

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered, and, without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment, ordered to be printed in the RECORD, is as follows:

Beginning with the word "All" in line 9, page 7, strike out all to and including the period in line 16, page 7, and insert in lieu thereof the following: "Except as otherwise provided by this section, all papers filed under section 1 of this rule shall be kept by the Comptroller General for not less than seven years, and while so kept shall remain sealed. Upon receipt of a resolution of the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct,

adopted by a recorded majority vote of the full committee, requesting the transmission to the committee of any of the reports filed by any individual under section 1 of this rule, the Comptroller General shall transmit to the committee the envelopes containing such reports. When any sealed envelope containing any such report is received by the committee, such envelope may be opened and the contents thereof may be examined only by members of the committee in executive session. If, upon such examination, the committee determines that further action by the committee is warranted and is within the jurisdiction of the committee, it may make the contents of any such envelope available for any use by any member of the committee, or any member of the staff of the com-

mittee, which is required for the discharge of his official duties."

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, if there is no desire on the part of other Senators to make statements at this time, I move, in accordance with the order previously entered, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 20 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, March 21, 1968, at 12 meridian.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### The Passing of Msgr. Francis Kowalczyk

#### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1968

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, one of this country's finest statesmen, a patriot, and most revered churchman has passed away. I am sure that others in this body, including the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. JOELSON], share with me the sorrow which comes from the untimely death of my warm friend the Right Reverend Monsignor Francis Kowalczyk. We shall mourn his departure not only because of the great personal loss of a longtime friend, but because of his great leadership and personal participation in countless patriotic and civic programs.

Monsignor Kowalczyk was born September 24, 1896, in Passaic, N.J., of parents who had come from the mountainous areas of Poland to establish their home in this country. Young Francis was not only given an American education, but he was constantly impressed at home with the responsibilities of good citizenship as an American and reminded of his rich Polish heritage.

He was graduated from St. Mary's College in Orchard Lake, Mich., in 1916 and from Immaculate Conception Seminary in South Orange, N.J., from which he earned his bachelor's and master's degrees. He was ordained as a priest on June 10, 1922. From this time until his death on March 8, a period of more than two score years, his life was devoted to his church, his country, and his people. He was particularly active in the interests and programs of American Polonia.

During those dark years when Hitler and his savage Nazis were subjecting the innocent people of Poland to such cruelties and privations, Father Kowalczyk devoted himself to aiding and protecting the thousands of Polish refugees escaping from the Nazis. Later he worked fervently with equal zeal to helping the refugees escaping from the same type of cruel subjugation by the Communists. For this great humanitarian work in behalf of the people of his parents' home-

land, he was twice decorated by the Polish Government in exile in London.

Those of us who have labored over the years for improved immigration laws have all been grateful to Monsignor Kowalczyk and the American Polish Immigration and Relief Committee of which he was president, for continued support given us year after year.

The honors which this distinguished churchman received and the offices which he held are in themselves a glorious testimony of his consecrated service and his dedicated purpose.

Mr. Speaker, I call your attention to but a few of the items which indicate the magnitude of this fine man's contribution to his fellowmen:

On September 13, 1954, he was made domestic prelate of the Pope and on July 29, 1955, he was appointed apostolic pronotary.

He served as chief consultant of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Paterson, N.J. His interest in the veterans of Polish birth and parentage was manifested in his long service as chaplain of the Polish-American Association and chaplain of the New Jersey organization the Sons of Poland.

Because of his years of civic service in Polish-American organizations he was honored by being elected grand marshal of the annual New York Pulaski Day parade in 1961.

I shall miss my longtime friend whose advice and assistance have been of greatest value over many years. I shall always honor his memory and value the help he has given me. This is one great American whose deeds will long be remembered and cherished by his many benefactors who survive him.

Mr. Speaker, I know that there are many in this body who will want to join me in expressing our sympathy and extending our best wishes to Monsignor Kowalczyk's sisters in their sorrow.

#### A Year of Growth for Wyoming

#### HON. CLIFFORD P. HANSEN

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, 1967 was a year of economic growth for Wyoming.

It was not a "boom year," but rather a year of solid and broad-based growth which will fuel future expansion.

It was only a relatively few years ago that we in Wyoming realized that we would have to work in a coordinated way at the State level to assure our future development. The year 1967 displayed some of the first fruits of that all-Wyoming effort.

A central role is reserved in Wyoming's economic development for the Wyoming Natural Resources Board. To date, the board's work in gathering data, coordinating plans for balanced growth, and getting the right people together at the right place and time has been well executed. Thus a sound future is assured in Wyoming.

I ask unanimous consent that the Wyoming Natural Resources Board's summary of 1967 economic activity in Wyoming be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

#### A YEAR OF GROWTH FOR WYOMING, 1967

A careful study of the growth and development of Wyoming's economy during 1967 shows increased mineral production and exploration, expansion of companies operating within the state, entry of new companies onto the Wyoming scene and increased promotion of the state's natural resources added up to a favorable picture for the state in the last 12 months.

Mineral production in the state, according to the U.S. Bureau of Mines, reached an all-time high of \$530.8-million in 1967, an increase of \$6.4-million over 1966.

Wyoming is currently ranked 12th in the nation in over-all mineral production, first in the production of trona and bentonite, second in uranium and fifth in petroleum.

The oil and gas industry maintained its position of several years as the largest industry in the state. A total of 135,580,000 barrels of crude oil, according to the Federal Government reports, were produced in Wyoming in 1967. Total gross valuation of this crude oil was \$349,796,000.

Natural Gas Production in 1967 was 254-million MCF, with a valuation of \$37,592,000.

The state's oil industry experienced considerable growth during the year as a result of activity in the Northern Powder River Basin, discovery of the Recluse field and extension of the Kitty field.

#### ENTIRE STATE SHARES IN GROWTH

All sections of the state experienced growth during 1967. A recap of the major economic

developments in Wyoming during the year shows that Southwestern Wyoming now has four companies.

FMC, Stauffer, Allied Chemical and Texas Gulf Sulfur—either engaged in the production of trona for soda ash or in the process of constructing trona mine and refining facilities.

Also, the first "second generation" manufacturer in the trona field—Church and Dwight, makers of bicarbonate of soda, is currently constructing a plant which will open in late 1968.

The Southwest region of the state also benefited from the location of a plastics firm—B & H Plastics, in Evanston, Utah Power and Light's continued construction of a \$33-million steam-electric generating unit which will be completed in 1971, coke shipments from FMC's Kemmerer plant to Indiana steel mills, and a \$500,000 expansion of the Star Valley Lumber Company's mill at Afton.

The Northwest area of the state saw the Georgia-Pacific Corporation begin production of gypsum wallboard in November east of Lovell and the American Colloid Corporation expand production at its bentonite plant, also at Lovell.

In addition, Teton Studs, a division of U.S. Plywood, expanded operations at Dubois, the Dowell Division of the Dow Chemical Company installed oil-well servicing facilities at Powell, the Big Horn Canning Company expanded facilities at Cowley, and the Wyoming Pure seed growers completed construction of a fertilizer blending plant at Worland.

In the Northeast section of the state, International Minerals & Chemical Corporation (IMC) began production at their new \$1-million bentonite processing plant at Colony in mid-1967, Black Hills Power and Light Company announced the construction of a \$5-million addition to their generating plant east of Gillette, and the Sheridan Flouring Mills completed a \$500,000 improvement program to meet increased product demands.

Wyoming's Southeast region experienced growth in a number of areas during 1967. Husky Oil & Refining Company announced a 50,000 barrel refinery to be constructed at Cheyenne and Petromics Co. completed a \$1.5-million modernization program at the firm's facilities in Shirley Basin. Precision Millwork, Inc. also began production of wood moldings in Laramie and Benham Precast Company, the state's only pre-cast cement building component manufacturing company, occupied a new 10,000 square foot plant in Cheyenne.

The field of education also saw two important developments. Cannon Aeronautical Center, a school for the training of mechanics in all phases of aviation, announced its location in Cheyenne and plans to construct \$1-million in facilities and the Wyoming Technical Institute doubled its facilities to allow a 100 per cent increase in staff and enrollment in August, 1967.

Two existing Cheyenne companies, Dynallectron Corporation and Ideal-Aerosmith, also announced expansion programs during the past year which boosted production and employment.

The Central section was one of the busiest areas of the state during 1967.

Banner Homes Corporation opened a new mobile home plant in Casper in the Summer of 1967, and United Structures began production of prebuilt homes in Riverton in the early part of the year.

Pacific Power & Light Company continued its expansion of the Dave Johnston steam-electric generating plant by announcing a fourth unit to cost \$44-million which will be in service in 1972.

Uranium continued to play an important role in the growth of the central region of the state as both Western Nuclear, Inc., and Utah

Construction Company announced sharply rising sales of uranium concentrate to private companies and utilities. Western Nuclear also purchased two sulfuric acid plants previously owned by Susquehanna-Western, Inc., and began construction of a new sulfur extraction plant near Riverton.

One of the most important economic announcements during the past year was the location of DATEL, Inc., a manufacturer of data terminal and communication devices, in Riverton in September. The company's Wyoming production and research facility will employ 450 men and women when it reaches full production in 1969. The firm is currently moving into its new 40,000 square foot plant in the technical research park of the Central Wyoming College in Riverton.

#### COAL, BENTONITE, URANIUM OUTPUT UP

Wyoming coal-production in 1967 totaled 3,750,000 tons, an increase of two per cent over the previous year, according to preliminary estimates.

Bentonite output also showed a sizeable increase as production rose from 1,559,000 tons in 1966 to 1,640,000 tons in 1967.

Value of bentonite produced in 1967 was \$16,056,000, according to the Bureau of Mines.

The past year was the largest year for uranium exploration in Wyoming's history. During the 12 months of 1967, more than 27,000 claims were filed in two counties of the state. Production of Uranium (recoverable content U308) in 1967 was 4,545,000 pounds, with a valuation of \$36,358,000.

#### INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENTS ACTIVITIES INCREASED

In addition to the formation of the Wyoming Industrial Development Corporation to provide venture capital for Wyoming industry, several projects were instituted to assist local industry in expansion and to attract industry to locate within the state.

One of the most important programs of this type was a series of regional meetings with regional business leaders instituted by the Wyoming Natural Resources Board and other state agencies, which was initiated in late 1967 in New Orleans and will be continued in 1968 in New York City and other metropolitan areas.

#### PLANNING COORDINATORS NAMED

During 1967, the NRB was designated state planning coordinator for HUD, the Federal housing and urban development agency. Following this appointment, an application for a planning grant was made and preliminary steps were taken to create such a plant. The Natural Resource Board was also named state coordinator for the Farmers Home Administration water and sewer planning programs during the year.

### Anti-Semitism in Poland

#### HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, during the past week, anti-Semitism, in its more virulent forms, reared its ugly head in Poland. This is indeed tragic for the remnants, consisting of barely 30,000 souls, of what had once been a thriving Jewish community in Poland of more than 3 million people.

Persecution of the Jewish people for all manner of reasons finds its roots in the earliest periods of recorded history. Indeed few, who are Jewish, have ever

escaped the searing indignities of bigotry and prejudice.

What is deeply tragic about the rise of anti-Semitism in Poland is not so much the fate of its Jewish community but its tragic consequences for Poland and the Polish people.

In the atheistic, communistic State of Poland, persecution of the Jews means also persecution of the Catholics; repression of the Jews means also repression of the intellectuals; oppression of the Jews is the moral equivalent of oppression of the whole of the Polish people.

It is indeed striking that cries of anti-Semitism in Poland constitute an official response to student demands for freedom of speech, for freedom of press, in the Universities in Warsaw, in Cracow, and in other parts of Poland. This is the response of oppression and repression to student demands of their fundamental rights as human beings.

The students in Poland, like those in the United States, Rome, and in other quarters of the earth are engaged in protest against the iniquities and inequities of a world they never made; against conventions which have stifled idealism in the interests of materialism; where dedication to the higher aspirations of life have given way to the drive for private affluence.

The history of Poland has indeed been a tragic one. Its land and its people have been so often partitioned that their roots lie deeply buried in historical obscurities. And since the end of World War II, its land and its people have been ruled by puppets whose strings are manipulated in the Kremlin.

In addition to their own tragic traditions, the Jewish people in Poland share in the tragic history of the Polish people, suffering when the Polish people suffered and savoring its transitory triumphs.

The great outpouring of music from Chopin, voicing Polish cries for freedom, is as much a part of the Jewish person in Poland as it is a part of the Polish people, and as it is a part of freedom-loving people the world over. The Jewish people in Poland held no less in admiration the musical and political genius of Paderewski. Indeed one of the brightest chapters in all Polish history was written by the Jews in their defense of the Warsaw ghetto against the Nazi hordes.

The Communist dictators of Poland, in giving rise to anti-Semitic cries, promise oppression of their students, deny the cultural traditions of Chopin and Paderewski, destroy the urgent plea of all Polish people for a life of freedom, ascribe to its tiny Jewish population responsibility for the most constructive series of events since Polish dictators raped their own land in behalf of the Soviet Union.

There is, I suppose, but little we can do for the Jewish people in Poland. Certainly we must urgently protest against the disaster which confronts this small group of people. Certainly we can pray for their welfare and hope that the Polish people will not fall into the anti-Semitic trap built for them by their own Government—a trap which can produce only violence and oppression for the Polish people.



## The Curse of Defeatism

## HON. JOHN G. TOWER

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, Mr. David Lawrence, in an editorial published in U.S. News & World Report of March 25, has presented a much needed and most thoughtful analysis of a "curse of defeatism" which seems to some to be infecting the American position on Vietnam. Knowing that other Senators will want to review the editorial, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

## THE CURSE OF DEFEATISM

(By David Lawrence)

What the American people are reading today in their newspapers or hearing on radio and television is that the war in Vietnam cannot be won, that the American and allied forces are being checkmated, and that many members of Congress, sharing the view of the "demonstrators," want the United States to pull down the flag and surrender.

Again and again in the last half-century, the advocates of a doctrine of "peace at any price" have created situations which brought on a major war.

Apparently we have not learned the lessons of history. It seems incredible that any member of Congress would desert the Commander-in-Chief and advocate a policy that is tantamount to a surrender. Yet several members have openly called for retreat and withdrawal from Vietnam.

At the recent hearings held by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, one Senator told Secretary of State Rusk, in effect, that a nation which cannot defend itself does not have a right to exist and that there is no obligation upon any other nation to come to its rescue. Another member of the Committee insisted that, before the President makes any important decisions of a military nature, he must consult Congress. Divided authority when a war is in progress is self-defeating.

What is the natural reaction of the enemy when its major opponent becomes irresolute, wobbly and vacillating? What is the effect on the spirit of the troops at the battle front when they are told over the radio that they are not being supported at home?

The United States stands at the crossroads. Will it honor its pledges, or forsake them? In treaty after treaty covering commitments in Europe, Asia and Latin America, the United States has promised to come to the aid of countries which are the victims of aggression. The Charter of the United Nations itself provides for collective action by its members. But, except for the policies of the United States and some Asian nations, the concept of collective defense against aggression has not been effectively supported. Indeed, many countries have assumed they are immune from a Communist takeover. Yet if we fail in the Vietnam war, this can only open the way for the Communists to infiltrate and subvert the governments of small nations.

The right of self-determination cannot be ignored without serious consequences to the strong as well as the weak. The United States has not had in the Vietnam war the help it deserved from other nations. There are many countries which are wavering because they do not know whether the United States intends to go through with its commitments

or will in a moment of expediency abandon them.

Moscow was doubtless pleased to read that one member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee actually charged the United States with having been the aggressor in Vietnam. Also, the Chairman of the Committee declared in the presence of the Secretary of State that the resolution adopted by Congress in 1964, authorizing the use of our armed forces thereafter in Southeast Asia, was really based upon false information given to the Senate by the executive departments.

What is surprising is the amount of defeatism in America today. There was a time when patriotism was an overriding influence. It restrained Americans from openly giving aid and comfort to the enemy. But nowadays defeatism prevails in Congress itself, some of whose members think this is the best way to please the voters in an election year.

Despite the dignified and convincing way in which the Secretary of State presented the American case to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as he gave evidence that the United States was not an aggressor, criticism of the American position in the Vietnam war continues. We still hear demands for withdrawal and virtual surrender. These are couched in ambiguous phrases, but can lead the enemy to conclude that the United States doesn't possess the will to fight on and will settle at almost any price in Vietnam.

We are confronted today with a spirit of defeatism not unlike that which prevailed 30 years ago. At the Munich Conference in 1938 the Western powers tried to appease Hitler by acquiescing in the Nazi occupation of more territory. He thereupon took it for granted that he could enlarge his aggression. This miscalculation led 12 months later to World War II.

Winston Churchill, in a book written after the war ended, spoke in unequivocal language against appeasement and defeatism. He wrote that if a nation will not fight when victory will not be too costly, "you may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance of survival." He added:

"There may even be a worse case. You may have to fight when there is no hope of victory, because it is better to perish than live as slaves."

Will our course of defeatism encourage the Communists to challenge us and bring on World War III?

Henry H. Timken, Jr.

## HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, Henry H. Timken, Jr., was one of God's great noblemen. Seldom do we find in one human the many great qualities this man possessed. He was a leader in business and industry; he had followed in the footsteps of an illustrious father. He was a sportsman whose sportsmanship had taken him to the four corners of the earth. A big game hunter and one who loved the out-of-doors, he was a conservationist who strived to preserve our natural resources. He was a pioneer in aviation. I remember well when he flew his Ford trimotor plane years ago. He became the Nation's first civilian to own and fly a twin-jet plane. A pilot of distinction, he traveled far and wide in his own Lear

jet with his wife, who was also a jet pilot, as his copilot or with Mrs. Timken as pilot and he as navigator. But most of all, Mr. Speaker, he was a humanitarian. Few knew of the many acts of charity he indulged in. Modest almost to a fault, he wanted no headlines for the efforts he made to relieve the suffering of mankind.

To Mrs. Timken and his brothers, Robert and John, I extend my deep sympathy, and I know I express the thoughts of the people of my congressional district, the State of Ohio, and the Nation.

I include with these remarks an editorial from the Canton Repository:

HENRY H. TIMKEN, JR.

The Canton community is saddened by news of the death of its greatest benefactor, Henry H. Timken Jr.

His passing leaves a vacuum of immeasurable proportions in the city's civic and industrial life, and the impact of his loss will be felt in many fields beyond the confines of his home town.

He was a man of many interests beyond the industrial vocation that was his during all his adult life. He was a humble man who could walk among people of high and low estate and feel comfortable with both.

Mr. Timken always shied from the limelight. He never once thrust himself to the forefront, but his presence was always felt in the quiet manner so characteristic of a man of high stature. Everyone who knew him held him in great respect.

When he was given the Chamber of Commerce Award of Merit three years ago, he was not there to receive it—not because he didn't appreciate the honor thus bestowed upon him. It simply was that he was embarrassed by it.

Typical of the man is this paragraph in a note he wrote to the person who made the award presentation:

"Thank you very much for consideration for the Chamber of Commerce Award of Merit. I cannot help but admit such consideration by my friends would have been quite enough."

Despite the extensive philanthropies of the Timken Foundation, which he and his brother, W. Robert Timken, headed, Henry Timken's contributions to the Canton community cannot be measured only in dollars and cents.

Canton was not only his home town but his first love. He never shirked from the deep sense of responsibility he felt to do what he could to improve it at every level, and he gave generously of his time, his energy and his resources in its service.

His interests beyond the Timken Roller Bearing Co., of which he was board chairman, ranged from aviation, to highways, to the rescue of downtown in a day of mushrooming perimeter shopping centers, to big game hunting, to politics and government.

He was a rugged individualist in the truest sense, and yet he always had compassion for his fellow man. He could best be described as a conservative in political persuasion, but he was always willing to discuss his convictions with those who felt otherwise, without becoming bigoted.

Mr. Timken was truly a citizen of the world as well as Canton's No. 1 citizen. He flew to many countries for business, recreation and relaxation, and he had friends in all of them. It is safe to say that he also had enemies. But no man who ever met him could have been his enemy.

Canton will miss Henry Timken. The state and the nation have lost by his passing. He cannot be replaced. We can only hope to profit by his example. He leaves a high heritage of dedication and devotion.

Chester J. Koch, of Cleveland—  
Superpatriot

HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the *RECORD* an article published in the Sunday magazine of the Cleveland Plain Dealer of March 10, dealing with the life of a patriotic citizen of the United States—Chester J. Koch.

My knowledge of Mr. Koch goes back practically 30 years. While I was mayor of Cleveland he occupied the position of coordinator of patriotic activities.

I know of no man, during my services as a public official, who was willing to give so much and ask so little from his Government in the promotion of services that would lead to the security of our country.

Chester Koch is 75 years of age, is completing his 27th year as city coordinator of patriotic activities, and is still active, having no plans to quit.

He is a sturdy devoted citizen of the United States. I salute him on this day as I ask that this article be printed in the *RECORD* in tribute to him.

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

**SALUTE TO SUPERPATRIOT**

(By Martin T. Ranta)

In this generation of unrest, this period of protest, Chester J. Koch, an institution, remains completely faithful to his country.

To Koch, who's famous for organizing parades, caring about war veterans and protecting the American flag against misuse, no other course is possible.

"As long as the government says it has to be done, we should at least be respectful about it," he said.

To Koch, whose patriotism is deeper than religion, war protest is incomprehensible, even unforgivable.

"There is an obligation to come to the aid of the country. I'm willing to trust the government."

Koch, 75, is completing his 27th year as city coordinator of patriotic activities and has no plans to quit. He holds 35 positions in veterans' organizations. He carries a copy of the Congressional flag code and consults it so frequently that he needs a fresh copy every month or so.

Back in 1943, when Koch (it rhymes with look) marched draftees off to war daily with a brass band and encouraging words, a reporter noted the mothers' tears as they said good-bye to their sons at Cleveland Union Terminal and Koch said:

"It's just pride, not fear. I don't think such tears indicate selfishness or un-Americanism. They're just so almighty proud of their sons that they simply can't help it."

In 1968, another reporter sought to find out how the personification of patriotism views the protests against the Viet war.

"I get upset over those long-haired skunks and what they are doing," said Koch. "News stories about them should be back with the obits."

He discounted war critics in Congress: "They're looking to make political hay."

He passed off critics in the intellectual community: "Lot of professors have been pinkish for a long time. They've never been good citizens."

He gave no consideration to critics of war for reasons religious: "There is nothing in my

religious views that says I shouldn't defend my country. Nothing is said by the clergymen against it. It's an obligation to defend my country."

Koch, a Roman Catholic, considers compatible the callings of country and religion. Asked if he saw any conflict in conscience in men of the same religious faith killing each other in war, Koch replied: "No. If my country provides me a living and freedom and my country needs me, if the government and Congress says to fight, I believe I must fight."

The words are imposing, yet delivered by Koch they don't sound that way. His monotone is punctuated by pauses in which he unconsciously rolls his tongue to moisten his lips or front teeth, as if he were shifting a piece of candy in his mouth. But the habit aids communication because the pauses come at the end of phrases.

He doesn't look imposing, either. He's a bit stumpy at 5 feet, 7½ inches and 192 pounds (he's down about 15). He has a smooth pate with a fringe of gray hair. He has a kind face and a thin gray moustache once was black and full.

The toughest fight the old war veteran has now is to overcome pain from arthritis every morning and get rolling. He has had it for years. There is no sure cure and, for him, no surrender.

"I can stand a lot of pain, so I can keep going."

Grit and pain tolerance can be flaws, however. Last May at the Memorial Day parade, Koch was riding with a policeman in a three-wheeler, keeping the column moving and hitting trouble spots on the route, when he jammed his right hand against the vehicle's railing. Koch is left-handed and gave the bruise little notice.

Through the summer months the wrist and forearm hurt fiercely at times and got numb at other times. In the fall, during one of his duty visits to the Veterans' Administration Hospital, he winced when a doctor friend shook his hand.

Off to X-ray the doctor sent him, and three small bone fractures were found. There followed weeks of splints and casts and a horse collar around the neck. He even spent a few days in the hospital as a patient. Then, in January, he underwent surgery.

Koch has little patience with such pamperings. In 1954 he was hospitalized for overwork and a kidney stone just before Memorial Day. Others took over running the parade but Koch persisted and assisted via a bedside phone.

"Those boys have a big job on their shoulders," he said at the time. "They need every bit of help they can get."

Every parade in downtown Cleveland for about 30 years has had Koch's direction. He's a master at organizing one. You can tell he's about done with his hundreds of calls when he makes an appeal for open cars for the Spanish War vets and the Gold Star Mothers, a most-honored organization in Koch's estimation.

The coordinator of patriotic activities—he got the title April 2, 1941, after City Council created the position—has an office in Room 44, City Hall, in the basement.

He seldom can be found there, but operators at the City Hall switchboard take his messages. Three times his office has been moved and each time Koch has moved the door with its number, too.

Room 44 is not much of an office, yet Koch considers it adequate. He certainly would not want his position to become a department. He views with alarm and scorn the department of veteran affairs in New York. He had suggested the big city name a coordinator of veterans affairs about a decade ago.

"Now they got a department with about 20 people and it's become a political thing," Koch said. "They do so many things other agencies, like the VA, do already. It's a waste."

Koch's annual salary from the city of Cleveland has risen over the years to \$7,400. He has no secretary or expense account. He figures he spends more than 20% of his pay on veterans' activities. He gets paid through the city welfare department. Earlier, it was the water department, where he had been a clerk. At one time, he was paid out of city scrap fund. He thinks he missed a check when the fund expired.

It was just last May when his job was placed under Civil Service. Koch took a test to qualify as a "veterans' counselor" and passed. Civil Service classification brought job protection to the coordinator, who had just turned 75. Classifying the job wasn't his idea.

Chester Joseph Koch was born May 17, 1892, in Louisville, Ky. His father, Joseph, ran a saloon and brought to Chester's mostly German background a bit of Irish from his grandmother's side. When his sons, Chester and younger Jerome, were big enough to be in and out of the saloon, Joseph Koch showed them how the taps worked. They were not to get drunk, however, and didn't.

Chester's mother, Eleanora Eichorn, had a solid German background with some branches of her family reaching back to colonial America. A spunky little woman, she lived to be 94 and died in 1965.

"One time a drunk from the saloon kept pounding on the door trying to get into the house," Koch recalled. "She got a rifle and warned him to go away, that she had a gun. She fired right into the door. The pounding stopped and the next morning we found blood on the doorstep."

Koch's father told him it was time to find a job when he was about 16. He got hired by a Louisville department store and learned the business, but he left after a few years to do what he thought was farm survey work with a magazine writer.

It turned out that Koch was touring southern Ohio selling pictures, taken by an advance man, to farmers. He left the wandering band after a hard winter. He took a train out of Columbus to Cleveland.

He doesn't recall why he chose Cleveland. Perhaps it was the first train out. But here he was, 21 years old with a nickel in his pocket, and he found work selling hats—it was May and the opening of straw hat season—and men's clothing.

Word came in 1916 from Louisville that his father had disappeared and Koch went home. He learned that his father had left the saloon to make a bank deposit but never got to the bank. Koch said he spent weeks traveling coast to coast with a picture of his father, visiting police stations. He found no trace of him, living or dead. He believes his father was robbed and murdered.

Koch came back to Cleveland because he had a job here. When the United States entered World War I, he was courting Mary Irene Martin and he decided to join her brother's army unit. (Ray P. Martin was later city manager of Cleveland Heights and died in 1967.)

He was to meet the unit, the 308th Motor Supply Train, at Camp Sherman, near Columbus, and was to escort, for reasons Koch can't remember, five prisoners to camp.

"I didn't have a weapon so I sat on the edge of the train seat with my hand in my pocket, like I was holding a pistol. In Columbus we had to wait for an interurban and my prisoners went into a bar. At that time you couldn't serve liquor to servicemen, but we weren't in uniform. So I shouted to the bartender, 'These men are soldiers and military prisoners and if you serve them I'll shoot out your mirrors.' We left and made it to camp."

The unit was shipped to France and on the voyage Koch became a mess sergeant. It seems the food on the British transport ship was bad and the soldiers were being fed horsemeat and Koch learned something about cooking from his mother and he was



ordered to take over the cooking for the soldiers.

After eight months in France, five of them after the armistice, the unit came home. Koch was married in 1920 to Mary Martin and they had two children, Raymond J., who has two children, and Mary Eleanor Hutter, who has four children. Mary Martin Koch died in 1952.

Koch, in the 1920s, became active in Republican organizations and veterans affairs. But it was his role as a clothing salesman, not politics, that brought him his first job with the city. One of his good customers was the late Harry L. Davis, who was governor of Ohio and then mayor of Cleveland, and Davis put him in the water department as a junior clerk in 1934.

"It was in the depression and I considered it temporary. Because of that I didn't sign up for the city pension and I never have. And city employees don't pay Social Security, so now I don't have any pensions built up."

In 1936, he was fired by the public utilities director for political activity, prohibited for employees under city charter.

"I never left the job and came in every day. I talked to some people and got things straightened out and had a hearing and was put back on the payroll. I don't remember how long I was off it."

The firing had a significant effect, for Koch let all his political affiliations drop and concentrated on veterans activities.

Between his job and outside interests he apparently left little time for sleep. Late one night when driving home, he fell asleep at a traffic light. He awoke with a start and almost ran down a policeman, Koch recalled. He gave up driving.

Getting off a bus at Public Square in early 1941, Koch saw Army selectees being escorted to the depot. They deserved a better send-off, Koch decided. For months on his lunch break from the water department until his patriotic job was made fulltime, he made sure a band was on hand to lead the boys to the train. He would blow his World War I bass whistle to stop downtown traffic for the selectees to give them a sense of importance.

Koch has seen more than 400,000 young men off to the military. Draftees don't take trains to camp now but catch planes at irregular hours, so Koch no longer sees them leave, but he regularly visits the induction centers to greet the soldiers-to-be.

Most of the tales heard about his adventures with train send-offs are true. Several times he had wild rides outside rail cars for miles. ("I could see them playing craps inside but they couldn't hear me pounding.") Once he leaped off a moving train in Rocky River and walked the rails back downtown. And once when jumping off a train moving out of the station he slipped on a wet spot and conked his head on a post on the platform. Post and Koch survived.

But the function that has brought him most nationwide notice is his protection of the American flag.

In 1961, the Air Force painted an image of the stars and stripes on the tail of the jet used by the President. This drew the wrath of Koch.

"The President, like other members of the armed forces, should follow the flag, not precede it," he said at the time. "Nothing should be placed before the flag."

A letter from an Air Force aide explained to Koch that the service disagreed, that an emblem painted on the front of a plane takes a beating from the weather and gets chipped, that the flag should be in a prominent place and the big tail on the jet was certainly prominent and that the President agreed with this reasoning.

Koch bowed to the presidential sanction of the practice but had the last word. He noted that the stamp on the envelope bore the image of a flag and it was defaced by a postmark, in violation of the flag code.

This year, when he saw the new six-cent

postage stamp bearing a picture of the flag, he spoke up again. He objects to use of the flag on stamps because it will be defaced and because the congressional flag code prohibits using a picture of the flag on anything that is for temporary use and discard. Koch is waiting for an answer from Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien.

The code was approved in 1942 by joint action of Congress. Koch carries a copy—a two-page leaflet—in his breast pocket at all times.

"I get asked questions about the flag 365 days a year. There's only one way to do things, the right way. The flag code is the law of the land. You must follow the law."

He often sees the flag displayed or positioned improperly, in churches, public buildings, and recently even in the mayor's office.

"I've been a nut on the flag since the day I went into the Army." His interest goes back even farther, apparently, because he took a small flag into the Army with him. He carries it in his inside breast pocket to this day, along with the flag code and a stack of miscellaneous items that may come in handy. That 3-inch-by-5-inch flag has a small wax mark on it.

"The wax dripped off a candle during a mass in the basement of a chateau in Le Mans in France. I have always felt a flag should be on the altar."

The same flag saved a young housekeeper from prosecution by Koch. Years ago his home was looted, but the flag, which he had placed atop a World War I helmet, was not taken, though the helmet was. Detectives brought a youth with some of the stolen items to Koch for identification.

"I asked him why he didn't take the flag. He said, 'I respect the flag.' So I didn't press charges so he could go into the service. It was hard to get in with a police record. A couple years later the kid came back in uniform to thank me."

His feeling for flag carries to the national anthem. "To me, it's a prayer, in a sense. It's a prayer for the boys and their safety and for the people at home."

Many of the people at home benefit from Koch's concern, especially war veterans. Of the many activities for them, one that is, perhaps, dearest to Ches—he is called Ches by most that get to know him—is the Orle Christmas Gift Shop at the VA hospital. He started it and each year supports it with appeals for contributions.

For years, he has rounded up gifts for servicemen and veterans. In this context, he once called himself the "city's greatest chiseler."

"The people of Cleveland are fine people. They always respond when a need is made known."

So does Ches Koch. A few days out of the hospital in December, he was seen downtown on a very cold and snowy day. A flannel mitten protected his ailing hand and wrist. He was out because there was need to arrange a military funeral for an old war vet.

"It's a source of great satisfaction when you know that you can help someone. People often don't know what to do or how to get help."

Honors have come his way and though the plaques have piled high he is grateful for all of them. Among the more prominent honors are a human relations award from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, a rare military citation for patriotic civilian service and a papal citation for service to mankind.

In the last few years, life has been a bit easier for Koch. On Oct. 2, 1965, he married Anne E. Tuttle, a widow 10 years younger than he. He had been a widower since 1952. She has three living sons and five grandchildren.

A change in Koch's habits has been noticed by reporters. He no longer comes daily to the news rooms. He uses the phone more often to keep editors aware of approaching holidays and parades and to report elections by veterans' groups.

Anne Koch makes sure that Ches takes care of himself and she keeps a good home for him. She helps with his correspondence. They attend conventions together and she is often with him at veterans dinners.

And Mrs. Koch worries about her husband. "He works too hard," she said. "He gets so involved in everything." Even in the hospital he got phone calls and this upset her. He has no pension and can't afford to retire. Koch said that he hasn't even thought of it.

They live in pleasant rented quarters at 4298 E. 133d Street, near a bus line and within walking distance of St. Timothy Catholic Church, where they were married and both are members. Koch sometimes gets to a mass at St. John Cathedral, where he retains his longtime membership on the ushers' staff.

The Koch living room has two desks. The neat one is Mrs. Koch's. She is recording secretary of the American Gold Star Mothers. Through GSM activity she knew Koch for years before they began courting a year before their marriage. The other desk is Koch's. Even he has trouble finding his way through the stacks on it.

The fireplace mantel at the other end of the room has a small flag and a portrait of the youngest of Anne Tuttle Koch's four sons, Leonard Tuttle, who was killed in action in Germany on Dec. 13, 1944. Like two of his brothers, he was drafted in World War II.

"When the boys were drafted, well, it was something that had to be done by boys of that age," Mrs. Koch said. "Then, after he was killed, I was numb. I was numb for a long time."

"I have granddaughters now who are 21 and 18 and I am glad they are not boys."

Chester Koch didn't realize he was born at home until his mother was in a hospital, just before her death, and said it was the first time. That house he was born in, at 7th and Broadway in Louisville, near where his father ran a saloon, has been torn down. A U.S. Post Office was built on the site and, as Mrs. Koch said, a flag always flies over it.

### On the Road to Chaos

## HON. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

MR. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, the Wyoming State Tribune in Cheyenne, Wyo., has looked editorially at the gold crisis and concluded that it "is not within itself a malignancy, it is merely a symptom of the developing financial illness of the biggest and most powerful Nation in the free world."

In the words of Tribune Editor James M. Flinchum:

The way to reverse this—crisis—is to put our fiscal, and monetary house in order, including a cessation of our bankrupt spending policies.

Mr. Speaker, I include Mr. Flinchum's editorial "On the Road to Chaos" from the March 15, 1968, Wyoming State Tribune in the RECORD:

### ON THE ROAD TO CHAOS

The gold crisis is not within itself a malignancy, it is merely a symptom of the developing financial illness of the biggest and most powerful nation in the Free World, the United States of America.

That financial illness can be described in various ways: Weakness generated by more than two decades of a vast outpouring of wealth into other nations; the accumulation of a huge internal debt that now exceeds \$380 billion; repeated spending beyond means that has created that debt; and above

all a deficit in our international balance-of-payments program.

Closing down the London gold market, increasing the rediscount rate and in effect hiking the fee commercial bankers charge for loans in this country, and removing the gold cover that in effect opens up what remains of our gold reserves to the rest of the world, are desperation measures that may, or may not, prevent the financial disaster that threatens to overtake us and the rest of the Free World nations.

What must be done immediately and imperatively is to (1) reverse our balance of payments situation so that there is shortly commenced a greater inflow of dollars than an outflow, and (2) drastically reduce the government spending that has created this mess.

In the meantime, some serious study must be given to the matter of the gold cover. The new economists preach that gold is meaningless and that the dollar is sound because it represents real rather than artificial wealth. But if this be true, why are western Europe's and America's financial centers in a frenzy over the gold buying?

Gold still means something in international if not in domestic finance, and why it does is perhaps best explained by a statement issued by the Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy last May 10.

The committee, in discussing the proposed removal of the gold backing for currency, said: "Such a removal would open the way to a practically unlimited expansion of Federal Reserve notes, to a removal of the proper restraining influence of a reserve requirement; to a loss of all our gold stock, to a thorough-going fiat money (the weakest money known to man), and to a decline and even collapse in value of our currency."

"A gold reserve provides a nation with a war chest which, if dissipated, could lead to national destruction."

"The need is for a sound currency, not a weaker one. A sound currency should invite the release to our monetary gold stock of much of the approximately \$13 billion of gold held under earmark for foreign account, and a flow of foreign-held gold into this country. A sound currency would involve a redeemable money at the statutory rate of \$35 per fine ounce of gold."

Part of our troubles may be attributed to the fact that the new economics involves total government control of the economy including both the fiscal and monetary systems, a condition that has been brought about only recently since the Federal Reserve Board finally surrendered to an all-out assault against its integrity and its independence of the political system.

Although Chairman William McChesney Martin belatedly resisted this assault, he has subsequently given in as witness his comments last December in a speech to the American Bankers Association in New York, in which he warned that this country must not "bow down to the idol of gold," which is straight out of William Jennings Bryan and the 1890s. ("You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.")

What is happening in the European gold markets today is essentially a gambling contest in which private speculators are betting on gold against the dollar. They also are wagering that the dollar will become a managed currency and thus subject to all of the evils of political manipulation of currency systems; with no backing or redemption, which now is signalled by the removal of the gold cover by action of Congress last night, the way is opened for the issuance of mass amounts of fiat or printing-press money. In that fashion, an economy is quickly wrecked and financial chaos results.

All of this comes about as the result of cheap, easy and will-o-the-wisp pursuits of mushroom economic growth which ultimately result in inflation and financial bust.

Today we are on the verge of that chaos and the sad thing is that nobody seems to recognize it, except the gold gamblers of Europe who are getting rid of their dollars as fast as they can for the only convenient backing of currency man has ever been able to devise.

The way to reverse this is to put our fiscal, and monetary, house in order including a cessation of our bankrupt spending policies, and a restoration of the gold cover.

### The Riot Commission Report

## HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on March 13 I placed in the RECORD six editorials and columns from across the Nation criticizing the report of President Johnson's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Today I wish to place three more in the RECORD.

It is clear that this report has not been well received either by the public or by a significant segment of the press. This is not because the subject of civil disorders does not warrant serious study. The poor reception of this report is due to the stereotyped, unimaginative, unrealistic and impractical approach of the Commission.

On March 5, 1968, the Greenville News published an editorial entitled "An Invitation to More Violence" and on March 16, 1968, a column by Holmes Alexander entitled "Kerner Group Makes Illogical Report." The Evening Star of Washington on March 18, 1968, published a column by William F. Buckley, Jr., entitled "Riot Diggers Missed Some Roots." All three of these present excellent discussions of this report.

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

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

[From the Greenville (S.C.) News, Mar. 5, 1968]

### AN INVITATION TO MORE VIOLENCE

After reading and re-reading the full text of the summary of the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, we can only conclude that, on balance, it may do some good in some areas, but this will be overwhelmingly offset by the harmful effects which can be clearly foreseen and are frightening to contemplate.

Much of it is sound. It adopts as its own and recommends certain programs which already have been started in many localities to help the underprivileged to help themselves.

But these are lost in the Commission's attempt to produce "shock" action, in its failure to recognize that there are two sides to the race issue and in its dismissal of part of the facts in the causes of the disorders of 1967 and before.

Overall, the report is a blatant invitation to violence and rebellion by the Negro minority, which it totally absolves of any blame for its own plight, against the White majority, which it totally condemns with no redeeming deeds or mitigating circumstances.

By the same token, it is a flagrant challenge to civil rights extremists and political demagogues to do their worst.

It proposes to remake a whole society overnight and to alter human nature into some-

thing almost faultless day before yesterday. It suggests a staggering federal program of education, integration, income supplements, housing and rental and home purchase supplements and unrestricted welfare which would cost upwards of \$2 billion a month. But it suggests neither a means of raising the revenue nor a plan for spending the money wisely and effectively.

In brief, the Commission has taken at face value every claim made and every accusation leveled by the most extreme of the civil rights activists of every hue and stripe. And it has wrapped up into one package every giveaway scheme that the farthest out social thinkers in Washington and elsewhere have been able to dream up. It calls for the total welfare state—now.

Worst of all, it leaves the impression that this can and must be done before summer, which of course is ridiculous. It adds the element of blackmail by raising the specter of a massive Black racist rebellion if the Whites don't knuckle down and fork over.

It is totally materialistic and paternalistic. It makes little or no mention of moral values and none of spiritual values. Nowhere does it suggest that the beneficiaries of the programs it proposes do anything to earn their share of the public largess.

The Commission seems to be preparing the country for an inevitable and probably prolonged period of violence in the streets, which is itself criminal in nature and certain to lead to more crime.

Yet it literally and figuratively would disarm law enforcement by blaming the "attitude" of police officers for much of what has gone before and recommending that they not be allowed to use maximum force to apprehend the criminals and put down the violence and insurrection it sees ahead.

The report does say at the outset that violence does not remake a society, that disruption and disorder nourish repression, not justice, and that the community cannot and will not tolerate coercion and mob rule. Yet, throughout the report, there is the inference from past events that only these tactics have produced results for the Negro.

It portrays the Negro as the hapless victim of his environment and the White man as the creator and perpetuator of that environment. Of such generalities are riots born. The report makes it official.

The Commission made some fundamental mistakes. Perhaps the most serious is its indictment, trial and conviction of the whole of White America of racial bias, to which it attributes the whole of the race problem. This is arrant nonsense. Black racial bias is a fact.

The second most serious is its failure to urge more Negroes to take advantage of the many opportunities they already have, and to point out that many of them have done so. Exceptional Negroes in large numbers have followed the example of ethnic minorities before them.

The Irish, the Poles and any number of natives of several Middle Eastern countries—to say nothing of the Jews who fled Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union during this century and especially during the last generation—and have broken out of poverty and the slums they miscall "ghettos." Negroes have. More can.

Still another mistake was to call for greater force to bring about integration as the solution to education and housing problems, rather than better schools and better housing for all. Here, as in other instances, the report merely calls for more action of the kind that has already failed.

Buried in pages of matter which is bound to become an endless source of Black racist propaganda, are a few potentially good ideas for encouraging those who are willing and able to make a better life for themselves, for creating and stimulating interest in better educational opportunity, for training and, maybe, motivating, the unemployed and the indolent for productive employment.



But it is going to be difficult for Congress and the state legislatures, the city councils and the public and private community action groups to dig them out and develop them to the point of practical implementation. The report has finished the ugly job of arraying race against race, class against class and the havenots against the haves.

The "long, hot summer" of 1968 may be longer and hotter than it might have been.

From the Greenville (S.C.) News,  
Mar. 16, 1968]

#### KERNER GROUP MAKES ILLOGICAL REPORT (By Holmes Alexander)

WASHINGTON.—The typical city rioter is better educated than most of his neighbors. He is proud of his race which is Negro. His most intense grievance is the presence of the police. He is a hater of Whites, and of his well-to-do black neighbors. He is a separatist, a believer in black power, a non-believer in one society.

These are extracts taken from the Summary of the Report of the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders. They do not coincide at all with the most strongly-worded and most widely-quoted findings of the commission. They are part of the report, an important part, and they are at odds with the now-familiar language which finds that "White racism is essentially responsible" for the riots, and that "the primary goal must be a single society."

The report itself is voluminous and the summary is a catch-all of selective indictment, over-simplification and stupendous social planning. The make-up of the commission was such that it was predestined to bring forth a preconceived document. It is a document that reflects the historical idealism of such institutions as the League of Nations, the United Nations, in short, one worldism. It rejects by omission all the experience that is contrary to these utopian concepts.

The report assumes that No Man Is an Island, whereas science and common knowledge tells us that Every Man is an Island, and a very mysterious one. The summary comes down hard for a social monolith, whereas the way of life is that of irrepressible nationalism, parochial, individualism and jealousy-guarded customs, faiths, ambitions and preferences of association.

This is a report by an appointive group which has no responsibility for carrying out its recommendations. Thus it is bound to differ, and it does, from findings on the same subject by elective and professional investigators.

For example, the Kerner Commission's account of the Newark riot says the "rock-throwing . . . was the work of youngsters," that "the only shot fired" in the beginning was by a nervous young guardsman at an imaginary sniper and that "nevertheless" there were soon two columns of guardsmen and state troopers firing at a housing project where "they believed were snipers." Newark's Mayor Addonizio gave a different version. He told the commission last August that "police restraint, which had been the policy, was no longer an option." And he added:

"The first reality to face . . . is that rioting has acquired a kind of legitimacy . . . is a turn in American life that must be rebuffed and rebuffed sharply."

