Everett Jordan.  
 North Dakota: Senator Milton Young.  
 Ohio: Senators Frank Lausche and Stephen Young; Representatives Frank Bow, Michael Klrwan, and Frances Bolton.  
 Oklahoma: Representative Page Belcher.  
 Oregon: Senator Wayne Morse.  
 Pennsylvania: Senators Joseph Clark and Hugh Scott; Representatives William Barrett, George Goodling, Elmer Holland.  
 South Carolina: Representative John McMillan.  
 South Dakota: Senator Karl Mundt.  
 Texas: Representatives Wright Patman, William Robert (Bob) Poage, George Mahon.  
 Utah: Senator Wallace Bennett.  
 Vermont: Senator George Aiken.  
 Virginia: Representative William Tuck.  
 Wyoming: Representative William Henry Harrison.

### North Carolina's VFW Essay Winner

## HON. L. H. FOUNTAIN

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its ladies auxiliary sponsors an essay contest for high school students.

The contest, appropriately, is titled "Voice of Democracy." Valuable scholarships are awarded the top winners to enable them to continue to pursue their education at the college level.

This year, the winner from North Carolina was a young lady from the Second Congressional District, which I have the honor and privilege to represent. Our winner was Miss Julie Wood who lives in Roxboro, Person County, N.C.

The principles and philosophy which she so eloquently stated are so badly needed in our country today that I am inserting her essay in the RECORD so that

my colleagues may have a chance to read it.

The essay follows:

### FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

(By Julia Wood)

Freedom? Peace? Today? In the era of nuclear warfare, the very idea of freedom seems completely incongruous with everything else that is going on. Yet it must be made to fit in today's world.

When we hear the word "freedom," our minds immediately drift to thoughts of our forefathers' battles for independence and to the establishment of our Constitution. True, this is how our freedom began, but we can't point to the American Revolution or our Constitution and say, "That's freedom," because freedom is intangible, and no one thing can ever possibly stand for all it means.

It's the feeling I have as I walk to church on a crisp fall morning—the same feeling that a Catholic has on his way to Mass.

It's your right to stand up and speak for what you believe in and, at the same time, it's the other man's right to voice his opinion though it may be completely contrary to yours.

When you come right down to it, freedom is all we have and all we need. Without it, our lives would be so restricted and monotonous that they would hardly be worth living. However, most Americans take their rights so for granted that they don't even attach any importance to them. Won't you take a moment to consider how empty your life would be—without the tiny, stone churches in wooded areas of the south, and the daily newspaper; without the school houses which dot our countryside, or the gala 4th of July Celebrations and the spirit behind them.

All of these things represent freedoms that are our fundamental rights, thanks to the blood and sacrifice of our forefathers. Yes, these freedoms do belong to us, but we can lose them—and we will if we aren't careful. "How," you ask, "can we lose our freedoms?"

It's not Communism or Fascism that is endangering our independent way of life. It's we, the people. Ironically, we, the very founders of a free society, are now challenging its existence.

Perhaps you are thinking, "Oh, that's ridiculous. How could Americans be threatening their own freedoms?"

Look in today's newspaper, listen to your radio and become aware of the threats posed by the rebellious draft card burner who doesn't even consider his country worth fighting for.

by hippies who advocate love and peace while they perform funerals in effigy and live on dope,

and, even worse, by the racial riots which have torn America apart in the last few years.

All of these things are threats to our freedom, and I haven't even mentioned the biggest danger of all, the indifference of the American people. This could well be the final push in destroying our democratic way of life.

It is obvious that one of the hardest and, indeed, the most important task now confronting us is that of maintaining our liberty. This is the greatest challenge America has ever faced. However, we can meet freedom's challenge—by being good citizens who are not only willing, but eager, to assume our responsibilities; by promoting understanding between the different races and classes in our country; and, most important of all, by caring a little more about America and the ideals it has stood for since before 1776.

Meeting freedom's challenge is not up to the adults alone; in fact, it is really the duty of my generation. As the young people of the world, we have the awesome responsibility and the privilege of preserving the

liberties we now enjoy for our children and for theirs.

Granted, keeping freedom's fire burning will not be easy. Arms, legs, and, yes, lives will be lost in the battle for freedom, but isn't even this gruesome prospect better than the alternative?

As an American, I think we can sustain any loss but that of liberty. Our freedom is a fragile and precious flower—neglect it and in a short while it will be starved by our indifference and choked to death by the weeds of Communism.

So we must never neglect or forget the importance of constant and unending care for our freedom because a day of neglect can cause a lifetime of regret.

### Private First Class Stoneking Dies in Vietnam

## HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 11, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland, Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Danny M. Stoneking, a young soldier from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend the bravery of this fine young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

PRIVATE FIRST CLASS STONEKING DIES IN VIETNAM: BALTIMOREAN, 19, ENLISTED IN ARMY LAST AUGUST

A 19-year-old Baltimore soldier was killed March 2 by shrapnel from a mine in Vietnam, the Department of Defense announced yesterday.

He was Pfc. Danny M. Stoneking, son of Mr. and Mrs. John L. Stoneking, of 1055 Bunnbury way, who had been in Vietnam for about seven weeks when he was killed.

ENLISTED LAST AUGUST

His mother said yesterday that he was assigned to an infantry division that was fighting in the Chu Lai area when the family last heard from him.

Mrs. Stoneking said that her son enlisted in the Army August 18, 1967, three days after his nineteenth birthday, and was last home on leave from December 22, 1967 to January 10, 1968.

An archery enthusiast, Private Stoneking was the holder of numerous medals and awards, including a second-place award in the Maryland Archery Association tournament, and the championships of the junior class of the Glenmar Bowman Club and the junior open championship of the Harford Bowman Club.

He had graduated from Herring Run Junior High School and attended Edgewood High School.

After leaving school at the age of 16, he did construction work in Connecticut and worked for a bakery and a concrete block firm in Baltimore before joining the Army.

His mother said yesterday that he accepted his assignment to Vietnam philosophically, saying at one point: "Somebody has to be there, so why not me?"

But he looked forward, she said, to completing his year of duty and returning to the United States and buying a motorcycle.

Survivors include, besides the parents, two sisters, Glenda, 18, and Lynn, 16, and a brother, Michael, 10, all at home.

Mrs. Stoneking said last night that, although funeral plans are incomplete, there will be a service in Baltimore and a military funeral in Hundred, W. Va., where Private Stoneking was born two years before his family moved to Baltimore.