The commission finds the Cambridge (Md.) riot triggered by White people, but the Cambridge police chief was on the spot and saw it just the other way. The Kerner Commission finds no "organized plan" in the 1967 disturbances, but the McClellan Committee finds a lot of planning. The Kerner Commission calls for massive increase in all the anti-poverty programs, but Congress has not found these programs to be either penurious or very productive.

Much that the Kerner Report sets forth is beyond dispute, but is also sadly stale. It is no revelation for the country to be told that

its Negro population is deficient in education, employment and income. But the conclusions drawn, the philosophy evolved and the remedies set forth are unacceptable in logic, and therefore ineffectual.

The White majority has already done so much to alleviate the Negro misfortunes that it cannot be expected to receive the chastisement of this report with equanimity. It's hard to believe that 11 intelligent persons would recommend that America change itself to accommodate the Negro minority.

It's the Negro, of course, who must change if he's to live happily in the American environment.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star,  
Mar. 18, 1968]

#### RIOT DIGGERS MISSED SOME ROOTS

The Kerner report on the riots last summer is likely to engage the attention of a generation of politicians and moralists as the central document of the period, accounting for our revolutionary summers and laying the blame for them squarely on the culprit—our old friend, honkey. Floyd McKissick, the director of CORE, was made a happy man, perhaps for the first time in his tortured life. "We're on our way to reaching the moment of truth," he said exultantly. "It's the first time whites have said, 'We're racists.'"

And then, the typical American response: Buy your way out. Two million new jobs, six million new housing units, vast educational programs, welfare, anti-poverty, you name it.

Now there is a very good case for trying very hard to improve the lot of the Negro in America. But it has nothing to do with summer rioting. A few years ago, our moralists used to tell us that the way to curb communism abroad was to increase welfare at home, a most tortuous non-sequitur, it being supremely immaterial to the Communists how much welfare we enjoy in America.

Rioting in the ghetto is merely the slum variant of what Martin Luther King, Benjamin Spock, and William Sloane Coffin are busily engaged in doing, to the applause of a significant sector of the intellectual community. The riot in Detroit was merely a proletarian version of well-fed, well-housed white students preventing McNamara from speaking at Harvard, or a police car from leaving the premises of the University of California.

One would have thought the old stomach-argument about how to prevent riots would have died for intellectual undernourishment after the riots in New Haven and Detroit, model cities from the positivist point of view which guided the thinking of the Kerner commission.

What caused the riots isn't segregation or poverty or frustration. What caused them is a psychological disorder which is tearing at the ethos of our society as a result of boredom, self-hatred, and the arrogant contention that all our shortcomings are the results of other people's aggressions upon us.

The Kerner commission is committing the same mistake that the Freedom Now-ers committed beginning a decade or so ago. All those civil rights bills, all those Supreme Court rulings, all the heaving about for forced integration: very good arguments can be made to defend that activity. But once again, they are not justified as bringing Freedom Now, and the high expectations cultivated by the dreamy rhetoric of Martin Luther King standing at the Lincoln Memorial in 1963 bred only frustration and resentment, not composure and faith.

We need St. Paul, counselling patience and forbearance, and reminding us that true justice is reserved for another world; not the gnostic utopianism of those who tell us how Congress can vote in paradise.

The commission, so far as one is able to judge, has added nothing at all to one's knowledge of the imperfections of our society that is unavailable to, say, the reader of Claude Brown's "Man-Child in the Promised

Land." But by its emphasis on the material elements of the problem, it falls totally to account for a malaise which is mistakenly thought of as a Negro problem.

Last week, Negro sociologist Harry Edwards said: "I'm for splitting up in twos and threes, killing the mayor, getting the utilities and poisoning the goddamned water." And last week Robert Bly, the poet, on receiving the National Book Award, said: "... It turns out (America) can put down a revolution as well as the Russians in Budapest, we can destroy a town as well as the Germans at Lidice, all with our famous unconcern . . . In an age of gross and savage crimes by legal governments, the institutions will have to learn responsibility, learn to take their part in preserving the nation and take their risk by committing acts of disobedience."

The problem is bi-racial, and nothing said by the Kerner commission is relevant to its solution.

#### Evacuation Day Essay Contest, 1968

#### HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, Dorchester Heights, of historic fame during the Revolutionary War, is located in the South Boston section of my congressional district. For it was Dorchester Heights that General Washington and the Continental Forces fortified, forcing the British to evacuate Boston 192 years ago March 17.

Each year, this historic event is celebrated by appropriate exercises covering several days, with a large parade viewed by tens of thousands of persons. The South Boston Citizens Association plays an important part each year in the Evacuation Day exercises.

One of the interesting and stimulating events sponsored by the Evacuation Day Observation Committee of the South Boston Citizens Association, in cooperation this year with the Honorable Kevin H. White, mayor of Boston, is an essay contest, the judge of which was Sister M. Fides, C.S.J., of the students of public and private schools of the district.

In my remarks, I include the winning essays, and those receiving honorable mention, in the senior division, grades 10, 11, and 12; and in the junior division, grades 7, 8, and 9. In the senior division the first place was awarded to Maureen E. McDonough, of the St. Augustine High School; second place to Joyce Crowley, of the Gate of Heaven High School; and third place to Leo Paulsen, of the South Boston High School; with honorable mention awarded to Jacqueline Ford, of the Gate of Heaven School; to Edna Golabek, of the Monsignor Ryan Memorial High School; Nancy Kelly, of the Monsignor Ryan Memorial High School; Pamela Logan, of the Gate of Heaven High School; and Monica Rejt, of the Monsignor Ryan Memorial High School, the essays of which students I herewith include in my remarks:

THE DAY I WAS PROUDEST TO BE AN AMERICAN  
(First place)

(By Maureen E. McDonough, St. Augustine High School)

The day I was proudest to be an American was Sunday, May 7, 1967. It was raining, but inside I was glowing with patriotism.

It all began the Friday before. Four girls and myself were chosen as delegates for a convention held in Maryland. The convention ended early Sunday afternoon so we decided to stay in Washington for the night. All of us were from Massachusetts, and we all greatly admired John F. Kennedy, so the first thing on the agenda was a visit to the National Cemetery and especially the tomb of our late President.

As we stood around his grave we relived his life—his boyhood—his senatorship—his inauguration—the Cuban Crisis—the rocking chair—and his untimely death. As the rain poured so did our tears.

We slowly walked around his grave and read his many famous sayings. "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country." Suddenly I was filled with the wonder of it; I was proud as never before in my life—proud to be an American.

The last thing we saw as we pulled out of Washington on Monday morning was "Old Glory" flying in the breeze. I began to cry; inside I was singing "The Star-Spangled Banner."

#### THE DAY I WAS PROUDEST TO BE AN AMERICAN

(Second place)

(By Joyce Crowley, Gate of Heaven High)

When I hear our national anthem or pledge my allegiance to America I am filled with a sense of pride and elation, grateful I am a part of this great country.

On July 15, 1966, I felt exceptionally proud to be an American. It was Bastille Day being celebrated in Norfolk, Virginia, at the United States Naval Amphibious Base. The French officers were celebrating what was to be their last celebration in this country. Midst all the gaiety and color there was sadness and a certain tension in the air.

These French and American officers were friends, many long standing, and now there was a restraint between them. President Charles De Gaulle was in the act of breaking with NATO. These people were forbidden to talk or voice an opinion on political affairs.

These proud people were covering their sadness this glorious holiday commemorating the day France won her freedoms. Now these freedoms were being infringed upon, one by one smothered by wrong politics.

The disappointments and hurt of these people made me sad but very proud to be an American where freedom belongs to everyone.

#### THE DAY I WAS PROUDEST TO BE AN AMERICAN

(Third place)

(By Leo Paulsen, South Boston High School)

Most people regard a funeral procession as a sad affair. I am no exception.

As I reviewed the funeral procession given for John F. Kennedy I felt the grief which was evident in the faces of his compatriots. I then began thinking about these people. Certainly they did not all agree with the policies and philosophies of their deceased administrator. Indeed there were those who were strongly opposed in his principles. I asked myself, "Why had these people turned out on this solemn occasion?" Their grief appeared to be sincere. Why had not their diverse attitudes prevented them from taking the trouble to pay their last respects to their president? Then it hit me. A feeling that permeated my entire system causing a certain refined joy. This feeling was pride. I was proud to see that these people had disregarded their political feelings to pay tribute to a fellow American. A man who had not worked in their favor but diligently for what he believed was best for his country. Because of this I felt a common unity with these people. I felt secure knowing that no matter

what trials the future may deal us, this unity and loyalty will give us the strength to overcome our troubles.

In truth, this was the day I was most proud to be an American.

#### THE DAY I WAS PROUDEST TO BE AN AMERICAN

(Honorable mention)

(By Jacqueline Ford, Gate of Heaven School)

It was a day of tenseness, wondering, imagining, and questions, filled with high hopes, mass confusion, and worrying, but a day to be crowned with success. The day when astronaut John Glenn orbited the earth was the day I was proudest to be an American. Although only in grammar school at the time, I can remember it as if it were yesterday. I can recall being so excited in the beginning, and gradually filled with a spirit of patriotism.

Many many people were proud on that day to see John Glenn orbit the earth. Not only were they proud to see their country a success, but they were proud to see one of their own countrymen perform such a duty for his country. John Glenn stepped into that capsule not knowing what his destiny would be, but he was willing and ready to find out for the United States, the country he loved.

The era of the 1960's will certainly go down in history as one to be remembered. It is the era that gave birth to the Space Age. The flight of John Glenn opened the doors to many more successful flights in the following years. His orbit ignited the spark of patriotism in many people, and produced the faith and interest needed for the leaders of our country to continue their magnificent work. Most of all it set off the explosion of patriotism and love of their country of the American people.

#### THE DAY I WAS PROUDEST TO BE AN AMERICAN

(Honorable mention)

(By Edna Golabek, Monsignor Ryan Memorial High)

What is an American? A person, of course, you say, but more than that. A person who can walk with his family to church on Sunday. A person who can send his children to a parochial school. A person who can say what he wants, to whom he wants, and when he wants. In other words, an American is a person who can exercise all his God-given rights because he lives in a free country.

Being of European birth, I can more fully appreciate and recognize this freedom. Because at one time I had to secretly attend religion classes and be careful of my actions and undertakings, I am able to more fully accept and practice this precious freedom.

With the years, however, as most Americans do, I began to take this situation for granted. Being daily exposed to this wonderful freedom merely whittled it down to a routine and meaningless nothing.

It wasn't till last summer that my eyes were opened up once again, and I saw everything as if for the first time.

My family and I had the marvelous opportunity of revisiting our native homeland. After a six-week stay in this Communist-controlled country, I once more realized what privileges I had. My counterparts there cannot attend a parochial school, as I do. They don't even have any parochial schools there. Every word that is spoken has to be done so with utmost care. Our news isn't screened, sifted, and twisted as theirs. Even to go to church on Sunday is becoming more and more risky. How sad that conditions are this way. But at least they served the purpose of making me aware; aware that what I have here now can never again be taken for granted, much less ignored.

The day I was proudest to be an American is when I set foot on American soil, and could proudly, and with justification pronounce, "This is my home, the land of the free!"

#### THE DAY I WAS PROUDEST TO BE AN AMERICAN

(Honorable mention)

(By Nancy Kelly, Monsignor Ryan Memorial High)

It was a brisk October Sunday. A huge crowd filled Wakefield Common, yelling, cheering, and singing. Thousands of flags, large and small, snapped in the cold windy air.

That's how it was the day of the rally organized by Paul Christopher, an eighteen-year-old high school senior. The purpose of the rally was to show our boys in Vietnam that they had our support and prayers. The minute we entered the town of Wakefield, we could sense the great spirit of patriotism in the crowd. Even tough-looking motorcyclists in black leather jackets carried huge American flags.

Thirty-five thousand people awaited patiently for the guest speaker to arrive. They moved in to get closer to the podium. Nobody wanted to miss the speeches of the guest speaker, a list which included Governor Volpe and Paul Christopher.

We had listened to the words of the speakers, and observed the reaction of the supporters. Their behavior was not put on, but showed a deep and genuine sense of patriotism.

It was seeking the loyalty of these fellow Americans that made me proud to be called an American.

#### THE DAY I WAS PROUDEST TO BE AN AMERICAN

(Honorable mention)

(By Pamela Logan, Gate of Heaven High School)

It started out to be another routine seventeenth day of March parade. As usual it was a cold, windy, miserable day, and as usual just about everyone in South Boston appeared on the streets forming a motley mob. To some there it was mainly a test of endurance of will over weather, but others were really enthusiastic about the whole ritual. Yes, this year promised to be an exact copy of last year's event, but somehow for me it wasn't. For somewhere in the midst of the blaring trumpets and twirling batons marched 1967's addition to the celebration—South Boston's war veterans of Vietnam. Not at all bitter for all the bitterness they must have witnessed, these men smiled and waved to the thunderous applause of the onlookers although some would carry permanent physical scars which would last a life time. It was then that it suddenly came over me what it meant to be an American, a genuine American, and not just someone who's all for the country when things are going fine and in the face of a crisis cowers off; but someone who knows what this democracy of ours is all about and thinks it's worth defending.

The war heroes had passed on down the street, but the message that they'd carried was imbedded deeply in my mind. I was oblivious to the rest of the parade, lost in my own thoughts, like someone who's just come to realize a blessing that they have been gifted with all their life, and, looking back now, I know it was on that day that I was proudest to be an American.

#### THE DAY I WAS PROUDEST TO BE AN AMERICAN

(Honorable mention)

(By Monica Rejt, Monsignor Ryan Memorial High)

Accompanied by my mother, I proceeded to the United States Post Office and Courthouse in downtown Boston to become an official member of the citizens of this country. As we approached the courtroom that was assigned to me, I noticed other people from all over the world also waiting to be naturalized. They could never have been as nervous as I was then.

After being admitted into the courthouse, we waited approximately four hours for the judge, who was tied up in another case. We



stood as he approached his bench, which was high on a platform overlooking the entire crowd. Having experienced a courtroom's procedures only on television and screen, it was quite fascinating. All rising, we took the final oath in which we swore to uphold America's truths, and also to aid our country in time of need.

Following the oath and exit of the judge, we were handed little pin-on flags to commemorate the occasion. Not only did I receive a flag, but a few days later I received letters of congratulations from several well-known officials.

The day of my naturalization was one of the most memorable days of my life. It was then that I realized how proud I was to be a part of this great country.

Mr. Speaker, in the junior division, consisting of grades 7, 8, and 9, first place was awarded to Mary Catherine Fiske, of the St. Brigid School; second place to Dale Hilliard, of the Patrick F. Gavin School; third place to Patricia Jordan, of the Monsignor Ryan Memorial High School; and honorable mention to Mary Dorocke, of the Gate of Heaven School; Robert England, of the St. Brigid School; Joanne LaMontagne, of the Gate of Heaven School; Richard Oliver, of the Gate of Heaven School; and Charlene Vidito, of the Patrick F. Gavin School, which essays I also include in the Extensions of Remarks, as follows:

#### WHY I AM PROUD TO BE AN AMERICAN (First place)

(By Mary Catherine Fiske, St. Brigid School)

America is a great country, and she gives me many reasons for being so proud to be called an American. First, America was founded because of a strong, human desire to be free. Since the beginning of time people have wanted and fought for freedom and peace. Through the ages America has been just this—a haven of freedom and peace for all who sought it.

Secondly, as America built up from small settlements to huge, expanding cities, she voiced and defended her strong beliefs before the more powerful countries of the world. Her brave people defended the freedom of others, as well as their own. Since colonial days she has grown and matured with her people to be one of the strongest and most progressive nations in the world.

Finally, I am proud to be an American because I love my country. I love her because I was born here, because of her towering mountains, her rushing waters, her persevering peace, and her steadfast freedom. All these things give me a hopeful and secure feeling to know that even in the face of wars, hate, turmoil, and bloodshed, my country still defends her age-old beliefs of freedom, peace, and equal rights for all.

#### WHY I AM PROUD TO BE AN AMERICAN (Second place)

(By Dale Hilliard, Patrick F. Gavin School)

Some of the reasons I am proud to be an American are as follows: First of all: Our freedoms of speech, religion, and press are only obtainable in our country.

Second: We are a proud nation, and I am happy that one day I will be able to be a good citizen and help to continue in making our country the proudest in the world.

Third: Our country's heart is so large it cannot be measured. By this I mean if it were not for the help that our country extends in foreign aid, a great part of this world's people would starve or die from lack of bare necessities.

Fourth: One more important reason I am so proud of our country is that our country is not a "bully" and will not stand by and let other countries be "bullied." Many proud Americans gave their lives, and they will

continue to do so, voluntarily, in order that other countries may have their freedom.

These are some of the reasons that I am proud to be an American, and there are many more. I only wish other people in this world could have the same opportunities that we as Americans have.

#### WHY I AM PROUD TO BE AN AMERICAN (Third place)

(By Patricia Jordan, Monsignor Ryan Memorial High)

Americans are composites of many things, many religions, many cultures, and many races all simmering in one big melting pot. They are people who care about their fellow man, as witnessed by the amount of foreign aid they have given. The average American is patriotic. He is always ready to serve his country in an emergency. These and many other traits make up an American.

I am proud to be an American for many reasons. I am proud of our high standard of living and our ability to get a good education. Anyone, if it is his desire, may receive a college education.

Our country has done much in the way of progress in space, medicine, science, and in fact is a leader in many fields.

When I hear of the great work of our young men and women in organizations such as the Peace Corps and Vista I am filled with pride.

However, the main reason that I am proud to be an American is that all these wonders have been accomplished by Americans of many colors, races, and creeds working together. This proves to me that mutual respect and trust can work miracles.

#### WHY I AM PROUD TO BE AN AMERICAN (Honorable mention)

(By Mary Dorocke, Gate of Heaven School)

To be an American is to be a proud person because you are not just existing, you are living as a human person with dignity for others. You have the four basic freedoms, which are freedom of speech, religion, the press, and freedom from want. Being an American means to be safe at all times.

I am proud for what my country stands for. I am also proud because my country is the most progressive country in the world. Besides being grateful for my country, as an American I can participate and be involved in its affairs. Having freedoms, rights, and laws brings responsibility to use them well.

Being an American means to get involved. I am proud to be an American because I can help and respect others who are not as fortunate as I am.

Now at the present time I can still stand proud of being an American. In many more years to come I will still hold the exact idea and reaction toward being an American of the United States of America.

#### WHY I AM PROUD TO BE AN AMERICAN (Honorable mention)

(By Robert England, St. Brigid School)

Why am I proud to be an American? Because being an American to me means being a South Bostonian. What boy wouldn't expand his chest for this honor! I am living in the same environment as Paul Revere and his dashing friends. I have the slightly "colonial tea flavored" ocean for a swimming pool. For a playground I have Dorchester Heights, where George Washington and his band of artillerymen sent the lobsterbacks home to "Sweet George."

To get my education, I have easy access to Boston College, Boston University, and scores of prep schools. Many cultural and educational institutions are in near reach. The Museum of Science also adds to the already colorful scene.

For physical fitness, Boston, the home of the Red Sox, has fabulous sports opportu-

nities, including the ever-exciting South Boston Terriers, the hockey team of the century.

Southie is the home of Richard Cardinal Cushing, a man whose courage has "built churches and schools around the world." Southie provides for my religious training too.

Yes, I'm proud to be an American because being an American means to me being a South Bostonian!

#### WHY I AM PROUD TO BE AN AMERICAN (Honorable mention)

(By Joanne LaMontagne, Gate of Heaven School)

To me the word American is more than just a name. It is a title that should be cherished and lived up to. I am proud to carry this title because it took hard, honest work to give me the great privilege of doing so. To be an American means to have freedom. America opens her arms to the poor unfortunate people who do not have such freedoms. This makes me very proud to be part of this great, generous country. America offers opportunity, and I, as an American, should take advantage of this privilege.

I am extremely proud of my American heritage. Our forefathers came to this land to obtain the rights and freedoms they were deprived of in their old country. Now, after many years of hard struggling, we Americans have the privilege of being granted the freedoms our forefathers fought for.

I am especially proud of the fact that my country is not only fighting for her own rights, but she also is sacrificing young men and women to fight for the rights of those smaller countries who are not capable of doing it themselves.

America is the "Land of Opportunity," and I am very proud to be part of such a great land.

#### WHY I AM PROUD TO BE AN AMERICAN (Honorable mention)

(By Richard Oliveri, Gate of Heaven School)

I am proud to be an American because I love my country, and when one has ardent love for something he takes pride in being a part of it. Yes, I consider America a part of me, and me a part of America.

In a way, I look down on other countries, not in scorn, but in sympathy. I feel sorry for the people of those nations, and we are the ones who are to salvage them.

I am proud because my country has power, not necessarily political power, but majestic power, the kind of power which gives America and its people patriotism, and the ambition to go forward.

I am proud because my country is a symbol of liberty, and everything a man can hope for.

I take pride in living in the land of America, where, in a way, it can be regarded as a paradise. It is a paradise where freedom is plentiful, a paradise where progress is fruitful and essential, and a paradise which is easy to love, and where justice is for all.

These are all the reasons for which I, an American... am proud to be one.

#### WHY I AM PROUD TO BE AN AMERICAN (Honorable mention)

(By Charlene Vidito, Patrick F. Gavin School)

There are many reasons why Americans are proud to live in this great country. Some of my reasons are similar to those of the majority of people. Deep down inside only I know how proud I am, because I think it's hard to express my deep, loyal feelings on paper.

Well, first there's our fair democratic government; by the people and for the people. Every American should be proud of our great

Constitution's "Bill of Rights," which gives us, among many others, the four most important rights: freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of press.

Out of those four rights, the one I love most is freedom of religion. Just think of the millions of people affected by this right. I love my religion, and I feel the world would be a better place to live in if everyone lived up to their faith just a little bit more, and we Americans have the right to practice this.

I suppose when I grow older and become a citizen, when I turn twenty-one, I'll appreciate our other wonderful rights, such as the right to vote, to run for office, and many more. But for now I'll try to be a good citizen and American and practice those rights I'm allowed at my age.

## Dallas, Tex., Police Department

### HON. JOHN G. TOWER

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, Mr. Dennis Hoover, a talented writer for the Dallas Morning News, presented in the March 17 editions of that newspaper a most thoughtful and well done article detailing the full integration which has been effected in an orderly and efficient manner by the police department of the city of Dallas. It is an accomplishment of which the city is rightly proud, and I regard it as a clear indication that Texans are committed to social progress and correctly feel that our Nation never has been closer to being a unified, just, and abundant society.

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

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

#### DALLAS MANPOWER HUNT: OFFICERS ALL "BLUE" NEGRO POLICEMEN FIND (By Dennis Hoover)

Negroes are especially elusive in a major manhunt being waged by the Dallas Police Department.

The men are wanted as applicants for jobs as police officers.

Soaring crime and thickening traffic are spurring efforts to recruit 128 more policemen to bring the force up to authorized strength. Qualified men of all races are being sought for the vacancies. But Negroes, who make up 19 per cent of Dallas' population, now account for only 7 per cent of applicants, says Capt. D. A. Byrd, head of the police personnel bureau.

A career in police work would seem to offer many Negroes a welcome opportunity, and certainly Dallas would gain in improved law enforcement and race relations from having more non-white officers, say police leaders.

But thus far it has proved difficult to match this personal opportunity and public benefit.

The department has been hiring and trying to hire Negro policemen since 1947. It now has only 15 officers of this minority group: 10 patrolmen, 3 detectives and 2 sergeants. They constitute about 1 per cent of the 1,452-member force.

The Negro officers as a group have proved to be as capable as white officers. Some are outstanding.

"Our Negro officers are a valuable asset to the department," said Police Chief Charles Batchelor. "They have done a real fine job." A bureau head discussing the two

Negro officers who work under him said: "I'd like to have half a dozen more like them this afternoon."

Integration of the police force was gradual, but it now is complete. The first Negro officers, beginning 21 years ago, walked beats in Negro neighborhoods of North and South Dallas, changing into their uniforms at a public housing project on N. Washington St. About 1955 the downtown police locker room was integrated. In 1961 Negro officers began appearing in squad cars. About four years ago Negroes became part of regular platoons and patrol squads became racially mixed.

Today Negro detectives work all over the city. Negro officers in squad cars patrol districts of all racial compositions, often with white partners. In one instance a Negro radio patrolman is supervising the field training of his white rookie partner. A Negro sergeant has charge of several white patrolmen in an East Dallas district. One Negro patrolman regularly directs traffic at major downtown intersections.

The Negro officers often deal with white people in making arrests, issuing traffic tickets, investigating accidents and looking into complaints of all kinds.

How well has the white public accepted Negro policemen? Almost perfectly, it appears from questioning police officials and the Negro officers themselves.

"These officers are knowledgeable and astute at getting along with the public," said Capt. Byrd.

"They have received a lot of compliments," noted Chief Batchelor.

Letters commending the Negro policemen make a thick file. A look at the praises heaped on 25-year-old Patrolman Albert Haskins, who joined the force four years ago, pretty well tells the story.

A Richardson woman involved in an accident lauded Haskins for investigating the affair "in the most professional and efficient manner." She said the officer was "very courteous and helpful while performing his duties."

Another letter about Haskins came to Chief Batchelor from a businessman. It said:

"Many times in the back of my mind I have thought that if a Negro ever tried to give me a ticket for anything, hell would break loose there and then. Well, after today I guess I am a poor liar."

"I was stopped for going straight ahead instead of 'left lane must turn left' and given a ticket by the most well trained, well behaved man I have ever met. And he was right, too, darn it!"

"In the past 16 years this is ticket No. 2 for me, and if I get one tomorrow I hope it is from a man as nice about it as this (officer) was, regardless of color."

Some white people "blink twice" when a Negro answers their call for police service. But the Negro officers, one by one, told the writer they have never, or rarely, encountered racial resentment as they performed their duties.

"I have run into some drunks who objected to being arrested by a Negro," one officer related.

In another instance, a white woman telephoned police headquarters to allege that her boyfriend of several years had "stolen" her car. The Negro officer who answered the call concluded after questioning the woman that she had in fact given her boyfriend permission to drive her car.

The woman wasn't satisfied. She asked the officer to call for a white policeman. About then a white officer in another squad car happened by, and he talked with the woman. "He told her the same thing I did, that there was no cause for police action," the Negro officer related.

A Negro patrolman who has had extensive contacts with the white public seemed to reflect the feeling of the other officers who were interviewed: "Dallas people are ready

to have all the Negro policemen that can be hired," he said.

Another Negro officer commented: "I'd say there is actually no such thing as a white officer or a black officer. They're all blue (a reference to blue police uniforms)."

How do the Negro officers get along with their fellow officers who are white?

"Superbly," said one Negro patrolman. "There are never any conflicts."

"There's close harmony between Negro and white officers," reported another.

Many of the officers said, however, that the force still has a few racial "diehards."

"You're always going to have a few people who wouldn't accept a Negro anything," one patrolman commented.

A Negro veteran in the department apparently summed the matter: "We weren't accepted at first," he said. "But we are now and we have been for years. In the beginning some of the officers wouldn't even speak to us. We brought about the change ourselves by doing our work in an efficient manner and winning their respect."

"Ninety-nine per cent of the officers now completely accept Negroes on the force. I just don't pay any attention to the few who can't adjust to the new era. Generally speaking (the racial climate) is very pleasant."

Signs of racial congeniality within the department are abundant. Officers who work together often drink coffee and eat lunch together in restaurants. A Negro sergeant said he has visited fellow officers in their homes "and they have visited me."

Laurice Baker, a Negro patrolman, was elected vice-president of his rookie class at the Dallas Police Academy in 1964.

Frequently Negro and white officers face danger together. Once, Patrolman Josias Prelow and his partner took a biracial step into a dark living room to arrest a man for beating up his wife. The suspect was belligerent. While both policemen fought him on the floor he seized a flashlight and struck Prelow on the forehead with it. "See that scar?" said Prelow. "It took five stitches."

Where it takes courage, the Negro officers have shown they have it. Haskins once exchanged shots with a brawler, Det. Jesse R. Dawson had occasion to shoot the pistol out of a man's hand. Det. Benjamin J. Thomas, after a gun battle, captured a man who had just shot another man in a beer joint. Baker swapped lead with a car thief.

Baker also tackled and disarmed a bandit who was in the act of robbing a 7-11 store. "To keep him from hurting the store manager I had to attack him," the officer related. "We wrestled. I was able to knock his gun away, get him down and get the 'cuffs on him.'"

Late one Saturday night last spring Patrolman Roosevelt Ford was shot through the chest while investigating a disturbance call at a South Dallas tavern. He was off work 10 weeks. He almost died.

But the success of Negro police officers at their jobs, their acceptance by the community and the department itself, haven't given the police force much of a biracial complexion to date. Serious obstacles plague the continuing attempt to give Dallas a more racially balanced police establishment.

A major deterrent to recruiting Negro officers is the negative feeling that this race generally has toward the police. A police official described the situation this way:

"Many young Negroes believe they'd be looked down upon in their own community if they joined the city authority group. They're still thinking about days past when there were no Negro officers and many felt, sometimes with justification, that Negroes as a race were discriminated against in police methods—picked up on a slight pretext, and mishandled sometimes at the police station. The feeling persists that a Negro who joins the police department is a 'snitch' to his race."



Many of the Negro police officers who were interviewed stressed the same point in different ways. Following are some of their comments:

"One of the biggest (recruiting) problems now is worry (by prospective applicants) that their social standing would change, that they would be an outcast or looked upon with suspicion in their own community."

"Negroes as a general rule have a complex about policemen, probably a carry-over from years ago. Policeman is just kind of a dirty word. They feel the police are on one side and they're on the other. Some of the youngsters would feel disloyal to their race if they joined the police force."

"Some still feel hostile because of past maltreatment of Negroes in general by the police."

"I think Negroes resent authority a bit more than other races. In a lot of cases it's been used wrongly against them."

"In the old days a Negro wasn't treated the way he should have been, and this mistrust and enmity of policemen is still deep down inside. He feels if he became a policeman he'd lose face and friends in the community."

Some of the officers said the Negro image of police shaped by the past is no longer valid, but that it will take time to erase the misconception. Other officers said the image will be altered quicker if some white policemen improve their attitude toward Negroes.

A place for some white policemen to begin, said a Negro officer, is by ending their habit of addressing Negro complainants by first names—using instead the dignified titles of Mr., Miss or Mrs. customarily accorded white citizens who request police service.

Do Negroes "lose friends" when they don police uniforms?

The Negro policemen themselves disagreed on this point.

"Very few Negro friends really like you after you get to be a policeman," said one officer. "I've found friends dropping by the wayside."

"It's true, you do lose friends," said another. "Negro suspicion about the police force even extends to accusations against Negro discrimination against their own race. They say, 'The Negro officer is being used.' I've been accused in a white-Negro automobile collision case of taking the white motorist's side just because I'm now part of a predominantly white organization."

Other officers said, however:

"I've lost no friends and I've gained the respect of a lot of people, and in essence their friendship too."

"I've made more friends as a policeman than I would have otherwise, and the friendships are of higher caliber people. This job has real prestige."

"I've gained new friends. If any dropped me they were not worth fooling with. When I was hired I didn't come in as an undercover man, and this is a factor. My intentions were out in the open."

Police officials say many Negroes may still believe the department discriminates in job assignments and promotions. All the evidence, including statements by the Negro officers themselves, indicates this belief is false.

"There is absolutely no discrimination of any kind," a department spokesman stressed. "Any officer can climb the ladder by his own efforts through written competitive examinations."

Another police leader said he believes many Negroes who might qualify for officer posts are simply fearful about "coming up and applying."

The lowering of racial barriers in government and industry is another factor slowing the recruitment of Negro policemen.

"Negroes now are going to school and taking advantage of a wide variety of opportu-

nities," one Negro officer pointed out. Another officer said bluntly: "For some Negroes police work might be a step forward economically. But just about any Negro who could qualify for the police department could qualify for a helluva lot better job."

A Dallas police officer starts out, as an apprentice policeman, at \$500 a month. After six months his pay goes to \$520. At the end of a year he becomes a patrolman and makes \$542.

If he remains a patrolman for four years his pay jumps to \$574. But at the end of three years he is eligible to take examinations for detective or sergeant, whose base pay is \$643. The base pay of lieutenants is \$705, of captains \$797.

None of the Negro officers appeared to regard his pay as a whole lot of money. But the vast majority pointed to many other rewards of police work, and they seemed happy with their careers.

"How do you like being a policeman?" the officers were asked. Typical replies were these:

"I love it. I like working with people. I like the variety it gives you. It's a good profession to be in. It gets in your blood."

"It's quite a challenge. It seems as though it's the only thing I've ever done. I view the job routinely."

"I like it for many reasons. There's always something different. It's exciting. Also, you see a side of human nature you wouldn't ever see in any other type of work. You deal with many types of human problems, and helping to solve these problems gives you a sense of accomplishment."

"I love it. The job has respectability."

One officer said: "If I had a million dollars I'd still be a policeman, I had some pretty good job offers before I went on the force."

Several replies were less enthusiastic. "I like being a policeman all right. It's a good job for a man who wants to do that kind of work," said one officer.

Would the officers urge other qualified Negroes to join the force? Typical comments on this point were:

"It's a good field. It's an opportunity for many young Negroes to better themselves by getting into a respected, challenging profession."

"The Dallas Police Department is just a darn good organization to work for, and I'd recommend it to anybody."

"It's a good profession to be in, and for a Negro it's one of the top paying jobs."

"Policing is an excellent profession now opened up to members of our race, and I'd like to see more men take advantage of it. The Negro community also would benefit a great deal."

"Not only does police work offer an opportunity personally, but it is a chance to help combat one of our greatest problems by building greater harmony between races."

One officer said: "For someone who can do something else I would advise him to do something else."

Aside from needing more police manpower per se, the department recognizes that Negro officers are often more effective in dealing with members of their race than are white officers. Most of the Negro officers agree.

"I feel I have extra value sometimes when I have Negro suspects," said Det. Mackeroy Tuck of burglary and theft. "It's a little easier for me to establish rapport and get the truth out of them, because I speak their language a little better than the average white officer might."

"In many instances Negro officers would get better cooperation from the Negro public because of the similarity of background," said Patrolman Emmitt Hill Jr.

"A white officer can't do too much undercover work in a Negro area," another officer pointed out.

One Negro officer said he joined the force, in part, because "there was a lot of resentment against white officers."

"There's a great amount of crime among our people," this officer noted. "I wanted to work for improved law enforcement. I thought the presence of more Negro officers on the force might help encourage respect for law and order among Negroes."

The police department is also sure that additional Negro officers would foster improved relations between this minority group, the police and the community as a whole. As Chief Batchelor put it, a Negro officer has "an opportunity to help draw the races together."

Comments by the Negro officers themselves included these:

"The Negro community would like to see more colored officers in their neighborhoods. They feel they can communicate with them better. Negro officers can be a bridge to better relations."

"We're able to understand the problems of our people better and perhaps show them more compassion, and therefore generate a better understanding between the Negro community and police department."

"Properly used, a larger proportion of Negroes on the force could be of great advantage to Dallas and the police department in easing racial tensions."

"Seeing Negroes in uniform is good for the Negro community . . . It makes them realize that law enforcement now exists for them as much as for anybody else, and that authority is not totally in the hands of white people any more."

"More Negro officers would speak well for the city. With the population we have we should be well represented. We like to feel that people will feel secure in seeing us in the community, and that something is being done about law-enforcement."

Another Negro officer said: "I often think I may be better qualified to work in a white area than white policemen are to work in a Negro area. Few white officers have studied anything about Negro culture."

But even if the department is able to attract more Negro applicants, it faces a recruitment obstacle that may take years of improved Negro education to overcome. The harsh fact is that very few Negro applicants are able to pass the written Civil Service entrance examination to qualify for a police officer's job.

"Our biggest problem in recruiting Negroes is getting them past the exam," Chief Batchelor said.

Since the first of this year 30 Negroes have taken the test, but only one made a passing grade. "This is the way it has been running," said Capt. Byrd.

By contrast, said the personnel officer, about 60 per cent of white applicants pass the examination.

Police officials say the test is geared to the capability of the average high school graduate. But one who flunked the test this year is a 26-year-old Dallas Negro high school teacher who is working on his master's degree.

Of the 15 Negro officers presently on the force, two have bachelor's degrees, one is a junior college graduate, and eight have done varying amounts of college work short of graduation.

So the police department is looking not only for more Negro applicants but, hopefully, more who can pass the Civil Service examination. The search is going forward on many fronts.

Much of the stepped-up minority recruitment effort is being conducted by Negro Sgt. Philip R. Peace, who was moved into the personnel office for this purpose in January.

Recruiting methods include newspaper, radio and television advertising. One television pitch is made by the Negro-white "I Spy" team of Bill Cosby and Robert Culp. They get over the message that policing is an honorable, rewarding profession for men of "all races, creeds and colors."

Ages of eligibility for joining the force are 19½ through 38. To qualify, candidates must pass the Civil Service test, a physical examination, a background screening, and an interview by a board of police officials.

Fringe benefits enjoyed by Dallas policemen include pensions, insurance and an opportunity to take courses in any college, with the city government paying the tuition.

Hundreds of strategically placed posters are helping in the recruitment effort. Mobile recruiting teams are hunting for prospects in shopping centers. Police officials are addressing Negro church groups and telling Negro high school and college student bodies about the department's career opportunities.

Police personnel officers met recently with representatives of the Urban League, Bishop College, the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce, and the federal Community Relations Service to urge them to "send us applicants."

In a national effort to fill law enforcement ranks the Department of Defense this year gave police agencies the green light to recruit at military bases. The Dallas department has exclusive rights to recruit among servicemen due early discharge at Fort Sill, Okla. Two Dallas officers are working full-time at the project there, talking to soldiers individually and in groups. Applicants take the Civil Service and physical examinations at the base. Those who qualify for police jobs may be separated from the service 90 days ahead of schedule.

About 800 men a month are being discharged at Ft. Sill, a sizable portion of them Negroes. To date Dallas has netted seven rookie policemen from among the outgoing soldiers, all of them white.

The police department soon will open a neighborhood recruiting station in South Dallas, using space in the Urban League office on Forest Avenue. There a team headed by Sgt. Peace will interview and test applicants on Sunday afternoons from 2 to 6 p.m.

Sgt. Peace says there's little the department won't do to get more officers. It will send recruiters to talk with prospects in their homes, and even provide squad car "taxi" service to any applicant wishing to have a try at the Civil Service exam.

One applicant has already been given a free squad car ride to the Civil Service office. You guessed it: he failed the exam.

But nobody at headquarters has given up. "I just don't think Negroes are aware of the opportunities that await them," said Sgt. Peace.

### Increased Veterans' Benefits

#### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am very much pleased that the advisory commission of veterans programs has reported to the House some 79 recommendations for changes in veterans benefits in a report to the House Veterans' Affairs Committee.

It would appear that the major proposals of the report stress service-connected disability compensation and would increase by \$100 a month the present basic rate of \$300 for totally disabled veterans at a cost of about \$11.2 million for the 112,000 such veterans eligible to receive these benefits.

It also appears that payment for partial disability would be increased by a percentage equal to the rise in the cost of living index since December 1, 1965.

This will also be helpful to many veterans.

In addition, the panel recommended an increase of the maximum home loan guaranty of \$7,500 to \$10,000 and the \$17,500 maximum direct loan, made in areas where guaranteed loans are not available, should be increased to \$20,000, with flexible provisions permitting the Veterans' Administration to adjust the guarantee to areas where high cost levels prevail.

Moreover, the commission report stated that the present \$250 burial allowance for veterans, which is separate from the burial allowance paid for soldiers killed while in service, should be increased to \$400.

To my mind, these recommendations would constitute a much-needed improvement in current veteran laws, and I urge that the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs give them immediate consideration with a view to reporting them to the House at an early date for appropriate action.

Disabled veterans are greatly affected by the substantial increase in the cost of living which has occurred in recent years, and it is in the interest of fairness and justice for Congress to recognize that fact and provide early relief for those who sacrificed so much to preserve and perpetuate the free institutions of this Nation in times of great peril.

### National Cash Register Presents Family of Speeded-Up Computers

#### HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege on March 20 to open an exhibition and demonstration in Washington of third generation computer equipment produced by the National Cash Register Co.

I was particularly proud of this opportunity, not only because NCR has its headquarters in my home town of Dayton, Ohio, but because the company's new Century series serves as a symbolic representation of the vitality which characterizes our free enterprise system.

Reflecting the greatest financial undertaking in the company's 84-year history, I understand that these computers represent an outlay of more than \$150 million which the company has already absorbed.

The research on this project resulted in several technological innovations which are bound to be emulated by the electronics and information processing industry.

The impact and true importance of this significant achievement of NCR extends far beyond the borders of Ohio. In addition to increased savings of time and other benefits to be derived, it will mean new jobs and increased efficiencies for our economy. In this connection, I should like to quote from an article about the development of the new Century Series which appeared in a recent issue of the Washington Evening Star:

New facilities include a 300,000 square foot plant nearing completion at San Diego, California, to augment plants at Hawthorne, California and Dayton, Ohio. Manufacture of the new computer family also is being carried out in Dundee, Scotland and Augsburg, Germany.

In presenting NCR's explanation of the advanced computer equipment, the Wall Street Journal on March 6 referred to the company's development of:

A new type of central data-storage unit, or memory, for the Century Series. In the memory, tiny metal whiskers coated with a magnetic material replace the thousands of doughnut-shaped magnetic cores commonly used to store electronic pulses. The computers are built with integrated circuits, each of which performs the functions of as many as 30 individual electronic components.

Our dynamic competitive system has once again been reinforced by the willingness of one of America's leading industrial concerns to invest huge sums of money and manpower to bring the results of greatly advanced technology to the international marketplace.

Under unanimous consent, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the notable articles from the Washington Evening Star of March 5, 1968, and the Washington Post of March 10, 1968:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 5, 1968]

NATIONAL CASH REGISTER PRESENTS FAMILY OF SPEEDED-UP COMPUTERS

(By Charles Covell)

The National Cash Register Co. today introduced a whole new family of computers with several technological breakthroughs, including a disc memory unit it calls the fastest in the industry.

The introduction took place simultaneously here and in major cities throughout the world. Owen B. Gardner, vice president for industry marketing, told a Washington press conference that the company has a sales target of more than a billion dollars worth of the new equipment. He said it had spent \$150 million on production facilities and research.

New facilities include a 300,000-square-foot plant nearing completion at San Diego, Calif., to augment plants at Hawthorne, Calif., and Dayton, Ohio. Manufacture of the new computer family also is being carried out in Dundee, Scotland, and Augsburg, Germany.

The new computer family is called the Century series. Gardner said it will come in a wide range of sizes and prices geared for the "mass market," as well as the more sophisticated users.

Heart of the system is a new "red" memory, employing thousands of tiny "whiskers" in place of the usual doughnut-shaped ferromagnetic cores. Each of the hairlike copper wire rods is only one tenth of an inch long and is coated with a thin film of magnetic material. The rods are then automatically placed in solenoids—coils of two interwoven wires—with an inner diameter of only 10 mils. After assembly, the planes are coated with plastic and stacked to form memory modules.

The same memory module is used throughout the computer family. It operates at 800 nano-seconds (800 billionths of a second) and has a basic capacity of 16,000 characters which in the larger Century can be expanded to 524,000.

The Century series also includes disc memory storage units with an average access time of 45 milliseconds, said to be the fastest in the industry. Data is transferred at a rate up to 180,000 characters per second.

National Cash Register also is using integrated circuits in all its units, contrary, it



says, to other manufacturers who have used them only in some parts of their systems.

Integrated circuits compress the equivalent of 16 diodes, four transistors and 10 resistors on a single silicon chip 40-thousandths of an inch square.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Mar. 10, 1968]

#### FOR SMALLER BUSINESSES: LOW-COST COMPUTER SERIES INTRODUCED

(By Claude Koprowski)

Joining the march to capture small users the National Cash Register Co. last week introduced a low cost series of computers. It was the second company to do so in as many months.

Called the Century Series, models of the new machine will lease for \$2000 a month and sell for \$112,000. If sales meet projections, NCR will install 5000 Centuries representing a billion-dollar segment of the computer market.

A newcomer to the computer field in 1959, NCR has already installed more than 3000 of its first- and second-generation machines.

Tooling up for the Century Series cost the company \$150 million in research engineering, software and new production facilities, according to NCR vice president Owen B. Gardner.

The Series includes a range of compatible peripheral equipment including card and tape readers, remote terminals, new high speed disc packs and a variety of prepackaged programs. Among the latter: bank central information file programs, police department use designs, and plans for hospital and insurance agencies.

Gardner said the programs were business-oriented and retailers doing \$10 million annual sales could justify their usage.

Key to the Century's low cost is the use of tiny magnetic-coated metal rods instead of the usual ferrite cores. These whiskers can be placed and wound automatically on the memory plane, thus cutting production costs by half.

The Century Series will be offered in models 100 and 200. Model 100, with a 16,000 character memory, will be scheduled for delivery in September. Model 200, with a 524,000-character memory capacity is scheduled for deliveries in 1969.

#### Col. Robert L. Moorhead, of Indianapolis

#### HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, for many years Col. Robert L. Moorhead, of Indianapolis, was an outstanding symbol of what a good citizen should be. He was one of the finest examples I have ever known of the true citizen-soldier, a man who gave all he had to give to civic pursuits in time of peace, and rendered the same selfless service to his country in time of war. He was a great patriot and a great citizen.

He was an inspiration to all who knew him and were proud to call him a friend, as I did. Bob Moorhead will be sorely missed. The following editorial from the March 19, 1968, Indianapolis News pays fitting tribute to a fine Hoosier:

ROBERT L. MOORHEAD

The death of Robert L. Moorhead has ended the long and fruitful career of one of this community's most distinguished citizens.

In military affairs, in business, in education, in public service and in humanitarian activities, Moorhead was a notable figure.

Moorhead was a veteran of the Spanish American War and World War I who long maintained an active interest in military affairs. He was a colonel in the Field Artillery Reserve from 1919 to 1939.

His knowledge of and interest in history was great and in 1920 he wrote and published "The Story of the 139th Field Artillery." He was active for years in the Indiana Pioneer Society and the Marion County Historical Association.

Bob Moorhead was keenly interested in contemporary matters, as well. He served ably as state senator from Marion County for three terms and was chairman of the first State Budget Committee.

An official in the old Bobbs-Merrill Co. for many years and in charge of its law publishing, he was able to find time to devote to his community. The Warren Township school at 8400 E. Tenth was named for him in recognition of his wise leadership in school affairs of that township.

Moorhead lived to the exceptional age of 92, not retiring from an active business life until he was 82. There are not many men who have served their community, state and nation more devotedly. He was one of his county's great citizens.

#### Elizabethtown Salutes U.S. Army Reserve on 60th Anniversary

#### HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, we in New Jersey are very proud of the officers and men of the 78th Division. On April 28, the "Lightning Division" will march in the 37th annual Americanization Day parade in Jersey City, N.J. Needless to say, this will be a highlight of the day.

In the March-April edition of Pipeline, a publication of the Elizabethtown Gas Co., there is an article commemorating the 60th anniversary of the U.S. Army Reserve which is dedicated to the 78th Division and to the Army Reserve.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert this article in the RECORD following my remarks.

The article follows:

#### ELIZABETHTOWN SALUTES U.S. ARMY RESERVE ON 60TH ANNIVERSARY

One out of every 200 Americans today is an Army Reservist. If you know one, even if he is only 22, wish him a happy 60th birthday! For on April 23rd, the one million member U.S. Army Reserve will celebrate its 60th Anniversary. All over America the nation's Army Reserve units will participate in a series of special events to mark "U.S. Army Reserve Week", April 21-27.

#### "LIGHTNING DIVISION" TO MARCH

New Jersey's own 78th Division (Training), known as the "Lightning Division", celebrated its own 50th Anniversary last August. On Sunday, April 28th, they will march in Jersey City's 37th Annual Americanization Day Parade. It's an event not to be missed. 25,000 marchers representing various groups are scheduled to participate along with a crowd of spectators expected to reach 125,000. The parade will be dedicated to the 60th Anniversary of the U.S. Army Reserve.

The 78th Division, commanded by Major General John G. Cassidy of Nutley, is New Jersey's largest U.S. Army Reserve unit. It is comprised of 3,500 officers and enlisted men. Assistant division commanders are Brigadier General David B. Kelly of South Amboy (also N.J. Superintendent of State Police), and

Brigadier General Harry J. Rockefeller of Manasquan.

#### DISTINGUISHED SERVICE

Citizen-soldiers have played an important role in the fight for democracy since the days of the original 13 colonies. However, they were members of militias and it wasn't until April 23, 1908, when Congress established the Medical Reserve Corps, that the Federal Government had its own military reserve.

Since then, members of the Army Reserve have distinguished themselves in two world wars, the Korean Conflict and during the Berlin Crisis of 1961. Today, in Vietnam, Army Reserve officers are continuing the tradition of service by playing a key role in providing troop leadership. Approximately 75 percent of the officers and warrant officers serving in Southeast Asia have Army Reserve commissions and warrants.

The Army Reserve successfully met its greatest challenge during World War II when more than 100,000 U.S. Army Reserve officers were called upon to assume command and staff positions. They filled command positions that ranged from platoon leader to division commander and staff positions at all levels included the General Staff in Washington and joint staffs around the world.

When the Korean Conflict broke out in June, 1950, the nation once again called upon its Reserve forces to help fight the enemy. Almost a quarter of a million members of the Army Reserve served on active duty. During the first year of the war, when the heaviest fighting took place, members of the Army Reserve won 6 of the 27 Medals of Honor and one-quarter of the other top combat decorations awarded.

Again, in 1961, when the Berlin Crisis developed, Reserve forces were activated to augment the Regular Army. About 75,000 men and women of the Army Reserve were called to active duty for tours of up to one year.

#### BEST TRAINED IN HISTORY

As the Army Reserve celebrates its 60th Anniversary, the nation today can boast of having the strongest, best-trained and best-equipped Army Reserve force in its history. Forming the nucleus of the Army Reserve are some 3,495 highly trained units. More than 260,000 men and women are members of these units which range in size from a four-man Judge Advocate General detachment to a 4,500-man infantry brigade organized and equipped to fight in sustained combat in any part of the world. Each unit holds from 48-72 training sessions a year, many on weekends, and spends two weeks each year at a military installation for intensified training and maneuvers.

#### READY RESERVE

An additional 480,000 men and women are assigned to the Individual Ready Reserve, and in case of war, would be used to reinforce units of the Army, Army Reserve and Army National Guard. Some of the officers assigned to the Individual Ready Reserve have been preselected, because of civilian specialty or military training, to fill an authorized position at a selected Army headquarters. Those officers, called Mobilization Designees, spend two weeks each year at that headquarters serving in the position they would fill in case of war.

#### STANDBY AND RETIRED RESERVE

Rounding out Army Reserve strength are the 266,000 members of the Standby Reserve and 201,000 members of the Retired Reserve. These men and women, who do not train with any units, can only be called up to active duty in time of war or national emergency declared by Congress.

In addition to training with their units, many Army Reservists attend special schools or take correspondence courses in order to increase their military proficiency or to learn new military skills. In 1967, 60,000 members attended Army Reserve schools or took correspondence courses offered by Regular Army

schools. Officers are required to take courses in order to be eligible for promotion.

Perhaps the most outstanding characteristic of the men and women in the Army Reserve is the large reservoir of special skills and experience they represent. Most of the officers and noncommissioned officers, as well as many enlisted men, follow civilian callings that nearly parallel their military duties.

#### ACTIVE IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

The Army Reserve member is also usually active in community and business affairs. Eighty-eight percent of the senior officers in the Army Reserve, for example, hold national or local office in civic and professional associations which are unrelated to military service.

With sixty years under its belt, The Reserve looks ahead with additional pride and optimism towards the future, according to Major General W. J. Sutton, Chief of the Army Reserve. "The officers and enlisted personnel are among the most dedicated men and women in the nation today," General Sutton said. "They realize that a strong and proficient Reserve force is a prime requirement for the preservation of our democratic society. That's why they are giving so much of their time and energy to the Army Reserve."

### U.S. Ambassador Leonard Unger Speaks at Luncheon in Bangkok, Thailand

**HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS**

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, one of this Nation's closest friends and strongest allies is Thailand. Our Ambassador to that picturesque and independent country, the Honorable Leonard Unger, addressed the American Chamber of Commerce in Bangkok recently, and for the benefit of my colleagues I insert his address in the RECORD at this point:

ADDRESS BY U.S. AMBASSADOR LEONARD UNGER, AT AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE LUNCHEON, BANGKOK, THAILAND, JANUARY 17, 1968

I appreciate this opportunity to meet with members of the American Chamber of Commerce in Thailand, and welcome the invitation to carry on the tradition of an annual appearance by the American Ambassador. Much of what I have to say today will relate to our relations, as Americans, with the Thais in whose country we are living as guests. While the record of Thai-American relations speaks for itself, generally, sight tends to be lost from time to time of certain basic realities which I would like to put in better perspective. I should state at the outset, that in addition to speaking as the President's personal representative to Thailand, I am expressing deep, personal convictions based upon experiences over the past ten years—first in Thailand, then in Laos, and more recently in Washington, where I dealt with many Southeast Asian matters, particularly the problem of Vietnam.

#### I

Vietnam, by almost any standard, is the most absorbing and complex issue in American political life today. The issue is whether the nations of Southeast Asia shall be able to set their own independent course and be free of subversive aggression. Thailand, therefore, also attaches extreme importance to the outcome of the Vietnamese struggle. Its determination equals that of the United States to bring about a final settlement in

Vietnam which assures national freedom and fosters the return of peaceful order to Southeast Asian affairs.

The government of Thailand has made its position unmistakably clear. It has done this through active participation in collective defense arrangements under SEATO. Thailand has also enabled the U.S. to bring its air power to bear against North Vietnam and its infiltration into the South. Thailand has sent troops of its own to help defend South Vietnam, and it has taken firm measures to protect its own people against those assaulting not only South Vietnam and large sectors of Laos today, but Thailand itself.

Communist hostility toward Thailand is but one of many reflections of this nation's strategic importance in the total Southeast Asian picture. Ironical as it may seem, another measure of Thailand's key role in Southeast Asian events is this country's growing prominence in the American controversy over Vietnam.

In the cross fire of political battles over Vietnam, many Americans naturally want to examine our commitments elsewhere in the area, and to assess the dependability of those with whom we have aligned ourselves. I do not quarrel with the usefulness of responsible, free debate. I am seriously troubled, however, when I see certain facts about Thai-U.S. cooperation misread in ways that damage Thai-American interests, and encumber the Vietnam problem with negative and discouraging implications which do not actually exist.

The frequency of late of such distortion and misinformation has provided a new and disturbing experience for the Thai government and people. It is never pleasant to find one's country being criticized or subjected to hostile cross examination by foreigners. It is even less pleasant when they seem to question the validity of national policies, programs and institutions that have been carefully developed over the years for the express purpose of self-preservation. Having governed themselves for over 700 years, the Thai feel no need to adjust their way of doing things to meet foreign concepts of how things should be done. Moreover, having decided that defending Vietnam is in Thailand's own best interests, they do not want their actions interpreted—or misinterpreted—in lights cast by the clash of conflicting views over similar U.S. policies. Neither do they want it assumed that their fundamental policies are merely a response to the wishes of a large power. Understandably, they resent the bland assumption that the pattern of events in a neighboring state inevitably will be repeated in their own.

#### II

Nevertheless, perhaps largely because Thailand is known to have both communist guerrilla forces and U.S. military units in the country, it seems often to be assumed that American forces have been sent here to deal with the internal threat and are more or less covertly engaged in combat against insurgents in Thailand's rural areas. This of course is not the case. The only combat actions in which U.S. forces here participate are those well-publicized out-of-country operations directed against Vietnamese communist targets. U.S. military units in Thailand, other than those belonging to the Air Forces, are neither equipped nor organized for combat assignments. The Thai government has stated repeatedly that in suppression actions against the guerrillas, the only American help it wants or needs is that given Thai military and security forces their own means of dealing with the problem.

Combat operations by Thai-based units of the U.S. Air Force are carried out against North Vietnam by our fighter-bomber aircraft, and against Viet Cong concentrations in South Vietnam by B-52 bombers, and have entailed the assignment to Thailand of about thirty-three thousand U.S. Air Force personnel. The Air Force units require in turn,

from other U.S. military services here, myriad forms of logistical support in which some seven thousand troops are engaged. There are roughly three thousand additional U.S. military personnel in Thailand serving with the military assistance program, working on engineering and military research projects, and in SEATO.

Let me add, if I may, a footnote to what I hope will end misguided speculation about U.S. involvement in guerrilla warfare here. A year ago, Ambassador Martin confirmed for you that unarmed U.S. Air Force helicopters were on assignment in the Northeast. As Ambassador Martin emphasized, this was a temporary, non-combat measure, taken at a time when added mobility was of critical importance to Thai authorities organizing their own resources to blunt an escalating insurgent threat. Accordingly, in January of 1967, after the Royal Thai Government had completed the transitional training required for field operation of its own newly acquired force of forty-nine troop-carrying helicopters, the U.S. helicopters were withdrawn from Thailand. They were replaced in the field by these Thai helicopters, furnished by the U.S., which Thai authorities are using with increasing effectiveness. Additional helicopters have been provided, including ten to the Thai National Police, and more will become available to the armed forces and police as Thai pilots and mechanics complete training courses and can make use of these aircraft.

The lesson here, I think, is two-fold: First, the nature of American assistance to Thai counter-insurgency programs does not lead toward direct American involvement in those operations. On the other hand, we must not become so transfixed by our Vietnam experiences that we lose our capacity here to take decisive, practical steps in providing the training and equipment with which the Thai government itself can bring the insurgency under control, and in due course eliminate it.

#### III

We will continue to hear dire predictions, that Thailand inevitably will go the way of Vietnam, and that sooner or later Americans will be fighting communist insurgents here. In fact, Thailand resembles Vietnam only in that it is another intended victim of the same communist effort to expand its domination by using the technique of the "war of national liberation." Violence and killing in Thailand by communist terrorists, most of them trained outside Thailand, does not express grass roots political sentiment.

Thailand's people are united in a rapidly developing nation seeking to work out its political and economic destiny with care and forethought. Land ownership is primarily in the hands of those who work the soil. There is no tendency to split along religious lines, since virtually all Thais are Buddhists. Minorities are for the most part being assimilated and woven into the life of the country. One could cite many other factors working in Thailand's favor—its sense of self confidence developed over centuries of managing its own affairs—its able leadership, competent civil service, and armed forces showing their mettle today in Vietnam—its economic growth rate running around eight percent per annum—its capacity to organize and carry out rural security and development programs—and the social and economic mobility of Thai life.

Furthermore, Thailand's well-educated, skilled and enterprising young people do not migrate to other countries except in rare instances. Among the hundreds who annually go abroad for long periods to further their education or professional experience, all but a few are drawn back by loyalty and family ties and by their country's ample economic opportunities. I think it is fair to say, incidentally, that in large measure these have been created by Thailand's heavy emphasis upon private initiative and enterprise.



Thailand is also unique in that the continuity of its life and institutions has never been broken by colonial experiences. There has never been any need here for a national independence movement aimed at dislodging colonial rulers. Communist bands do not find in Thailand, therefore, as they did in Vietnam, any real opportunity to generate loyalty to a revolutionary struggle, or to identify themselves with compelling patriotic causes.

Above all, there flows from Thai attitudes toward the person of His Majesty the King and the institution of the monarchy a sense of national unity and continuity so strong that it extends into the remotest villages. To the citizens of Thailand, the King's full endorsement of efforts to counter the guerrilla threat is a buttress against subversive attempts to undermine the government's authority. In Thailand, as the communists have discovered even in relatively unprotected rural areas, the task of marshaling popular support for anti-government causes is difficult and unrewarding.

## IV

In the Northeast, for example, in a poor area encompassing more than ten million people, where several years of subversive groundwork has been followed by two years of intensive terrorism and recruitment drives, the number of armed insurgents remains below two thousand. Reliable intelligence indicates that considerably more than a thousand of them have been trained outside Thailand in Communist China, in North Vietnam, and Pathet Lao territory.

At present, the mission of the insurgents, almost all of whom are full time fighters, assassins and political activists, is simple. Their mission is to break the links between Thailand's government and villagers, and to then replace the government's authority with their own. While there are isolated villages where this mission has been accomplished for a few hours, there is no point in Thailand upon which the insurgents have thus far been able to impose more than temporary control.

To see the present situation in fair perspective, however, one must look back to 1966. During that year, the level of communist violence increased markedly over 1965, a rise consistent with the insurgent campaign predicted by Peking in 1965. Communist operations reached a high point toward the end of 1966. In January of last year, the number of armed encounters rose as the Thai government's counter actions developed momentum. By March 1967 the insurgents had adopted the tactic of avoiding contact with government forces, and the number of monthly armed encounters dropped by two-thirds. The rate of forced village propaganda meetings has declined even more dramatically during the past year. Assassinations have shown a slight but steady decline and now are at a lower rate than at any time over the past two years.

A prime explanation of these trends, in my opinion, is the combination of armed pressures by Thai military and security forces and the expansion of Thai Government programs for the improvement of the villager's lot. The forces have chased the insurgents from past operational bases and forced them into other areas. This has broken or strained insurgent connections with established sources—often merely their own kinfolk—of food, intelligence and other forms of support. This has raised significantly the rate of defections and desertions, which reflect in general a lack of political motivation among those villagers recruited through intimidation or promise of material gains.

Given the Royal Thai Government's commitment of additional military and police forces to communist suppression work, its program to establish small, permanent security forces in threatened villages, and its

growing attention to the aspirations and legitimate grievances of the villagers, I would expect insurgent efforts to organize the Thai countryside to meet with as little success in 1968 as they did in 1967.

They won't quit, however. Those who dominate the guerrilla ranks in Thailand are disciplined, well-trained, fully-indoctrinated insurgents. Thailand's northeast border provinces, where most of them are operating, or some of the other Thai border areas where there have been indications of additional outbreaks of insurgency, are too important to long-range communist plans to create a revolutionary base within this kingdom. More immediate objectives include protection for the flank of communist infiltration routes through Laos into South Vietnam; development of a capability for striking Thai military installations, including those being used to help in Vietnam; inducing the Thai government to question its policy of close alliance with the U.S.; and shaking U.S. faith in the stability of its ally.

## V

The Thai government has developed an effective program to contain and compress rural insurgency. It has committed the requisite resources for this as well as for accelerating rural progress to make it increasingly difficult for subversive influences to take root and grow. Our two governments have agreed on how American economic and military assistance can best provide support to such programs. In fostering rural progress, the Thai government plans to continue to emphasize provincial roads and other communications links; expanding agricultural, public health, educational, and other governmental services in rural communities; assisting farmers' organizations; and developing water resources for human consumption and irrigation. Other projects are designed to establish local security forces in more and more of the endangered remote villages, to mobilize military and police forces for quick reaction to the outbreak of insurgent violence, and to modernize Thai military forces for defensive action against larger scale communist penetrations. The U.S. will assist these efforts with substantial levels of economic and military aid which last year totaled more than one hundred-ten million dollars.

In all our programs here, however, whether they fall within economic, military, or other categories (the Peace Corps, for example), there is an additional underlying theme, which must not be overlooked to get a true impression of what Americans are doing in Thailand. That theme is education in the broadest sense of the word. The emphasis upon teaching, technical training, and advisory activities in our assistance programs here is in keeping with Thailand's traditional practice of welcoming and importing advanced knowledge and new skills. Historically the Thais have sought to draw generously upon the experience and know-how of others to improve their own techniques so that they will be in a position to manage their own affairs with ever-increasing effectiveness.

In response to Thai requests, the U.S. has undertaken to provide large numbers of technical advisors, training instructors, professional consultants, and other specialists capable of imparting the special knowledge, competence and skills which Thailand wants in greater abundance. Those who can be classed as advisors, trainers, instructors and educators account for more than three quarters of the total USOM staff of Americans. A substantial proportion of U.S. assistance funds are allocated annually to the training and further education of Thai civilian and military specialists. Under the Participant Training Program administered by USOM since 1949, over five thousand Thais have gone abroad, to the U.S. and elsewhere, for advanced training. Additionally, many of the

large scale Thai government projects which receive U.S. assistance are directly concerned with training. These include, for example, a program for training twelve thousand new members of the Thai National Police by the end of this year; the training for Accelerated Rural Development programs of technical personnel, over seven hundred of whom have completed basic courses, while fifteen hundred others are receiving on-the-job training in the provinces; the instruction of paramedics for rural public health services; educating village youths in basic vocational skills taught by instructors in mobile training units. These, to be sure, are but some of the ways in which Thailand obtains professional competence and technical skills to meet problems at home and keep pace with the outside world. By the way, as proof of the wisdom of the Thai Government's policy, I have been impressed with the large number of fields in which Americans and others were providing training here some years ago, when I was last in Thailand, but in which I now find Thai carrying on by themselves.

## VI

To understand fully why Thailand and the U.S. have undertaken many of the wide range of projects which engage us here, one must first look outside Thailand—toward Vietnam and beyond—at Southeast Asia as a whole. Within this vast, potentially wealthy area live 250 million people. None of them would be beyond the ambitious, domineering embrace of communism if not adequate obstacles existed to Red Chinese and North Vietnamese expansionism. We must add to this reservoir of Asian manpower, a fertile land mass the size of Western Europe, vast sources, and a geographical position astride the air, sea and land routes joining the Pacific and Indian oceans.

U.S. policies toward the area take those strategic considerations into account, and above all the common determination among Southeast Asian states to preserve their national identities while advancing toward a more secure, stable and prosperous existence. U.S. policies in the individual nations of Southeast Asia are consistent with the basic American posture toward the area, but they vary from country to country, depending upon the capacity of each to maintain itself to its own satisfaction without outside help. The U.S. objective in these bilateral relations is an equal, progressive mutually advantageous partnership, such as we have long enjoyed with Thailand. Our partnership with Thailand has proven uniquely productive, both in bilateral terms and in the beneficial, steady effect it has elsewhere in the area.

Thailand conducts its affairs on the basis of an independent, well-conceived set of policies which it has developed for itself toward the nations of this and all other areas of the world. On such basic matters, Thai and American positions are basically consistent. The effect of our alignment with each other, and with like-minded nations, is to give each of us greater influence than either nation could expect to exert in the absence of reinforcing policies and actions by the other.

Thailand, like America, is helping Vietnam in its own best interests. The United States is aiding Thailand for the same reason, and because it is our common firm belief that Vietnam is but one aspect of a much larger, potentially more formidable problem. Our efforts to solve and settle that problem depend ultimately upon people, both Thai and Americans, living and working in closer contact and in far greater numbers than ever before. This tests the capacity of Thai-American relations to withstand strains that our easy and cordial associations have not known before. I am fully convinced that the long term results from this period of intimate and broad Thai-American contacts will prove wholly positive.

## National Primaries Needed To Nominate Presidential Candidates

### HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, for the last 15 years I have introduced legislation in the Congress calling for election reforms. Back in 1952, former Senator Paul Douglas, of Illinois, and I introduced a bill calling for national primaries for President and Vice President, and my current bill on this subject, H.R. 251, is pending in the House Administration Committee.

Columnist David Lawrence has written a very fine article calling for a national primary for our presidential candidates, which I believe deserves the attention of the Congress and the Nation, and I include it below in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

#### NATIONAL PRIMARY WOULD BE BETTER

The political conspiracy in restraint of a free choice of presidential nominees by the national party conventions has reached a climax.

The American people today are being given a dramatic demonstration of how delegates are handpicked by small cliques of organization politicians in various states. They are attracted either by the promise of huge sums of private money for campaign expenses or by prospective rewards from the winning administration.

It is at times a contest between millionaires with large funds of their own or between aspirants who are supplied privately with the money needed to carry on the electioneering in a few states where primaries are held.

Only 11 states have presidential-preference primaries, and the results in these elections may or may not be a true reflection of nationwide opinion. But the would-be nominees evidently think the showing they make is bound to influence public opinion elsewhere.

The people would have a better chance to express themselves under a system whereby a single national primary would be held on the same day in all states. It could be stipulated by law that the parties whose nominees obtained the two highest totals would be eligible for the balloting on election day.

Today's nominating system is a kind of Gallup Poll. The assumption is that a sample taken in a few states is enough for the national convention of each party to consider in making a selection.

What, however, did the New Hampshire primary, for example, mean?

Sen. Eugene McCarthy's name was printed on the ballot, but President Johnson's name had to be written in. This is a complex problem, especially where there are voting machines.

Sen. Robert F. Kennedy of New York, who wasn't in the contest, has announced that he will enter certain state primaries but will stay out of others.

Former Vice President Richard Nixon polled the biggest vote of anybody. Gov. Nelson Rockefeller now indicates he wants to get into the presidential race against him. About all that last week's primary election did was to emphasize the weakness of the whole system of selecting delegates to a national convention.

How much do the people know at present about viewpoints of the contestants in the race, with the possible exception of the stand President Johnson has taken? Nixon speaks hopefully of how he might be able to

end the war in Vietnam. Kennedy deplors many of the Johnson policies, and says he is motivated by a desire to discuss the issues rather than personalities. McCarthy is mobilizing the antiwar vote.

Actually, the American people don't really know what any of the candidates intend to do if elected. The President himself declares he will adhere to a firm line.

Kennedy says that he can do a better job in international as well as national affairs, and points to his experience when his brother was president.

McCarthy, of course, has had no executive background.

Nixon refers with pride to his eight years of intimate association with President Dwight D. Eisenhower, and, as vice president, he acquired an intimate knowledge of how the problems confronting a president are handled.

Rockefeller has for several years been the head of the government of a large state, but he hasn't as yet expressed himself on national issues.

If there were a nationwide primary, each candidate would have to explain fully his proposed policies or courses of action, and discuss them in far more detail than the vague and abstract statements being heard thus far.

At least the people of all the 50 states of the union would have a chance in a national primary to express their will by direct vote simultaneously. This would be the true voice of the people. The candidates would be chosen under a system of fair competition, without restraints imposed by two competing candidates acting together to block a third. For public opinion in America has long been opposed to monopoly, especially by political bosses.

## Dedication of the Te Mamou Water System

### HON. EDWIN W. EDWARDS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, in mid-February I had the distinct pleasure of joining a number of my constituents at a most significant event for the Seventh District of Louisiana.

I refer to the dedication dinner for the Te Mamou Water System in Evangeline Parish, which now is bringing clean, fresh water to 142 rural families in the vicinity of the town of Ville Platte.

This project was undertaken with the assistance of a loan of \$142,000 from the Farmers Home Administration of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. It is an excellent demonstration of the results that can be accomplished by constructive teamwork between local leaders and the Federal Government.

Mr. Speaker, the community facilities loan program of the Farmers Home Administration provides a substantial impact that is absolutely basic to the improvement of life in rural America. Modern water and sewer systems are essential elements for progress in the countryside.

I am most hopeful that other systems in Evangeline Parish, such as the Upper Pine and Point Blue projects, soon will move ahead with Farmers Home Administration support.

Howard Bertsch, Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration, tells me

that in calendar 1967, 1.2 million rural residents benefited from his agency's assistance in the construction of water and sewer facilities.

He reports that 1,146 loans and grants were made, totaling \$212.1 million. Happily, this represented a substantial increase over 1966, when 825,000 people benefited from 960 projects financed with \$184.5 million.

Because this program has such salutary effects on rural America, I hope that the Congress will continue to provide effective support to Secretary Freeman and Administrator Bertsch in the program to upgrade the quality of rural living through supervised credit.

Mr. Speaker, my warm congratulations to President Aaron Soileau and his associates on the board of the Te Mamou Water District, whose efforts achieved fruition with the recent dedication celebration.

Also deserving commendation are Louisiana Farmers Home Administration State Director Joe Rhodes and the members of his staff, who assisted in making this new system a reality. I refer particularly to Nat Thomas, chief of the community services program, District Supervisor Earl Hollier, and Evangeline Parish FHA Supervisor W. O. Carson.

Mr. Speaker, much of the unrest and turmoil in America results from untrained, undereducated and unprepared Americans flocking from the peace, ease, and security of rural America to our great urban centers. The migration leaves desolation in our rural areas and creates congestion and unrest in our once peaceful and beautiful cities. We must stop the movement and we can best do so by providing clean, pure water, sewerage facilities, fire protection, and recreational facilities to our rural areas—so that these areas may enjoy the blessings of our abundant resources and modern technology and provide for our rural citizens a full measure of America's achievements. What local citizens, in cooperation with Federal agencies, have accomplished for themselves and their community of Te Mamou is a shining example of self-help and cooperation between private citizens and our National Government.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a news report of the dedication dinner published in the Ville Platte Gazette:

[From the Ville Platte (La.) Gazette, Feb. 15, 1968]

#### EDWARDS MEETS WITH TE MAMOU DISTRICT HEADS

Seventh District Congressman Edwin Edwards of Crowley was a guest of the Te Mamou Water District officials at an informal supper meeting Sunday evening held at the camp of attorney J. William Pucheu near Chicot Park.

The purpose of the meeting was to celebrate the completion of the Te Mamou Water System which is now furnishing water to 142 rural families in that community. An association loan of \$142,000 was obtained from the Farmers Home Administration to install the water system.

Congressman Edwards commended the officials for their efforts in this project and assured the group that he would do everything in his power to see that funds are provided as soon as possible for other similar projects that are being planned for Evan-



geline parish. Among these are the Point Blue and Upper Pine projects.

Those attending were Mr. and Mrs. Aaron Solleau, Nathan Fontenot, Francis Foret, John N. Andrus, Ronald McCauley, Bill Pucheu, Vernon F. Meyer, Lindsey J. Aucoin, Nat W. Thomas, Earl G. Holler, Clement Morein, W. O. Carson, Congressman Edwards, and Hosea Solleau.

Mr. Pucheu is the attorney for the System, and Vernon Meyer and Lindsey J. Aucoin are the engineers.

Nat W. Thomas is chief of the community services division in the State FHA office, and Earl G. Holler is district FHA supervisor. W. O. Carson is the local parish supervisor.

Mr. and Mrs. Clement Morein donated to the District the land on which the Water Plant is located, about a mile west of Ville Platte.

### Kilmer To Train Police Cadets

#### HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. PATTEN, Mr. Speaker, one of the suggestions made in the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders was to recruit police officers from among the underprivileged. The Commission stated that "the need to develop better relations with minority group communities requires recruitment of police from these groups—groups handicapped by lack of educational opportunities and achievement." In line with this type of thinking, I was recently pleased to note that the Kilmer Job Corps Center in my district will be the scene of a program to train 200 Job Corpsmen as police officers under contract with the Police Athletic League. An article of March 5 in the Evening News states that "chiefs in 41 major cities have agreed to hire the young men as cadets or recruits, even if some modification of civil service rules is necessary." I have had continual testimony to the worth and effectiveness of the Kilmer operation, and I am proud to see that Kilmer once again is demonstrating itself to be in the forefront of the efforts being undertaken to solve our domestic problems.

At this point, I include these articles concerning this police training program in the RECORD:

#### NEW GHETTO PROGRAM: KILMER TO TRAIN POLICE CADETS

(By Douglas Eldridge)<sup>1</sup>

WASHINGTON.—A national program to train men from the ghettos as police cadets will be launched this month at the Kilmer Job Corps Center in Edison, N.J.

The new project, beginning with 200 trainees from all over the nation, was announced yesterday by William Kelly, national director of the Job Corps.

Known as the Job Corps Police Conference on PAL and Youth Activities and financed by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity. The initial one-year grant is expected to be \$125,000.

#### DESIGNED TO REDUCE FRICTION

Kelly said the project is designed to relieve the shortage of manpower in the nation's police departments and to reduce friction between young Negroes and the police.

<sup>1</sup> Based on information obtained at OEO News Seminar.

"We want to reach the youngsters who would lead the charge whenever there is disorder," said Kelly. "We will train the youngsters and send them back to the neighborhoods they left 6 to 9 months before."

"This may be one of the most dramatic things that has occurred in police-people relationships," added the Job Corps head.

Police cadet programs have already had some success in New York, Newark and other cities. And the President's Commission on Civil Disorders has called for special efforts to recruit and train young Negroes.

The police cadet center—expected to be in full swing by May and to serve 600 young men in the first year—will be operated by Federal Electric Corp., which runs the Kilmer Center for the OEO.

#### EXTENSIVE CURRICULUM

The cadets will receive 9 to 12 months of training in all aspects of police work—fingerprinting, traffic control, radio communication, first aid, photography and operations of courts and government.

Physical fitness, self defense, typing and driving courses will be offered, together with field trips and basic education.

Kelly said the national PAL conference will help screen the young men and place them afterward. Chiefs in 41 major cities have agreed to hire the young men as cadets or recruits, even if some modification of civil service rules is necessary.

About half the trainees will come from the present ranks of job corpsmen, and the rest will be recruited—mainly in big cities—by employment services and the PAL.

It will cost \$5,100 to train each cadet who completes the program, compared with \$6,700 for the typical Job Corps graduate.

#### PLANNED FOR 6 MONTHS

Kelly said the program has been planned for six months by the OEO and the national PAL conference, whose executive director is Capt. Harry Untereiner of the Weehawken, N.J. police.

A statement by the conference said police departments must take in more low-income, minority group members to dispel nonwhite hostility toward law enforcement.

"The time is now," said the conference, "for responsible police agencies to reverse the image presented to the citizens of the low income minority areas by police departments . . . properly trained young men, coming from the deprived areas, could make excellent police officers."

Kelly said it took a special appeal to Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York to obtain Lt. Dunning, he is one of the most decorated officers in the department's history.

Admission requirements for the new project will be higher than for the Job Corps. Prospective cadets must be at least 19, meet height and weight minimums, pass math and verbal achievement tests, and have no record of felonies.

#### TRAINEES TRANSFERRED

Job Corps officials also reported yesterday that all 224 trainees have now been transferred from the Liberty Park Center, which is closing in an economy move.

Most of the young men have been sent to other centers run by the National Park Service. The Liberty Park staff will all be gone by the end of the month, and the buildings will be maintained on standby.

Liberty Park, opened in January 1967, is one of 16 men's training centers shut by the Job Corps. The centers were rated on eight criteria, and the lowest ranking were dropped.

Figures disclosed by Kelly yesterday show that Liberty Park had particularly low ratings for operating costs, length of stay by trainees and reading gains.

The Job Corps has cut its male enrollment from 30,500 to 25,000, while maintaining women's enrollment at 9,800. No new male applicants have been accepted in two

months, and there are now 12,000 on the waiting list.

[From Newsday, Mar. 5, 1968]

#### COP CLASS FOR JOB CORPS

(By Robert Hummerstone)

WASHINGTON.—A new Job Corps program designed to take underprivileged youths out of their slums, train them as policemen and send them back to patrol their home neighborhoods will start this spring at Camp Kilmer, N.J., it was announced yesterday.

Jack Birkenstock, director of police-community relations for the Job Corps, said that the first class this spring will include 180 of the Job Corps' "cream of the crop," youths who have been in the corps at least two months. They will get 10 to 12 more months of academic and police training to turn them into professional officers ready to be hired by police departments, said Birkenstock, himself a former policeman.

The program, the first of its type in the Job Corps, is designed to provide jobs for corps graduates, fill the 3,653 vacancies in the nation's 30 largest police departments, and get more members of minority groups into police forces to help improve police-community relations.

Although race is not to be considered in choosing trainees, Birkenstock said he expected that a great many trainees would be Negroes, since Negroes comprise about 65 per cent of Job Corps members. William P. Kelly Jr., Job Corps director, said that an effort will be made to return graduates to their home areas if there are openings. If not, the graduates will be placed where jobs are available. Kelly said the program was an attempt to harness the potential leaders in slum areas.

The program aims to give Job Corps youths what most of them lack for acceptance by metropolitan police departments, the equivalent of a high school diploma and the correction of physical deficiencies such as bad eyesight and poor teeth. Although most police departments bar recruits with criminal records, Birkenstock said that the corps would accept an outstanding candidate if he had what was judged to be a minor misdemeanor in his past. But he predicted little need for such exceptions, since only about six per cent of Job Corps trainees have police records.

The trainees will wear uniforms and live apart from the other Job Corps members. They will be paid the standard Job Corps salary of \$30 a month while training and live at the Job Corps center at Camp Kilmer. Birkenstock said it was estimated that it would cost \$5,100 to train each man.

(Nassau and Suffolk police have made extensive efforts to recruit new Negro police candidates but with little success. Nassau police experimented with a mobile recruiting trailer and programs of tutoring for Negro police applicants who might have difficulty passing the test. One Suffolk police official commented that, despite an intensive community relations program, "they (Negroes) just aren't taking the (application) test."

[From the Press Intelligence, Inc., Washington, D.C., Feb. 28, 1968]

#### JOB CORPS TO TRAIN 200 AS POLICEMEN

The Job Corps is contracting with the Police Athletic League to train 200 top Corps enrollees as police officers, Job Corps Director William P. Kelly announced yesterday.

The training at Camp Kilmer, N.J., will begin in about six weeks and will last 10 months. A spokesman for the Job Corps said the 200 boys have not yet been chosen, but they will be required to meet standards commonly imposed for police recruits in order to be selected for the program.

These include minimum age of 19, minimum height of 5 feet 8 inches, a high

school diploma or capacity to obtain an equivalent certification while in training, and a "clean" police record showing no felony convictions.

The spokesman said there are 90,000 police vacancies in the United States, and the Corps is expected to have no trouble placing successful trainees. He said the Washington and Baltimore police departments already had asked for a chance to recruit the trainees when the 10-month course was finished.

## Commuter Airlines: A Growing Field

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most booming fields of aviation today is that of commuter, or scheduled air taxi service. As a complement to regional and trunkline service, air taxis provide a valuable service, not only to the individual passenger, but to the entire aviation industry as well.

The current issue of Air Transport World for March 1968, contains an article on the annual meeting of the commuter trade association, the Association of Commuter Airlines. I believe it is well we keep abreast of this important field of aviation, and include the article at this point in the RECORD:

### GROWING BOOM HAS POWERFUL IMPACT ON ASSOCIATION OF COMMUTER AIRLINES

(By Ansel E. Talbert)

The growing boom in commuter airline and scheduled air taxi service is having a powerful impact on the affairs of the Association of Commuter Airlines, which held its largest and most enthusiastic annual meeting recently in Washington, D.C. with an attendance of 140 delegates.

The association, one of the two trade organizations representing the "third level carriers" was formed in January, 1964. Its aims: to help maintain high standards of safety and to promote recognition, as a true part of the U.S. airline network, of operators flying aircraft under 12,500 pounds in scheduled service.

Bankers, insurance people, manufacturers and representatives of both the Federal Aviation Administration and the Civil Aeronautics Board were on hand for the three-day Washington meeting. Delegates exchanged ideas in a panel series centering on current problems in financing, baggage handling and ticketing of interline passengers, and how current regulations really affect the commuter airlines.

Although the commuters still are classified as part of general aviation, those attending heard CAB member Whitney Gilliland outline impressive evidence of the board's recognition of the "small carrier potential." Gilliland noted, perhaps significantly, that the Civil Aeronautics Act as adopted in 1938 did not then create any classes of domestic air carriers, but it did authorize the Board to establish classes of airlines as the nature of the services performed by such air carriers shall require.

### SEMINARS AND CLINICS UNDERWAY

A major policy development announced at the meeting was the association's decision to stage a continuing series of seminars this year dealing with all types of operations in which commuter airlines are involved. Also getting underway will be a series of clinics in various areas of technical proficiency, for chief pilots and maintenance heads.

The first seminar will take place this month through arrangement with the U.S. Post Office Department and will be concerned

with the national air mail program as it affects commuters and scheduled air taxi operators. Mail increasingly is a big deal for these carriers, and the most recent FAA figures indicate that the mail pay to "third level" carriers will jump from about \$180,000 during 1966 to something around \$8 million this year.

The 1967 total for expediting the mail was approximately \$3.6 million.

The air mail seminar's agenda shows clear recognition of the tremendous importance to the commuter carriers of doing a continuing good job through understanding of all facets of the mail-carrying operation. It will cover the following items:

(1) A brief review of the Post Office Department's needs and experiences to date on the utilization of air taxi type operations.

(2) The department's procurement procedures now in effect.

(3) The volume and types of services now being provided.

(4) Anticipated needs for these services in the foreseeable future.

(5) Development of plans for future utilization of these services.

(6) Discussion period during which the Post Office Department will seek comments and constructive suggestions from the commuter airline operator.

All mail carrying by commuter airlines currently is without subsidy and is conducted under negotiated term contracts based on bidding.

During the Washington meeting, officers and board members met to discuss new ways of putting over a five-point program designed to give greater recognition, prestige and security to the association's member airline companies.

This program calls for adoption of a distinctive name for the commuter industry, to be agreed upon and recognized by government agencies. (The CAB late last year refused to give official sanction to the term "third level air lines.") It looks forward to the imposition of specific regulations on commuters and scheduled air taxi operations by the CAB, which so far has ducked regulation of these carriers apart from general aviation.

Two other program points: compulsory liability insurance with a minimum liability of \$75,000 a passenger for all commuters and scheduled air taxi operators, and the regular reporting of routes and traffic to the CAB by these carriers. The CAB already has proposed an amendment of Part 298 of its economic regulations so as to require all air taxi operators, scheduled and non-scheduled, to carry this amount of insurance and also to register annually. Registration would include filing of schedules, but not traffic reports.

Finally, the Association of Commuter Airlines will seek to work out some specific form of route protection not requiring the acquisition of a certificate of convenience and necessity, which normally calls for a minimum investment of \$25,000.

Merrill Armour, executive director of the association, who is a former assistant general counsel and assistant chief examiner of the CAB, believes that the board has power to do this at present under its power to prevent "wasteful and destructive competition."

It was brought out by Gilliland and others attending the Washington annual meeting that although the CAB as of now refuses to regulate the commuters or recognize them as genuine small airlines rather than part of general aviation, its policy long has been one of strong encouragement. As long ago as 1952 it adopted Part 298, which reclassified small irregular air carriers as air taxi operators and permitted for the first time, the conducting by these of scheduled services within the then 48 contiguous states.

### TWO STEPS OF CAB ENCOURAGEMENT

Two of the most important steps taken by the board since 1961 to encourage operators

of small aircraft have been the extension of the air taxi regulation for an indefinite period and the provision of blanket authority to carry mail in markets not served by certificated trunk and regional carriers. Gilliland says:

"These steps can hardly be regarded as less than strong recognition on the part of the board of the potential of the small aircraft operators in our air transport system. Of hardly less significance were Board decisions to withdraw the limitation on scheduled service in the Caribbean area and in domestic markets served by certificated air carriers with small equipment."

After being petitioned last year by the Post Office Department, the Board established an expedited procedure applicable to the institution of mail service by air taxis, both scheduled and non-scheduled.

The good will and encouragement being offered to commuters by the trunks was underlined at the Washington meeting by the presence of such talent as W. J. Cotter and Gerald Larkey, interline sales chiefs respectively at TWA and Continental. As much as 60% to 80% of commuter passengers interline with trunks and regionals, the session was told.

Main thrust of the discussion focused on interline passenger handling—reservations, baggage, ticketing and how the trunks might help the commuters train personnel to better handle these vital functions. The importance of current listings in the Official Airline Guide QRE also was stressed. One commuter airline reported a 60% loss of traffic one month when its listing inadvertently was omitted from the OAG.

More than 50 commuter airlines and scheduled air taxis now have interline agreements with larger carriers. TWA's Cotter told them during his presentation:

"There is only one reason we sign an interline agreement and that is to make it easier to move by air. This is one of the reasons for the success of the air industry."

Cotter brought out that a great many of the commuter airlines do not at present have "two-way bilateral" interline agreements and therefore do not ticket on the scheduled carrier or check baggage through, the traffic flow in these cases being from the trunk to the commuter. He pointed out that commuters should adopt a uniform type ticket and have a standard baggage check ticket if they wished the traffic flow to become a two-way street.

During 1968, the following will serve as officers of the association: Terence O. Denison of Apache Airlines, president; Karl P. Baldwin of Air Wisconsin, VP; Joseph C. Whitney of Executive Airlines, secretary; Paul G. Delman of Commuter Airlines, treasurer. The directors at large are Leo H. Layden of Yankee Airlines and George N. Bailey of Hub Airlines. In addition to being executive director Armour serves as the association's general counsel.

## Urban Problems Must Be Solved by Community

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, across the country there is an increasing tendency to turn to Washington for solutions to problems—no matter what these problems are. But it is apparent to us, who have been studying the problems of the metropolitan areas, that only local initiative in the final analysis can solve the crises of our cities.



Consequently, it was with a great deal of interest that I read the remarks made by Allan Shivers, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, in Memphis, Tenn.

Speaking before the Southern Association of Chamber of Commerce Executives, Mr. Shivers warned that without local leadership, communities will find themselves in trouble "no matter how many Federal gravy trains come in and unload."

I feel that appeals to local leaders for local action, such as was made the other night in Memphis, should not go unheeded.

The important feature of the national chamber's point of view is that they are providing assistance to business and other community groups on how better coordinated community action can be organized. The national chamber recently unveiled a program called "Forward America," which is based on 8 years' experience in working with communities to organize effective action involving groups, ranging from business to labor to civil rights.

The national chamber has translated that experience into concrete suggestions on how effective local action can be organized to solve problems.

Mr. Shivers has thrown out a real challenge to local community leaders and I commend his remarks for your serious consideration. His speech in Memphis follows:

#### YOU'RE THE DOCTOR

(By Allan Shivers, president, Chamber of Commerce of the United States)

The benefits of living in a free and wealthy country like ours in these advanced times are obtained mostly by community effort.

We crowd up and live by systems so that machines can serve us better. We fit ourselves into close time schedules and work in space parcelled out by the square foot.

We can't go our individual ways as freely as we once did if we want to live modernly. We must operate within regular orbits and share our conveniences with others. It takes a lot of steady demand to maintain a supermarket or an expressway or a television station.

There isn't much action any more out at the kind of country crossroad where Americans once gathered to "fire the shot heard round the world". It's what happens in communities that counts now.

Here is where progress is filtered down to us in practical forms. All the new ideas and methods and products of advancing technology don't mean much to us until they hit our towns.

Not until the new knowledge is taught in our schools can our children share it.

And perhaps not until some confessed, desperate criminal is turned loose in our community on a flimsy technical rule imposed by the United States Supreme Court, do we realize how far we have been carried by the new ideas of social justice.

Because we do so much community living, that's where the troubles of our times have concentrated. It's why you Chamber Executives are knee-deep in problems.

The question of where to draw the line between law and order, on the one hand, and free speech, on the other—an issue that we thought was solved when the American form of government was agreed upon—is now being fought out in your streets. Treason and incitement to riot are being preached openly and the demagogues dare your community to interfere.

Your disadvantaged people are being over-

fed on political promises until they become unduly expectant and sometimes riotous.

Strikes against the public welfare, against the soundness of our economic system and the value of our savings, even against the most vital community services, plague one city after another. Worse yet, there isn't any remedy in sight because Washington is not lifting a finger to reform the one-sided administration of labor law.

Instead of getting the kind of help you need from Washington to deal with your problems, you are being encouraged to shove them aside for federal treatment. There's a new 297-page catalogue called, "The Vice President's Handbook for Local Officials," listing hundreds of ways the federal bureaucrats are able and anxious to do your town over.

We're an urban people, a nation of communities—and we're cheating ourselves if we don't do everything possible to see that our own community is well organized, expertly presided over, and fully up-to-date. The quality of local leadership is of the utmost importance, not only because of what it can do to improve living conditions, but also because we depend on strong, independent local leaders to stop the systemizing process where it is, and where it belongs. It's one thing to be a nation of communities. It would be something far different to be the communities of a nation, all thrown together into bureaucratic molds under central supervision.

What good would our home towns be to us then?

Each city's problems need deep and careful diagnosis, as you with your involvements probably know better than anyone else. You have made the studies. You know what's wrong. You are busy with those leaders of your community who are willing to work for improvements. Your problem is, you need more help, with more people involved.

No city which has had a riot is saying that it did everything possible to prevent it. Detroit thought it had done enough, but now it knows better. Wherever there was trouble last summer, a lot more is being found to do now to reduce the chances of its happening again.

If the full local treatment could be applied somewhere; if it were possible to produce the ideal; we would see every group and every center of influence in the community pulling together wholeheartedly in a program of action worked out by mutual agreement. There would be no waste of resources. No facilities would be overlooked. Everybody with useful talents, ideas and enthusiasm would be pitching in to produce a brighter, happier and more prosperous community.

This is what the National Chamber is trying to promote with its *Forward America* process which our Board approved last month. It's a plan for solving local problems through the united efforts of all groups willing to cooperate within the community—business, labor, civil rights, religious, education, and all the rest. We don't think it is possible to get unanimity anywhere, but we do believe you can get results that will outshine all the demonstration and experimental cities that the planners in Washington are now dreaming about.

And what dreams they are! Some of the diagrams on which federal money is being spent look like plans for paradise reincarnated! The only trouble is that people don't want to live there, under the Socialistic type of management that would be in store for them. That's something to remember about the model cities program now making the rounds. What is your city going to look like when the federal people are through? Are your own particular top priority needs going to be taken care of, or will they be put aside in order to take advantage of available federal funds for other purposes, leaving your problem areas still further out of joint?

Most of what you are doing now seems to me to be on target.

I'm on difficult and dangerous ground in reaching out for examples from this platform, where there is so much to choose from. But I'll take just one type of problem—consolidating city and county governments. Much could be said about what Nashville, and also Miami and Dade County did some time back, and now we see Jacksonville also moving into the Hall of Fame.

Those were great jobs, and so are the efforts others of you are making in that direction.

There is, of course, much more involved than city-county consolidations when it comes to defining and reaching out to encompass your whole community problem area. Regional cooperation may be necessary, and that, too, is happening in places I know about in Texas.

The Houston Chamber holds regular meetings, I believe, with 30 or more Chambers in that vicinity, and the Fort Worth Chamber has shown its ability to get action over a 9-county area.

If you can top this—and perhaps some of you can—I'd like to hear about your program. I'll talk about it the next time.

No matter how far we range, however, our cities will not be cured by treating just what appears on the surface, because some of them, even smaller ones, are aching deep inside. They need treatment in depth for basic people problems—hardcore poverty, lack of education and skills, lost hope—that underlie the surface blight.

The Charlotte Chamber has added a Human Relations Department to its staff. Are you doing anything to provide basic education and job training for those who need it, and are you looking out for Equal Employment Opportunity matters arising in your community?

Or do the Easter Egg Roll and Dollar Day projects leave you enough time for that?

Are you promoting internal economic growth as well as new smokestacks?

It's a new day in urban America.

Revolutionary events are taking place, both for good and evil.

The good is coming to those with strong local leadership, and the others are going to find themselves in trouble, no matter how many federal gravy trains come in and unload.

You're a professional mobilizer. Your experience, your credentials put you in a class far ahead of the patent medicine peddlers.

For whatever ails your community, you're the doctor. So treat your patient with concerns just as broad as the politician's, and also as deep as the moralist's, and as tall as tomorrow's dreams.

I wish every one of you good times.

#### Attwater Prairie Chicken Refuge

#### HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, another of America's vanishing wildlife species, the Attwater prairie chicken, will be preserved if efforts underway near Columbus, Tex., are successful.

Here, on a 3,400-acre refuge in the Bernard Prairies, an international project has been launched to save the nearly extinct bird.

The World Wildlife Fund, the U.S. Agriculture's Soil Conservation Service, other States and Federal agencies, and the Colorado Soil and Water Conservation District of Texas are cooperating in developing the refuge to preserve the Att-

water prairie chicken for the enjoyment of future Americans.

A member of the grouse family and a near relative of the heath hen which formerly ranged in New England, the Attwater prairie chicken once flourished in the flat, tall grass coastal plains of Texas and Louisiana. Millions of the buff-colored birds once filled the air with their resonant booming and performed their strange, spectacular courtship dance. Now only about a thousand remain.

SCS conservationists provided soils data and land-capability maps. They also helped develop a conservation plan for the refuge to guide application of practices needed to improve food and cover for the wildlife, locate good sites for ponds, and protect the property from erosion.

The plan is now being put into effect, helping retain those haunting hollow notes at the World Wildlife Fund Attwater Prairie Chicken Refuge.

### The Fate of American POW's in Vietnam

#### HON. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, the callous disregard by Hanoi for the humane standards of treatment of prisoners of war is a matter of paramount importance to the United States. The Pentagon has confirmed that as of March 9, 1968, there are 253 Americans known to be prisoners and an additional 835 thought to be prisoners but officially listed as missing in action.

The fate of Americans held prisoner in Vietnam was the subject of a trenchant article by Col. Bryce F. Denno, U.S. Army, retired. Writing in the February Air Force magazine, Colonel Denno, who is now director of instruction at the Military Assistance Institute in Arlington, Va., observed that Hanoi is refusing to recognize that our captured servicemen are in fact prisoners of war and entitled to the protections of the 1949 Geneva Conventions.

Colonel Denno draws a sound legal argument in pointing out that Hanoi's reservations to the Geneva Conventions can deny our pilots their protected status as prisoners of war only after their trial, in accordance with all the judicial guarantees which the Conventions provide, and after their conviction. Hanoi has never tried these men, but has arbitrarily denied them the status which they should enjoy as qualified prisoners of war.

Colonel Denno discusses also the infuriating double standard of prisoner-of-war treatment which exists in the Vietnam war.

On the one hand, we are recognizing as legitimate prisoners of war, captured Vietcong who habitually make military capital of concealing their identity as combatants, in flagrant violation of the Geneva Conventions. On the other hand, the enemy brands as war criminals our pilots who wear uniforms, fly plainly marked aircraft, and who attack legiti-

mate military targets so well recognized as such that the enemy has deployed with maximum economy his aircraft forces to defend them.

A caption in one of the photographs accompanying Colonel Denno's article points out that the Communists have regarded the men captured by United States and Republic of Vietnam troops with great callousness, making no effort to try to regain them. "They must, therefore, consider our continuing efforts to have our men released as the height of sentimentality."

Americans in this war have pursued ceaselessly the repatriation efforts that have accompanied every war in which we have fought. We have provided financial assistance to released or escaped servicemen, in the last two wars, at least, in the form of per diem compensation for the period of their captivity.

My bill, H.R. 15545, which would provide up to \$3 a day compensation is being considered by the Departments of Defense and State, and the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission.

I am apprised that reports on this bill can be expected fairly soon, which could pave the way for at least a modicum of after-the-fact compensation for those of our Americans who are undergoing the treatment described in the article by Colonel Denno.

I include the article at this point in the RECORD:

#### THE FATE OF AMERICAN POW'S IN VIETNAM (By Col. Bryce F. Denno, U.S. Army, retired)

(The fate of the estimated 200 American prisoners of war, most of them pilots shot down over North Vietnam, held by the Communists is in grave doubt. The enemy refuses to abide by the Geneva Conventions and chooses to treat our pilots as "war criminals," using them as pawns in the political game they are playing to pressure the US into pulling out of Vietnam. But attempts are being made to establish their right to humane treatment, and, as the Communists become convinced of our determination, perhaps the prisoners will become less useful to them.)

In the fading days of World War II, my infantry battalion sped through disintegrating German defenses to recapture a dozen American airmen. As we gave them all the steak and beer they could manage, they described their reactions during captivity. "We never had a doubt," they said, "that the war would end in victory and that we'd eventually be freed." Never a doubt.

But there is probably grave doubt concerning their future in the minds of the estimated 200 American prisoners of war, most of them airmen, who today languish in prison camps of North Vietnam or Viet Cong-controlled South Vietnam. There is also doubt and anxiety among their relatives and friends here at home. For the enemy has deliberately chosen to ignore many explicit provisions of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 regarding prisoners of war—Conventions which he signed and agreed to honor. At least three American prisoners have been executed in "reprisal"—expressly forbidden by the Conventions. Others have been tortured and murdered. Some appear to have been brainwashed in a manner reminiscent of Korea. The enemy has adamantly refused to repatriate seriously sick and wounded prisoners. He has denied prisoners the solace of packages or even mail from home. He has disdained replying to requests that neutral observers, such as members of the International Committee of the Red Cross, be permitted to inspect the prisoners, as the Geneva Conventions provide.

North Vietnam (as part of Vietnam) ac-

ceded to the Conventions on November 14, 1953. The National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) refuses to recognize the Conventions on the grounds that it was not a party to the deliberations that led to their formulation. However, since Hanoi controls the NLF, it is reasonably certain that the Viet Cong would follow practices concerning prisoners observed by North Vietnam. What specifically are key provisions of the Conventions, why are some of them difficult to apply in the Vietnamese War, how are they observed by participants in that war, and, especially, what appear to be future prospects for our prisoners of war?

#### THE FOUR GENEVA CONVENTIONS

There are four separate Conventions included in the Geneva Conventions of 1949. The First and Second deal with the treatment of the sick and wounded of the armed forces in the field and at sea. The Third Convention relates to the treatment of prisoners of war. The Fourth, inspired by the crimes against noncombatants perpetrated during World War II, deals with the "protection of civilian persons in time of war." As one renowned international jurist has explained in commenting on the Conventions, "Every person in enemy hands must have some status under international law: he is either a prisoner of war and as such, covered by the Third Convention, a civilian covered by the Fourth Convention, or, again, a member of the medical personnel of the armed forces who is covered by the First Convention. There is no intermediate status; nobody in enemy hands can be outside the law." (Italics in the original.)

There are twenty articles common to all Four Conventions. Of these, Article 2 specifies that the Conventions will apply in case of an armed conflict among those who have signed the Conventions even though a state of war may not have been recognized by one of them. Article 3 spells out certain minimum standards of treatment to be afforded prisoners taken in a war "not of an international character." This article is of special import in light of the position taken by North Vietnam and others that the conflict in South Vietnam is essentially a "civil war." Article 85 of the Third Convention has also figured prominently in the Vietnam War. It provides that "Prisoners of War prosecuted under the laws of the Detaining Powers for acts committed prior to capture shall retain, even if convicted, the benefits of the present Convention." Communist countries adhering to the Geneva Conventions (including the Democratic Republic of Vietnam) have entered reservations concerning this Article. These reservations, which constitute a focal point of dispute between the United States and the enemy, will be discussed later.

The Vietnam War represents the first significant "trial by combat" of the Geneva Conventions. When the Korean War erupted, only a handful of nations had ratified them. (The United States ratified in 1956.) True, the Conventions provided certain guidelines which participants in the Korean War recognized generally, but there had been no time to establish implementing machinery and procedures. Thus, there was little in the way of precedent established during Korea to assist in applying the Conventions to Vietnam. To compound the problem, Vietnam's war is an especially complex, ambiguous, and confusing conflict, from both a military and a political viewpoint.

To begin with, the Vietnam War is really two separate and totally dissimilar wars. In the North, the contest consists primarily of combat between American land- and sea-based aircraft and North Vietnamese air defense units. Republic of Vietnam aircraft and occasional enemy planes are also involved. This war is comparable to conventional wars of the past.

By contrast, the war in South Vietnam is a classic war of insurgency, in which both sides strive not only to gain the support of



the people but use the people as a primary instrument in waging the war. The French authority on wars of insurgency, David Galula, stresses the inevitability of civilian participation in such a war in these terms: "... every citizen, whatever his wish, is or will be directly involved in it [a war of insurgency] by the insurgent who needs him and cannot afford to let him remain neutral." The employment of civilians who are part-time soldiers by the NLF in Vietnam has blurred the distinction between civilians (subject to the Fourth Convention) and full-time soldiers of Viet Cong regular units and the People's Army of Vietnam (subject to the Third Convention). A vivid description of the ensuing problem in the field is indicated by this quotation from a publication of the Military Assistance Command in Vietnam (MACV): "The Prisoner of War Convention is difficult to apply when the enemy soldier, clad in black pajamas and a coolie hat, wraps his weapon in oil cloth, buries it in a rice paddy during the day, and becomes a soldier only at night."

A second aspect of the Vietnam War complicating application of the Conventions stems from the diametrically opposed views of the war held by participants. The United States portrays the war as a defense of an essentially separate state, South Vietnam. The United States and others are assisting in that defense at the request of the Republic. By contrast, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the NLF describe the war as a "civil war" with "agents of the United States" in the South who are resisting Vietnam's legally constituted government in Hanoi. According to Hanoi, participation by the United States in the war is "illegal" and our attacks on North Vietnam are "criminal." These divergent views influence fundamentally and inevitably the interpretations of the Convention as they apply in Vietnam.

#### EFFORTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS

The conflict in these interpretations surfaced in the summer of 1965 when the Vice President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Jacques Freymond, sent a letter to the United States, the Republic of Vietnam, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the National Liberation Front. In his letter, Freymond noted that hostilities north and south of the seventeenth parallel had reached such proportion that "there can be no doubt they constitute an armed conflict to which the regulations of humanitarian law as a whole should be applied." Remarkably that all addresses were bound by the Geneva Conventions of 1949, he reminded them of their responsibilities. Further, he requested all parties to inform him as to what measures they planned to take in response to his letter. In reply, the United States and the Republic of Vietnam expressed their willingness and readiness to abide by the Conventions. As indicated previously, the NLF retorted that it did not consider itself bound by the Conventions since it had not participated in their formulation. Further, it explained that the Conventions contained provisions which "corresponded neither with its action [sic] nor with the organization of its armed forces." Nonetheless, it declared it was observing a "humane and charitable policy" toward prisoners falling into its hands.

Freymond's letter to North Vietnam opened a political and propaganda Pandora's box. "As all the world is aware," wrote Hanoi in response, "the United States government and its agents in Saigon are engaged in committing crimes in their war of aggression in Vietnam, undermining peace, violating the laws and customs of war, and perpetrating acts against humanity." Specifically, North Vietnam accused the United States of bombing indiscriminately in North Vietnam "... hospitals, schools, road transport stations, markets, villages, fishing vessels, churches,

pagodas, etc., massacring large numbers of innocent civilians, and violating the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949, for the protection of the victims of war, as well as other rules of war." It dubbed these actions "acts of piracy." The pilots involved were "major criminals caught in flagrante delicto and liable for judgment in accordance with the laws of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. ..." With regard to the war in South Vietnam, Hanoi accused the United States and "its agents in Saigon" of "undertaking a war of great atrocity, employing against the civilian population arms and methods of warfare which have for long been prohibited by international law."

Alarmed by Hanoi's threatening attitude toward our captured pilots, the United States quickly protested to the International Committee of the Red Cross. In turn, the Committee invited "... the attention of the government of North Vietnam to the provisions of the Convention relative to judicial proceedings which the Detaining Power may take against prisoners of war." The Committee was referring particularly to Article 85 of the Third Convention, described previously, which dealt with the protection to be afforded prisoners of war prosecuted for acts committed before their capture. In reply, Hanoi sent the International Committee a Declaration by the Red Cross of North Vietnam. This Declaration quoted Hanoi's reservation on Article 85: "The Democratic Republic of Vietnam will not allow prisoners of war pursued and condemned under principles set forth by the International Court of Nuremberg for war crimes and crimes against mankind to benefit from the protection of the present agreement." (It added that the American prisoners were being given "the most humane treatment.") In adamant terms, the Declaration announced Hanoi's intention to apply the quoted reservation to our captured pilots.

To date, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has not deviated one inch from this basic position. It has made it unmistakably clear that, although our captured pilots will be treated humanely, "... they cannot, however, be considered as prisoners of war. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam is, in fact, of the opinion that the bombing attacks constitute crimes for which these prisoners will have to answer before the courts, and that the Third Geneva Convention [prisoners of war] is consequently not applicable to them. ..."

In the summer of 1966, it appeared that Hanoi was preparing to follow through on its threat to try our captured flyers for war crimes. Some were paraded through the streets of Hanoi amidst the verbal abuse of spectators. The possibility that prisoners might be executed appeared very real. Then the whole matter was dropped as quickly as it had been raised. In early August, Ho Chi Minh announced his intention to continue to pursue a "humanitarian course" with the downed flyers. "No trial in view," he cabled in answer to a question on the subject.

This does not mean that the threat to our captured airmen has disappeared. It is raised automatically with every claim by Hanoi that our bombing in North Vietnam strikes nonmilitary targets. Further, it is apparent from analysis not only of Hanoi's statements but of propaganda emanating from Peking, Moscow, Budapest, and other Communist capitals that there is a concerted and deliberate effort to brand American fighting men in Vietnam as "war criminals."

#### THE AMERICAN POSITION

The American position concerning the status of our downed flyers has been presented in a comprehensive Memorandum to the International Committee of the Red Cross, dated July 13, 1966, and titled "Entitlement of American Military Personnel Held by North Vietnam to Treatment as Prisoners of War. Under the Geneva Convention of 1949

Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War." This closely reasoned paper asserts that there is a de facto war in Vietnam, one phase of which comprises combat between United States aircraft and North Vietnamese antiaircraft. It cites Article 2 (common to all four Conventions) which provides that the Third Convention will apply in an armed conflict between two or more of the contracting parties, even if the state of war is not recognized by one of them. As uniformed members of the armed forces, the Memorandum contends, American military personnel in Vietnam qualify as prisoners of war under the Third Convention.

The Memorandum takes cognizance of the reservation to Article 85 of the Third Convention made by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which denied benefit of the Convention to "war criminals." It states that this reservation does not apply to our captured pilots who, in restricting their bombing to military targets in North Vietnam, have only performed "recognized acts of warfare." Further, it points out that the reservation can deny our pilots their protected status as prisoners of war only after their trial "in accordance with all the judicial guarantees which the Convention provides" and after their conviction. The Memorandum challenges the contention "that military action by the United States is unjustified as a matter of law" as being "neither correct nor relevant." It concludes that "American prisoners of war in Vietnam are entitled to be treated as prisoners of war, and mere allegations of criminality cannot justify depriving them of such treatment."

The United States is in a strong legal position concerning its contention that our captured pilots cannot be deprived of their status as prisoners of war until after their trial and conviction as war criminals. There is an international war in progress in Vietnam, our pilots are uniformed members of our armed forces, and Hanoi's reservation to Article 85 of the Third Convention does not entitle the North Vietnamese to label them "war criminals" unless and until a proper trial has established that fact.

We are on weaker ground when countering enemy charges that we are hitting nonmilitary, as well as military targets. Every combat pilot recognizes the difficulty of confining his bombs to military targets near nonmilitary installations. For that matter, every ground fighter in South Vietnam knows the virtual impossibility of avoiding civilian casualties while fighting on a battlefield, usually selected by the enemy, which comprises villages and towns. In a press conference of December 31, 1966, President Johnson pointed out that "inevitably and almost invariably" casualties and loss of life among civilians result from bombing attacks against military targets. But we cannot, of course, expect Hanoi to accept (at least publicly) the genuineness of our expressed intentions to restrict our attacks to military targets. To the contrary, we can expect them to continue their propaganda that we are deliberately bombing nonmilitary targets. They are taking this propaganda stand not only to turn world opinion against us, but probably also in hopes of stopping the bombing.

The problem of our captured pilots in North Vietnam has absorbed American attention because they represent the great majority of our prisoners of war and because of Hanoi's threats against them. However, dealing with prisoners of war in South Vietnam is a much more complicated legal matter, affecting not only the United States but other free world forces, the Republic of Vietnam, the NLF, and "volunteers" from North Vietnam. A major difficulty is to determine which elements among the NLF should be classed in the Geneva Convention categories of "members of the armed forces," "members of other militias and members of other volunteer corps, including those of organized re-

sistance movements," civilians, or as members in other categories, such as spies and saboteurs. This is a practical matter since the Conventions prescribe different minimum standards of treatment for different categories. And, of course, spies and saboteurs can be tried and punished.

In this dilemma, the United States has chosen to lean over backward. In the words of the U.S. Military Assistance Command in Vietnam, we are "extending prisoner-of-war treatment to all Viet Cong and to all members of regular North Vietnamese units, whether captured in combat or not, as long as they are not criminals, spies, saboteurs, or terrorists." While doing so, we have conceded that a Viet Cong seldom meets the conditions established by the Geneva Conventions entitling him to treatment as a member of an armed force. These conditions prescribe that members of "organized resistance movements," such as the Viet Cong, must (1) be "commanded by a person responsible for his subordinates," (2) have "a fixed distinctive sign recognizable at a distance," (3) carry arms "openly," and (4) conduct "their operations in accordance with the laws and customs of war."

#### DOUBLE STANDARD OF TREATMENT

Thus arises the ironic paradox concerning the double standard of treatment of prisoners of war in Vietnam. On the one hand, we are recognizing as legitimate prisoners of war captured Viet Cong who habitually make military capital of concealing their identity as combatants, in flagrant violation of the Geneva Conventions. On the other hand, the enemy brands as "war criminals" our pilots who wear uniforms, fly plainly marked aircraft, and who attack legitimate military targets so well recognized as such that the enemy has disposed, with maximum economy, his antiaircraft forces to defend them!

We make no bones, of course, over the fact that our scrupulous attention to the rights of enemy prisoners of war stems from more than humanitarian reasons, although this is one important consideration. It also stems from the urgent requirement that we offer the enemy no possible excuse to mistreat our prisoners by mistreating or neglecting his. The war in Vietnam, like many civil wars and like many wars in Asia, has witnessed displays of wanton savagery and cruelty on both sides. In 1965, "bearing in mind the many photographs which have appeared in the press showing ill-treatment of prisoners in South Vietnam," the International Committee of the Red Cross looked into the matter. As a result, it recommended that "authorities distribute copies of Geneva Conventions among armed forces and give troops liable to take prisoners instruction in conformity with the Conventions." It is at the troop level, of course, where prisoners are most often mistreated, frequently in the hot blood of combat, or to force them to divulge information of immediate tactical value.

The US and other free world forces in Vietnam and the armed forces of the Republic of Vietnam have complied with this recommendation of the International Committee of the Red Cross. The Army of Vietnam, for instance, has issued instruction cards to its troops regarding the treatment of prisoners. Each soldier is supposed to carry the card on his person. The card enjoins the captors to "Treat him [the prisoner] humanely, protect him, do not mistreat, torture, or humiliate him. If the captive is a woman, treat her with all respect due her sex, and do not commit violation of chastity and virtue."

When the status of an enemy prisoner captured by US forces is in doubt, he goes before a tribunal. The members of the tribunal considered evidence provided by the capturing force outlining the circumstances of the prisoner's seizure. Was he in uniform, was he armed, was there a firefight

in progress at the time? If the tribunal finds that the accused is a bona fide prisoner of war, he is declared as such. The armed forces of other friendly nations fighting in South Vietnam also have procedures for distinguishing prisoners of war from others who do not enjoy that status.

There are currently about 6,000 enemy prisoners of war—North Vietnamese and Viet Cong—housed in six prisoner-of-war camps in South Vietnam. This is exclusive of the thousands of enemy who have surrendered under the Chieu Hoi or "open-arms" program. The Army of Vietnam administers these prisoner-of-war camps. (There are also American advisory detachments at the camps.) This arrangement is in accord with the Geneva Conventions, which provide that prisoners of war taken by one nation may be transferred to another which is a party to the Conventions and is both willing and able to apply their provisions. Some sick and wounded enemy prisoners—again under the terms of the Conventions—have been delivered to North Vietnam at the Ben Hai River bridge at the eastern end of the Demilitarized Zone. North Vietnam has accepted these returnees—while denying any responsibility for their presence in South Vietnam or even recognizing any relationship with them.

#### ATTEMPTS TO EXCHANGE POW'S

We have, of course, attempted continuously to exchange prisoners of war with the enemy as we did when the Korean Armistice was declared. Typical of recent appeals for such an exchange was one issued last July from the White House. The White House statement also requested anew that the NLF and North Vietnam permit impartial inspection of prisoners they hold—as we permit inspection by neutrals of prisoners held by our side. Again, the plea was made for repatriation of our sick and wounded prisoners.

To date, such appeals have been ignored. This does not mean they will not continue, or that the plight of American POWs will not continue to receive high-level attention. In this connection, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara announced last September the formation of a Department of Defense Committee of Prisoner of War Policy chaired by the Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs). Its membership includes the military service Secretaries, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and others. Its aim, working with the State Department and other governmental agencies, is to ensure that our POWs are treated in accordance with the Geneva Conventions and to effect their final repatriation.

Prospects for this repatriation are not bright. True, the enemy has released some of our POWs in a trickle. To date (November 1967) seven US servicemen, two US civilians, and one Filipino woman have been freed by the NLF, along with some Vietnamese. Significantly, no officers, especially officer pilots captured in North Vietnam, have been released by the enemy.

There are at least two main factors militating against any major POW "deal" with the enemy similar to that which prompted Castro to give us custody of Cubans captured at the Bay of Pigs. First, and paramount, is the political factor that has inspired the enemy to brand our captured pilots as "war criminals." As indicated earlier, North Vietnam has striven mightily to convince the world that American entry into Vietnam's "civil war" is "illegal" and that the US bombing of North Vietnam is not only illegal but criminal. By its definition, Americans, especially our pilots bombing the North, are "war criminals." North Vietnam has made this pronouncement despite the lack of trials under appropriate safeguards, as provided by the Geneva Conventions. To the North Vietnamese, such trials are legal niceties which they ignore. In this connection, Communists

rarely concern themselves overly with the legalities of a situation; they deem the political factor overriding. The fact that the fate of our prisoners of war is caught up in a long-held and apparently rigid North Vietnamese political position is the most pessimistic factor militating against their early release. It would be awkward, to say the least, for Hanoi to release men it had proclaimed before the world to be guilty of war crimes every bit as heinous as those revealed at Nuremberg.

The second factor which inspires pessimism concerning early release of our POWs is the leverage which they provide the enemy. This point requires no elaboration. We want our men back—badly. And the enemy knows it. In light of the callousness with which he has regarded the fate of his men who have fallen into our hands, he probably regards us as incredibly sentimental. He hopes to make political capital out of that "sentimentality."

Thus, hopes for early enemy action to release our POWs are dim. Of course, the enemy has his price for their release but that price may be much higher than we can afford to pay. Right now, the price would appear to be withdrawal from Vietnam. Perhaps, as our determination to continue the war in Vietnam becomes more evident to Hanoi, the leverage afforded by our POWs will appear less useful. At that time, the enemy may agree on a price within our political and moral means. For the sake of our fellow Americans behind enemy prison bars, let's hope so.

#### Another Hawaii Winner

### HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, like most people from Hawaii, I am proud of the special honor bestowed upon a 19-year-old girl from my State. She is Miss Carmelita Capilla of Kailua, who has been selected as one of the four Young American Medal winners awarded each year by the U.S. Government.

Hawaii is especially proud of Carmelita because she represents the best of the overlooked teenagers—those youngsters who put their time to good use but rarely turn up in newspaper stories or television features.

She also follows through on a tradition of winners for Hawaii, being the third Young American Medal winner for my State since Congress approved legislation in 1950 establishing the system for selecting outstanding youngsters for bravery and service each year. The honor of making the selections has been given to the U.S. Department of Justice.

Carmelita was nominated by Governor John Burns for her public service. During her final year at Kailua High School, she was a tireless volunteer worker at the Hawaii State Hospital for an 8-hour shift during nearly every day she was not in school, including holidays. For this devotion to serve other people—those in need—she won the hearts of the hundreds of elderly and helpless patients in the hospital.

One of her coworkers has said, "just the sound of Carmelita's heels on the corridor floor would lift the spirits of the patients."

We can be proud that youngsters such as she still find happiness in helping



others. Thank heavens, also, she has been recognized for this special charm and the hundreds of others who have been nominated should share in her honor.

Carmelita is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Leslie D. Capilla of 433 Kaimake Loop, Kailua, Hawaii. She is now studying at the West Valley Junior College at Saratoga, Calif.

I believe it is fitting that other Hawaii winners of the Young American Medal be named here also. Last year the winner was Drusilla Chiyono Akamine, who was 20 when she was singled out for her public service and presented with the medal.

Drusilla spent some 800 hours working as a volunteer for the Hawaii Association to Help Retarded Children in 1965, the year she completed her high school education and entered the University of Hawaii. She had begun working with retarded children 3 years earlier.

During a 6-week camp for retarded children in the summer of 1965, she worked each day at the camp, then returned to the association's office for additional work in the evening.

She planned weekly teen canteens for the retarded and arranged for various youth groups to host them. She organized a teen march which collected \$5,000 for the association. She organized a teen group to inform the public of the problem of mental retardation. Under her direction, the group also obtained 11,000 names on a petition to the legislature for additional classes for the retarded. As a result, several classes were added.

In 1965, the Attorney General selected Kenneth Pilago Magallanes of Pearl City, Hawaii, for his display of bravery and rewarded him with a Young American Medal.

On the morning of February 21, 1963, according to the Attorney General, Kenneth, then 11, volunteered to descend into an abandoned cesspool to rescue a trapped infant, even though he was warned that the fumes in the cesspool could kill him.

Kenneth arrived at the scene of the near-tragedy with his mother and other neighbors who had gathered around the old cistern after the infant had fallen in through the loose cover and down 15 feet to the base of rotting branches and leaves.

The infant's father and several firemen and ambulance attendants tried in vain to squeeze through the narrow opening of the cesspool. Members of the highway crew were preparing to dig their way into the cesspool, at the grave risk of collapsing it, when Kenneth volunteered to squirm in. An ambulance attendant warned him flatly that the gas in the cesspool could kill him, but Kenneth replied, "I still want to go."

With a rope wrapped around his waist, Kenneth wriggled through the hole and was lowered to the helpless child. He grasped the child as firmly as he could, but as they were being lifted out, Kenneth lost consciousness and the infant slipped out of his arms.

Kenneth was lifted into the open air and revived with oxygen. Again he was warned of the danger, but insisted on going down into the cesspool a second time. This time he slipped a loop that

firemen had prepared around the infant's body, and the two boys were hoisted to safety together.

These are outstanding achievements and Hawaii is proud of its young people.

### Oliver Wendell Holmes Stamp

### HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, on March 7, 1968, it was my pleasure to attend the ceremony dedicating the Oliver Wendell Holmes stamp in the east conference room of the U.S. Supreme Court.

As a lawyer and an admirer of Justice Holmes, this was a particularly inspiring event for me. The remarks of Timothy J. May, General Counsel of the Post Office Department, on this occasion are worthy of the attention of all of us. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Mr. May's speech:

REMARKS OF TIMOTHY J. MAY, GENERAL COUNSEL, POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT, AT THE CEREMONY DEDICATING THE OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES STAMP

Mr. Chief Justice, Associate Justices, Mr. Corcoran, President Morris, honored guests, and fellow members of the bar:

The postage stamp we are dedicating to Mr. Justice Holmes today is one of the highest honors this nation can confer. Oliver Wendell Holmes is only the sixth supreme court justice to be so honored.

The photograph of Justice Holmes that was selected as basis for the stamp was, I think, a very happy choice. For the character of the man comes through strikingly in this informal picture. Justice Holmes did not care for stilted, formal portraits. Such a painting of him hangs in the library of Harvard Law School. In that portrait, his face is frozen in dignity as he stands straight and tall, robed in pomp. Oliver Wendell Holmes looked at the portrait and said: "This isn't me, but it's a damn good thing for people to think it is."

I am particularly pleased to note that the denomination of the stamp is 15¢. The last lawyer who appeared on a stamp—one which, incidentally, I also dedicated—was the international jurist John Bassett Moore. Except for lawyers, and not too many of them, Moore is virtually unknown in this country. It was our hope to rescue this great American from undeserved obscurity by placing him on a stamp. The only trouble is that it's a \$5.00 stamp. At that price I'm afraid that Judge Moore will remain unknown.

But a 15¢ stamp will have great currency; in fact, the way postage costs have been going up, we may shortly find that the Justice Holmes stamp will be just what you need to send a first class letter.

This stamp dedication today is not Justice Holmes' first contact with the Post Office Department. In the Spring of 1919, a person unknown mailed a small package in the New York post office. It was addressed to Oliver Wendell Holmes—and it contained a bomb.

Fortunately it was intercepted, as were 15 similar bombs that were believed to have been mailed by anarchists. Justice Holmes took this threat on his life in stride, and he wrote to a friend: "If the senders knew how I think and feel perhaps they wouldn't have wanted to blow me up."

Justice Holmes, in turn, dropped a few bombs himself. His crisp and urbane opinions, his salty wit, helped to clear away the

musty atmosphere of 19th century attitudes and introduce society into the 20th.

Perhaps no other jurist has put the English language to such grand purpose. This is not to suggest that Justice Holmes was a militant social reformer. He was not. He often remarked, perhaps with some asperity, that people who wanted to make drastic changes in society seldom inquired what the price would be.

He was not a liberal of the knee-jerk variety, but, rather, as Max Lerner has suggested, "He was a great spokesman of our Constitutional traditions because he was a great enough conservative to stretch the framework of the past to accommodate at least some of the needs of the present."

To the layman, Justice Holmes is regarded as the apostle of free speech, and to a considerable degree he was. But he had to be satisfied that this was not unbridled speech that violated a statute. In the light of events today, it is interesting to look backward on *Debs v. U.S.* in 1919. The times were similar; so were some of the actors on the stage.

Eugene V. Debs, an opponent of war, had made a speech in Canton, Ohio. He was arrested. The indictment charged that he had "incited and attempted to cause and incite insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States." And that this was in violation of the Espionage Act, passed two years earlier. Debs was found guilty, sentenced to ten years imprisonment and took his appeal to the Supreme Court.

Justice Holmes wrote the opinion for the court that sustained conviction. The law was breached, he wrote, the jury was correct. Debs, an old man who was president of the American Socialist Party, was imprisoned. Justice Holmes obeyed the letter of the law. Privately, he said: "I hope the President will pardon him . . ." Holmes, the great advocate of free speech, knew the limits of that freedom. It was where speech left off and conduct began.

Holmes probably sympathized with the aspirations of some of those who felt that mere speech was inadequate, and far too slow a means of redressing evils. But he believed it was equally important to preserve order; that that was government's first duty. For those who believed illegal action against the social order was necessary, Holmes believed they were entitled to the martyrdom of prison—it tested both the sincerity of their convictions and advertised their cause. If their cause was right and just, prison was a small price to pay; if their cause was foolish and doomed—then all the more reason why society was justified in protecting itself.

In the 50 years that he sat as a judge—20 on the Massachusetts Supreme Court, 30 on the Supreme Court of the United States—Oliver Wendell Holmes was a witness to one of the most turbulent periods of American society.

This was, of course, the rise of the labor union as a powerful force, a force which brought individual rights into conflict with property rights. Holmes and his brethren faced the task of having to draw the guidelines for capital and labor. Whether or not the picket line was legal, or the boycott or the yellow dog labor contract—these and many other aspects of militant labor-management relations were being tested in the courts.

Industry, also, was growing powerful and the question arose whether or not a trust was bad merely because it was big.

Further, in the first decades of this century, both the Congress and the Supreme Court were exerting, or attempting to exert, controls on matters that previously had been left more or less to the determination of the various states.

One of these federal interventions involved an effort to end child labor. Justice Holmes spoke out against this evil—but his was

a minority voice from the court. It seems incredible that as recently as 1918, the court would be unwilling to invoke the right of Congress to control interstate commerce as a deterrent to child labor. But that, in fact, was the majority attitude in a case that tested whether or not children under 14 could work in a North Carolina cotton mill.

Child labor, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right to vote—these were some of the momentous cases of the day upon which Justice Holmes left the impact of his opinions.

They called him The Great Dissenter. The fact is that, numerically, he was less prone to dissent than his fellow members on the court. From 1902 until his resignation in 1932, the Supreme Court rendered 5950 decisions. Justice Holmes dissented 173 times. Other justices dissented 1633 times, so proportionately he dissented less than his fellow justices.

But his dissents were in the grand manner and invariably contained a phrase or two that made headlines in the newspapers. The old gentleman had flair and style.

Despite a positivistic attitude toward law and an absolute insistence on rationalism, Holmes was paradoxically a romantic about such matters as patriotism and war.

It has become somewhat the vogue among the academic and liberal community, great admirers of Holmes, to ridicule patriotism and reverence for the flag as a dangerous form of chauvinism. It would be most instructive for them to reread Holmes' passionate commentary on the flag and what it symbolizes:

"The flag is but a bit of bunting to one who insists on prose. Yet thanks to Marshall and the men of his generation . . . its red is our life-blood, its stars our world, its blue our heaven. It owns our land. At will, it throws away our lives."

The least known aspect of Holmes' life is his experience as a soldier in the Army of the Potomac. It made a deep and lasting impression on him, and he constantly hearkened back to it for its lessons and purpose. He firmly believed that war had a spiritual value; that some wars were necessary. The speech in which he has most fully set forth his own beliefs is entitled "The Soldier's Faith." And these words about war seem most compelling for this nation at this time:

"To fight out a war, you must believe something and want something with all your might . . . More than that you must be willing to commit yourself to a course, perhaps a long and hard one, without being able to foresee exactly where you will come out."

His parting words, as he left Massachusetts to come to the Supreme Court, are cast in the language of battle:

"We will not falter. We will not fail. We will reach the earth works if we live, and if we fall we will leave our spirit in those who follow, and they will not turn back. All is ready. Bugler, blow the charge."

Holmes truly belongs to all Americans; he is part of the American tradition. Yet he will always have a special meaning for lawyers. By being a part of it he exalted our profession; and his life in the law is a constant reminder to all of us of the nobility and high purpose of our profession—and a measure of our failing. He saw the law as a road of high calling and high adventure, and as usual he was able to share his vision with us through the magic of his words:

"And what a profession it is! No doubt everything is interesting when it is understood and seen in connection with the rest of things. Every calling is great when greatly pursued. But what other gives such scope to realize the spontaneous energy of one's soul? In what other does one plunge so deep in the stream of life—so share its passions, its battles, its despair, its triumphs, both as witness and actor?"

## The Unbalanced Payment Myths

### HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following column written by the respected and knowledgeable oil editor, Mr. Ted Brooks of the Wichita, Kans., Eagle, entitled "The Unbalanced Payment Myths."

The article follows:

FROM THE OIL DESK: THE UNBALANCED PAYMENT MYTHS  
(By Ted Brooks)

A number of unbalanced minds are working overtime on the unbalanced balance of payments problem. The outlook promises the restoration of neither. A solution is encumbered by the all too obvious fact that no one in the significant portion of the economy involved really wants balance of payments. There is entirely too much money to be made in unbalance.

If a solution is wanted, and it isn't, dozens are at hand. Some of these entail sacrifice, some are without virtue and some contain nothing but virtue. They hold in common one dominating characteristic: they are simply unacceptable to the people who manage the national economy. These people, who shuttle back and forth between key policy jobs in government and the super-industries according to the going price of influence, have the profitable conviction that what is good for them and their corporations is good for the country. No amount of want, privation and business distress in other segments of the population and economy can, unless it shakes their profits, shake their faith. This they fondly associate with a love of liberty, a respect for private enterprise and a decent regard for the gold standard.

If 500 corporations, dominating 80 per cent of the nation's productivity and 100 per cent of its business policies, manage to prosper, why worry about the 270,000-odd small businesses that account for a mere 20 per cent? In the oil industry about 20 supercorporations thus manage to double in size every seven years. This is extolled as clear evidence of the righteous wisdom with which they have schemed with government to halve the size of the small business segment of their industry. It has been done through connivance, which, though it has been exposed on gleeful occasions as outright money changing and job hawking, is normally effected through acceptable but none less culpable practices delicately known as "business statesmanship" and "responsible involvement in government."

The result is before us—a selectively planned economy that presents to those who will only take the trouble to look every criteria demanded by a corporate state, plus a hoodwinked small business sector and a bamboozled electorate.

Balance of payments, the corporations and their affiliated government agencies solemnly assert, is a goal to be devoutly hoped for and sought at any cost. Together with balance of trade, services, exchange, tourism and a venal foreign policy it ranks among the desirable conditions that insure easy access to worldwide power, commerce and growth. But, they caution, neither the profits of the corporations nor the power and prestige of their affiliated agencies must be risked.

These are qualifications that might make one wonder how the subject ever got to the point of discussion. They summarily rule out such practical and immediate antidotes as stringent and enforced curbs on foreign in-

vestments and significant cuts in foreign aid. The first is unthinkable because that is where the money is. The second is equated with leprosy because that is where more money is.

Most unspeakable of all is the subversive suggestion that balance would instantly be achieved by stopping the war in Vietnam.

The corporate state thus indignantly closes the door upon any consideration of policy changes or modifications that might quickly restore a balance of payments and divert the billions wasted and gambled abroad to the solution of mounting domestic problems. These are approaching emergency levels. But it may be predicted that until the stage of calamity is reached this will be obscured by a random prosperity that is misinterpreted as well-being.

One therefore seeks to find other avenues to correct the international deficit. Balance of trade is commonly a positive factor and it might be made more so. This door too has been closed by the same people for the same reasons. A great and undisclosed volume of imports results not from foreign competition as such but from domestic supercorporations who compete among themselves and extinguish lesser competitors at home by moving huge segments of their capital and equipment to earn profits and balances in foreign lands. Radios, TVs, watches, automobiles and thingabobs without number flood the markets. Free trade, which the old-fashioned capitalist corporation would oppose on principle, is profitably exploited by an organization large enough to provide its own capital needs anywhere in the world.

The importation of oil and oil products provides a typical example. In 1966 the net trade deficit amounted to \$1.7 billion. Tanker transportation and foreign military purchases added another \$500 million to boost the total to a minus \$2.2 billion—by far the largest negative element in the trade balance. This is a commodity which could in large part be supplied at home at gallonage price increases still far below those of the general commodity index rise. It is a practical suggestion that has but an incidental relationship to either helping domestic producers or injuring supercorporations. It is not so much as considered because it endangers the profits of the only people whose voices are heard by an obedient Congress and a pliant administration.

So it is that with every door to really effective action blocked by political and profit interests, an unhappy administration is reduced to the preposterous extremity of treating with that most innocuous of payment balance factors—tourism. A government despairing of control or influence upon the supercorporations with which it shares its powers thus turns to its constituents to gravely remind them of their duties and the sacrifices they must make in the name of corporate tranquility.

Beholden here is at last the simple truth that balance of payments is incidental to infinitely larger problems. These include a balance of privilege, equity and justice and most of all a balance in minds that are teetering on the edge of a bedlam.

## De Molay Week

### HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, the young men who belong to the William Mason Saunders chapter of the Order of De Mo-



lay, many of whom reside in my congressional district, have requested that I include in the RECORD a proclamation by the Governor of Virginia for the observance of the week of March 18 as De Molay Week. Let me add my own best wishes for success to all members of the Order of De Molay. Certainly they will be better men and better citizens of our country for their association in this fine organization.

The proclamation follows:

**PROCLAMATION OF DE MOLAY WEEK 1968**

A character-building organization embracing two-and-one-half million young men throughout the free world, the International Order of De Molay celebrates this year its forty-ninth anniversary.

Under the sponsorship of the Masonic bodies of Virginia, De Molays in our own State are observing the week of March 18, 1968, as De Molay Week. I invite the people of Virginia, on this occasion, to salute the young men of the Order of De Molay for the example they offer the youth of our State and of the world.

MILLS E. GODWIN, Jr.,  
Governor.

**Questionnaire and Newsletter to South Dakota's Second District**

**HON. E. Y. BERRY**

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I am this week mailing to South Dakota's Second District a questionnaire and accompanying explanatory newsletter.

I have asked my constituents to give me their opinions on a wide variety of subjects ranging from Vietnam to crime in the streets and am confident I will receive a comprehensive cross section of the views of people in my district. I anticipate a heavy response, judging from the number of replies received in the past.

Under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD my questionnaire and newsletter as follows:

**[Questionnaire]**

**Vietnam:** Do you approve of the President's conduct of the war? Yes No

**Which of the following policies would you favor regarding United States involvement in Vietnam?** (a) Complete withdrawal (b) Pull back and maintain policing action (c) Halt bombing in North Vietnam (d) Take all action necessary to win.

**Should the United States continue to trade with nations that are aiding North Vietnam?** Yes No

**Alliances:** Would you cancel our mutual defense alliances all around the world? Yes No

**Red China:** Do you favor the admission of Red China to the UN? Yes No

**Foreign aid:** Do you believe our foreign aid program should be: (a) Continued at same rate (b) Moderately reduced (c) Cut materially.

**Taxes:** Do you favor the Administration's proposed 10% tax increase? Yes No

**Spending:** Do you believe that federal spending on domestic programs should be reduced? Yes No

If government spending were cut, list in order of preference those programs you feel should be cut most heavily: Poverty War, Aid to Cities, Highway Beautification, Space Ex-

ploration, Foreign Aid, Education, Defense, Agriculture.

**Imports:** Should limited import quotas be imposed to protect agriculture, textiles, mining, and other industries? Yes No

**Crime:** In dealing with civil disorder, do you favor: (a) Stricter handling of rioters and demonstrators by police and the courts (b) More programs to improve slum areas (c) Federal assistance for local law enforcement.

**Agriculture:** Do you favor legislation which would strengthen the right of farmers to bargain collectively on prices of agricultural commodities? Yes No

**Do you favor the proposed strategic grain reserve program?** Yes No

**Do you approve of federal cash subsidies to rural families if they agree to stay on the farm?** Yes No

**Travel tax:** Do you support some restraint on foreign travel by Americans, including a travel tax? Yes No

**Firearms:** Do you favor federal control of the ownership and sale of firearms? Yes No

**Poverty:** In 1967 Congress appropriated \$1.7 billion for the anti-poverty program. Should the program be: (a) Expanded — (b) Reduced — (c) Eliminated —

**Incentive:** Do you favor legislation providing tax incentives to employers for part of the cost of training unskilled? Yes No

**Medicare:** Do you think the present program is working well? Yes No

**Civil rights:** Do you support "open housing" legislation? Yes No

**Credibility:** Do you feel we are receiving accurate and reliable information on government activities? Yes No

**[Newsletter]**

MARCH 1968.

DEAR FRIEND: Am again seeking your advice on important questions confronting Congress through the medium of a questionnaire. To refresh your memory on some of these subjects will give you a brief résumé of the arguments, both pro and con, on the points which are covered in the questionnaire.

**Vietnam:** Overshadowing all else is the war in Southeast Asia. More than a half million men are committed to that theatre and more than 19,000 will never return. The wounded exceed the number in the Korean war. Doubt and fear pervade every home. There is much dissatisfaction with the manner in which the war is being conducted. There is unanimous agreement that the time has come for some soul searching reappraisals.

Some favor complete and immediate withdrawal. Opponents of this policy point out this means the loss of the entire southeast Asian continent and probably one by one the entire Pacific. They feel this would be the beginning of the end of all of our nation's defense alliances.

Some favor our pulling back and simply serving as a policing action. Recent Communist action has appeared to make this infeasible. Others would halt the bombing of the North as an inducement to bring them to the conference table. Opponents of this strategy contend this would only leave the way clear to move troops and supplies into the combat area.

Many feel we must return to a policy of firmness and take all action necessary to win. They contend the present policy is too costly in manpower and treasure; that if we did not go in to win, we should not have gone in at all. Opponents contend that any escalation is an act of aggression and could possibly trigger World War III.

**Alliances:** Our foreign policy is based on mutual defense alliances with most of the nations of the free world. In these alliances we have agreed to help the weaker nations build their defense against Communist aggression and have agreed that if they are attacked we will come to their aid—not fight

their war for them—but help them help themselves. On the other hand, there are those who feel we cannot afford this load and should therefore cut off the alliances, withdraw our troops and equipment, and strongly fortify the United States.

**Red China:** One of the most bitter battles that has raged in the U.N. since 1950 has been over the admission of Red China. Our official position is in opposition. They will not accept a seat so long as Nationalist China remains in the U.N. The argument for seating them is that the Peking regime controls roughly one-fourth of the world's population, has been in power 18 years and is, in fact, the government of China.

**Foreign aid:** Since the foreign aid program was inaugurated in 1948 we have made available nearly \$130 billion to 124 countries. The question is, should the program be continued at its present rate, moderately reduced, or materially cut? Proponents contend it promotes peace, security and stability abroad. Opponents ask, "Where do we get the money?" They point to scandals involving misconduct and graft, they point to inefficiency, and our attempt to do for others what they could and should do for themselves.

**Firearms:** Pending before Congress is an Administration proposal to prevent interstate mail order sales of firearms on the theory of better crime control. Opponents question its Constitutionality, contend it is an infringement on the rights of law-abiding gun owners, and that those desiring weapons would obtain them anyway through illegal means.

**Taxes:** The President has proposed a 10 percent surcharge on personal and corporate income taxes. Those favoring the surcharge argue that it is needed to pay for the Vietnam war, fight inflation, and keep interest rates down. Opponents contend that if the American people must tighten their belts, the government should do likewise by cutting spending one billion dollars for each billion-dollar increase in taxes.

**Spending:** In the present fiscal year expenditures will exceed \$180 billion, and in the next fiscal year are expected to reach \$186.1 billion. Non-defense spending was \$68.4 billion in fiscal 1965, and under the 1969 budget will reach \$106.3 billion. In the same period, defense spending jumped \$30 billion, mainly because of the Vietnam war. The question is, can this country fight a major war and still escalate non-defense spending?

**Imports:** Free trade advocates feel that tariffs and quotas would result in new trade barriers being imposed by foreign nations. On the other hand, trade experts favoring greater protection for American industries say if many basic industries are to survive in this country, they must be permitted to compete on an equal basis with foreign imports. The \$3.6 billion deficit in our "balance of payments" could be eliminated by placing import quotas on seven major industries including steel, automobiles, agriculture, and textiles. This problem has become especially serious with the recent flight of our gold reserves which many feel could get much worse before it improves.

**Crime:** Probably the most serious domestic problem confronting us is that of crime. It is frightening to realize that crime has risen 62% in the past six years, and no end is in sight. Softness on criminals, partially because of Supreme Court decisions curbing police power, undoubtedly contributes to the problem. Many well meaning people assume that society has failed the criminal, rather than the criminal failing society, and support basic reforms rather than tougher law enforcement.

**Agriculture:** In a recent message to Congress, the President called for a seven-point program including strengthening farmers' bargaining power, permanent extension of the 1965 Food and Agriculture Act, a three-

year continuation of the Food for Peace program, creation of a national food bank, and expanded low-interest credit for the small farmer. Opponents note that farm income and population have declined steadily under the present program, hardly justifying making it permanent at the present time.

**Poverty:** There is general agreement on the need for an effective program to help the poor, but there is disagreement as to whether or not the "war on poverty" program is the answer. President Johnson has asked for increased funds to expand the many OEO programs. Opponents feel that in too many instances these efforts have failed to meet the real need of the unemployed for permanent jobs, too much money has gone for inflated administrative expenses, and many programs have brought dismal results at enormous costs.

**Incentive:** One solution offered to meet the problem of unemployment is the so-called "Human Investment Act." It is based on the principle that the most effective job trainer is private enterprise. To encourage and finance such training, the Act would provide tax credits for businesses investing in upgrading workers' skills. It is opposed primarily by those who feel it would remove close government supervision and control.

**South Dakota Briefs:** There is still hope of developing a plan for industrial use of the Black Hills Ordnance Depot . . . Final hearings on the Oahe irrigation project will probably be scheduled after Easter recess . . . Construction of the lignite gasification pilot plant at Rapid City to begin this year . . . Major renovations of visitors' facilities at Mt. Rushmore planned . . . Bureau of Reclamation will begin this spring a detailed study of a proposal to divert water from Big Bend into Lower James River Valley . . . South Dakotans stand firmly opposed to a scheme of diverting Missouri river water into Texas . . . Efforts being made to utilize closed OEO facilities on Cheyenne River reservation . . . Site selection for Rapid City post office expected soon . . . Passage of bill to expand Badlands National Monument into former Gunnery Range area and resell land to former Indian owners expected soon.

With my kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

E. Y. BERRY.

## Hanoi Nixes Peace Talks for Time Being

### HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, now, headlines herald the fact that Communist leaders in Hanoi have ruled out peace talks. The reason: Communist leaders believe U.S. presidential politics are working in its favor.

I fear that every candidate, within and without my own party, whose statements weaken our national commitment in this grave crisis is giving encouragement to the enemy to hang on. Such encouragement will be at the expense of the American serviceman.

Let it be clearly understood that I stand with our President, who yesterday called on the American people to unite behind our valiant efforts to help Vietnam remain free. He has my fullest support for the tremendous efforts he has made in handling this grave crisis, and in the determination he has shown in seeking an end to it.

With him I stand unequivocally in

stating that the Communists are not going to have handed to them from Washington the victory they cannot win over our men on the battlefield.

As ever, in time of national peril, our people will unite. And they will not forget those who would strengthen the enemy's cause at the cost of American lives to further their own personal ambition.

**BELIEVES U.S. POLITICS WORK IN ITS FAVOR—**  
**HANOI NIXES PEACE TALK FOR TIME BEING**

LONDON, March 19.—North Vietnam, apparently confident the U.S. presidential campaign is working in its favor, was authoritatively reported today to be ruling out peace talks for the near future.

East European diplomatic sources with known contacts in Hanoi said hardliners in the regime of President Ho Chi Minh have recently dominated policy decisions in the communist capital.

They are now in undisputed control and reportedly more self-assured than ever, the sources said.

The sources indicated that Hanoi feels it cannot lose by waiting, and stands increasing chance of getting its way by merely continuing the status quo at least until late summer.

The sources said there has been less talk in Hanoi lately of peace talks, even if the U.S. halts its bombing of North Vietnam.

These sources, which in the past have proved well informed on Hanoi's changing moods and designs, said a new wave of confidence is evidently dominating the policy makers of North Vietnam.

Hanoi is said to be determined to continue the fighting—alternately stepping it up and slowing it down—but continuing to inflict U.S. casualties in hopes of putting additional pressure on U.S. public opinion.

## How Charles Shuman Helps the Great Society

### HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, the American Farm Bureau claims to be the best friend of the American farmer. However, it chooses the oddest methods of serving him.

It helps the farmer by using him as a front for maintaining tax exempt status, while it runs insurance companies, oil wells, tire marts, fertilizer plants, marketing co-ops—so-called—hotels, motels, and shopping centers in competition with taxpaying businesses.

It helps the farmer by keeping prices down, and by paying him with worthless stock. It represents him by imposing the ideas and policies of the national organization on local affiliates. It helps the farmer by lobbying for prices at 50 percent of parity and by supporting oil depletion allowance.

It also performs another service for the American farmer—it serves as unofficial interpreter of the Government's farm policies. Whenever a Government official makes a statement on farm policy, Charlie Shuman, AFBF president, and, incidentally, president of the National Food Conference, a hefty combine of food processors, helpfully provides his translation of those policies.

Ron Harley, in an article in the Des Moines, Iowa, Sunday Register, of March 10, 1968, demonstrates Mr. Shuman's expertise as an interpreter.

Mr. Speaker, I include Mr. Harley's article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

## HOW CHARLIE SHUMAN HELPS THE GREAT SOCIETY

(By Ron Harley)

Most people know that Charlie Shuman is president of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

What most people don't know is that Mr. Shuman also serves unofficially as an interpreter of the Great Society's farm policies.

When President Johnson makes a statement on farm policy, Mr. Shuman makes it his business to explain the meaning of that statement.

In a recent message to Congress, for example, Mr. Johnson called for permanent extension of the 1965 Agricultural Act.

Within hours, Mr. Shuman had prepared an interpretation.

"What this means," Mr. Shuman explained in a news release, "is that the Administration wants to continue to drive down farm prices and make farmers dependent on government subsidies . . ."

The President, in the same message, recommended establishing a "national food bank" for storing reserves of wheat, feed grains and soybeans.

Mr. Shuman, apparently fearing that some people might misunderstand the purpose of the food bank proposal, explained that it is "another scheme to hold down farm prices."

Over the years, Mr. Shuman has often provided the same kind of service for Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman.

In 1964, when Mr. Freeman was trying to get Congress to pass a new wheat bill, Mr. Shuman was busy explaining that the proposed wheat program was actually a "bread tax."

In 1962, Mr. Freeman went to Kansas City to dedicate the Agriculture Department's new data processing center there.

"This center," Mr. Freeman said at the dedication ceremony, "will be keeping records for all grain price-support operations in every county in the nation at a savings of \$800,000 a year."

Mr. Shuman felt that further explanation was needed and, of course, he provided further explanation:

"Each farmer will be identified and classified in this huge bureaucratic set-up by a faceless punch card," he said. "As these cards flash through the machines they can dispense all sorts of interesting information about each farmer for the use of the political farm managers in Washington."

"Farmers will need only to know how to follow orders. And these orders will be electronically printed and mechanically dispatched by the machine in Kansas City."

Chances are, Mr. Freeman would have never thought of describing the Kansas City operation in exactly those terms.

But if he was grateful to Mr. Shuman for shedding additional light on the subject, he did not say so publicly.

## A Proclamation From Bayonne, N.J., to Wellington, New Zealand

### HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, last month 200 members of the 2d Marine



Division Association traveled to New Zealand to participate in ceremonies marking the 25th anniversary of the 2d Marine Division's arrival there during World War II.

New Zealand became a second home for the men of the famed Marine division, and many of the men ended up marrying New Zealand girls. The continuing friendship between the American people and the people of New Zealand was well demonstrated by the tumultuous welcome given President Johnson on his arrival in New Zealand last year.

Mr. Speaker, Frank R. Slivocka, an outstanding citizen of Bayonne, N.J., was one of the heroic veterans of the 2d Marines who went to New Zealand. He carried with him a proclamation expressing the friendship and good wishes of the people of Bayonne to the people of Wellington, New Zealand.

I include at this point a copy of the Bayonne proclamation:

Be it resolved and proclaimed by the mayor and the municipal council of the city of Bayonne, as follows:

**"PROCLAMATION**

"Whereas, The citizens of the City of Bayonne in the County of Hudson and State of New Jersey, United States of America, hold in high esteem the friendship of the people of New Zealand; and

"Whereas, The people of New Zealand have generously given hospitality, warmth and comfort to many of our citizens and men in the service of our country; and

"Whereas, This friendship has been especially bestowd by the people of New Zealand upon members of the United States Marine Corps, our country's proudest and finest fighting men; and

"Whereas, Many members of the Second Marine Division Association are, during the month of February, 1968, returning to New Zealand, the place of their World War II encampment; and

"Whereas, Frank R. Slivocka, a member of the said Second Marine Division Association and honored citizen of the City of Bayonne, is to revisit New Zealand, as aforesaid:

"Now, therefore, be it proclaimed That Frank R. Slivocka is hereby appointed as Ambassador from the City of Bayonne, and he is hereby directed to bring to the Honorable Sir Francis Kitts, Mayor, the Governing Body, and the people of the City of Wellington, New Zealand, this expression of friendship and good wishes on behalf of the people of the City of Bayonne.

**The Ambassador's Congressional  
Courier on East-West Trade**

**HON. EDNA F. KELLY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, the second session of the 90th Congress, preoccupied as it is with grave problems confronting us at home and abroad, has been able to accord rather limited consideration to one urgent subject in the field of foreign policy.

This subject is East-West trade and its impact on peace and war, on the current objectives of U.S. policy, and on the entire structure of economic and political relations between the East and the West.

I was delighted, therefore, to find this subject receiving attention from a new publication written for the purpose of acquainting foreign diplomats and other interested parties with the U.S. Congress and the key issues considered by it.

The name of this monthly newsletter is the Ambassador's Congressional Courier. Its editor is one of our foremost distaff reporters in Washington, Esther Van Wagoner Tufty.

Because I believe that the lead article in the February 1968 issue of the Courier will prove of interest to all Members of Congress, I am inserting it in the RECORD at this point.

**VIETNAM SLOWS DOWN EAST-WEST TRADE**

East-West trade is a mere trickle of total world trade. Yet, belief in the value of free trade in creating international economic stability continues. The desirability of "trade bridges" between Communist and non-Communist nations is accepted by the majority of the Congress.

The "trickle" isn't apt immediately to spurt into a flow of commercial exchange because the Vietnam issue has made many members of the United States Congress interpret "trade bridges" as "trading with the enemy." It was no accident that President Johnson ignored East-West trade in his State of the Union message to Congress.

The Senate and House approved a 5-year extension of the Export-Import Bank and increased the limit on its lending authority from \$9 billion to \$13.5 billion. The conference report, ironing out the differences between the two versions, underscores the desirability of international financing with the restriction that loans not be made to nations furnishing military aid to North Vietnam.

The encouragement of East-West trade is involved . . . directly or indirectly . . . by such legislation as the "Food for Peace" Program (Public Law 480), the Mutual Security Act, the Battle Act, the Export Control Act, and the Foreign Assistance Act.

Is the East anxious to trade with the West?

Yes. Anxious to enlarge their imports from the West, especially capital equipment. But such trade is held back not only by United States export restrictions but also by the limited ability of the Eastern European countries to earn sufficient foreign exchange to pay for those imports which are available from the West.

What is the future of East-West trade?

The future is determined by Government policies of both East and West. For example, if Eastern Europe buys only goods to fill gaps in national production, then no significant expansion is possible. The prospect is brighter, however, if goods made more cheaply elsewhere are encouraged as imports, even if there's some output of the product at home.

Has the East-West trade policy been a success for the United States?

Senator J. William Fulbright (D-Arkansas), Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, contends it is "a proven success." He said in 1965, "Over recent years a number of Eastern European countries have become steadily more independent of the Soviet Union and have entered into increasingly friendly relations with the United States."

In 1967, the United States exported goods and services totaling \$30.7 billion compared to \$26.4 billion in imports. Nonetheless, in the total balance of payments, the United States was in the red at the end of the last year by \$3.5 billion to \$4 billion.

What is the extent of Soviet trade with the United States?

It rose by about \$11 million during 1966, but still lagged behind Soviet trade with Canada, Argentina, and Cuba. Statistics on

Soviet foreign trade reveal 66.5 per cent of all trade in 1966 was done with other Communist nations, but trade with the West was on the rise.

What changes in U.S. legislation would encourage the East to trade more with the West?

Possibly, (1) long term credits, (2) a "most favored nation" status, and (3) more industrial items included on the non-strategic list free of export controls.

The political and psychological benefits of East-West trade could be more important than the economic benefits. Professor Isaiah Frank of Johns Hopkins University contends "a willingness on the part of the United States to loosen up commercial relations with the East could conceivably serve as a prelude to negotiations on broader political issues." Trade discrimination is seen as harmful. Whenever the occasion presents itself, the Soviet Union calls for an end to trade discrimination and for "normalization" of trade relations with all countries. The Soviet Union values acceptance in the world arena.

**COURIER QUERIES CHAIRMAN KELLY**

The House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe is currently holding hearings on East-West trade. The Courier asked its Chairman, Edna F. Kelly (D-New York), two questions:

1. *Should the President be given more discretion in expanding trade between the U.S. and the Iron Curtain countries?*

Her answer: "This, essentially, was the recommendation of a public commission headed by Mr. J. Irwin Miller and assigned to study this subject. They felt that by having broader authority in this field, the President would be in a better position to use the leverage of trade in peaceful commodities to obtain concessions and to promote desirable political change in the Communist countries."

"Personally, I have some reservations on this score. We have at present some two dozen laws, administered by six major Government departments and agencies, which deal with East-West trade. Most of them were enacted years ago. We don't really know how effective these laws are in protecting our national interests, or how consistent they are with each other."

"For this reason, the Subcommittee on Europe of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, is undertaking a thorough review of our laws, regulations and practices relating to East-West trade. As Chairman of the Subcommittee, I have the responsibility for conducting these hearings. And one of the questions I definitely want answered in these hearings is the one you asked: namely, should the Congress give the President any additional authority in this field?"

"I may add that I am very much concerned about the rapid increase in trade between Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union on the one hand, and our allies in Western Europe on the other. In 1967, the volume of trade between our NATO allies and Eastern Europe went over the \$7 billion mark. During the same year, U.S. exports to Communist countries amounted to less than \$250 million. The difference here is tremendous—both in quantity and quality. Our NATO allies are moving ahead in trading with the Communist countries—perhaps too far and too fast. They are supplying the Communist countries with advanced technology. This can have very far-reaching ramifications. I certainly would not favor any relaxation of controls on modern industrial technology and strategic items. If anything, we may need to strengthen these controls."

2. *Would you exclude some Iron Curtain countries, and if so, why?*

"I don't think that we should treat all of those countries the same way. For example, I believe that our embargo on trade with Red

China, North Korea, North Vietnam and Cuba should be maintained. On the other hand, some of the Eastern European countries are beginning to liberalize their internal systems and to move gradually toward the West. In those cases, I feel that we ought to use our trade policy to reduce their dependence on Moscow and on some of their neighbors. We ought to have a flexible approach which would help to advance our national objectives, and to promote our national security."

### Critics of Hangings in Rhodesia Denounced

**HON. JAMES B. UTT**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by James J. Kilpatrick appearing in the Washington Star last night.

I continue to be amazed at the constant effort by mature people and mature countries to destroy the country of Rhodesia, the latest tirade being directed at the Ian Smith government, because it had the audacity to execute some murdering criminals. It is constantly pointed out that the Queen had commuted the criminals' sentences to life imprisonment. Since the Unilateral Declaration of Independence, the Queen has no more authority over the internal affairs of Rhodesia than did the King of England have over the internal affairs of the United States of America after independence. In fact, the Queen did not have this power even before the Unilateral Declaration of Independence.

The leftwing press and the Commie-leaning liberals constantly refer to these murdering criminals as "freedom fighters," when, in fact, they were guilty of the most heinous crimes that man can perpetrate upon his fellow man.

The article follows:

**CRITICS OF HANGINGS IN RHODESIA DENOUNCED**  
(By James J. Kilpatrick)

Rhodesia has been suffering lately from a very bad press: The State Department denies a visa to Prime Minister Ian Smith. The Virginia House of Delegates shouts down a resolution of support for Rhodesia. Back in Salisbury, right-wing pressures toward apartheid grow more intense. Defying Queen, Pope, and world opinion, the Smith regime proceeds with the hanging of five "freedom fighters."

At the United Nations, the Afro-Asian bloc demands new measures against Rhodesia, more punitive than the present sanctions. A lead article in the prestigious American Journal of International Law defends the sanctions; the theory of the authors, one of them a Yale professor, is that Rhodesia has offended the "shared sensitivities" of her neighbors, and thus created an actionable threat to the peace. The fury is especially intense in England, where members of Commons denounce Ian Smith as "a murderer."

It is true enough that the Rhodesian government, struggling for survival in a hostile world, has taken some actions in recent months that American friends must regret. Laws relating to housing and to segregation of public parks are steps backward, not forward. The Smith government has not im-

peded the registration of black voters, but it has done little to encourage the African franchise; the number of registered blacks is half what it was three years ago.

But the current uproar, touched off by the five hangings, ought to be denounced as blatant hypocrisy on the part of most of those who are whooping it up. Macaulay once remarked that he knew of no spectacle so ridiculous as the British public in one of its periodical fits of morality. This current fit qualifies. And no spectacle in Africa is more contemptible than the criticism hurled at Rhodesia by despotic black regimes which are themselves guilty of bloody crimes and the repression of political freedoms.

It is said that the five condemned men were "freedom fighters." Let us see how they fought for freedom.

James Ndhlamini and Victor Mlambo were members of a terrorist group known as the Crocodile Gang. They threw a block of trees across a country road. When a white farmer named Oberholtzer came along, with his wife and small daughter in the car, they fell upon them with knives and stones. As he was dying at the steering wheel, they attempted to set the car on fire in an effort to kill the woman and child. This was a fight for freedom?

Duly Shadreck waylaid an elderly black man at midnight, killed him with an axe, and robbed him of seven shillings. Noble, was it not?

Francis Chimsoro Risa and Takauyare Jeremiah stole into a tribal hut where a sub-chief named Nedewedzo was sleeping with his wife. They tore off most of his head with a shotgun blast. It seems an odd exercise in self-determination.

For these brutal murders, the five defendants were brought to trial in the High Court of Rhodesia. They had the assistance of counsel. In each case, a judge and two "assessors," under the Rhodesian system, found them guilty without extenuating circumstance. The death sentences followed. These were sustained on appellate review.

Why the outcry? In terms of moral principle, those who deplore the death penalty may deplore its imposition anywhere. But as a matter of law, these punishments were peculiarly the business of Rhodesia. Pletistic Americans might restrain themselves long enough to acknowledge that 3,857 executions were carried out in their own United States between 1930 and 1966.

It is said that Rhodesia "defied the Queen." But the Queen in this affair was no more than a pretty figurehead; the clemency decree came from the Wilson government, which had no authority even under the pre-independence Rhodesian constitution of 1961, to exercise the prerogative of mercy. The incident was patently trumped up. It is a fair surmise that Wilson's object was to divert the British public from troubles at home by fabricating some vicarious outrage abroad.

One expects opportunism from the Communists and hypocrisy from the Afro-Asian bloc. One has learned to expect anything from Harold Wilson. But it is a sad commentary on the United States, which once also proclaimed its independence from the British crown, to see our own people join in the calamity howling against Rhodesia now heard across the land.

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

**HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE**

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 58th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

### Vocational Education: Keystone to Solving Unrest in America's Cities

**HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently, it was my privilege to address the Illinois Vocational Association in Chicago, Ill., to discuss the potential of vocational education in this country today.

As chairman of the General Subcommittee on Education here in the House, which is now hearing testimony on the Partnership for Learning and Earning Act of 1968, I cannot overemphasize the importance of rearing our students for occupational challenges following high school.

The need is evident and overwhelming.

I submit, for the review of my colleagues, the text of my address to the Illinois Vocational Association, with the hope that we, as legislators, may be able to initiate the necessary measures in Congress to meet this challenge.

The text of my remarks follows:

**VOCATIONAL EDUCATION—KEYSTONE TO SOLVING UNREST IN AMERICA'S CITIES**

(Remarks of the Honorable ROMAN C. PUCINSKI before the Illinois Vocational Association, Sherman House, Chicago, Ill., March 7, 1968)

As we assemble here this evening to discuss vocational education, there is a pall of fear sweeping across America—fear of another long hot summer with millions of Americans wondering how extensive the damage will be this time.

There isn't a commentator or analyst who doesn't remind us of the devastation to come.

We assemble here in the wake of the report issued by the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders—better known as the Riot Commission.

Never before in the history of this nation—or for that matter, any nation—have a people undergone so intensive a process of self-analysis to determine what is wrong within our Republic; what is tearing this nation apart; are we, indeed, about to admit that free men cannot mold their own destiny.

There are no simple solutions, but this evening I should like to discuss with you some of my own observations on where this nation has gone wrong.

Last December, at the Convention of the American Vocational Association in Cleveland, I pointed out that by 1972 our nation will be in a trillion dollar economy and that the involvement of our nation in occupational training will approach \$15 billion a year by 1980.

We are now expecting to hit an \$850 billion Gross National Product by July 1 of this year. Yet only yesterday morning the very distinguished Superintendent of Public Instruction in the City of Cleveland, Dr. Briggs, testified before my Committee that 58% of out-of-school inner-city youth are unemployed.

Statistics after statistics tell us that in this eighth consecutive year of prosperity this nation continues to suffer almost 4,000,000 people unemployed and the largest single group of unemployed in this country are the young people.

I submit to you this evening that as this nation probes for an answer to rioting in the streets we take a sober look at the failure of American education.

It is ironic that many of you in this assembly as vocational educators have warned about this crisis for many years, but they didn't listen to you.



You assembled here tonight can play the most significant role in finding the answers for in your hands as vocational educators lies much of the solution.

Make no mistake—this phase of the twentieth century when America is at the crossroads for survival—belongs to you.

For in my honest judgment, the keystone to finding a solution to America's problems is a strong system of occupational training in our schools. Had the educational pedagogues listened to you twenty years ago—or even ten years ago—perhaps we could have avoided the domestic crises facing America today.

The tragedy of our time is that even at this late date the Riot Commission, too, has failed to listen to you.

Our national press has greeted with proud and enthusiastic coverage the President's Report on Civil Disorders. And rightly so, because it represents the thinking of a distinguished panel of public figures including the Governor of this State. The Report probes deeply into the cause of rioting in our streets and roams over the entire spectrum of human needs and emotions. But I submit to you tonight that the Report falls tragically short of its mark and to a great extent misses its glorious opportunity to make a truly significant contribution toward easing America's problems.

I have not heard the disappointment that must be voiced about this Report's failure to fully probe the role of education in setting the stage for civil disorder.

I was astounded to see that only a scanty portion of the four volumes of this Riot Report is devoted to education.

It is true the Report does treat some important issues—early childhood education, teacher training, compensatory education, and evaluation with seriousness.

But its recommendations essentially offer us just some more of the same old tired answers.

Those working on the Report have done some polite tinkering with the system and that is all. Even if all of the recommendations were accepted tomorrow, the schools in the ghetto areas of this country would remain unchanged—continuing to “turn off” thousands of disadvantaged youngsters—tolerating them until they reach the magic age of sixteen and then pushing them out into the ranks of the unemployed.

We have been reading a good deal about drop-outs, when in fact the failure of the educational system, particularly in ghetto areas of America, has literally pushed youngsters out of the educational process by failing to make education a meaningful experience for the disadvantaged.

The Riot Commission report places great faith in compensatory education. But look at Title I programs and you will find that most of them have failed. The findings of the National Advisory Council for Education of Disadvantaged Children and the Center for Urban Education in New York provide sad commentary.

Dr. Jeanne Chall, in her book, “Learning to Read: The Great Debate,” tells us that the code-emphasis or phonics approach produces the best results in beginning reading. And the earlier it is taught the better. But how many of our Title I programs in reading teach phonics? From the evaluation results—which use reading test scores as their major criteria—obviously not many of our educators have even read Dr. Chall's book, let alone put into practice her suggestions.

In the few isolated instances where compensatory programs have succeeded, they have sprung from the creative imaginations of unusually capable principals—such as Dr. Marjorie Lerner, Principal of the Donough School in Chicago. What this means, according to Dr. Robert Dentler of the Center for Urban Education, is that school leadership is the deciding factor in the success of such

a program. Yet, the Riot Report remains silent on the training and performance of school principals.

And the most important leader of all—the superintendent—rates only a recommendation that he spend more time in the ghetto.

This is not a bad idea—but first, we must teach our big-city superintendents how to look and listen, also how to be better managers, themselves.

With only a handful of exceptions, most big-city superintendents are having great difficulty. This is why it is estimated that the “mortality rate” among big city school superintendents is estimated at three years in each job.

They have cut themselves off from the community.

They are inaccessible to the isolated teacher out in the schools—young, inexperienced teachers like Herbert Kohl, author of the touching book, “36 Children,” recounting his effort to succeed in a Harlem school despite lack of support from the bureaucracy.

Most big city superintendents are unable to cope with the mammoth administrative responsibilities confronting them—problems of budgets, collective bargaining, designing and maintaining buildings, developing curricula, and just plain day-to-day management.

An outstanding exception—and one who was recently praised editorially in the Washington Post—is Dr. Mark Shedd, Superintendent of Schools in Philadelphia. Dr. Shedd has surrounded himself with a group of non-educators, experts on city planning, business administration, city politics, and the community.

Unfortunately, most superintendents are recruited only from the ranks of professional educators. And schools of education have a monopoly on their training, when it is the schools of business administration that have the tools of systems analysis, cost-benefit analysis, programming-planning-budgeting, and technology—which educators are only beginning to utilize—and which are vital to the successful operation of any large enterprise.

The Riot Report talks about teacher training and retraining. Quite realistically, though, how do you actually go about retraining a teacher?

Professor Robert Rosenthal of Harvard University has conducted extensive research into what he calls the “self-fulfilling prophecy.” His experiments show that when teachers hold high expectations for pupils, the student's IQ scores go up. But when they have low expectations for equally capable pupils, their IQ scores drop sharply.

So the real problem is one of changing teacher attitudes toward pupils—especially towards minority groups.

The educators have never really confronted this sensitive question. Yet it is a crucial one if we are to raise the self-image and aspiration levels of disadvantaged youngsters.

Another point in connection with teacher training. The Report says nothing about opening up the teacher certification ranks to innovative but uncertified individuals who hold bachelor's and even master's degrees and want to teach.

Every year our colleges and universities graduate thousands of bright young people who probably know more about reaching youngsters than many teachers with 25 years' experience.

And we have a wealth of talent among other groups, as well—mothers who would like to work a half day or businessmen, professional people, and technicians who would enjoy donating a few hours a week to the classroom.

Their wealth of experience in the “real world” would inject a breath of fresh air into the school curriculum. But state laws and union contracts prevent these capable,

if uncertified, people from becoming teachers in our classrooms.

The real answer to the plight of American education lies in meaningful change. We have fiddled with the same old machinery too long. And the Riot Commission would have us hold on just a little while longer.

Like any organization, the schools have become inbred and unimaginative, because of lack of competition. And now the public has caught up with the education establishment; it is beginning to ask some damaging questions.

The main thrust of new ideas in the business world has come from having to compete in the free market place. Perhaps we should apply this principle to education.

Professor James Coleman of the Johns Hopkins University has suggested that we adopt a business strategy—payment on delivery. We might use this in education by rewarding the schools which successfully teach our children how to read and write—and no automatic increases for those which fail to do so.

Unfortunately, the Riot Report speaks all too briefly about a very promising concept—decentralization; with a greater emphasis on developing neighborhood schools. The Bundy Plan for decentralization in New York calls for a “reconnection to learning” between the community and educators.

I can think of no healthier prospect for improving American education today than a return to control by parents and laymen, with a greater autonomy for individual teachers in the classroom, instead of the bureaucrats in a downtown office.

We should not expect overnight success, but the initial pain of instituting such a plan is more than justified by the potential it offers for helping the schools become more relevant and responsive to community wishes and needs.

The Riot Report completely misses what really happens to the children, underneath all these layers of administrative strategies and new programs. It is all too easy for us to close our eyes to them. The teachers have unions and the NEA to speak for them. And parents have their PTA's.

But who speaks for the children?

A few rebels in the teaching profession—who are also serious and thoughtful critics of the schools—have tried.

John Holt, a teacher, has written *How Children Fail*, in which he says: “We encourage children to feel that the end and aim of all they do in school is nothing more than to get a good mark on a test, or to impress someone with what they know. We kill not only their curiosity, but their feeling that it is a good and admirable thing to be curious. . . . We encourage children to act stupidly, not only by scaring and confusing them, but by filling up their days with dull, repetitive tasks that make little or no claim on their attention or demands on their intelligence.”

What then, does all of this mean for vocational educators?

What does it mean to those of you assembled here tonight?

A great deal.

The President has called for \$2 billion to train 500,000 hard-core unemployed for jobs.

But our experience with MDTA and Job Corps convinces me that the price of human retrieval is fantastically high. And the chances of success are at best questionable.

The Report attempts to place all the blame of America's ills on what it calls “white racism.”

In my humble judgment, such an indictment is an emotional outburst by those who have not probed deep enough into the problems—the real problems—of the disadvantaged.

I submit that the basic cause of this unrest is the failure of the school system and until we recognize that vocational training

can be the heartbeat of massive reforms, we will continue groping for answers.

Stewart Alsop, in his column for the *Post Magazine* a week ago interviewed a young man who is a product of the ghetto, Catfish Mayfield is his name, and after a frank discussion with Catfish on the real problems of the slums Mr. Alsop wrote:

"To many well-meaning, liberal-minded whites, the solution of the problem of Negro unemployment—which is the root cause of most Negro violence—is obvious: Find jobs for the hard-core unemployed, with the Federal Government acting as 'employer of last resort.' But it really is not that simple.

"The whole life-style of Catfish and his friends has nothing at all in common with the nine-to-five, early-to-bed-early-to-rise life-style of the white—and Negro—middle classes. It is not only acceptable, it is positively necessary, to have broken the laws in order to be admitted to the society to which Catfish and his friends belong. Most of the 'guys on the streets' are simply not interested in working eight hours a day for five days a week in dull, menial jobs. The fact is that a great many of Catfish's friends are already, or soon will be, psychologically unemployed.

"This is a phenomenon that liberal-minded politicians and commentators hesitate to discuss, for fear of being labeled racist and reactionary. But the psychological unemployment of a disproportionately high percentage of able-bodied young Negro men is a phenomenon that has been thoroughly demonstrated by this time.

"Last fall, what the Negroes call 'the white power structure' in Detroit scared by the riot, made a great effort to provide 23,000 jobs for Negroes, at decent wages. Only a minority stayed on the job for more than a few days or weeks. At the Chrysler Corporation, which hired 12,000 Negroes, the turnover was more than 90 percent.

"Negro civil-rights workers are themselves well aware of the phenomenon. Julius Hobson, a Negro activist and former head of CORE for the Washington area, describes a disappointing employment drive that he headed. He got the promise of hundreds of jobs from major firms in the area, and to deal with the problem of high turnover he organized something called a 'job wagon.' The newly employed Negroes would be awakened in the morning, fed coffee and doughnuts, and transported to their jobs by the 'job wagon.' It was no use—the turnover, Hobson recalls, was terrible.

"There's a psychological thing there," he says. "A man who's lived on his wits, sleeping till ten in the morning, on the hustle in the streets or the poolrooms—he figures a guy working eight hours a day for eighty bucks a week just isn't smart. If you just get a guy like that a job and turn him loose, you're wasting your time—he won't last a week. After thirty, maybe twenty-five, a man living on his wits reaches a point where he just won't hold a regular job. You've got to catch them young."

It is obvious from this penetrating analysis that jobs in themselves are not enough.

It should be clearly apparent that in order to reach the youngster of the ghetto you must try to reach him with a program of education from the very earliest age that will teach him respect for his ability to work with his hands; to work with his mind; to work with his neighbors.

It is obvious that in order to get at the root cause of the problems in the ghetto youngsters must be taught values at the earliest stage of their life.

We have testimony before my Committee that most potential dropouts began to think of dropping out from school as early as the age of twelve. Obviously then, it is at this point that we must make education so thoroughly exciting and so thoroughly meaningful that this youngster will de-

velop an inherent respect for the whole art of employment, and create a desire to be employed.

This, in my judgment, is the great challenge for you as vocational educators.

For within your imagination and your ability and your program lies the ingredients of making youngsters respect the fact that employment is a desirable commodity.

The most serious weaknesses in present job training programs is that they offer no preventive medicine.

They do not help us develop job skills to the one million youths who annually drop out of school before graduation. And it does not insure that we can save the 30 percent of our young Negro people between the ages of 16 and 22 who are unemployed.

If the Administration fails to see the needs of vocational education, so does the Riot Commission. It devotes only a few, short, paragraphs to vocational education, although the highest rates of dropouts and unemployed youths are found among disadvantaged Negroes.

The attitude of the Administration on this issue is crucial to the concerns of all Americans.

That's right—you've got to catch them young as Catfish Mayfield says.

And therefore, I would like to spend the remainder of my time on the proposed Partnership for Learning and Earning Act of 1968 which I introduced for the Administration with the clear cut understanding I expect to see the proposal substantially improved.

As an enthusiastic supporter of vocational education—and as Chairman of the General Subcommittee on Education in the House—I would like to be able to support this bill without reservation.

I would like to be able to say to my fellow Members: "Let's push hard for this legislation."

But in the best interests of not only the vocational education community, but also the nation's youth, I cannot accept the bill in its present form. In all candor, I find it difficult to lend support to a bill which provides only \$15 million for the multitude of programs needed to develop more meaningful programs in vocational education; one that makes only passing reference to work-experience programs and completely omits residential skill centers.

I would find it difficult to work for passage of a bill which ignores the need to provide training in basic reading and computational skills as preparation for work.

And I am determined to remove from this legislation those provisions which restrict the ways in which local school districts can contract with private industries for vocational programs.

Let me elaborate on each of these points.

Like most other fields, vocational education is in a state of drastic change. It used to consist of a neat package of discrete tasks and skills taught to young people—how to operate a lathe or run a sewing machine or set type for a printing press.

But our economy has changed, and the complex demands of a technological era have brought new challenges to vocational educators.

Dr. Grant Venn, Associate Commissioner for Adult, Vocational, and Library Programs in the U.S. Office of Education, has said: "It is not possible—it is not even desirable—to separate education, especially education for the world of work, from the basic problem of preparing for work."

And Marvin J. Feldman of the Ford Foundation—which, incidentally, has made a sizable investment in vocational education research—notes that "Jobs now require more mental capability, fewer physical skills, a higher educational attainment at the entry level, and greater versatility or

adaptability in the worker over his productive lifetime."

Hence, the domain of vocational education has expanded tremendously.

Preparation for the world of work—as well as for basic skills—is the major thrust. And vocational educators are going to have to make a major overhaul in their programs or be driven into obsolescence.

I might add that the population to be served by vocational education must also grow considerably. For we can no longer ignore the fact that while 60% of our young people terminate their education in high school, only 6 or 7% have traditionally been provided for in vocational programs.

This is why in Cleveland, Ohio—58% of out-of-school inner-city youth are unemployed. And we cannot ignore the fact that 50% of our high school graduates who enter college never finish. High School Vocational Education must be expanded into a broad program encompassing the needs of all of our youth.

It will mean, among other things, abolishing prohibitive entrance requirements—such as advanced math, physics, and chemistry—which have prevented many high school students from participating in career development programs.

Preparation for the world of work means learning to get along with all types of people. The vocational students should no longer be shut off in their own separate track where they can meet one another but no one else.

Preparation for the world of work means that we must begin working with student attitudes—especially among the disadvantaged. And we have to start early in their schooling, if we are to help students build strong self-images.

Professor Urie Bronfenbrenner of Cornell University—a specialist on child psychology and the family—recently told my Committee: "Neighborhood experiences available to children are extremely limited nowadays . . . Rarely can a child watch adults working at their trades."

The Advisory Council on Vocational Education—headed by Dr. Martin Essex—has recommended that occupational preparation begin in the elementary schools with a realistic picture of the world. This is especially important for children from fatherless homes—or from homes where parents are unemployed and working does not command high prestige.

And they must develop greater sensitivity to the enormous pressures operating on ghetto youths. In disadvantaged families, the older children often bear heavy burdens of child-rearing and family support. It is not unusual for ghetto youngsters to come to school famished.

Preparation for the world of work also means having the ability to read, to speak correctly and write clearly, and to perform at least basic computational skills.

But judging from the reading achievement scores in our cities, an astoundingly large number of our young people are deficient in this basic skill.

In Chicago, for example, more than two-thirds of the pupils at Marshall High School lag a year or more behind grade level in reading.

Despite this obvious problem, however, the Administration's Bill would provide no remedial programs in such skills.

Exploring the world of work should be an integral part of any vocational program. But as the Vocational Education Act of 1963 now reads, work-study programs serve only those pupils with financial need.

While the Administration's Bill makes a few minor amendments, it keeps the criterion of financial need still intact.

I have no objection to providing jobs for youngsters who need financial help, but the work experience should be extended to all students because it can have a powerful im-



pact on their training in vocational education. In this way, we can encourage students to "test out" a variety of work situations—under experienced teachers—before they leave school and make career decisions.

Residential skill centers are another example of an oversight in the Administration's program. Under the 1963 Act, no funds have ever been appropriated by Congress for the very important program.

Such schools are urgently needed in rural areas to provide remedial skills and other facilities which a small school cannot afford.

In urban areas they offer great potential for removing disadvantaged youths from debilitating environments and giving them a fresh start towards learning.

I would strongly urge that the residential skills centers become a priority in this session of Congress.

Nor am I unmindful that with more mothers becoming breadwinners, as well as bread-makers, home economics must be a major link with the world of work for women.

This evening I have been quite critical of the Administration's Bill for vocational education. This is because I want to see legislation passed which will have significant impact on the education of our young people.

However, I do not want to give you the impression that the entire bill is inadequate.

Indeed, Title I, which provides for Exemplary Programs in Vocational Education, meets a critical need if our schools are to grow and change in tune with a highly technological economy and diverse student population.

Truly meaningful innovation will require the close cooperation of every aspect of our economy and the bill properly permits close cooperation between education and private enterprise.

A particularly exemplary program of cooperation between the public schools and private industry is occurring in Cleveland. The General Electric Company had donated a large factory building to the schools. And they are preparing to open a Factory School—a job development and training center there.

Under one roof—in a building in the ghetto—they will offer paid employment, basic and remedial education, and training in job skills. The most important feature will be immediate employment in industry-sponsored production shops located at the center.

The Ohio Bell Telephone Company has also joined the program, and others will no doubt follow suit.

In Detroit, private industry is "adopting" schools in disadvantaged areas and developing their own training programs geared to the company's needs. The telephone company has adopted an entire high school and is training young people for jobs in its myriad operation.

I am hopeful that a great many similar projects for the disadvantaged will emerge from the exemplary programs funded under Title I.

Finally, I think we should be much more concerned than we have been about the ways we can feed innovations into the mainstream of vocational education. Unfortunately, educators are wedded to their old ways. Therefore, I hope that some of the demonstration money will be earmarked for developing dissemination techniques—ones that *really work*—to bring about change throughout the nation.

In conclusion, I want to emphasize that our nation's commitment to vocational education must rise dramatically. Fifteen million dollars cannot possibly do the job. Nor can the present bill, until it has been amended—and Members of my Subcommittee and I are hard at work writing the language for those amendments.

We are in the throes of a technological revolution which has brought unparalleled growth and prosperity to our nation. We

have a responsibility to equip all of our young people, so that they can share in this good fortune.

And that means a large national investment in vocational education—large enough to provide substantive, realistic support for the kinds of programs necessary to achieve our goals.

Christopher Morley once said that "there are three ingredients to the good life: learning, earning and yearning."

Your common concern as vocational educators bids you to examine the first two parts of the equation and leave the third to the poets and philosophers.

I hope that during your stay here at this Vocational Education Conference, you will study the Riot Commission Report and dedicate yourself toward finding solutions.

Some have estimated that we will need \$32 billion to eliminate the causes of rioting in American streets.

I say, you as Vocational Educators, can provide an excellent start at a cost vastly smaller.

The Vocational Education Advisory Board has recommended an annual expenditure of \$1.5 billion of Federal Aid to Vocational Education to serve more than eleven million American youngsters. This comes out to less than \$150 a year per child.

I submit this is the biggest bargain we can offer this nation to help remove the cause of rioting from our streets.

Yes, my friends—this generation belongs to you as Vocational Educators. God grant the academic community will hear your plea and recognize the opportunity you offer.

#### Oil Shale and Multiple Mineral Development Act

**HON. WILLIAM D. FORD**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I have joined with many of my colleagues in sponsorship of the Oil Shale and Multiple Mineral Development Act, one of the most important pieces of legislation that will come before the 90th Congress.

This act is designed to protect the public interest in the multimillion-dollar treasure trove that underlies the public-owned shale oil lands in the Green River formation of Wyoming, Utah, and Colorado. Its potential value has been set at between \$2.5 and \$5 trillion—a figure that staggers the imagination.

Some 80 percent of this potential jackpot is in public lands, which are owned by the American people. It has been estimated that every person in the United States has a cash interest of \$12,500 to \$25,000 apiece in the proper development of the property.

These oil shale deposits contain the greatest known fossil fuel energy resource in the world, exceeding by many times over the entire known petroleum reserves in the United States.

A conservative estimate is that these lands would supply the United States with oil for 1,500 years, at our present consumption rate of 3,000,000,000 barrels a year.

Very little is actually known about these oil shale deposits, and I consider

it a matter of vital public interest that reserve and development is conducted in a sensible and orderly manner.

We cannot afford to risk large-scale exploitation of this immense resource by a few oil companies at the expense of the American public.

This bill calls for an orderly, 10-year program of careful study and systematic development to insure competition, low-cost petroleum products, an adequate return to the Federal Government, and protection of the natural scenic beauty of the area.

We owe it to all living Americans, and to our descendants for generations to come, to make certain that this immense natural resource be put to the best use possible.

#### Salute to the U.S. Veterans Advisory Commission

**HON. JAMES M. HANLEY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues on the Veterans' Affairs Committee in saluting the members of the U.S. Veterans Advisory Commission for the report filed on Monday. The 79 specific recommendations made by the Commission to Administrator of Veterans Affairs William J. Driver will, no doubt, serve as the basis for a comprehensive report to the President.

These devoted citizens gave of their time and effort in order to serve on this Commission. They have rendered an invaluable service to the Nation and to the veterans of all conflicts. Some 1,400 persons in 10 different hearings held all across our country appeared to give testimony. The long hours of work that it took to evaluate these recommendations have resulted in one of the most far-reaching and comprehensive studies it has ever been my privilege to read.

There is hardly a phase of veterans benefits that the Commission has not gone into extensively. However, I feel this is most fitting when you consider that the veteran population is an important and integral part of our society. The veteran population has now reached almost 26 million, and together with their dependents comprise almost 49 percent of the population of the United States.

In addition to their proposals for changes in the present system of veterans benefits, the Commission endorsed the proposals made by President Johnson on January 30 in his message to Congress and which in most instances are either pending before Congress or have been acted on by at least one of the bodies in Congress.

The Veterans' Affairs Committee views this comprehensive report as an outstanding example. It will provide the members of the committee and the Congress the background information for any legislation that may be relevant to veterans programs. I am sure that it will become a document of authority in the years to come.

# Congressman Claude Pepper Introduces Legislation To Provide for Draft Exemption for Police

## HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the nature and underlying causes of crime in this country were recently the subject of 2 years of intensive investigation by a blue-ribbon panel appointed by the President. The nature and underlying causes of last summer's civil disorders were studied in depth by a second Presidential panel. I myself have introduced a bill which has received widespread support from my colleagues in both Houses, to establish a joint congressional committee to investigate crime. We have investigated, we have studied, we will study some more, and we will, with time and effort, control crime in this country. In the meantime, there are some things we have learned from experience and study, and it is imperative that we act on the basis of this knowledge. Strong State and local police forces are a major factor in controlling crime. This we know. It would follow that, at a time when the Nation's police forces are seriously undermanned, we cannot afford to lose police to the draft.

I am introducing at this time a bill to exempt the police from the draft. The President told us 2 years ago that the police are the frontline defense in the war against crime. This is no idle metaphor. Crime in this country is a serious war with heavy casualties, and a war—incidentally—with pretty cohesive national support. A Gallup poll this February indicated that the public views crime and lawlessness as the most important domestic problem facing the Nation. Almost a third—31 percent—said they were afraid to go out alone in their neighborhoods at night; among women and in the large cities, this figure jumps to about 40 percent. This is very serious. In the words of the recently published Riot Commission report:

Nothing is more fundamental to the quality of life in any area than the sense of personal security of its residents, and nothing affects this more than crime.

The preliminary 1967 crime statistics have been released by the FBI, and they are ominously familiar: the same only more so. The volume of serious crime during 1967 increased 16 percent over 1966. Increases were sharpest in the cities, followed by the suburbs and the rural areas. Robbery registered the highest percentage gain—27 percent. Fifty-eight percent of these were armed robberies, a 30-percent increase over the year before. The only figure that went down was the police clearance percentage. Police cleared 23 percent of the major offenses reported, a 7-percent decrease from 1966.

The rate of crime increase in this country is truly appalling. Despite the talk about crime and the concern with crime, far from making headway we are

losing ground fast. The preliminary 1967 total represents a 16-percent increase over 1966; the 1966 figure was 11 percent greater than the figure for 1965; 1965 represented a 6-percent increase over 1964. If this pattern continues, and there is no reason to think that it would not, the 1968 figure will be 21 percent greater than 1967, and the 1969 figure will be 26 percent greater than 1968.

The number of serious crimes committed in 1966 represents a 62-percent increase over 1960. The population during this same period increased only 9 percent. During this same period, the number of police employees per 1,000 population remained essentially unchanged. The 1966 increase from 1.9 to 2 police per 1,000 inhabitants represents the first change in this figure since 1960. In the words of the FBI:

This increase in the rate is an encouraging note, but, realistically viewed, this small increase fades into insignificance in light of the rapidly rising crime rate and the ever-increasing number of calls for police service—both criminal and noncriminal.

This assessment of the situation is echoed in the recently released Riot Commission report:

The number of police available to combat crime is rising much more slowly than the amount of crime. . . . In spite of significant improvements in police efficiency, it is clear that police will be unable to cope with their expanding workload unless there is a dramatic increase in the resources allocated by society to this task.

The President's Crime Commission reported the need for 50,000 additional men to fill positions authorized for 1967 alone. The 1967 edition of the International City Managers' Association's Municipal Year Book reports that 61 percent of 1,152 police departments in cities of 10,000 and over are below authorized strength. The extent to which some of our larger city departments are understaffed is alarming: Houston is 767 men below strength; Cleveland, 740; Detroit, 459; New York, 479; Baltimore, 391; New Orleans, 319; Philadelphia, 298; and Washington, 280. These cities can ill afford to lose any more men in the face of the dreaded long hot summer of 1968.

The police personnel picture is summed up by the Municipal Year Book in the following sentence:

The police manpower situation in the United States is one of a short supply of qualified personnel at a time when competent personnel are much in demand.

In their opinion, the situation is not likely to improve. There is no prospect for an increase in qualified personnel; on the contrary, particularly in the big cities, the large number of men who returned from World War II to take jobs with police forces are now reaching retirement age; retirement accounted for the greatest personnel loss in cities with populations over 500,000. Retirement, according again to the Municipal Year Book, will result in the not distant future in the loss by the large cities of one-third of their experienced police personnel. The difficulty is compounded by the fact that a significant number of cities feel that their authorized strength is insufficient. Approximately 88 percent of

the 1,131 cities reporting to the Municipal Year Book wanted an increase in their authorized strength.

The war in Vietnam is very important, but no more important than the war against crime in the United States. This is not a question of guns or butter; it is a question, unfortunately, of where we need the guns most. President Johnson has told Congress twice now, in two consecutive crime messages, that public order is the first business of Government. The Riot Commission has told us all the same thing:

Preserving civil peace is the first responsibility of government. Unless the rule of law prevails, our society will lack not only order but also the environment essential to social and economic progress.

Both this administration and this Congress have recognized crime as a domestic problem of immense importance, and have committed themselves to provide broad assistance to State and local governments for the purposes of crime control. As you know, the House last session passed a bill authorizing \$75 million for State and local programs and projects to strengthen law enforcement and the administration of criminal justice. We passed a bill authorizing Federal funds for the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency. We must go one step further and indicate, by passage of legislation exempting police from the draft, that our commitment to law and order at home is equal to our overseas commitments.

It is not sufficient that, as is now the situation, local draft boards are given authority to exempt police at their discretion. Crime is a national problem, and draft exemption for all police must be a national policy. I urge that this legislation be passed.

Thank you.

## Bronx Manufacturer Sells to Europe

## HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, L. & B. Products Corp., a small business in my district, has demonstrated that you do not have to be a corporate giant in order to cash in on the world export market. Last fall, the U.S. Department of Commerce sponsored an exhibition in Munich for American firms to display their products before potential buyers in West Germany. The exhibition featured tourism equipment, and the L. & B. Products Corp. introduced its line of display counters and stools to this new market.

The results were very gratifying. Mr. Leo Seifer, president of the company, has estimated that export sales of \$200,000 will be made by his firm in the 12 months following the show as a direct result of its participation in the Munich trade fair. Exports mean jobs and profits—important for both business and workers. But exports also mean improvement in our international balance-of-payments position—important to the na-



tional economy and to the continued strength of the dollar.

Just last week, when President Johnson signed the Export-Import Bank Act; he said:

The soundness of the free world monetary system depends on our balance-of-payments position.

In hearings we held on that bill before the Banking and Currency Committee, it became abundantly clear that increased exports are a vital ingredient for reaching equilibrium in our international balance of payments. Accordingly, I am bringing to the attention of all Members this example of how even a small business can gain from exports. At the same time, I want to congratulate L. & B. Products Corp., for making a contribution to both the public and the private interest.

### The Challenge of Freedom

**HON. JAMES A. McCLURE**

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year, a young girl in my district won the Voice of America contest sponsored by the Idaho Veterans of Foreign Wars. Her name is Carol Rockwell, of Grangeville.

The Idaho County Free Press reprinted Carol's speech, and I include the text of it in the RECORD at this point:

#### THE CHALLENGE OF FREEDOM

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following is the full text of the speech by Carol Rockwell, Grangeville, which won the State VFW Voice of America contest last week in Boise.)

(By Carol Rockwell)

I am an American in High school. I have never seen a great war. I have never had to starve. From the time I was small, I have known that the richest and the strongest country in the world is my country. Millions of Americans before me have worked for what I have. They have planned, sacrificed, died for freedom. They have built America strong to protect freedom. They have gained freedom's benefits—things like wealth and educational advantages no other civilization has seen.

From the day I was born, all of this has been an accepted part of my life—So much so that I often find myself thinking I am an average citizen of the world. Because freedom is so ordinary for me, it is easy to take for granted.

There is so many things which can seem more important—individuality, self-fulfillment, making a living, living itself. Or, I can make freedom a much smaller thing than it is—merely an absence of obligation or responsibility. I can spend my life clamouring for all the rights America owes me because I was born free. I would probably not even have these ideas if it were not that I am truly free, but, it is hard to be impressed without actual experience and I have never known what it is like not to be free. The freedom that has been my way of life since I began to live challenges me to notice it, to value it, to make it grow and become better. Nothing forces me to meet this challenge, though it is the highest and most demanding of all.

My generation wants a challenge. The popularity of programs like the Peace Corps and VISTA demonstrates this. So do the profes-

sions and careers most of us choose. I think demonstrations and riots do too. But, maybe we don't want quite as powerful a challenge as Freedom offers. Freedom's challenge is to have a positive attitude. The theory behind our government by the people with freedom for everyone is that average human beings are not always trying to get away with whatever they can. They have high goals and they're interested in what is good for other people.

When the typical man is given the opportunity to make his laws, to plan his own life, not only will he do so intelligently and responsibly, but he will do it better than a great police state could. This is the theory behind our freedom and so, if America is to stay free, Americans must uphold traffic laws, litter laws, drinking laws. It is embarrassing to follow such little laws, but we are the free people, we see the reason for even the little laws. If we evade even these, our government is little more than a mockery.

Our challenge is to be moral in everything, from sex to honesty—in school, in business, in politics. How can we expect to be strong at other levels if we are weak in the most basic?

Our challenge is to love the United States, to be willing to give to her without having to.

If more Americans, a few years ago, had been givers when they were needed, or if they had merely been fair in business, there would be no need today for the Federal Anti-Poverty program, which means another tiny cut on American freedom.

Our challenge is to love God and be proud we love Him. This means more than intellectual discussion, it means more than going to church once in a while to get that "good feeling."

Freedom's challenge to me and to all Americans is to make ourselves strong and selfless. To give to America because we love her. To trust in God to make freedom a bigger thing than ever, every minute of our quiet, everyday lives.

This challenge is so big we don't like to talk about it. We don't want even to consider such a plain, unassuming thing a challenge. But it is there and I think we know it. It is a tremendous challenge, but this is what my generation wants.

Maybe we will be the Americans who meet freedom's challenge.

### The Opera House of Thomaston

**HON. THOMAS J. MESKILL**

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure for me to draw to the attention of the House a remarkable community project which is underway to restore the old opera house in Thomaston, Conn.

The opera house has long been in a state of disrepair yet it has always been recognized as unique in character and design. Its potential as a center for art and culture is tremendous.

Soon the old opera house will be ready for use again. Thomaston, under the leadership of First Selectman Patsy Piscopo, and drawing support from residents of many other surrounding communities, is working hard, raising money, and making preparations for the opening which is scheduled for May 17.

When the restoration is completed, the old opera house will provide one of the

finest theatrical facilities in the Northeast, an area noted for the excellence of its summer stock companies. I congratulate Selectman Piscopo and citizens of Thomaston for their leadership. They have had the vision to save a treasure from the past for the enjoyment and enrichment of the future. For Thomaston, it will mean a new prominence as a center of art and culture.

At this point in the RECORD, I insert a brief history of the opera house and a description of how the work of restoration was conceived and undertaken. I think my colleagues in the House will find this an outstanding example of local initiative by concerned citizens moving ahead to solve a problem on their own for the lasting benefit of the general public.

#### THE OPERA HOUSE OF THOMASTON

The Thomaston Town Hall and Opera House was begun in 1883 and completed in 1885. The cost at that time was about \$50,000. The land on which it stands was given to the town by Aaron Thomas, one of the sons of Seth Thomas. Seth Thomas was the founder of the now-famous Seth Thomas Clocks, which are still manufactured in this town.

The architect of the Opera House was R. B. Hill. The building committee consisted of F. E. Warner, A. P. Bradstreet, C. F. Williams and James W. White.

The Opera House has a wooden floor measuring about 60' x 60'. It has three sections of fixed seating (384) with four 45-foot longitudinal aisles four feet wide. The stage, equipped with lifts and other professional type of stage fixtures and accessories, measures 29' x 29' with a large fly loft, equipped with stage and auditorium light control panel. There are two dressing rooms on each side of this stage area. The entire auditorium side wall area is plaster on wood lath with damask wall covering. There are four exit doorways from the auditorium, two interior stairways, and two onto fire escapes. There is a seven-foot-wide standee-area with a manager's office and two lounges. There is a stairway situated north of the standee-area which leads to the balcony. The entrance to the auditorium area is situated on the Main Street side. The box office is just inside the Main Entrance. Large theatrical billboards are placed along the landings leading to the main floor.

The balcony, horse-shoe shaped with its exquisite decor, is situated over the rear third area of the second floor constituting the "third story." It has five small sections of fixed seating totaling 221 with four longitudinal aisles, two feet wide which connect into a four-foot-wide back aisle. There are two, three-foot-wide exit doors which exit onto a fire escape on the west side of the building.

The abandoned projection booth 16' x 12' x 9' is situated in rear center of the balcony.

One of the outstanding features of this historic opera house is its acoustics. Vocal sounds carry well up into the remote parts of the balcony section.

On February 15, 1967, an organizational meeting was held in the Court Room of the Town Hall for the purpose of forming a committee for the restoration of the Opera House, with Thomas Babbitt of Litchfield, Connecticut, as the architect. On May 1, 1967, a "Festival of Arts" Committee was formed to plan for a Festival to be held from September 10th to September 16th, 1967. The purpose of this committee was to raise money for the needed projects.

On May 31, 1967, a Special Town Meeting was held to pass an ordinance for the creation of The Opera House Committee.

The first activity to raise money was the auction held in one of the vacant stores. \$400.00 was raised to defray the cost of

cleaning material and paint. This started the ball rolling.

On April 1, 1967 a "General Cleaning Day" was held. Various civic organizations, teenagers, and housewives brought their brooms and vacuum cleaners and worked from early morning until late in the day. With 75 people working they did an excellent job.

During the spring of 1967, a Thomaston Day was held in conjunction with the Waterbury Giants baseball team. A sizable sum was realized for the cause.

The "Festival of Arts" was held from September 10 to September 16, 1967, starting with a large parade. Organizations from all around the state participated, Firemen, Drum Corps, Drill Teams and Civic Organizations—the whole week was filled; Art Shows, Concerts, Drama Presentations, Variety Shows, Ballet, Teen-Age Dances and movies for children with TV personalities present.

Inmates of a Litchfield County Institution were asked to help in the work. In September 1967 work was started in earnest.

The complete Opera House was completely painted with fireproof paint. The damask wall covering was cleaned and fireproofed. Seats were re-upholstered. The Ladies and Men's Lounges were completely refurbished and new fixtures installed. New flooring laid in the foyer. All doors and exists were repaired and restored to the Fire Marshall's specifications. New electrical panel board was installed and new wiring placed in conduits to meet standards. Fire walls were installed where recommended.

Still to be completed but already started is the installation of the curtain, laying of the plush carpets from the entryway up the stairs into the foyer and down the aisles.

The opening program is scheduled for May 17, 1968 with the Stag Club, which was the last organization to use the facilities.

Response from the citizens of Thomaston in the present drive to raise money for the completion of the first step, the opening day, has been exceptional. The goal has almost been reached. With the continued support of the Town Administration and the citizens themselves, we shall soon be over the top and memories will be changed into realities.

### Growing Concern of All Citizens

#### HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the American Farm Bureau Federation shares the growing concern felt by all responsible citizens with regard to the perilous fiscal situation of our country.

During the past several weeks experts on the Farm Bureau staff have done a careful and exhaustive analysis of the 1969 Federal budget in an effort to find where reductions may be made. They have concluded that reductions in new spending authority of \$7.3 billion which would be reflected in spending reductions of \$5.9 billion are possible without undue curtailment of any essential Federal activity.

Without endorsing any specific recommendation of this Farm Bureau study, I wish to compliment this work and to share it with Members who are also interested in cutting expenditures.

I will include with my remarks a summary of the Farm Bureau recommendations. The more detailed and

voluminous work on which this summary is based is available from the Farm Bureau or at my office.

The summary follows:

#### AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION RECOMMENDS CUTTING U.S. BUDGET BY \$7.3 BILLION

Following action by the Board of Directors on March 6, the American Farm Bureau Federation has made specific recommendations to cut new spending authority in the Administration's budget for fiscal 1969 by more than \$7.3 billion.

The budget, sent to Congress in late January, calls for new spending authority of \$201.7 billion and expenditures of \$186.1 billion for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1968. Farm Bureau's recommendations for reductions, which cover 77 items in the budget, would result in total reduction of \$7,344.9 million of new spending authority (see table on this page). Actual spending in fiscal 1969 would be cut by \$5,973.1 million. The balance, the difference between the 1969 spending authority reductions and expenditure reductions, would be saved in future years.

The recommended cuts for 1969 are over \$2 billion more than the \$5.2 billion reduction in the fiscal 1968 budget recommended by Farm Bureau. Congress made reductions of about \$3.5 billion in line with Farm Bureau's 1968 recommendations.

Included in the recommended reductions for 1969 are a number of cuts in the USDA budget. If Farm Bureau's recommendations for changes in the wheat and feed grains programs are adopted, expenditures could be reduced by an estimated \$400 million in 1969—and by greater amounts in future years. Since new spending authority for price support and adjustment programs is voted two years after expenditures have been made, no reduction in new spending authority could be achieved in 1969.

One of the largest single recommendations for reduction calls for saving \$800 million of the anticipated budget increase due to the government pay increase. Farm Bureau recommends that this amount could be saved by absorbing the cost of the increase through reduction of the total government work force.

Other major reductions were proposed in military research and development, military assistance, foreign aid, urban renewal, demonstration cities, and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

#### FARM BUREAU'S RECOMMENDED BUDGET REDUCTIONS

[Fiscal 1969. In millions of dollars]

	New spending authority	Expendi- tures
Military research and development.....	600.0	500.0
Military assistance.....	420.0	519.0
Military plant and equipment.....	100.0	75.0
Foreign aid.....	865.0	132.0
International Development Association.....	240.0	10.0
Space programs.....	200.0	200.0
ASCS salaries.....	15.3	12.0
Federal crop insurance.....	2.0	2.0
Price support and adjustment.....		400.0
Farmer Cooperative Service.....	.5	.5
Economic Research Service.....	1.2	1.2
Statistical Reporting Service.....	.8	1.0
Consumer protection.....	8.2	11.0
Rural community development.....	.5	.5
Corps of Army Engineers.....	155.0	155.0
Sewer grants.....	22.0	18.0
Mineral resources.....	2.5	.5
Fish flour development.....	3.3	2.9
Land and water conservation fund.....	30.0	70.0
Geological Survey.....	7.7	9.0
Supersonic transport.....	223.0	251.0
Highway beautification.....	85.0	51.0
Railroad Administration.....	5.4	6.7
Post Office.....	165.0	165.0
Environmental sciences.....	12.7	8.9
Bureau of Standards.....	5.4	3.0
Secretary of Transportation.....	5.4	6.5
Appalachian development.....	87.0	92.0
Economic development.....	20.7	32.2
Foreign investment controls.....	4.5	4.2
Low rent housing.....	59.0	55.0

#### FARM BUREAU'S RECOMMENDED BUDGET REDUCTIONS—

Continued

[Fiscal 1969. In millions of dollars]

	New spending authority	Expendi- tures
Public Housing Administration.....	2.3	2.3
Neighborhood grants.....	10.0	17.0
Urban renewal.....	500.0	500.0
Urban planning grants.....	24.0	15.0
Metropolitan grants.....	10.0	3.0
Sewer and water grants.....	65.0	30.0
Metropolitan development expenses.....	2.5	2.5
Mass transit research.....	15.0	6.0
Demonstration cities.....	500.0	250.0
Urban and community training.....	6.8	6.0
Urban research.....	10.0	4.0
Housing Department salaries.....	7.4	7.4
District of Columbia subway.....	50.0	15.0
New housing.....	30.0	14.0
Food and Drug salaries.....	3.9	3.9
Health planning.....	55.0	32.0
Health manpower education.....	39.0	46.0
National Institutes of Health.....	48.0	32.0
Maternal health grants.....	62.0	46.0
Manpower development.....	28.0	14.0
New manpower program.....	4.6	2.3
Consumer interests.....	.4	.3
Equal Employment Commission.....	6.5	5.4
Office of Economic Opportunity.....	500.0	500.0
School lunch.....	25.0	25.0
Food stamps.....	20.0	15.0
Rehabilitation grants.....	62.0	62.0
Program for aging.....	7.5	13.2
New juvenile delinquency program.....	25.0	20.0
Elementary and secondary school aid.....	218.0	142.0
Teacher Corps.....	17.7	8.4
Improvement of handicapped.....	32.0	24.0
Civil rights education.....	15.0	13.3
Higher education.....	66.0	33.0
Foreign language training.....	3.6	9.9
National Science Foundation.....	20.0	24.0
Professions development.....	87.0	25.0
New vocational programs.....	15.0	7.0
Adult literacy program.....	12.0	41.0
Research and training.....	51.0	30.0
Office of Education salaries.....	8.6	7.1
Medical care.....	50.0	60.0
Internal Revenue Service.....	32.0	35.0
New crime program.....	50.0	29.0
Other pay increases.....	800.0	800.0
Contingency.....	400.0	200.0
Total reductions.....	7,344.9	5,973.1

### Hungarian Independence Day Hailed

#### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, on March 15, just 120 years ago, the people of Hungary rose up under the heroic leadership of Louis Kossuth to fight for their freedom from the oppressive Hapsburg Empire.

For a time it appeared that the inspired battle for independence would succeed. The Honved army opened a brilliant offensive in the spring of 1849 and virtually drove the Austrians from Hungary. On April 14, 1849, the Hungarian Parliament formally approved the dissolution of Hapsburg authority in Hungary and Kossuth became President.

But then the tide of victory turned against the Hungarians. As was to happen 107 years later in 1956, the might of Russia was unleashed against the forces of freedom and justice.

Czar Nicholas I of Russia was a leader of European reaction against the concepts of liberalism and nationalism; he sent a Russian army into Hungary. Although the fighting was intense, the end was certain from the beginning. The Hungarians capitulated on August 13. Kossuth and several other Hungarian leaders managed to escape. Former Hungarian Premier Batthyany, 13 Honved



generals, and hundreds of other leaders were executed.

Americans reacted bitterly when the revolution was crushed with the assistance of the Russian czar. Full expression of their individual sympathy for the Hungarian cause met Kossuth when he arrived in this country for a visit in December 1851. He received an extraordinary welcome in New York unmatched by anything since Lafayette's triumphal tour.

Official Washington received Kossuth with great enthusiasm. At a Washington banquet honoring Kossuth, Secretary of State Webster probably reflected the general sentiments of Americans when he declared:

We shall rejoice to see our American model upon the Lower Danube and on the mountains of Hungary . . . I limit my aspirations for Hungary, for the present, to that single and simple point, —Hungarian independence, Hungarian self-government, Hungarian control of Hungarian destinies.

Mr. Speaker, the Hungarian people have never recoiled from duty. For Hungarians, the search for autonomy has gone on for close to 1,000 years. It was a moment of unbelievable bravery when, on March 15, 1848, the Hungarians reached out to strike off the chains of Hapsburg slavery. It was perhaps even a greater moment on October 23, 1956, that terminated in a Russian bloodbath so savage as to defy description.

To Hungarians everywhere I salute the memory of their wonderful heritage. To my colleagues I commend the courage of a people who have been trapped in bondage, but have never yielded to it.

### Backbone of the Military Services

#### HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I take pleasure in calling attention of the Congress to the work of the Non-Commissioned Officers Association of the United States. The members of this organization come from that fine group who long have made up the backbone of the military services. It consists of active, reserve, and retired noncommissioned and petty officers of all branches of the services—and it is particularly interesting to note that of its total membership, approaching 30,000, more than 15,000 have served honorably in Vietnam.

This year's annual convention of the Non-Commissioned Officers Association will be held in San Antonio, Tex., April 24 to 26.

A recent letter to the association written by the Assistant Secretary of Defense expresses the appreciation of President Lyndon B. Johnson and will be of interest:

To the members of the NCO Association of the USA:

On the occasion of your General Annual Membership Meeting, I want to commend your Association for its patriotic efforts in behalf of a strong national defense.

Today our men and women in uniform are faced with grave responsibility for attaining peace with honor in a restive world. We are grateful for their strength and effectiveness. As members of the Armed Forces, you realize more than anyone else how much their selfless performance depends on the wholehearted support of the American people they are defending. I am confident the tangible expression of that support in your work here and during the months ahead will be of great encouragement to your comrades-in-arms.

The President greatly appreciates the support for U.S. policies in Vietnam as expressed in the resolution presented to the Association members. Such expressions are a source of encouragement to him in these difficult times.

On behalf of the President and speaking for the Department of Defense, I extend our best wishes for the success of your Annual Meeting.

Sincerely,

PHIL G. GOULDING.

It is interesting to note that within the past year there has been a significant growth in membership of the association. New chapters have been formed in Florida and these include two new chapters in the Pensacola area alone. The increase in membership is also demonstrated in the fact that within the same period of time, the Non-Commissioned Officers Association has tripled the number of chapters. There are now 135 chapters throughout the United States and in overseas areas.

An example of the association's patriotic interest is illustrated in the recent adoption of a resolution which confirms their wholehearted support and assurance of a vote of confidence in their Commander in Chief and their local commanders. This resolution also indicates the emphasis placed by the Non-Commissioned Officers Association on the need of national spirit and the importance of a unified effort.

The association seeks to improve the education and add to the information of its own members. Various services are offered, among which is the personal affairs division. This service is directed toward informing the noncommissioned officer of his Government benefits, give him an awareness of the limitations of those benefits, and assist him generally in all of his legitimate interests.

The ideals and efforts of the Non-Commissioned Officers Association are intended to lead to greater awareness and knowledge of current events. The organization constantly seeks to make its members more conscious of worthwhile military, civilian, and community projects. They seek greater participation of members in these projects on a voluntary basis, and they stress the importance of close cooperation and assistance for their officers in the performance of their duties.

An organization of this type which seeks to develop better citizens is a credit to the Nation and I am sure we all agree that these men, who seek to honor the flag instead of burning it, deserve our consideration.

It is well to keep in mind that their advice and counsel could be very useful in the consideration of legislation affecting enlisted men.

### Vietnam Reappraisal: "We All Need To Do Our Part"

#### HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, it is obvious that our overall policy in Vietnam is being made the subject of a full-scale reappraisal, not only here in Congress, but by many, many Americans in all walks of life.

There is no magic solution to our Vietnamese dilemma. There is no single step, or action, we could take that would at once end the conflict and produce meaningful negotiations out of which one could guarantee a result that would be commensurate with the investment in lives and treasure we have made, so far, in South Vietnam's future.

Nevertheless, there is a growing doubt—in which I share—that what we are attempting to do in this particularly complex and difficult war is worth its mounting price.

The President, through Secretary Rusk, has just gotten through saying that our policy in Vietnam is being "reviewed from A to Z," but from the President's subsequent statements and comments it would appear that, at best, that policy is being reviewed, say, only from A to B.

Since the spring of 1965, when this war—and the American commitment to it—began to take on a new shape, and to assume dimensions in depth far exceeding those possibly contemplated by Congress when it earlier passed the now-famous Tonkin Gulf resolution, I have been urging Congress to play its limited constitutional, but tremendously important, role in inquiring into, clarifying, evaluating and, insofar as it can, modifying foreign policy of the sort now being applied by us in Southeast Asia.

The questions so many of us are asking ourselves, now, about Vietnam are not easy ones for any proud or patriotic American to answer. But the questions have to be asked, and answers sought, and we should permit neither pride nor blind patriotism to induce us to continue to follow what may have become both an unwise and unnecessarily costly policy.

Until the day comes when, on this side of the Capitol, an appropriate committee of this House provides us with a focused forum within which this process can be carried forward, as, perhaps, by adoption of the Findley resolution—House Concurrent Resolution 508—which I cosponsored last year and which has now attracted a total of 140 cosponsors, we can only go on in our own individual ways to bring to each other's attention material and opinions that should actually be subjected to committee consideration.

One such item which has just come to my attention is the following editorial from the March issue of the publication known as Space/Aeronautics, which, under leave granted, is now set forth:

THE PRICE IS WRONG

Among those who have publicly questioned our current Vietnam policy, the leaders of

the aerospace community have been notable by their absence. Yet in many cases, silence cloaks serious and growing doubts as to whether this particular war is worth its mounting price.

There are good reasons why these doubts are not forcefully expressed. A generation of managers nurtured on the concept of "deterrence" is uncommonly aware of the strategic value of apparent national determination. Pragmatic to the core, aerospace managers see little point to criticism without solutions. Most important, it has always been considered politic for the industry to support the views of its major customers.

Certainly the industry must not do less than its best to provide the kind of weapon systems the government decides it needs. But aerospace engineers and managers, at whatever level, have the same right and the same duty as other citizens to question whether those weapons are being used the right way, in the right place, and at the right time.

There are some who feel that the military judgment in such matters should be supreme and beyond question. Among the military, however, there is an understandable bias toward military solutions. Moreover, as has been convincingly documented elsewhere, the military has from the very beginning of our Vietnam involvement made one wrong estimate of the situation after another. If it weren't for faulty military judgment, in fact, we might not be in the Vietnam box at all.

Under the circumstances, it's not surprising that the military wants a victory, however dearly won. But what the country needs is a solution. It cannot be, considering the geopolitical realities, a solution that denies a determined, disciplined enemy any gain for his costly effort. Yet it need not be total abandonment of Southeast Asia to his designs. It must be a solution that permits us to reallocate our resources—to restore cuts in our military and other research, to get the space program moving again, and to mount a vigorous attack on our decaying social environment.

If we draw back in South Vietnam, say to the coastal plain, must those nations who rely on us for protection grow faint of heart? Not necessarily. Our forces, weapons and tactics have been newly forged in the fires of Vietnam. Freed—at least in part—of the Vietnam millstone they should remain a credible deterrent to casual adventurism.

But as the USSR expands its military presence around the globe, we must realize, too, that the "limited war" ante is going up. Before playing the game next time we'd better be certain that there is a nation to defend and that the aggression is unambiguously external—or at least that the threat to our vital interests is as clear to our enemies as to ourselves.

Perhaps after we've learned how to make it possible for black and white people to live together here at home, we'll be better prepared for "nation-building" in Asia or elsewhere. Meanwhile, there are decisions too vital to human survival to be left to the professionals. We all need to do our part.

### Humphrey Tux Is Flying High

#### HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, while bankers from several nations were meeting with U.S. Treasury officials on the gold crisis last weekend, President Johnson told a businessmen's conference:

We must tighten our belts and adopt an austere program.

Within a matter of hours, at least one belt was being tightened—a seat belt on Vice President HUMPHREY's tuxedo. This morning's Washington Post reports:

#### HUMPHREY TUX IS FLYING HIGH

The Air Force flew a \$2 million jet from Scranton, Pa., to Washington and back again Sunday night with an unusual passenger—Vice President Humphrey's tuxedo.

The Air Force came to Humphrey's aid again yesterday, this time to explain that the tux had been left behind in the rush to avoid poor weather conditions for the flight.

It also was explained that the Vice President's pilot made the rescue mission without his chief's knowledge so that Humphrey could be properly dressed at a St. Patrick's Day speech in Scranton.

Also picked up were some speech materials presumably used the next day in Minneapolis when Humphrey introduced President Johnson.

As a footnote to the administration's current talk of belt tightening, I quote the following comment from a letter just received from a North Dakota constituent:

Throughout my lifetime of 60 years, I have tightened my belt whenever the income did not meet the needs or desires of my family. I only wish those in charge of the spending in Washington would do the same. We of the lower income group haven't any notches left in our belts.

With the administration pushing for tax restrictions on U.S. travel abroad, this would seem to be a particularly good time to "ground" Mr. HUMPHREY's tuxedo.

### Lithuanian Independence

#### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a resolution of the Lithuanian-American Committee and Lithuanian Americans of Greater Boston, commemorating the 50th anniversary of the restoration of the independence of Lithuania.

This resolution is very inspiring to me, since I am strongly committed to the cause of Lithuanian liberation and independence.

The Lithuanian people have a rich heritage of love of freedom and willingness to sacrifice themselves and their possessions to maintain and preserve it. Their history is marked by memorable sacrifices for their independence, autonomy and right to govern their own affairs.

The soil of their native land is drenched with the blood of Lithuanian patriots who fought and died to protect their freedoms and to liberate their nation and their people from the slavery and dictatorial control.

I welcome the opportunity to express my admiration of the brave, gallant Lithuanian people and their long, bloody struggle for freedom, personal liberty, and independence.

There are many people of Lithuanian blood in my district and State, and they stand out as loyal American citizens and supporters and defenders of the Nation in war and in peace.

Their presence here in our country has greatly enriched American institutions, because they have brought loyalty, morality, high cultural standards, and the spirit of warm friendship and cooperation to our country and to the many American communities in which they live.

I deplore the circumstances under which they were consigned to the control of the Soviet Union and Communist regimes, and I reaffirm my support for their cause of liberation and freedom, and urge our President, State Department, and Congress to continue to extend these people encouragement and support in their high aims to break the shackles of oppression and slavery imposed upon them by communism.

This Nation of ours can do no less than to express our complete sympathy with Lithuanian aims for self-determination, freedom, and justice, and I am proud to reaffirm my faith in the cause of Lithuania and the purpose of liberty-loving Americans to render Lithuania every possible counsel, support, and loyalty in achieving their aims of reinstating a free government in their beautiful land.

I urge that our State Department move along every possible line to help the brave, dauntless people of Lithuania to reestablish free institutions and again take their place among the nations of the free world, and I commend the leadership of the American Lithuanian people for their determination to continue this struggle for liberation and freedom for their country until it is won. Long live the spirit of free Lithuania. And may that proud nation and its loyal people soon find deliverance and freedom.

The resolution referred to above, follows:

#### RESOLUTION

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the restoration of the independence of Lithuania, we, the representatives of the Lithuanian community of Boston, Massachusetts, assembled at the John Hancock Hall in Boston on February 18, 1968 in order to:

Commemorate Lithuania's Declaration of Independence, proclaimed in Vilnius on February 16, 1918, whereby a sovereign Lithuanian state was restored which had antecedents in the Kingdom of Lithuania, established in 1251;

Honor the memory of the generations of Lithuanian freedom fighters who fought in 1812, 1831, 1863, 1905, 1918-20, and 1941-52 to defend Lithuania's national aspirations and values against foreign oppressors;

Recall with pride the political, cultural, economic, and social achievements of the Republic of Lithuania during the independence era of 1918-40;

And express our indignation over the interruption of Lithuania's sovereign functioning by the military occupation of our homeland by the Soviet Union on June 15, 1940, as a result of which national traditions and values were trampled, the civil liberties of the people suppressed, and hundreds of thousands of people liquidated by Soviet genocidal practices.

Gravely concerned with the present plight of Soviet-occupied Lithuania and moved by a spirit of solidarity, we, the representatives



of the Lithuanian community of Boston, Massachusetts, do hereby protest Soviet Russia's aggression and the following crimes perpetrated by the Soviets in occupied Lithuania:

1. murder and deportations of more than 400,000 Lithuanian citizens to concentration camps in Siberia and other areas of Soviet Russia for slave labor;

2. yearly systematic deportations, under various guises, of Lithuanian youths to forced labor in Soviet Russia and their unlawful conscription into the Soviet Russian army;

3. colonization of Lithuania by the importation of Russians, most of whom are Communists or undesirables, who receive various privileges at the expense of the Lithuanian people;

4. pauperization of the Lithuanian people, conversion of once free farmers into forced laborers on state and collective farms, as well as the exploitation of workers;

5. persecution of religion, restriction of religious practices, closing of houses of worship;

6. distortion of Lithuanian culture by efforts to transform it into Soviet Russian culture, and continuous denial of creative freedom.

We demand that Soviet Russia immediately withdraw from Lithuania its armed forces, administrative apparatus, and colonists, letting the Lithuanian nation freely exercise its sovereign right to self-determination.

We support the efforts of the United States of America to discourage communist aggression wherever it may occur.

We request the Government of the United States of America to raise the issue of Lithuania in the United Nations and at international conferences, as well as to support our just requests for the condemnation of Soviet aggression in Lithuania and for the abolition of Soviet colonial rule there.

### Legislation To Protect the Small Businessman

**HON. JAMES A. MCCLURE**

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. MCCLURE. Mr. Speaker, as the Federal Government has grown, so have the powers of the regulatory agencies. But just as power corrupts, the vast discretion left to the agencies in administering the laws has too often led to arbitrary decisions not in the public interest.

It is easy enough to say that the citizen can take his grievance into the courts. But the truth is that litigation costs are so great that the aggrieved party often accepts an unfair decision rather than fight it.

The massive Federal bureaucracy is simply wearing down the private citizen, and justice is denied in many instances.

I heard recently of a small company which fought an unfair decision all the way to the Supreme Court. After 3½ years of litigation, the company won its battle. However, the price for standing up for principle was \$185,000 and the company went bankrupt. It was a rather hollow victory.

I am introducing a bill today which simply says that when civil action is brought against the Federal Govern-

ment and the United States is not the prevailing party, the Government is liable for all fees and costs of the aggrieved party.

It is my hope that this bill will force the agencies to be absolutely certain their decisions are fair as well as to enable the businessman—the small businessman in particular—to deal more effectively with the Federal bureaucracy.

### Dateline Washington

**HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, on January 23, 1968, I extended remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in which I included questions being asked approximately 8,200 of my constituents on vital issues facing the Nation.

At this time I should like to include in the RECORD my newsletter No. 2 which is being sent to the same group of constituents. It includes the tabulation of responses to my questionnaire and additional comments.

My newsletter follows:

DATeline WASHINGTON—REPORT FROM CONGRESSMAN ED ESHLEMAN

#### MAJOR LEGISLATION

The 90th Congress will be considering several areas of major domestic consequence as legislative activity continues this year. In this report, I shall try to give you a brief synopsis of some of the proposed laws and an evaluation of the Congressional mood about these issues. This summation is intended to inform you of what is now and what may happen.

#### Tax surcharge

The Administration's attempt to impose a tax increase has thus far met with stiff opposition in the Congress. The anti-tax mood is in large part a reaction to overwhelming constituent opinion from all parts of the nation. The Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, where this legislation is being considered, has blocked the surcharge proposals partially because he is known to believe that passage in the House of Representatives is presently impossible. Increased war costs and/or international monetary pressures could conceivably lead to higher taxes, but Congress will demand spending cuts in the Federal budget in return for any new tax.

#### Lawlessness

The ever-increasing wave of lawlessness has made effective legislation for dealing with this problem a major concern with the Congress. One of the keys to solution seems to be greater employment opportunities for now disadvantaged people. In plain words—JOBS. While every effort must be made to help people help themselves, it is necessary that the administration of justice be strengthened too. Both of these recommendations were stressed in the recent report of the Commission on Civil Disorders. In effect, they said that those who break the law must be held accountable for their crimes or the destruction they cause will negate any benefits of greater employment. Implementation of the entire program proposed by the "Riot Commission" is unlikely at the present time because Congressional cost estimates range far outside practical

bounds. In addition, the Commission's reliance on the wornout Federal aid structure for financing urban programs is judged by many as unsound.

#### Balance of payments

The increased outflow of dollars to other nations and the subsequent drain of our gold stock is an economic problem that has reached crisis proportions. The travel tax has been offered as the means for dealing with the problem; yet many Congressional observers seem to feel that this is attacking a major problem with one of the most minor solutions available. Alternative suggestions ask for a more comprehensive program to stem the dollar outflow. Such a program would include elimination of domestic fiscal imbalances; realistic reductions in overseas military and economic programs; prevention from foreign dumping of low labor cost items on U.S. markets; seeing that exports exceed imports; collection of past debts owed us by other nations; and directing more of the profits made by American investments overseas back into this country.

#### Code of ethics

The case for an establishment of a Congressional Code of Ethics grew largely out of the Powell and Dodd decisions. Constitutionally, Congress has the power to discipline its own members, but guidelines are definitely needed. Already a Committee on Standards of Official Conduct has been established and there is a good chance that a specific code will be passed this session. Here too, public opinion has played a major role in influencing the favorable attitude of many legislators toward this type of self-regulation.

#### QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

The questionnaire, issued on the last edition of this newsletter, asked for your responses about many of the problems of the day. It was difficult, I know, to respond with "yes" and "no" answers to such complex and serious questions. However, the votes taken in the Congress must be reduced to those alternatives even though some good is excluded by a "no" vote and some bad may be included in a "yes" vote.

The choices you made on the Vietnam War seem to indicate a good deal of confusion and frustration about that conflict, which is understandable. Your opinions looked this way statistically:

(1) 66% believed that the United States has an obligation to prevent the Communist takeover of underdeveloped countries, 22% said no and 12% had no opinion.

(2) 55% of the respondents said they think they know why we are fighting there, 39% do not have a clear idea and there were 6% with no response.

(3) 63% of you did not approve of the President's handling of the war, 30% did approve and 7% had no opinion.

(4) 69% said a more definite effort toward military victory should be made, 21% did not agree and 10% expressed no preference.

(5) 45% thought that "hot pursuit" into nations like Cambodia would overextend the U.S. commitment while 40% thought it would not and 15% voiced no opinion.

(6) 76% of the respondents did not feel the Administration is telling all they should on the war, 12% believed that enough information was being received and 12% did not express themselves.

(7) 46% favored American action in a situation like Vietnam should one arise, 37% said no and 17% had no opinion.

The tax question showed a definite reluctance to accept the President's request for a 10% surcharge. Statistically it looked like this:

(1) 74% do not favor a tax increase at this time, 19% do and 7% had no preference.

(2) Of the people unfavorable toward new taxes, 62% would favor the tax hike if it was preceded by a cut in federal spending, 32%

still would not want new taxes and 6% gave no response.

(3) 71% of the respondents think we can maintain a healthy economy by cutting spending and keeping present tax levels, 12% are not so minded and 17% voiced no thought on the subject.

(4) 80% said that a spending ceiling on the Executive Branch should accompany any tax hike, 10% said it should not and 10% had no preference.

Of the other questions posed, some produced rather definite opinions in that high percentages one way or the other were registered. These were:

(1) 60% of those responding are disenchanted with the Federal farm price support programs. Only 15% supported these programs and a rather high 25% had no response.

(2) 81% voiced the opinion that labor unions should be curbed in their power to strike in instances where the public's vital interest is at stake.

(3) 63% said that the government should not be the primary contributor in helping the poor to help themselves.

(4) 65% of you did not believe the required gold reserve should be eliminated. It is interesting to note here that Congress voted just the opposite of your choice, but not with my support.

Some questions produced percentages that indicated that your combined opinions are more divergent. They were:

(1) 58% of you said that anti-draft demonstrators should not be immediately drafted, but 35% said they should. 54% thought that the courts were the best place to handle the anti-draft cases, whereas 34% were not in favor of court action.

(2) 52% of the respondents believed that the President's proposed health care for poor children was a good idea, and 38% were against the plan.

(3) It was a direct 44% to 44% split on the question of the Administration's \$2.1 billion manpower proposal.

(4) 52% said that they did not support the travel tax and 40% were favorable toward this plan.

### A Gold Mine in Your Backyard

**HON. THOMAS M. PELLY**

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the second session of the 90th Congress is well along with its business, and once again, I find conditions in America's maritime industry becoming worse and worse while the administration fails to advance a real, aggressive, positive maritime program. Only a dynamic education program on Americans will move the administration to act in this vital industry, a point raised in an article by Page Groton, director of the Boilermakers Iron Shipbuilders Marine Council in the April issue of their publication, *Reporter*. I believe this is imperative reading for all Members of Congress, and I offer it for their information. The article follows:

#### A GOLD MINE IN YOUR BACKYARD

(By Page Groton, director, Boilermakers Iron Shipbuilders Marine Council)

In our continuing fight to revive our dying merchant marine and to secure work for American shipyards, we have been unable to penetrate the wall of public indifference and

apathy. In my humble opinion, once we are able to penetrate this wall, and the public becomes aware of the Nation's plight, and the indisputable fact that while we might beat the Russians to the moon, the Russians will probably run us off of this continent by control of the seas, then and only then will we have sufficient support to force this Administration to enact meaningful legislation which will revive our merchant fleet.

Shipbuilding in the various parts of the country is simply taken for granted by the community without fully realizing the economic advantages which a thriving shipyard contributes to the economy of the area. To dramatically illustrate the direct economic value of the shipbuilding industry to a community, the Assistant Business Manager of Lodge 104, Jim O'Brien, came up with these eye-opening facts and figures concerning his home State of Washington. He pointed out that:

1. Last year, the private shipyards of the state employed an average of 9,200 men. Another 9,000 at the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard raised the total to more than 18,000. This is exceeded, among the state's basic industries, only by aerospace, 85,300; forest products, 75,000; agriculture 70,500; and food processing, 28,100. It exceeds machinery, 13,900; nonferrous metals, 9,700; and fabricated metals, 7,500.

2. Each job in basic industry (manufacturing and agriculture) last year was supporting 2.49 jobs in secondary activities (trade, services, government, utilities, etc.). On this basis the 18,200 jobs in shipbuilding supported 45,300 other jobs, or a total of 63,500.

3. Each job, basic or secondary, supports 2.60 individuals. Thus the shipbuilding industry directly and indirectly supports a population of 165,000 ( $18,200 \times 3.49 \times 2.60$ ).

4. The shipbuilding industry of the state produced goods valued at \$218 million in 1963, according to an input-output study conducted by the University of Washington. In doing so it purchased \$22.8 million of goods and services from other industries in the state and \$47.9 million from industries elsewhere in the United States. Industries which benefited most directly were iron and steel (\$4.0 million), business services (\$3.0 million), and wholesale and retail trade (\$2.6 million). All of the figures, of course, will have increased substantially since 1963.

It seems to me that the facts and figures supplied by Brother O'Brien lead to the following definite conclusions:

First, that the shipbuilding industry is a valuable national asset and has a tremendous economic impact on the State of Washington.

Secondly, that if the proposals to build American ships in foreign shipyards became the policy of this Administration, and all of the shipyard jobs and those in allied industries were wiped out, the State of Washington would be hard put to secure employment for these men.

To put it simply, in cities and towns where we have a thriving shipyard, the benefits to the economy of those areas are tremendous. I believe it is safe to say that the statistics which apply to the State of Washington, would, in large measure, apply to every other state in the United States having sizeable shipyard installations. Therefore, I would urge the members of our Shipyard Lodges to do everything possible to convey to the butcher, the baker and Mr. John Q. Public, the stake he has in a healthy thriving industry and urge his support in our effort to have meaningful legislation.

At this writing, there is no evidence that the White House, which promised a new policy and a program in 1965, is going to deliver.

Collectively we must continue to demand action reminding one and all that 1968 is an Election Year.

### Poland's Communists Engage in Anti-Semitic Scapegoating To Suppress Freedom

**HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 13, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, 2 weeks ago a Warsaw theater was showing the classic play, "Dziady" by Poland's greatest poet, Adam Mickiewicz. It is a 19th century play with a 19th century theme, but it has a very timely note. At one point, a character reminds the Poles that they cannot rely on their Russian neighbor—"all they send us from Moscow is jackasses and fools."

Night after night this line in the play drew an ovation from the Polish audience. Predictably, the Soviet Government complained to its satellite. Predictably, the Polish Government ordered the closing of the play. The Polish Government's willingness to censor its national poet to placate its domineering Russian neighbor was itself a spark that ignited a long-smoldering ferment in the Warsaw community. Students, intellectuals, workers, were furious. Two students picketed and were arrested. Then in quick succession came clashes between students and police in Warsaw, Cracow, Poznan, and seven other Polish cities.

The government, alarmed by the first clashes, reexamined its position. It was not ready to take the independent course of Yugoslavia, Rumania, and hopefully, Czechoslovakia, to free itself of Russian domination and give its own people more freedom. Instead, it undertook repression. It resorted to the brute force of police clubs and fire hoses, and the more veiled but hardly less brutal technique of creating a scapegoat. It proclaimed that Zionists were responsible.

The Communists make much of their devotion to the principles and ideology of their leader, Lenin. This time they scarcely paid lipservice to Lenin's denunciation of anti-Semitism as the tool of corrupt and ignorant politicians. They adopted instead the advices of his hated adversary, the Russian czars, who time and again when confronted with a popular upsurge for freedom or for bread, incited pogroms against the Jews.

A scant 25,000 Jews remain in Poland in a total population of 31 million. Yet a number of Jewish officials in the Polish Government whose sons have been involved in the student demonstrations have been singled out and dismissed. The Government has made hypocritical disclaimers of anti-Semitism in such a way as to highlight its charge of Zionist leadership of the student revolt.

It is a cruel irony that the Polish Government is planning a celebration of Jewish heroism in the Warsaw ghetto uprising. As Dr. William A. Wexler, President of B'nai B'rith has said:



It is a cruel mockery of the Warsaw martyrs to use Jews as scapegoats in a campaign to suppress freedom.

The causes of the disturbances are not far to seek. They are rooted in a widespread popular discontent over Soviet domination of Polish foreign affairs and over the arbitrary suppression of intellectual and academic freedom.

History tells us that such movements for freedom may be temporarily slowed or diverted, but they cannot be destroyed. And history tells us also that a people mature enough to insist on freedom is too mature to succumb to the divisive technique of anti-Semitic scapegoating. We shall hope that the leaders of Poland have learned these lessons of history.

### A Boost for Gold Industry

#### HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I feel certain the recent decision of nations in the international gold pool will give a much needed boost to this country's gold mining industry.

The problems which have plagued our gold industry are numerous, but one of the most serious is the pressure exerted by the legally established price of gold at \$35 an ounce. As you know, this price was set early in the 1930's.

Since then, the price of mining gold has increased just as the overhead and production costs of every other industry have increased. Yet the established price remains and, one after another, most of the gold mines in this country have been forced to close.

I want to emphasize, Mr. Speaker, that this has not happened because the demand for gold has grown less. On the contrary, the demand for gold for commercial uses has increased steadily and for the last several years it has been far greater than our domestic production.

It is unfair to ask our gold producers to pay higher salaries; to implement modern and more expensive mining techniques; and to purchase more sophisticated machinery and yet to accept a product price which is more than 35 years old just as it would be unfair to impose similar restrictions on any other industry.

For several years I have urged that legislation be enacted which would remove our gold mining industry from the fatal restrictions which have been imposed. I am disappointed legislation I introduced calling for a subsidy which would encourage our gold industry and counter the dampening effect which the established gold price has had has not been approved by the Congress. I submit, Mr. Speaker, that this failure to act on the part of the Congress contributed to the gold crisis which the world faced last week.

I was gratified by the decision made by gold pool nations during the past

weekend because I believe it will have a tremendous impact upon the production of gold in the United States.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Treasury and other members of the international gold pool will no longer release their stocks of gold for commercial purposes. As a result, commercial and industrial users of gold will be able to make purchases directly from gold producers at a price determined by the commercial market.

This amounts to the establishment of a free market for gold used commercially, and it will, I feel certain, help to place our gold producers on an equal footing with other industries.

It is, of course, difficult to predict whether this action will provide the stimulus needed to revive our gold mining activity. As I have said before in this Chamber, a very large number of our gold mines have been abandoned because of the pressures previous policies have imposed. Surely, it will require a tremendous financial outlay to reactivate closed mines and to open new mines. It is difficult to predict whether the establishment of a free market will bring a commercial gold price level which will encourage the type of financial investment which we all know will be required to put our gold mining industry back on its feet. Only time can determine these things.

But the recent decision is certainly a step in the right direction. I am hopeful that it will provide the needed stimulus and that it will make it possible for the United States to take its place once again as a leading producer of gold in the world.

### Congressman Porter Hardy, Jr., a Great American

#### HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 13, 1968

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the news recently came to all of us that the Honorable PORTER HARDY is not a candidate to succeed himself in the House and intends to retire at the end of this session. Of course, all of us hope that he will change his mind and come back to Congress but whether or not he does, I cannot resist the opportunity to say a few words about him.

It has been my privilege to sit next to him on the House Armed Services Committee for years, and our offices in the Rayburn Building are just across the hall from each other. He and his wife and my wife and I are close personal friends so I have had a close and intimate association with this fine man through many years. From this base of knowledge and observation, I have no hesitation in saying that I have never known a finer man or a better Congressman than PORTER HARDY. He is the embodiment of integrity and has a mind as sharp as steel and a dedication to the welfare of America which is unexcelled. He has added to this

a persistent doggedness and a great ability as an inquirer after the truth. The result has been the savings of billions of dollars for the taxpayers as an indication of his care and enthusiasm to destroy waste on the one hand, and on the other, the result has been the enactment of vital legislation particularly in the field of national defense and for our servicemen wherever they may be. He has established by his efforts, ability, and character a tremendous record of service for his country, and every American is deeply his debtor.

H.R. 15274

#### HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to request my colleagues to join me in sponsoring and supporting my bill, H.R. 15274, which I introduced on February 8, 1968, to amend section 101(a) (27) (D) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101) by inserting after the language "vocation of minister of a religious denomination" the language "or serving as a missionary, brother, nun, or sister of a religious denomination."

My bill if enacted would place any person of any religious denomination having a religious commitment such as missionaries, brothers, nuns, or sisters in the "special immigrant category," and they would then enjoy the same immigrant status as ministers of religious denominations who are now admitted to the United States outside of any numerical limitation.

At the present time, all nuns are now eligible for the third or sixth preference and labor certification is automatically granted, since the Secretary of Labor has determined that categories described in schedule A are in short supply in the United States. However, after July 1, 1968, in compliance with the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1965, all immigrants will compete on a worldwide basis for visa issuance and visa applications will be processed on a first-come, first-served international basis on a preference category.

This portion of the immigration laws which will be fully effective on July 1 of this year will adversely affect Irish nuns. Nuns, brothers, sisters, and missionaries will be required to compete with other countries which have built up long waiting lists; whereas ministers will continue to easily and expediently enter the country as special immigrants.

In an attempt to rectify the effects of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act on Irish, Italian and other immigrants, I have also introduced H.R. 6677 to restore the flexibility of the immigration laws' definition of a "skilled worker." The present laws discriminate against Irish, Italian and certain other immigrants since they do not possess the skills necessary to qualify for an automatic labor certification. Such a per-

son would be the agricultural worker, the farmer, the unskilled laborer, whose skills are not in great demand in this country.

I earnestly believe that all persons of a religious order enter the United States with a firm conviction to God and themselves to help other people. Nuns, brothers, sisters, and missionaries who are teachers, doctors, nurses, and who do charitable work will certainly be of great assistance to every person with whom they come in touch. Because of their selfless religious missions, I respectfully ask that my colleagues consider the necessity and the urgency of their entrance in the United States as "special immigrants." I also urge my colleagues in the House of Representatives to press for immediate action on H.R. 15274 in order that persons with religious commitments may not be adversely affected by the new immigration laws after July 1, 1968.

### The AFL-CIO Supports the Administration on Vietnam

#### HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the support of the AFL-CIO for President Johnson's policies in Vietnam is well known to all of us in this body.

Delegates to the recent AFL-CIO convention approved a comprehensive and forthright statement of the organization's motivation for that support.

This resolution, I believe, deserves the careful perusal of every Member of Congress and of all Americans. For that reason, with permission, I place the AFL-CIO resolution, entitled "Vietnam—The Struggle for Peace, Freedom, and Social Reconstruction," in the RECORD at this point:

RESOLUTION NO. 179: VIETNAM—THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, FREEDOM AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Americans are a peace-loving people. We harbor no imperialist or aggressive designs against any other nation. However, since we cherish freedom as much as we cherish peace, we have not hesitated to take up arms to defend our national security whenever it was endangered. We pursued this course in World War I when imperial Germany threatened to dominate Europe and in World War II when Hitler set out to conquer the continent and Japan attacked Pearl Harbor. For the same reason, the United States came to the defense of Greece, Turkey and Berlin, and fought against North Korean aggression aided and abetted by Moscow and Peking. To contain Soviet Communist expansion, we took the initiative in establishing NATO; to contain Chinese Communist expansion, we helped found SEATO and concluded bilateral defense arrangements with Japan, Korea, the Philippines, the Republic of China, Thailand, Australia and New Zealand.

The same considerations of national security have motivated our country's policy of protecting South Viet Nam against a forcible conquest by North Viet Nam. Towards this end, President Eisenhower included South Viet Nam in the SEATO treaty which designated it as a "protocol state" entitled to U.S. assistance in the event of an armed attack. We limited our support of Saigon to non-

military aid as long as the struggle involved only Communist guerrilla forces who, in violation of the Geneva accords, had stayed behind in South Viet Nam. President Kennedy increased the number of military advisers in South Viet Nam and took military action only after Hanoi resorted to major aggression and launched a full-scale war to annex South Viet Nam. On the eve of his assassination, November 1963, American military personnel in that country rose to 15,500. Since then, U.S. military engagement has been expanded in response to the increasing number of North Vietnamese forces which have come down to fight in the South. At least 20 North Vietnamese regiments, armed with the most modern Soviet weapons, have poured into South Viet Nam. This forced our country to take appropriate measures of defense, including the bombing of military targets in North Viet Nam. It is not the United States but Hanoi which has set the pace in steadily escalating the war.

Some maintain that the conflict in Viet Nam is a civil war and therefore, the United States has no right to intervene. In reality, that is no more a civil war than the Korean war was. In Viet Nam, as in Korea, one part of the divided country attempted—with massive Soviet and Chinese Community military support—to annex the other part by force and to impose its totalitarian regime on the people in the South. If Communist forces, aided by Ulbricht, were to rise in Berlin tomorrow, nobody would call it a civil war. Everybody would condemn such a move as an attempt by East Germany to take over the city and would call for the defense of Berlin by the Allied forces stationed there.

Others have asserted that the war being fought in Viet Nam is a genuine war of national liberation and that the Communists are fighting against colonialism and imperialism and for national independence. This argument is without foundation. Viet Nam gained its national independence in 1954 after the defeat of France. When the French left, colonialism ended there. The United States has no colonialist ambitions in South Viet Nam. Our country would gladly withdraw its forces the moment the South Vietnamese people would be assured of their right to determine freely their own future. Today, South Viet Nam is not controlled by any colonialist forces from whose rule Hanoi must liberate the people. Today, only Communist neo-colonialism threatens the independence and freedom of the South Vietnamese. It is against this threat that the people of South Viet Nam are defending themselves with the help of American, Australian, Korean, Filipino, Thailand and New Zealand forces.

Nor is the challenge we face in Viet Nam one of "national communism"—after the pattern of Tito. It has been said that since we have tolerated and even supported Tito, there is, no reason for our resorting to military action against Ho Chi Minh. This comparison is based on a misconception of Yugoslav and North Vietnamese policy. Although both regimes are Communist, their policy differs in a very vital respect. Tito abandoned his expansionist ambitions in 1948; he discontinued supporting the Greek Communist guerrillas and agreed to a peaceful settlement of the Trieste question. In addition, Tito broke with the Soviets and incurred the wrath of Stalin and his satellite regimes. On the other hand, Ho Chi Minh does have imperialist designs. He wants to conquer not only South Viet Nam but also Laos and Cambodia in order to fulfill his dream of a unified Communist Indochina. Furthermore, his plans for aggression have the unstinting support of Communist China and the Soviet Union which provides from 80-85 per cent of all foreign aid to North Vietnam.

These two most powerful Communist states are working hard for an American defeat in Viet Nam so as to weaken the prestige and

power of the United States throughout the world. Such an American defeat would further their goal of Communist world domination. In this light, they both look upon Viet Nam as a testing ground for their so-called wars of national liberation which they expect to spread throughout the "Third World"—if the North Vietnamese were to win. Victory for Hanoi would certainly encourage Communist China to foment guerrilla warfare in Southeast Asia or even to launch direct military attacks against neighboring countries like Burma and India. Fearing that a U.S. withdrawal from Viet Nam would lead to such consequences, a growing number of Asian countries are supporting the American war effort. After visiting a number of Asian countries, Japanese Premier Eisaku Sato recently said that "until a durable and permanent peace" would be established, "the feeling of the neighboring countries was that they would want a continued American presence" in Viet Nam. In this connection it is significant that on November 16, 1967, the UN General Assembly rejected by a vote of 59-24, a Moscow proposed resolution for a complete American pull-out from Korea because it similarly realized that U.S. military presence in an area menaced by Communist aggression is vital to the security of peace and freedom.

Our country has never asked for unconditional surrender by Hanoi. We have never sought the destruction of North Viet Nam or the overthrow of Ho's regime. In Viet Nam, as in Korea, the United States seeks a return to the status quo before the Communist military aggression. Our government seeks only the end of aggression from the North—a halt in Hanoi's attempts to take over South Viet Nam by armed force. As long as North Viet Nam refuses to settle the conflict at the conference table, America is compelled to continue its military operations. While waging a vigorous and effective defense, our country has not expanded the war or resorted to weapons of mass destruction. For humanitarian and political reasons, the United States has acted with great restraint and waged only limited warfare. Thanks to the military efforts of the United States and her Allies, 67% of the 16 million people in South Viet Nam are now living free from control by the Viet Cong. A year ago, the proportion was only 55%; 17% are still under Viet Cong control and the rest live in contested areas.

Realizing that peace and freedom for South Viet Nam cannot be won by military means alone, the United States has pressed for the building of stable democratic institutions and for economic progress and social justice. Despite enormous difficulties caused by the war, representative government is making real headway and the growing free trade union movement in South Viet Nam enjoys the right to strike and the benefits of collective bargaining. In spite of savage Viet Cong terror, elections for a Constituent Assembly, for a senate and lower house, and hamlets and villages elections were held with a large turnout of voters; a constitution was adopted; a president and vice president have been elected. Nothing comparable has ever happened or can happen in North Viet Nam. The new Saigon government has stepped-up its program of land reform, eradication of corruption, increased military support for the pacification of villages and hamlets, greater help to the more than two million refugees, and better social welfare measures for war widows and orphans.

The AFL-CIO cannot emphasize too strongly that our government should intensify its support of an effective comprehensive campaign for improved living conditions, social reforms, and a more decent existence for the refugees. Towards this end, it is most urgent for the Saigon authorities and our own government to assure the Vietnamese Federation of Labor (CVT) the opportunity to par-



participate in these programs of social reconstruction. We reaffirm our solidarity with the CVT which has been doing admirable work in alleviating human misery, aiding the refugees, educating children and adults, and laying the foundations of a sound democratic society. The convention welcomes the Executive Council decision to intensify AFL-CIO efforts to help the CVT play a vital role in building a healthy and prosperous democracy. We urge our affiliates to provide generous assistance to the various constructive activities of the CVT.

From the very beginning of the armed conflict, the United States has endeavored to settle it through negotiations—by peaceful means. Our government has repeatedly offered to meet with Hanoi at the conference table and has welcomed the innumerable mediation efforts made by third parties such as U.N. Secretary General U Thant, the Vatican, and neutral governments. Time and again our country has sought to have the Vietnamese problem submitted to a reconvened Geneva Conference or the United Nations. But Hanoi has rejected all these proposals; so has the Soviet Union without whose agreement the Geneva Conference cannot be reconvened or a U.N. Security Council debate take place. With the backing of all Communist states, Hanoi continues to insist on complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from Viet Nam as a precondition for any peace talks. Our country cannot accept this Communist demand, since that would mean handing the people of South Viet Nam over to the Communist aggressors and opening the gates to Communist aggression throughout Southeast Asia.

There is no reason to believe that a cessation of U.S. bombing of North Vietnamese military targets would induce Hanoi to enter negotiations. Nevertheless, President Johnson has declared United States willingness to stop all such aerial and naval bombardment "when this will lead promptly to productive discussion." Also this offer has been rejected outright by Hanoi.

A major factor in the Communists' continued refusal to talk about a negotiated settlement is their hope that political opposition in the United States will force President Johnson to change his Vietnam policy or bring about his defeat in 1968. Hanoi makes a grave error in basing its strategy on noisy protest demonstrations in the United States. Obviously these rowdy demonstrators represent a tiny minority of the American people; they are a small sector even of those Americans who have misgivings about the war but want an orderly and rational debate on this grave issue. However, regardless of their differences, the American people, as a whole, do not want peace at the expense of freedom.

The AFL-CIO reaffirms its unequivocal support of President Johnson's policy in Viet Nam. We pledge the continued support of American labor for the President's efforts to halt Communist aggression in Asia, assure the Vietnamese people their right of self-determination, promote democracy, political stability, and economic prosperity in Southeast Asia, and bring the war in Viet Nam to a speedy and honorable end.

### Viet Action Kills Oxon Hill Sailor

**HON. CLARENCE D. LONG**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, BM3c. Ernest W. Wiglesworth, Jr., a young sailor from Maryland, was killed

recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend his bravery and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

#### VIET ACTION KILLS OXON HILL SAILOR

OXON HILL, Md., March 18.—Boatswain's Mate 3c. Ernest W. Wiglesworth, Jr., a 21-year-old sailor, whose home was here, was killed in action off Vietnam, the Defense Department said today.

Boatswain's Mate Wiglesworth died last Thursday when his armored troop carrier was mined in waters off the buffer zone in Vietnam.

A native of North Carolina, he enlisted in the Navy in February, 1965, and received his basic training at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station, Ill. He was stationed at Cheltenham Communications Base, Cheltenham, Md., and at Norfolk before he was sent to Vietnam.

His survivors include his wife, Mrs. Marjorie V. Wiglesworth, of Oxon Hill.

### College Back-Our-Boys Benefit

**HON. JOHN W. WYDLER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, many of the citizens of our Nation are disturbed by the activities of students on our college campuses around the country. The impression is given that none of them realize the seriousness of the war in Vietnam to the future the world, or the necessity to back their country in time of crisis.

A group of students at Nassau Community College, however, not only recognize their responsibilities but are doing something about them. They are organizing and running an affair to raise funds to support our servicemen in Vietnam. I commend them for their activities. The full details follow:

#### COLLEGE BACK-OUR-BOYS BENEFIT DANCE IS GAINING WIDE SUPPORT

A Nassau Community College back-our-boys dance to raise funds for servicemen in combat is swiftly attracting support throughout the county from fraternal, military and veterans organizations.

Sponsored by Gamma Tau Gamma, engineering honor society at the college, the idea first won extensive campus backing from student clubs, fraternities and sororities. Tickets at \$1 and raffle books started selling rapidly across the campus to go for package items such as cigarettes, shoe polish, soap, toothpaste, bouillon cubes, and canned fruits. The list was made up by a group which know GI needs first-hand—veterans' organizations.

Other clubs offered to handle checking and refreshment chores at the dance, and one group, the Delta Sorority, even cancelled its own previously scheduled dance to devote its entire energy to the back-our-boys hop.

Then, through the initiative of student officers of Gamma Tau Gamma—President Paul Simon of Elmont, Vice-president Jerald Lane of Merrick and Dance Chairman Tom Saad of Valley Stream—letters of invitation went out to many county organizations. The note apparently touched a sensitive spot and offers of financial and program aid began pouring in.

The dance will be held Friday, March 22, at 8 p.m. in the Field House on the campus and an exciting and impressive program is

shaping up, with several ceremonial honor guards set to pay tribute to a Medal of Honor winner.

Invited to attend is Medal of Honor winner Major Howard V. Lee, 34, of New York City, who was decorated October 25, 1967. A Marine, Maj. Lee, then a captain, went to the aid of a beleaguered platoon by helicopter on Aug. 8-9, 1966, saved his men from capture and dealt the enemy a defeat.

Guards of Honor will attend from several groups. Lt. Jg William Duschenchuk of Uniondale has arranged for a Knights of Columbus Guard. Major Alfred B. Darcy of Garden City has offered a Marine Corps Guard; Col. Bernard Saul, station commander of the Roslyn Air National Guard, has also promised an Honor Guard, as has Sgt. Major Charles Churchill, of the Hofstra University ROTC. The Pershing Rifles (also from Hofstra) will participate, and guards from the Maritime College at Fort Schuyler are also expected.

MC for the affair will be Lee Sommers, an announcer at WHLI. For entertainment, several rock 'n roll bands have offered their services. They include, so far, the MGM recording group "The Unlvd," also "The V-P's," "The Innocent Children" of Elmont, and a local band called "A Taste of Honey."

The PTA of Union Free School District No. 8 has offered help in collecting package items.

Professor Andrew C. Kowalik of Massapequa, faculty advisor of the engineering society, was enthusiastic about the overwhelming support that the project is attracting, "but," he said, "though financial success of the event is important—because we do want to send tangible help to the troops on the firing line—still I feel that student involvement in this project is most important for it may boost service morale by showing the troops that there are, indeed, college students who are concerned."

Paul Simon stressed the fact that the benefit does not attempt to offer support or condemnation of the U.S. policy in Vietnam.

"Its sole purpose," he added, "is to provide a humanitarian outlet for the true feelings of a vast majority of college students. All too often today's college students are characterized by the actions of a small minority."

"We hope that this program will give testimony—not only at home but also at the front—to the fact that today's college students do care and deeply appreciate the situation of the men in Vietnam."

### President Eisenhower Supports President Johnson

**HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN**

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I know of no one more qualified to speak on American involvement in Vietnam than Dwight D. Eisenhower, commander in chief of Allied forces in Europe during World War II, commander of NATO blocking Communist aggression in Western Europe, and President of the United States for 8 years.

The following article contains the most recent statement by General Eisenhower on our involvement in Vietnam. This article appeared in the Washington Evening Star on March 16 and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues and to the attention of every citizen of the United States:

# UNITED STATES SEEMS ON RIGHT TRACK IN VIETNAM, EISENHOWER SAYS

Finding a solution to Vietnam is harder than it might be, former President Dwight D. Eisenhower says, because "I don't think the American people really feel inspired to do anything."

At a news conference near Indio, Calif., Eisenhower said yesterday the United States appeared to be "on the right track" in its conduct of the war.

"We are not trying to destroy North Vietnam," he said. "What we are trying to do is make it too expensive for North Vietnam to try to dominate South Vietnam."

## Combat Pay for Korean GI's

### HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill directing the Secretary of Defense to extend special combat pay to the GI's in Korea who are engaged in armed conflict.

In January 1967, the House Committee on Armed Services, in its report on pay and allowances for the uniformed services, clearly defined conditions under which various benefits would be awarded. Three criteria were mentioned for the award of combat pay, which is extended to those who are exposed to the dangers and risks of hostile fire.

All of these conditions are now present in Korea, and compensation should be awarded accordingly.

On May 22, 1967, two U.S. soldiers were killed and 16 others were injured when a mine planted near their barracks exploded near the demilitarized zone. The year before, on November 2, 1966, six American soldiers were killed in an ambush south of the demilitarized zone. In both instances, the attackers of these Americans and their South Korean allies were troops from North Korea.

These are only a few examples of demand for combat action. During a week in August, 1967, five American soldiers were killed and five more were wounded when vehicles in which they were riding hit mines planted by the North Koreans. During a week in September 1967, the North Koreans sabotaged two trains in South Korea which were carrying American personnel and American material. An American soldier, standing guard duty along the demilitarized zone, was shot and killed from ambush by the North Koreans on February 12, 1967.

On January 29, 1967, a Department of Defense official said that there had been 31 Americans killed and 71 wounded since the end of hostilities in 1953.

I would suggest that the hostilities have not ended as long as Americans serving in South Korea continue to live under the guns of the North Koreans.

Korea is certainly a "hostile fire area." Men serving along the demilitarized zone and in other areas of Korea should receive the extra pay that is rightfully theirs. For these men, risking their lives, it is certainly a small token of our appreciation.

## Toward Homeownership

### HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, today, a distinguished group of Clevelanders appeared before the Housing Subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee urging increased allocations for rehabilitation and critically needed central-city housing directed toward homeownership.

Mayor Carl B. Stokes, of Cleveland, presented an urgent and forceful plea which Congress cannot overlook. This plea was supported by Mr. G. J. Grabner, president of the Weatherhead Co. of Cleveland, who represents the business and industrial community. Mr. James I. Huston, president of the PATH Association of Cleveland, also submitted a statement in support of these urgent needs.

I direct the attention of the House to the following statement by Mayor Carl B. Stokes:

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE CARL B. STOKES, MAYOR OF CLEVELAND

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am proud to be Cleveland's lead-off witness in presenting to you our city's strong support for the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. The legislation recommended by the President in his message "houses and cities" encompasses all the major proposals presented to your committee during the past year. In addition, it includes a number of new ideas put forth by several distinguished study groups. It is truly a distillation of the best thinking which could be assembled on how our cities can more effectively meet the crises they face.

President Johnson entitled the closing chapter of his message, "A sense of place and purpose" in describing what our cities must recapture if they are to survive the test of the terribly trying times they face. Cleveland is turning the corner and is, in fact, beginning to recapture such a sense of place and purpose. The presence of our group here today is evidence of the intense interest which our industrial and civic leadership has in the job of rebuilding our city.

This year, 1968, stands as a historic moment—when the Cleveland Metropolitan Area has declared that the time has come for action. We intend to see progress this year—in building new industrial and commercial areas, university and other community facilities and most vital of all—housing for our families and elderly who so desperately need a sense of decent place and productive purpose. We are ready and have made many commitments which are within our capability. Our determination and capacity to meet our obligations in urban renewal and housing was recognized just two weeks ago when Secretary Weaver released almost twelve and ¼ million dollars to get our redevelopment program back into high gear.

Perhaps the single most dramatic step taken to date was the willingness of 90% of or 33 councilmen to vote our new community development director a starting salary higher than the current salary received by the mayor. Such determination to get the tough job done has been matched many times over. But—we are only tooling up to really get going—to actually construct new houses and employment enterprises—to ac-

tually restore old neighborhoods and create new ones.

However, we must have the additional financial and technical assistance which can only come from the Federal Government.

1. Home-ownership assistance—including the funds for counseling new homeowners—is critically needed. In our Leeseville area we have land bought and paid for. It is an area where there should be individually owned homes. Give us the mortgage assistance payments and we can have low income homeowners in new houses within the next 12 months (title I, section 101).

2. Public housing—rehabilitation—some of our estates are over 30 years old—several are over 20 years old. They need to be updated—with new management services and facilities. I can tell you from personal experience how much this is needed—for I lived in one of our projects as a boy. It was needed then and it is needed even more now (title II, section 240).

3. Land contract loan insurance and owner occupant landlords—you cannot imagine how desperately we need this help. A major part of our urban renewal difficulties arises from the hundreds of land contract arrangements in our university—euclid and other code enforcement areas. Rescue for these poor exploited people who are denied an equity in their home and have a yoke of unending debt is a must (title III, section 305).

Small scale landlords could also be developed by mortgages guarantees for up to four family residences. This means more stability which we certainly need (title V, sec. 305).

4. Urban renewal and rehabilitation—increased authorization is needed if we are to get sufficient funds to proceed with our Cleveland State University projects. State funds are committed for operations but we must build the campus first. Unless we get these funds, thousands of our young people will be forced to forgo the opportunity to attend this university (title V, sec. 502).

To move our University-Euclid project to completion the city really needs authority to acquire, rehabilitate and sell or lease many more units than is now permitted under the law. The new provisions would remove a major obstacle and we could expedite our rehabilitation program immeasurably. We have a new nonprofit corporation set up specifically to conduct inspections and get owner-occupied dwellings into the rehabilitation loan and grant program quickly. But many of the structures owned by absentee landlords can only be handled by the city. We aim to do just that. (Title V, sec. 504).

Increasing the maximum limits for homeowner rehabilitation grants from \$1,500 to \$2,500 would also make a tremendous difference in the University-Euclid area. The current \$1,500 maximum just is not enough to do even the minimum essential work such as roof, furnace, plumbing, and wiring replacement. This bill will make the difference between no rehabilitation and at least some rehabilitation for many of our residents.

Our Garden Valley and St. Vincent projects could be closed out under the new provisions since little land is left. Due to difficult terrain and development conditions we have been unable to sell the small remainder of land. We must do so before getting to other needed projects (title V, sec. 508).

5. Neighborhood development programs—Our Glenville, near West Side and Tremont areas have long recognized the need for beginning renewal efforts. The new concept of smaller scale development programs within neighborhoods which is contained in the bill is ideally suited for our needs. We can move expeditiously in these areas as soon as this new program is authorized (title V, sec. 501).

6. Model cities—We have been hard at work to develop a model cities program. The



largest problem we face is that many neighborhoods need and want the program and there hasn't been enough money to go around. We definitely need the additional help the legislation projects (title XI, sec. 1101).

Several distinguished members of our delegation, whom I shall introduce in just a few moments, are prepared to comment more specifically on various sections of the proposed legislation. They bring to this subject a wide array of experience and knowledge and I am confident that their remarks would be helpful in our deliberations. I will therefore limit my comments to a few general observations and will ask them to join me in answering questions you may have for us.

This set of bills, S. 3028 and 3029, together constitute a most challenging opportunity to at long last provide our urban communities around the country with the wherewithal to let all their residents achieve a decent home in a wholesome environment. Essentially, the bills provide three significant advances over existing legislation:

1. More realistic subsidies;
2. More construction;
3. More ways of developing and redeveloping neighborhoods, towns, and open lands.

#### SUBSIDIES

The wide range of new subsidies bring the cost of housing within reach of our citizens whose modest incomes now confine them to slums. It also takes the unprecedented step of helping lower income people fulfill a deep yearning for home ownership. I urge you to give our city dwellers the subsidies they need—just as farmers have received them for many years. Housing subsidies on city streets will yield crops of healthier children, happier parents and more peaceful feelings. These are as essential to the "domestic tranquility" of our country as the surplus crops we pay farmers not to grow or to store in silos.

#### CONSTRUCTION GOALS

The production of public housing and moderately priced private housing can and must be stepped up to the levels called for by the President. New land use methods, new construction technologies, improved planning techniques, accelerated financing procedures, better manpower utilization practices and elimination of other bottlenecks are all included in the provisions of this legislation. We have people who need jobs—land which can be put to better use—mortgage funds and guarantees—supplements and subsidies, etc. Now we must set our sights in "doing" instead of talking and lamenting. I urge you to give us the additional tools we so desperately need.

#### IMPROVED METHODS

Many "nuts and bolts" improvements are spread throughout the eleven titles of these bills. Tax incentives for private industry, a back-up property re-insurance program, metropolitan planning incentives, encouragement of open space and beautification efforts, widened mass transportation provisions, broadened research endeavors and many other important improvements are included in the bills. I urge each of you to support this legislation and hope you can be persuasive in encouraging your colleagues in the Senate to do likewise.

An impressive compilation of scholarly research, pragmatic field experiences and cross-sectional debate has been assembled by Governor Richard J. Hughes, President's National Advisory Panel on Insurance in Riot-Affected Areas; Governor Otto J. Kerner, Commission on Civil Disorder; Senator Paul Douglas, Commission on Urban Problems; Mr. Edgar Kaiser, President's Committees on Urban Housing.

These all have a recurrent theme, i.e., our cities simply must become not only safe and sanitary districts, but indeed become vital

centers of happy living and profitable enterprise.

Which shall it be—the big build-up—or the big let-down? You have an awesome responsibility—for in your hands lies the fate of our neighborhoods. Without this legislation, none of us will be able to develop confidence in ourselves and our communities. I trust that you will accept our support and use it to spur you on to courageous action on behalf of all your fellow Americans who are watchfully awaiting the outcome of your deliberations here.

Thank you.

I should now like to introduce the other Clevelanders who flew down with me to present their views on this subject. You may be interested to know that this is the first of two trips to Washington which our community has organized. With the cooperation of our local industries, air transportation was made available. As you will note from your list, our group today represents the major business, industrial, financial and labor organizations. Next week another group of civic and community organizations will testify at the House of Representatives hearings.

We have a slogan in Cleveland which industry and commerce has developed which says "Brag a Little"—To do this though, we all must be ready to first "give a little." We urge you to give us "that little" so we can all "Brag a Little."

I further direct the attention of the House to the following statement by Mr. G. J. Grabner, president of the Weatherhead Co., of Cleveland:

STATEMENT OF G. J. GRABNER, PRESIDENT, THE WEATHERHEAD CO., CLEVELAND, OHIO

Mr. Chairman and Committee members, my name is George J. Grabner; I am President of the Weatherhead Company of Cleveland, Ohio. I am here today as a businessman who has a real interest in the housing problems as we know them in Cleveland.

In addition to my responsibilities to the Weatherhead Company, I am Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Greater Cleveland Growth Association, successor to the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce and Greater Cleveland Growth Board. I also serve as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Cleveland Development Foundation, a charitable enterprise that was organized in 1954 and sponsored by Cleveland industry to assist the community in providing housing for low income families.

The housing task which Mayor Carl B. Stokes has set for his Administration and for the Greater Cleveland community has the full support of our business, industrial and civic leadership.

Housing is everyone's problem.

It cannot be done alone.

It is a problem that cannot be resolved by unilateral and individual action by government, by business and industry, or by labor. In Cleveland we are building a cooperative effort to tackle our housing problems on a comprehensive basis. This means the development of new concepts—at a local level—to combine private efforts with state and local government to produce adequate public housing units, opportunity for home ownership, expanded programs to construct and rehabilitate private housing.

Each of these objectives reflect a feeling of urgency and the need for unified and cooperative action to help the people of our community. *We cannot accomplish these objectives without your help.*

The legislation now before this subcommittee will provide valuable new tools to deal with not only Cleveland's housing problems but with housing problems throughout the Nation. *We look to you—this subcommittee—to continue its leadership, and action to formulate and to support legislation*

which will meet the changing needs of our urban communities.

The Federal government has provided the major push in trying to find solutions to our housing problems. As a result, the state and local governments have not been thrust into a position of having to provide any significant part of the subsidies required to relieve our housing problems until now. We urge that the Federal government continue to take on a leading responsibility in this area, and we are also urging state and local government to bear a significant share of the total load through effective public services and facilities, adequate regulatory machinery, tax incentives and exemptions.

The Federal government can participate by expanding and continuing to provide necessary help in many ways—through public housing, leased or owned; rent supplements; below-the-market interest loans; tax exemption and deduction; free services; and others.

A broadened public housing program must be the cornerstone of federal responsibility. Not nearly enough public housing has been built to house the families with low incomes who were caught in the housing collapse we experienced in Cleveland beginning in the late 1950's, which resulted in the development of the 221(d) (3).

I would like to echo a portion of the statement of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, made to the House Subcommittee on Housing, on the subject of public housing. What the Chamber said, in essence, was that families whose incomes are the very lowest and who have had the least potential for increasing their incomes are being largely ignored.

For example, many of the people who are receiving public assistance in Cuyahoga County cannot be housed in public housing units because we don't have enough—and these people can certainly not afford to reside in housing that is generally accepted as safe and sanitary.

Just this month, the Public Information Department of the Cuyahoga County Welfare Department indicated that there was a total of 75,829 people in Cuyahoga County in December of 1967, most of whom lived within the City of Cleveland on some form of public assistance. Broken down, it listed a total number of adults (27,536) and children (48,293) who are in the federal categories of assistance.

Section 203 of the proposed Bill authorizes increased expenditures for public housing.

*It is badly needed.*

I urge the Congress to approve this Section.

I urge you to move forward and increase appropriations for low-rent public housing.

The cost of constructing and maintaining privately developed housing in Cleveland has been climbing faster than the ability of the average family to pay these costs. A larger and ever-increasing segment of our working population is being priced out of the housing market. Many of these families are living in substandard units in Cleveland's falling housing market because private industry, using all of the programs presently available under the Housing Law, cannot supply these needs.

We in the Cleveland community have found that private investors can house those families who can pay from \$150 to \$175 per month in rent or mortgage payment. Using a yardstick where 25% of a family's income is used on housing, a family would have to be receiving an income of approximately \$7,200 a year just to meet the minimal rental or mortgage structure to live in a new unit.

What this means to the potential home owner, or tenant, is most discouraging. If you cannot own your own home or live in housing facilities on less than an annual income of \$7,200 per year—and if your income is too high to qualify for low-rent public housing or for rent supplements—then you cannot afford to provide your family with

housing that meets the minimum standards of health and decency (such as the standards used by the Federal Housing Administration under Section 221(d) (3) of the National Housing Act.)

For example, present projects sponsored by the Cleveland Development Foundation indicates that Section 221(d) (3), below market interest program, is inadequate to meet the needs of the inner city.

We can reduce the figure of \$7,200 per year if the 221(d) (3) program is used and modified as proposed by this legislation—possibly to a level of \$4,300. *This will close the gap between low-rent public housing and private financing.*

In Cleveland, we now have a small rehabilitation project underway using the 221(d) (3) formula. In addition to this subsidy, this project is also in an urban renewal area where a low re-use value exists. We are also proposing to use some public housing leasing. Even with these three advantages, it has taken additional subsidies from the private sector to make the project possible and economically feasible.

Two private foundations have underwritten social services, including relocation assistance and tenant assistance, and the business-sponsored Cleveland Development Foundation has provided more than \$100,000 in seed money plus substantial time of a staff member and accompanying operating expenses.

I feel very strongly that the proposed Bill S3029—while it does not provide the local leadership and action necessary to get our public housing program expanded and going—offers hope for the middle and often forgotten segment of the housing market—people who are working and making their own way and who have been priced out of standard housing by the imbalance of housing costs.

Home ownership assistance, condominium and cooperative subsidies, and lower effective interest rates on rental housing are all critical needs in Cleveland. With these forms of assistance, we stand a chance to get housing built for many of the families with the most critical needs.

I urge your leadership.

Although there are undoubtedly technical changes necessary in some of the specific provisions of this proposed bill, I urge your support and your favorable action in principle on this important legislation.

These are inventive new programs. They will be a step forward in solving the housing problems of our nation's cities.

Thank you.

And, following is the statement by Mr. James I. Huston, president of PATH Association, of Cleveland, Ohio:

STATEMENT OF JAMES I. HUSTON, PRESIDENT OF  
PATH ASSOCIATION OF CLEVELAND, OHIO

#### HOUSING AND CITIES ACT

I want to tell you a little about our situation in Cleveland, and why we need the housing programs embodied in S. B. 3028 and S. B. 3029.

Eighteen months ago The Greater Cleveland Associated Foundation appointed a thirty man citizen's committee to study the housing problems of Greater Cleveland, to recommend solutions to those problems and ways they might be achieved. The Committee was called PATH—Plan of Action for Tomorrow's Housing.

The PATH Report (attached hereto) was made one year ago. The report was highly critical of the City administration, the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority, the business community, the building trade unions, the suburbs, and the public apathy. A broad based citizen housing organization, The PATH Association, was then formed to implement the recommendations of the Report. We now have about 600 members.

If made today, the PATH Report would be

far different. It would show much improvement in Cleveland's housing situation over the past year. It would show a new City administration dedicated to meeting the housing needs of all its people. It would show a Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority with fresh resolve to carry out its obligations to low income families. It would show a business community now fully aware of Cleveland's housing crisis and willing to marshal its resources to cope with it. It would show building trade unions more willing to open membership so that decent housing can be created. It would show a citizenry now willing to assume a greater part of the financial burden of housing. It would show churches and other non-profit organizations moving forward diligently to sponsor housing for low income families.

But this new spirit, this forward movement in Cleveland, will come to nothing without the federal tools contemplated by the legislation before you.

Many bills have been introduced and many proposals made to this Committee over the past year. These vary in details as to method, or scope or priority. But they have many common principles, the most basic of which is that this Nation must take forceful and dramatic steps to realize its housing goal—"a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family". The legislation proposed by the President for the first time sets housing production targets for that goal. We regard such a programmed time-table for meeting the Nation's housing needs essential, and one of the most important positive aspects of the legislation.

We urge you to keep foremost the common principles of the various measures which have been presented to you. The details can and will be debated by professionals and technicians, and by this Committee. But the fact of multiple alternatives should not deter this Committee from selecting those alternatives which seem best suited to achieve the common principles.

There is a readiness in Cleveland and in the Nation as a whole on the part of local government, business, labor and the public generally to face squarely the housing needs of our people. Please do not let this moment go by. Please do not let this readiness subside.

Thank you for your attention to my remarks.

### Edward Curtis—Jerseyan of the Week

### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the following article about my dear friend, Edward Curtis, named Jerseyan of the Week by the Sunday Star Ledger. Mr. Curtis' career has been one of distinguished achievement and dedicated public service, and stands out as an inspiration to those who would work their way up to a full and rewarding life.

Ed Curtis has brought great credit to our community and our State, and is respected and admired by all who know him. It is my pleasure to join in paying him tribute.

The article follows:

A GOOD SKATE—JERSEY BELL'S PUBLIC AFFAIRS MAN

(By Nancy Razen)

Edward A. Curtis' title at New Jersey Bell Telephone Co. is vice president of public affairs.

It is a title that could apply as well to Curtis' activities outside of business hours. The handsome, sturdily-built executive, who celebrated his 40th year with the telephone company last week, rose through the ranks to the vice presidency. At the same time his devotion to various civic, governmental and educational endeavors has earned him—according to one admiring colleague—a reputation as "one of New Jersey's more outstanding citizens."

#### LEHIGH ALUMNUS

A graduate of Lehigh University—and one of that institution's hardest working fundraisers—Curtis worked his way through law school commuting from Atlantic City, where he managed the phone company office, to Philadelphia's Temple University four nights a week. He completed the degree by finishing his last year at South Jersey Law School, now a part of Rutgers.

Though he has never practiced law, Curtis finds the legal grounding "very helpful" in his current position.

"Public affairs," he explained the other day, "covers legislative responsibility on the federal and state levels as well as urban affairs."

"We analyze and review the thousands of bills that go through the State Legislature and through Congress every day to find out how they might involve the company, its employees, its pension plans."

Some people might call Curtis' department—with its 17 men in Trenton—a lobby group, Curtis added with a grin. "We call them representatives," he pointed out.

#### A BETTER JERSEY

When Curtis, who will retire June 1 at the mandatory age of 65, is not "lobbying" for the company, he is lobbying for a better state.

He is currently chairman of the State Capitol Development Commission which he spearheaded, and a member of the New Jersey Utilities Commission, the Regional Plan Association, the New Jersey Agriculture Society, and the American Institute of management.

"Ed Curtis is quite a guy," said Maplewood Mayor Edmund T. Hume, who has worked with him for seven years.

"He's active in so many endeavors throughout the state and he's one of its most distinguished citizens."

Curtis' interests, as well as his varied activities, set him apart from the run-of-the-mill executive.

"When you're born and raised on the banks of the Delaware," the Lambertville native laughed, "you do plenty of ice skating."

#### AVID SKATERS

In truth, a childhood bout with polio was as great an influence on Curtis' prowess at ice skating as the local topography. So was his marriage, in 1935, to the former Dorothy Cramer of Merchantville, an avid swimmer and skater.

Figure-skating, to the strains of waltzes or fox trots, is still one of the couple's favorite pastimes. And winter weekends away from their Short Hills home find them, invariably, on the canal ice of their "gentleman's farm" in New Hope, Pa.

Both were members of the Atlantic City Skating Club and the Philadelphia Skating Club and Humane Society. Curtis has also produced a number of amateur ice skating shows and served as chairman of the sanction committee for the United States Figure Skating Association.

New Hope also provides Curtis with an opportunity to grow tomatoes—he's contemplating strawberries this year—and cultivate a tulip bed that is his pride and joy.

His youthful interest in the Delaware River area has never flagged and one coworker claims, "Nobody knows the Delaware like he does."



## HISTORY BUFFS

An historical interest in the locale is another preoccupation Ed and Dorothy Curtis share. They reportedly collaborated, some time ago, in restoring a Revolutionary home at Washington's Crossing.

"But my chief outside interest," Curtis insists—and his wife concurs—"is Lehigh University."

He is a past president of the school's alumni association and current vice chairman of the board and a trustee. For the past ten years Curtis has been chairman of Lehigh's annual giving for which he raised close to \$10 million. And Lehigh honored him with an honorary doctor of laws degree in 1962.

It is quite the other side of the coin from what Curtis himself admits should read something like a Horatio Alger story.

## ACTIVE IN POLITICS

When he graduated from Lehigh, he related, he worked in the oil and heavy chemicals industry for a short time. Strictly by chance, while forming a Lambertville Chamber of Commerce, he was recommended to the telephone company. The recommendation started him as a clerk in the company's Trenton office and on his advancement through Camden district manager, Southern division manager and general commercial manager for the state that culminated in 1953 with his appointment as vice president of revenues and regulatory matters. Ten years later he was named vice president of public affairs.

The subject of retirement, on the other hand, is one Curtis does not appear to relish.

He has long been active in Hunterdon County Republican circles, he points out, and "I'm looking forward to a new life in my chosen field of government," he smiled.

Those who know him don't doubt for a moment that Ed Curtis' retirement will be an active one.

"He's the type of fellow to whom retirement comes hard," a colleague said. "But he'll find some activity."

Least worried of all is Mrs. Curtis.

"He'll love it," she said firmly. "He's just having trouble looking back."

## Vietnam Policy Criticized

## HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an interesting editorial by John B. Campbell which appears in the March 1968 issue of Space/Aeronautics. His statement not only questions our Vietnam policy, but also concludes that if it were not for poor military judgment, this Nation might not be involved in Vietnam at all. This editorial is all the more significant because Space/Aeronautics is a publication which is geared to readers in the military-industrial complex.

Mr. Speaker, the editorial appears as follows:

THE PRICE IS WRONG

(By John B. Campbell)

Among those who have publicly questioned our current Vietnam policy, the leaders of the aerospace community have been notable by their absence. Yet in many cases, silence cloaks serious and growing doubts as to whether this particular war is worth its mounting price.

There are good reasons why these doubts are not forcefully expressed. A generation

of managers nurtured on the concept of "deterrence" is uncommonly aware of the strategic value of apparent national determination. Pragmatic to the core, aerospace managers see little point to criticism without solutions. Most important, it has always been considered politic for the industry to support the views of its major customers.

Certainly the industry must not do less than its best to provide the kind of weapon systems the government decides it needs. But aerospace engineers and managers, at whatever level, have the same right and the same duty as other citizens to question whether those weapons are being used the right way, in the right place, and at the right time.

There are some who feel that the military judgment in such matters should be supreme and beyond question. Among the military, however, there is an understandable bias toward military solutions. Moreover, as has been convincingly documented elsewhere, the military has from the very beginning of our Vietnam involvement made one wrong estimate of the situation after another. If it weren't for faulty military judgment, in fact, we might not be in the Vietnam box at all.

Under the circumstances, it's not surprising that the military wants a victory, however dearly won. But what the country needs is a solution. It cannot be, considering the geopolitical realities, a solution that denies a determined, disciplined enemy any gain for his costly effort. Yet it need not be total abandonment of Southeast Asia to his designs. It must be a solution that permits us to reallocate our resources—to restore cuts in our military and other research, to get the space program moving again, and to mount a vigorous attack on our decaying social environment.

If we draw back in South Vietnam, say to the coastal plain, must those nations who rely on us for protection grow faint of heart? Not necessarily. Our forces, weapons and tactics have been newly forged in the fires of Vietnam. Freed—at least in part—of the Vietnam millstone, they should remain a credible deterrent to casual adventurism.

But as the USSR expands its military presence around the globe, we must realize, too, that the "limited war" ante is going up. Before playing the game next time, we'd better be certain that there is a nation to defend and that the aggression is unambiguously external—or at least that the threat to our vital interests is as clear to our enemies as to ourselves.

Perhaps after we've learned how to make it possible for black and white people to live together here at home, we'll be better prepared for "nation-building" in Asia or elsewhere. Meanwhile, there are decisions too vital to human survival to be left to the professionals. We all need to do our part.

## Wisconsin Veterans Support Our Fighting Men in Vietnam

## HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I have found that one of the best ways to find out what the people of the country are thinking about what we do here in Washington is to pay close attention to my mail. I have been gratified in recent months at the large amount of mail I have received expressing patriotic sup-

port for the President and this country's policy in Vietnam.

From Donald Barnier, commander of the Amvets post in South Milwaukee, Wis., come these statements:

We firmly believe that if everyone would get behind our government and support it that the war would be over much sooner. By protesting the war a person is only giving aid and comfort to the enemy and thus helping to prolong it. If we are going to fight communism, and this we must do, we are going to have to stop it from spreading in Vietnam or soon it will have engulfed the whole of Southeast Asia. Once Southeast Asia is conquered it will not be long before they will be after the rest of the world. I, personally, as a citizen of this great country of ours, cannot see how anyone could dissent against our government with the great history of freedom that we have behind us.

Albert F. Kasmiskie, commander of the VFW post in Watertown, Wis., wrote me this letter:

As former members of the Armed Forces who saw action in this nation's war, we are well acquainted with the realities of war. We fully understand the importance of morale-building influences that must come from home. It has been said that Rome's liberties were not auctioned off in a day, but were brought slowly, gradually, furtively and bit by bit. In this day of dissent and divisiveness, we are auctioning off our liberties . . . The time is long past for debating whether we should or should not be in Viet-Nam. What we need is the powerful, unifying influence emanating from the executive and legislative branches of our government to help heal the nation's wounds. What the servicemen in Southeast Asia need is the strong support of every American citizen. We, who have seen our comrades join the "democracy of the dead," wholeheartedly endorse the commitment in Viet-Nam and extend to all fighting men our support in their quest for victory.

It is letters like these that make us know that the American people are behind this Government and our fighting men in Vietnam.

## Landmark Hearing

## HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, major steps have been taken to alleviate some of our mass transportation problems. However, we are faced with a melange of claims and counter-claims relating to the basic question: Should the airline industry be allowed to control access to, and the use of, general aviation facilities when the airlines and the general aviation industry are in conflict for the use of limited airspace and airport facilities. Currently involved is the case of Teterboro Airport in New Jersey and Republic Airport on Long Island, both in the Metropolitan New York vicinity.

The national impact of the decisions to be reached at the upcoming Civil Aeronautics Board hearings being held this week on the use of major airports by private planes is considered by those interested in the future of general aviation as a landmark. The Aircraft Owners

and Pilots Association, with a membership of 143,000, all vitally interested in private flying, and the National Aviation Trades Association, with a membership of 450 aviation service companies, have urged the Civil Aeronautics Board to preclude one major air carrier from having full control over any airport.

An excellent analysis of this problem appeared in the New York Times of Sunday, March 17. Mr. Speaker, in the interest of bringing this vital issue with national implications to the attention of my colleagues, I include this article by the aviation writer of the New York Times, Richard Haitch, in the RECORD.

**PRIVATE FLYING: TETERBORO CLASH—CAB LANDMARK HEARING DUE TUESDAY ON PAN AM CONTROL OF TWO AIRPORTS**

(By Richard Haitch)

Can an airline that seeks to prevent private planes from using the major airports be counted on to operate "reliever" airports in the interest of private fliers?

Should any airline be given control over a key private-flying facility when the two means of transportation are essentially in competition?

The issues thus drawn by representatives of private flying will be debated before the Civil Aeronautics Board in Washington on Tuesday in what started out as a routine case and is now referred to by some private-aviation interests as a landmark. It involves routinely an application by Pan American World Airways for C.A.B. approval of the airline's leases to operate Teterboro Airport in New Jersey and Republic Airport at Farmingdale, L.I.

The lease at Teterboro was signed with the Port of New York Authority, the present operator, and that at Republic with Fairchild Hiller, an aviation manufacturer and supplier, which in turn has leased from the Farmingdale Company, the owner.

#### GIVEN 30-YEAR CONTROL

Both airports are designed for private-flying use, and both leases would give Pan Am full control over the fields for 30 years. The matter of the Republic lease could be academic, however, because Governor Rockefeller has proposed that the state buy the Long Island airport and develop a private-flying center there. Such a sale would terminate Pan Am's lease; the new center would be owned by the Metropolitan Transportation Authority and could be leased by it to someone else.

Pan Am says its proposed venture into private flying is both a business arrangement and an attempt to develop alternate airports that would ease congestion at the three major fields in the metropolitan area.

But Butler Aviation, operator of 12 aircraft service bases across the country, and the National Aviation Trades Association, representing a variety of businesses at airports, have raised the larger questions. Each, serving mainly private fliers, has asked the C.A.B. to disapprove both Pan Am leases as not in the public interest.

In its brief, Butler alludes to the fact that the airlines are involved in an apparent campaign to keep private fliers out of the busy metropolitan airports. The International Air Transport Association, for example—of which Pan Am is a member—is on record as favoring segregation of airline and private flying.

"If the board," Butler argues, "finds it consistent with the public interest for an airline to control the access to general-aviation [private-flying] facilities in the New York area, where the interests of these two groups are already in open conflict, it logically and legally follows that such control can not be denied in all major cities. Therefore the board's decision in this case will set the pattern for the entire nation."

#### IMPARTIAL OPERATION ASKED

Butler suggests that "some governmental agency or other impartial person" operate Teterboro and Republic.

"Pan American or any other airline," it contends, "would inevitably be motivated to develop and operate general-aviation facilities under their control in the manner best suited to the needs of air carriers, rather than general aviation."

The National Aviation Trade Association notes in its brief: "Certificated route air carriers, with their enormous financial resources, the advantage of mass purchasing power and all the other management and bargaining advantages which accrue to big business operations, would have another advantage which could conceivably be used to stifle the use of aircraft and to derogate the transportation flexibility of general aviation itself."

The Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association, with 143,000 members in private flying, has urged the board to modify the Teterboro lease, so that Pan Am would not have control over the full airport but could build on part of it as a business investment. At Republic Airport, the association says it favors state operation but would accept Pan Am if the alternative were to close the field.

A major contention of Pan Am's opponents is that it plans to eliminate light, single-engine planes from the two fields and encourage traffic by heavier business transports, especially jets.

Last week Capt. O. J. Studeman, general manager of Pan Am's metropolitan airports division, denied in an interview that this was the airline's intent.

"Pan Am," he said, "is committed to operate both of these airports as public airports, and therefore could not and would not bar light planes from the airport . . . We have no plans whatsoever for the elimination of any type of general-aviation airplane."

But among the exhibits that opponents have filed with the C.A.B. are copies of memorandums from the files of Pan Am's senior vice president, Najeeb E. Halaby. One memorandum, dated March 23, 1966, and addressed to "N.E.H." and "A.P.A."—the latter, the initials of Alvin P. Adams, Pan Am vice president—reports on a planning study by Tippetts-Abbett-McCarthy-Stratton (TAMS).

The memorandum says in part: "An acceptable means of phasing out the light plane traffic at TEB [Teterboro] as TAMS projects, must be found in order to accommodate the projected build-up of heavier business aircraft traffic."

Another memorandum, dated Oct. 11, 1967, reporting on plans for Republic Airport, says in part: "As recognized in the Tri-State Committee report of March 1966, local flying will have to be carefully monitored and ultimately eliminated or restricted."

Both of these memorandums are signed "O.J.S."—the initials of Captain Studeman.

### Make No Mistake, America Is Fighting for Us

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the February 26, 1968, issue of U.S. News & World Report carried an article by Mr. Bernard Levin, widely known writer and TV commentator in Britain, entitled "Make No Mistake, America Is Fighting for Us."

In the article, Mr. Levin gives his

personal views on the presence and effectiveness of the American troops in Vietnam and demonstrates his own insight, and that of his countrymen, into the Communist strategy being employed there. Mr. Levin adds his thoughts on the gratitude which each of us who is free to live his own life should express to the American soldiers who make this possible.

The article follows:

MAKE NO MISTAKE, AMERICA IS FIGHTING FOR US

(By Bernard Levin)

I spent yesterday evening at the opera (Wagner, of course). You, I dare say, spent it helping your children with their homework, or watching television, or learning the piano, or reading a book.

A lot of Americans and South Vietnamese, however, spent it dying. Strange to relate (and I imagine that many of them would find it as strange as anyone), they spent it dying so that you can go on watching television, learning the piano, 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. A battle was launched in Vietnam on Tuesday, in which bands of North Vietnamese and Viet Cong swept through South Vietnamese towns, killing and pillaging, while others launched a major offensive against the American base at Khe Sanh.

It is not, I believe, too fanciful to describe the battle as potentially one of the major turning-points of civilization, and to think of General Westmoreland and his men in the way that, with the perspective of history to aid us, we think of Leonidas and the Spartans at Thermopylae, John Sobieski facing the Turks at the gates of Vienna, or Lord Dowding and Fighter Command in the Battle of Britain. For each of those battles changed the face of the world for the better; or rather, prevented others from changing it for the worse.

And so it may be at this moment in Vietnam. The war there is confused and horrible; its aims blurred, its methods savage, its cost in innocent blood uncountable.

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 Vietnam is left to its fate, then what will follow is not merely the piecemeal engulfing of the rest of South-East Asia. 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.

And that, in the end, is why my Wagner and your children are at stake this day in "a far-off country of which we know nothing." The Americans are not fighting the war there so that Saigon racketeers can grow fat on black market profits; indeed, they are only secondarily fighting it so that Saigon may stay free long enough for a society to grow up there that will be strong enough to dispense with the racketeers.

They are not even there because if they leave they will one day be digging gun emplacements in California, as the Australians will be digging them round Darwin.

They are there because they know that, where aggression is concerned, the appetite doth grow by what it feeds on; and because they therefore know that, however great the price of the war in Vietnam, it is still less than would be the price of the war we will all one day have to fight elsewhere if it is lost.

The Americans and the South Vietnamese are not alone in knowing this. The Australians and New Zealanders know it; the Thai-



and know it; the South Koreans know it; the Filipinos know it. But in this country, it seems, we do not know it.

Well, it is time we did. And the battle now going on in Vietnam is as good a time to find out as we shall ever have. On this battle, the Communist forces have staked a great deal; for some time now they have been promising their increasingly disillusioned troops that one last push will see victory—if not military victory, then 'victory-by-coalition.'

The Communist strategy in Vietnam is to inflict such a major reverse on the Americans and South Vietnamese that they will be desperate to make peace even at the price of an agreement that gives the Communists a share in the Government of South Vietnam, with the full take-over following a few months later.

I do not think that the American resolve will crack. But a word of thanks and admiration from Britain may help to show America that her resolve is recognised for what it is—a resolve to hold the front for civilisation, by convincing those who would destroy it that they are not going to succeed in doing so.

I would prefer our thanks to come from our Government. Unfortunately, it won't. Nor will it even come from our Opposition. So it has to come from us—from those of us who recognise the connection between what the Americans are doing in South Vietnam and what we like to do with our evenings in Britain.

We are not, I believe, all that few. But few or many, let me now say on behalf of us all, to the Americans and South Vietnamese and their allies, even now fighting and dying in Vietnam:

"Our words may be useless, but they are all we have to offer. We understand why you are there, and know that your cause is ours too. And we thank you."

### The Circus-Priest Quotes the Poet-Priest on the Joy of Being Irish

**HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, this past Saturday night I had the pleasure and the privilege to attend a St. Patrick's Day dinner at the Clover Club in Boston. St. Patrick's Day is the time when we all get together to celebrate the driving of the snakes from Ireland and the birth of religion in the Emerald Isle.

It is a very happy time—all troubles are forgotten as everyone joins in the festivities and celebrates the joy of being Irish.

The Reverend Father Edward S. Sullivan of the Star of the Sea Church in Squantum, Mass., gave the benediction that evening. He quoted a song of the ancient poet-priest of Ireland who understood what it meant to be Irish.

Father Sullivan is called the circus-priest because for part of the year, every year, he ministers to those wandering American nomads, the people of the circus. He is well known around the Boston area for his great love of God and of man.

The poem he quoted was certainly beautiful, but his own poetry was equally beautiful. I would like to have his prayer inserted in the RECORD so that we may all understand the joy of being Irish:

PRAYER OF REV. EDWARD S. SULLIVAN, STAR OF THE SEA CHURCH, SQUANTUM, MASS.

Here we seek God's blessing upon us, I would borrow a few words from an old Poet-Priest who sums up so graciously all we feel here tonight, of his ancestry he sang, as might we all—

"Are we not, in our blood, as old as the race whence we sprung?

In the cells of our hearts feel we not all its ebb and flow?

As old as the race is, is it not still forever young...

As the youngest of Celts in whose breast Erin's love is aglow?

The ties of our blood have been strained o'er thousands of years

And still are not Severed, how mighty soever the strain:

The chalice of time o'erflows with the streams of our tears—

Yet, just as the shamrocks, to bloom, need the cloud and the rain,

So the faith of our fathers, our hopes, and the love of our Isle

Need the rain of the hearts that fell often from grief-clouded eyes to keep them in bloom.

Many voices are hushed while the great years sweep patiently by:

But the voice of our race shall live, sounding, down to the last:

For our blood is the bard of the song that shall never die."

—FATHER RYAN, 1886.

And now, dear Lord, we bow before Thy face to pause, and ask a humble Grace. So many wonder in their hearts why Irishmen seem set apart. Can they not use their sense to see that the Irish reflect your Trinity?

Saint Patrick taught us of Thy love—He taught us that all Thy souls are free—And that Truth is found in Equality.

A Trio here on earth we've had—Develara, Briscoe, Marconi—all Irish they. And in old Jamaica, Black Irish there prove in integration, no Irish Faker.

We've fought for love, we've fought for peace, and fought and prayed all hatred cease. Our virtues Lord, we could recite. But You've oft been told them, So why repeat.

The Toastmaster is stamping on my feet. The Time has come when we should eat. God bless us all. Amen.

### Vietnam War Claims Two GI's and Marine

**HON. CLARENCE D. LONG**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Army Sp4c. Charles G. Rehberger, Army Sp4c. Gerald F. Wernsdorfer, and Marine Cpl. Charles T. Lee, three young men from Maryland, were killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend their bravery and honor their memories by including the following article in the RECORD:

Vietnam War Claims Two GI's and Marine—ONE OF VICTIMS SAID HE WOULD BE PROUD TO DIE FOR THE UNITED STATES

Two Baltimore soldiers and a Beltsville marine have been killed in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

They were:

Army Spec. 4 Charles G. Rehberger, son of Mr. and Mrs. Herndon Holcomb, of 7908 Gough street, Baltimore.

Army Spec. 4 Gerald F. Wernsdorfer, son of Mr. and Mrs. John J. Wernsdorfer, of 3430 Ravenwood avenue.

Marine Cpl. Charles T. Lee, son of Mr. and Mrs. Jack Lee, of 11340 Evans Trail road, Beltsville.

Specialist Rehberger, 20, a rifleman, was killed March 2 by enemy fire as he fought with an infantry unit that had gone to the aid of the surrounded marine base at Khe Sanh.

#### PROUD TO DIE

His mother said yesterday that her son, who had been drafted in November, 1967, "understood why he was fighting and told us that if he didn't return, he was proud to die for his country, even if there were some Americans who didn't understand the war."

A 1965 graduate of Kernwood High School, Essex, he had been on lacrosse and soccer teams while in high school and worked for Armco Steel Corporation for a year before he was drafted.

Survivors, besides Mr. and Mrs. Holcomb, include a total of seven brothers and sisters.

Funeral services will be at 10 A.M. Monday at the Holly Hills memorial gardens, Essex.

Specialist Wernsdorfer, an infantry medic, was killed while on a combat mission at Chu Lai March 11 when an enemy mine exploded near him. He was 20.

#### SPARED OF WORRY

Drafted in April, 1967, he had been fighting in Vietnam since October.

His mother said yesterday that he seldom discussed the war when he wrote home and "didn't want to worry us."

A 1965 graduate of Patterson Park High School, he was a member of the football team while in school.

After graduation, he worked for a time at the Fisher Body plant and for a distributor of beauticians' supplies before he was drafted.

Survivors, besides his parents, include two sisters, Mrs. Shirley Starun and Miss Kathy Wernsdorfer, both of Baltimore, and three brothers, Ronald and Leonard Wernsdorfer, both of Baltimore, and John J. Wernsdorfer, of Jacobus, Pa.

#### DIED AT QUANG TRI

Corporal Lee, 21, was killed March 6 by a sniper's bullet near Gio Linh in Quang Tri province, according to his mother.

He had two more weeks to serve in Vietnam after seeing considerable combat duty near the border zone during his eleven months there.

Mrs. Lee said her son enlisted in the Marine Corps on September 28, 1966, while his family thought he was enrolling for his senior year at the University of Maryland.

His enlistment carried on a Marine Corps tradition in the family, Corporal Lee's father retired from the Corps in 1957 with the rank of major. He had served eighteen years.

"He was brought up in a Marine Corps family," his mother, a former WAVE, said yesterday. "He believed he had to do something to help in Vietnam."

#### STAR BASEBALLER

The young marine was majoring in education at the University of Maryland. He was graduated in 1964 from Thomas Jefferson High School in a suburb of Pittsburgh, where he was a standout in baseball, his mother said.

Besides his parents, he is survived by a sister, Jacqueline Lee, and a brother, Seaman Michael B. Lee, who recently finished a tour of Navy duty on the U.S.S. Oriskany off Vietnam.

### Wisconsin Housewife Spurs Credit Bill

**HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, not long ago I introduced a bill in the House to help protect American consumers against erroneous, incomplete, and malicious

credit reports. The bill, H.R. 15627, currently is pending before the House Banking and Currency Committee.

The original impetus for this proposal came from a housewife in Greendale, Wis., whose family had been the victim of an erroneous credit report.

This woman, Mrs. Rita B. Collins, visited my office here in Washington to explain the problem and to suggest a possible remedy.

Because of her presentation, I initiated, through my staff, a study of the problems caused by mistaken and inaccurate credit reports. The findings confirmed the truth of Mrs. Collins' charges. Subsequently, after conferring with experts with the Library of Congress, the President's Council on Consumer Interests, and the legislative counsel's office, I introduced my proposal, H.R. 15627.

In my initial statements on the bill, I paid tribute to Mrs. Collins as an outstanding American citizen who has been willing to devote considerable time, effort, and money to a cause in which she strongly believes.

Her story demonstrates once again the ability of each individual in a democracy to make a contribution to the progress and welfare of his or her fellow citizens.

Both local newspapers, the morning Milwaukee Sentinel and the afternoon Milwaukee Journal, have devoted news stories to Mrs. Collins' effort. Because of the pertinency of these stories to my bill, I am pleased to insert those articles at this point in the Record and urge the attention of my colleagues to them:

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel, Mar. 7, 1968]

**COUPLE'S CREDIT WOE LEADS TO U.S. BILL**  
(By Nancy Dannheisser)

A large part of America's affluence today rests on credit. At the end of 1966 total consumer credit in the United States jumped to \$95 billion, an increase of 8% over the previous year. It has been estimated that about 60% of the average American's net income goes to credit obligations.

Gaining credit and using it wisely has been a major problem among the poor. But credit problems also arise among the middle class buyers.

**APPLIED FOR LOAN**

Two years ago Mr. and Mrs. Billings J. Collins, of 7017 Dorchester la., Greendale, applied for a bank loan on their car. Collins is a teacher and his wife is a student social worker. Yet the bank turned them down, saying their credit record showed a judgment outstanding.

The credit report was mistaken. The judgment was against another Collins.

"We were never able to find out which agency was responsible for the recording," says Mrs. Collins. "And the burden was on us to disprove the report."

Reviving from the embarrassment of the experience, (the couple eventually borrowed from a credit union which gets reports from a different source), Mrs. Collins began doing research into the problem of erroneous credit ratings.

In two years she interviewed more than 1,000 persons and found many who had shared the problem. She also found that poor credit ratings also can stem from companies bent on revenge.

**CAR REPAIR CASE**

In one recent case a University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee professor took his nine month old car to an auto agency to have a light repaired. While doing the repair work, the mechanic knocked out another light, which he offered to fix free of charge.

At the end of the month the professor received a \$7 bill for the second light and refused to pay it. Since then he has been harassed by phone, letter and telegram, and the agency is threatening to report him to a credit bureau. No existing law gives the man a chance to protect himself against such a report.

"In studying American government, you always learn about checks and balances. But there are no checks against the credit rating agency," says Mrs. Collins. "Finally I decided how simple it would be if a company was forced to furnish a copy of any information supplied against you."

Last September she journeyed to Washington, D.C., to present her proposal to Wisconsin congressmen. The result was a bill, introduced last month by Rep. Zablocki (D-Wis.), co-sponsored by Rep. Reuss (D-Wis.), aimed at protecting consumers from incorrect, incomplete or malicious credit reports.

In a fact sheet attached to the bill, Zablocki noted: "When consumers are refused credit for no apparent reason, their natural reaction is to attempt to find out why. In most cases it is all but impossible to do so because the credit bureaus and their customers have erected a wall of silence around their operations to protect them from lawsuits."

**CAN'T SEE OWN**

"Although for \$25-\$50 one can buy a credit bureau's services and get information on perhaps millions of other persons, an individual is never allowed to see his own credit report. The most any agency will do is accept a written complaint which may or may not be checked out."

Under Zablocki's bill a creditor must disclose the identity of the rating agency upon request from a credit applicant. And the rating agency must, upon request, disclose the contents of its report.

"Every American has the constitutional right to confront witnesses against him," says Zablocki.

The proposal affects only credit agencies which operate in interstate commerce or make use of the facilities of interstate commerce. Thus, inquiries among merchants in the same community are not covered.

"People who feel as I do should appeal to their congressmen," advises Mrs. Collins. "An agency gathering information responsibly should have no objection to furnishing a copy of their reports."

[From the Milwaukee Journal, Mar. 7, 1968]

**CREDIT GOOF LEADS TO DISCLOSURE BILL**  
(By Mildred Freese)

Someone goofed two years ago and mistakenly gave a Greendale woman and her husband a bad credit rating.

If she has her way, there will soon be a credit disclosure law that will help prevent this. Mrs. Rita B. Collins, 7017 Dorchester la., a mother of six who refers to herself as "an everyday citizen," has been persistent.

"One voice can change things," she said Wednesday.

Two years ago a bank refused a car loan for Mrs. Collins and her husband, Billings, a junior high school teacher. The bank had received a financial rating from a credit agency which erroneously reported that the Collinses owed money to a trucking firm.

**AGENCY PROTECTED**

The bank, in keeping with the common practice, would not identify the credit agency or allow the Collinses to see the report. The Collinses got an affidavit from the trucking firm clearing them for the loan, but as far as they know the credit agency still may have the error in its files.

Mrs. Collins thought there should be a law requiring a credit agency to provide a copy of the credit report to the person involved.

Any mistakes could be corrected and additional information might change the credit report, she said.

For about a year, she talked about the need for such a law. At the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee where Mrs. Collins, 44, is a graduate student in social sciences, she talked with professors and "anybody who'd bend an ear."

**GOES TO WASHINGTON**

Last fall she went to Washington with a written proposal and presented it to various congressmen.

Last week a credit disclosure bill was introduced in congress by Rep. Clement J. Zablocki (D-Wis.). It was cosponsored by Rep. Henry S. Reuss (D-Wis.) and three other congressmen.

"Thousands of Americans each year are caused embarrassment, inconvenience and financial loss because of mistaken or incomplete credit reporting," Zablocki said.

**\$1,000 PENALTY**

The bill would require credit rating agencies to disclose the contents of a report to the person involved, if requested.

If it is an adverse report, the facts or allegations upon which the report is based must be explained.

It provides for a maximum penalty of \$1,000 and one year's imprisonment.

The right to review a credit report and confront an agency has been discussed for some time by consumer protection specialists. "There ought to be a law," each has said. But Mrs. Collins did something.

She said she didn't think her visit to Washington and the letters she wrote to congressmen would have paid off had the idea been unique.

"It had to be the thought of many to have had results so soon," she said.

The bill still must pass congress and be signed into law.

"If you could say something so that people would write their congressmen and tell them that they want the law, it would help a lot," said Mrs. Collins, who speaks from experience.

**From Moscow's Izvestia to Washington's Post**

**HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, this coming July 14-20, 1968, Americans throughout the country will celebrate the 10th observance of Captive Nations Week. Since the congressional passage of the Captive Nations Week Resolution—Public Law 86-90—in 1959, the annual observance has expanded and is even officially maintained in 15 foreign countries. Because of the continued captivity of some 27 nations in the Red empire, notably in the Soviet Union itself, this coming 10th observance promises to be the most significant and successful one yet.

Preparations for this observance are now underway under the guidance of the National Captive Nations Committee. The President will soon be called upon by this committee to issue an early Captive Nations Week Proclamation, with emphasis placed on the 17 million captive North Vietnamese. One part of the preparation is the circulation of an illuminating article titled "From Moscow's Izvestia to Washington's Post," written by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University. Published in the winter issue of



the Ukrainian Quarterly, an authoritative journal of East European and Asian affairs, the article is must reading for everyone interested in some challenging aspects of this growing movement. The article follows:

FROM MOSCOW'S IZVESTIA TO WASHINGTON'S POST

(By Lev E. Dobriansky)

The 50th anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik revolution, which was celebrated for a week up to November 7, 1967, disclosed a number of instructive items. There was the disclosure of Moscow's orbital missile, the firmness of its anti-American policy, particularly in Vietnam, the single-man ascent of Brezhnev, the continued concentration on capital and war goods as against consumer goods production, and the persistent attempt on the part of the Soviet Russian totalitarians to exercise their superior leadership over the world Communist Party movement. As concerns the last, this would only be a political and ceremonial reaffirmation of the primary power position of the Russian center in the Soviet Union in relation to all other states in the Red Empire, including mainland China, and also in relation to the Communist Parties in the Free World.

But significant, too, were the comments and observations made of this "50th" by American commentators, journalists, and periodical writers. In fact, this aspect constituted the prime disclosure of the event. Without itemizing the popular magazines, such as *Life* and *Look*, and detailing their specific comments, it is sufficient here to point out that their uncritical handling and assessment of the facts provided Moscow with a billion dollar propaganda windfall. Their comments on "Russia's economic progress" these past fifty years, its mighty armed forces and space exploits, its slow evolution toward "capitalist" ways of thinking and doing and similar matters can all be taken as superficial and devoid of perspective and meaning. Reading some of these accounts, one would think that these accomplishments were effected without incalculable and irrational costs in lives and economic value, as though fifty years of Soviet Russian totalitarianism and imperio-colonialism were unblemished by genocide, concentration camps, man-made famine, the cruelest forms of oppression and continuous aggression.

Most important in this interesting episode was the almost complete neglect shown by our commentators and writers toward the captive non-Russian nations in the USSR. The average American reader of these popular magazines wouldn't think they even existed. On the basis of what was presented to him in these magazines and several newspapers, he couldn't possibly entertain the thought that there exists any such thing as Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism within the Soviet Union itself. Some of our writers haven't even a working awareness of the multi-national nature of the USSR, no less its empire-state character. To cite one example, a columnist refers to Red China and the USSR as "two very large nations," evidently completely ignorant of the fact that since 1963 the Red Chinese who can boast of a national entity, have been attacking Moscow on the Russian/captive non-Russian scale in the USSR.<sup>1</sup> In the same organ, another summarizes the event in this vein: "But the whole thrust of the celebrations was aimed at boosting Brezhnev's image as if it was felt that the nation needs a stronger voice than merely a collective one."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Richard Wilson, "Soviet Union Playing Long-Haul Power Game," *The Evening Star*, Washington, D.C., November 8, 1967.

<sup>2</sup> Bernard Gwertzman, "Curtain Falls Quietly on Soviet Jubilee," *The Evening Star*, November 8, 1967.

#### KNOW YOUR ENEMY

As this writer has constantly stressed, one of the most formidable weapons at the disposal of Moscow in the Cold War is the protracted ignorance of numerous opinion-makers in this country concerning the make-up, policies, and strategy and tactics of the Soviet Union, which is dominated by the Soviet Russian totalitarians. If fundamental concepts of state and nation, Russian and non-Russian, elude them, what worth can we impute to their interpretations and higher formulations? As I show in my current work, the ultimate responsibility for this general state of confusion and misinformation rests with our Government where similar misleading conceptions abound.<sup>3</sup> Time is short in getting to know your enemy—Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism—and it is our Government, not the universities and their time-lengths, that can achieve this in the shortest possible period.

In offsetting the untruths and fantasies built about the Russian Bolshevik "50th," Americans of Ukrainian ancestry can well take pride in their World Congress in New York during the week of November 12-19. The full-page ads in *The New York Times* related the essential story of Soviet Russian conquest and domination of Ukraine.<sup>4</sup> The demonstration in front of the United Nations building was most impressive and received TV, radio, and news coverage.<sup>5</sup> And the rally in Madison Square Garden, attended by some 13,000, was a tremendous highlight which preceded the march to the Soviet U.N. Mission.<sup>6</sup> The demonstration at the mission produced another highlight of the Congress.<sup>7</sup> On record, no other American group in this country equalled this massive protest against the fraudulent and pretensions of the Russian Bolshevik revolution.

Judging by reports from other sections of the country, the AP and UPI release on this mammoth demonstration were carried in local newspapers and over TV and radio media. In performing this feat, Americans of Ukrainian ancestry have, in effect, done their share at this time in pointing to the real enemy whose tentacles reach into places like Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, and Egypt. This powerful, yet from another viewpoint, fragile enemy is Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism, which was given birth to by the Russian Bolshevik revolution.

However, the Congress and the demonstrations were far more positive than negative. The negation of the Russian Bolshevik "50th" was only one major aspect of this memorable event. More important and consequential was the positive affirmation of the continuous Ukrainian National Revolution and the launching of the patriotic, national "50ths," commencing with the 50th Anniversary of Ukraine's Independence on January 22, 1968. This will be followed by the Lithuanian "50th" in February and numerous others through the Latvian "50th" in November, all pointing to the present captivity of the non-Russian nations in the USSR. In short, all of this is interwoven with the whole captive nations thesis as set forth in the Congressional Captive Nations Week Resolution (Public Law 86-90) and as expounded by participating groups annually in the Captive Nations Week Observance.

<sup>3</sup> Lev E. Dobriansky, *The Vulnerable Russians*, Pageant Press, New York, 1967, pp. 454.

<sup>4</sup> "Ukrainian National Revolution vs. Russian Bolshevik Revolution," *The New York Times*, November 16, 19, 1967.

<sup>5</sup> "Ukrainians Protest Slavery," *Daily News*, New York, November 18, 1967.

<sup>6</sup> "Stepping Out for Freedom," *Sunday News*, New York, November 19, 1967.

<sup>7</sup> Police Repulse 2,000 Marchers at Soviet U.N. Mission," *The New York Times*, November 19, p. 1, 4; "Cops Break Up Charge on UN Soviet Mission," *Sunday News*, p. 21.

#### THE IZVESTIA ATTACK

What has been described in the preceding sections is only a further projection of the fundamental problem of U.S. policy toward the USSR. Controversy and debate over this problem have centered on the Captive Nations Week since its inception in July, 1959, its chief premise that the captive nations in toto are of paramount value to U.S. strategy and tactics in the Cold War. In the summer of 1967 a new episode developed in this continuing battle involving, as so often in the past, colonialist Moscow and a prominent American newspaper organ. The details of this outstanding episode begin with an attack against the Week and also this writer in Moscow's government newspaper *Izvestia* and extend to this day with an open challenge to the editors of *The Washington Post*. A familiarity with these details can enable one to see and appreciate the urgent need for a thorough U.S. review of its present policy toward the USSR.

It is highly significant that as in every preceding year since 1959, Moscow again decided to inveigh against Captive Nations Week. Sarcasm, vituperative bitterness, and sheer vehemence have consistently punctuated its attacks. Here are several samples of 1967 vintage under the caption "A Champion Cynic." Manifesting some sardonic humor, the attack begins in this fashion: "In the United States of America, at Georgetown University, a world record has been established. It was established not by a runner or swimmer, not even by a spaghetti eater, but by Professor Lev Dobriansky, a big wheel in the American propaganda machinery and Chairman of the so-called National Committee on Captive Nations."

The attack assumes a more serious tone in the next paragraph. "The point is that the Washington rulers celebrate each year in July a propaganda spectacle called 'Captive Nations Week,' which sets people's 'teeth on edge.'" After talking about "the emigre scum," "capitalism" and the like, the frustrated writer interjects, "Usually, prominent government leaders of the U.S.A. shed a few tears, too." The commentary continues: "This time, the approach of the notorious 'Week' is being widely commented on by the American reactionary press. During the past years the 'Week' has been in crisis and passing without effect, the anti-Communists complain; it is necessary, from nice words on liberty to change to deeds. They even blame Washington for not showing a firm determination to support 'the peoples of the captive nations.' Something new is needed, they say." Although it cannot be denied that the Administrations since 1959 have feared a courageous implementation of the Resolution and thus have toned down the presidential proclamations, there is obviously much wishful thinking here about the Week being in crisis and the cry for something new. By all evidence, the Week has expanded in scope, both nationally and internationally, and constantly represents the new alternative to the threadbare policy pursued toward the USSR and the entire Red Empire.

Among other things mentioned in this attack is Vietnam, evidently a source of irritation to Moscow when properly brought into the captive nations context. "It is here," the attack continues, "that Professor Dobriansky established his record. It would be a record in stupidity if it was not a record in cynicism." Why? Because in "the center of attention of the 'Week,' Dobriansky has declared, referring to the wishes of the Washington leadership, there will be this year 'the disastrous condition of the 17 millions of enslaved North Vietnamese.'" In truth, this was highlighted during the 1967 Week, and it

<sup>8</sup> *Izvestia*, July 7, 1967.

<sup>9</sup> Complete text of *Izvestia* article is quoted in *The Ukrainian Bulletin*, October 1-15, 1967, p. 85.

is encouraging to witness its effects in terms of wider discussion about invading North Vietnam, not by American troops but rather by South Vietnamese guerrillas and some regulars. North Vietnam is a captive nation, and its enslaved millions are the ultimate key to victory over the totalitarian Hanoi regime. They are also the key to a unified and independent Vietnam. Should all this come to pass, the 1967 Week would have accomplished its purpose, indeed.

#### THE POST ATTACK

Three days later, on July 10, the editors of *The Washington Post* also came forward with a blistering editorial attack against the Week and this writer. The striking parallel here causes one to lean toward the apt characterization of yesteryear "The Washington Pravda," which would have made for an even more attractive title. However, regardless of the vicious editorial against my person, I deem such a characterization unfair. The *Post* is more than its editors and owner, and although Senator McCarthy often relished using this characterization, he certainly didn't grasp the issue at hand in his time. Moreover, many reporters and others at the *Post* are at variance with the paper's editorial opinions, and surely the type of editorial produced here scarcely reflects well on those responsible for it. The *Post's* July 10, 1967 editorial is a classic in irresponsible and unenlightened journalism and deserves to be read in full. Here it is:<sup>10</sup>

#### CAPTIVE CONGRESSMEN

Captive Nations Week is almost upon us, and so it's time to pine again for Idel-Ural, Turkestan, White Ruthenia and—don't forget—good old Cossackia. These pseudo-states and others of better historical repute are listed in Congress' Captive Nations Resolution as having lost their "national independence" to the wicked Communists. "The people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence," in case you didn't know.

This fanciful cold-war rhetoric was issued by Congress in 1959 in a surge of hysterical anti-communism. Or rather, it was issued by ethnic manipulator Lev Dobriansky, father of the Captive Nations idea, and foisted by him upon a Congress sensitive to the presumed sentiments of Americans from now-Communist lands. Actually, many of these Americans, if not most of them, are insulted by being treated as hyphenated citizens. The annual Captive Nations charade might better be called Captive Congressmen Week.

Its aspect of ethnic discrimination is particularly offensive. For, it turns out, Russia is not among the Captive Nations. The reason for this strange omission is that Mr. Dobriansky's heart belongs to his ancestors' native Ukraine, and Ukrainian nationalism is nothing if not anti-Russian. This is, in our view, precisely the kind of old-country ethnic backbiting that has no place in a gambit designed to influence American policy.

To those who do not share faith that Captive Nations Week will crack the Kremlin, Mr. Dobriansky has prepared an insidious rebuttal. "High on the priority list in Red psycho-political warfare," he has written, "is the downgrading and eventual elimination of Captive Nations Week." The technique of attributing criticism to foreign manipulation is, unfortunately, typical.

To his credit, President Johnson has shown some embarrassment over the Resolution, which "authorizes and requests" him to proclaim Captive Nations Week annually. He has avoided specifying which countries are Captive Nations and has stressed instead American support for the "just aspirations" of peoples everywhere. Clearly, Mr. Johnson re-

jects the Resolution's tenet that "Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence." He believes, as most Americans do, that all available openings to East-West peace and stability should be explored.

Having had long experience with the *Post's* treatment of letters-to-the-editor, I had but one choice in the immediate situation. That was to send the editors a short letter establishing formally our exchange and at the same time offering a concrete challenge. Again on the basis of past experience with the ostensibly liberal minds in command of the paper, I anticipated correctly that neither my brief letter nor critical letters from others would be published in the pages of the *Post*. This turned out to be the case, but other avenues of publication were managed for the most essential letters of criticism. Reproduced here is my immediate letter, which is self-explanatory, and then we can proceed from it to a systematic evaluation of the *Post's* substantive opinions and the challenge it raises.<sup>11</sup>

Aside from its malicious overtones, your July 10 editorial on "Captive Congressmen" is so absurd, both logically and empirically, that I am fully convinced my forthcoming book on *The Vulnerable Russians* will be of enormous value to you. Scheduled for publication release this October as "An American Answer to the '50th'—The Fraudulent Russian Bolshevik Revolution," the work will not only place imperio-colonialist Moscow on notice that not all Americans, by a long shot, are fools as concerns its empire in the USSR itself, but it will also, I am sure, be a permanent answer to you and other segments of Moscow's-induced breed of Pavlovian dogs in our country.

Having had long experience with your letter-cutting and omitting techniques because of "want of space" and other convenient rationalizations—in itself scarcely a symbol of journalistic honesty—I offer here a simple, formal challenge which I raised publicly on July 15 at the Captive Nations Conference in the Mayflower Hotel. It is a challenge for you to receive some elementary education on Soviet-Russian imperio-colonialism. Simply, I challenge you to arrange a discussion meeting in the *Post's* auditorium, which would bring you face-to-face with living victims of Soviet-Russian imperio-colonialism from Idel-Ural, Turkestan, White Ruthenia, and Cossackia.

It doesn't require much courage to shield one's ignorance behind an editorial pen and continue to misinform your readers about the true nature of the USSR. Let us see how courageous you are in meeting these people—whom you think are ghosts without a national background of independence struggle—before the audience of the *Post's* personnel who, in this setting, would have the opportunity to gauge the level of their editors' understanding of this vital problem. Here, too, I am confident that quite a number of our citizens will be interested in your response to this challenge.

LEV E. DOBRIANSKY,  
Professor, Georgetown University,  
Chairman, National Captive Nations  
Committee.

#### AN EDITORIAL OF IGNORANCE

Comparing the *Izvestia* article and the *Post* editorial, the reader by now is doubtless impressed by their similarities in tone, character, and content. The *Post* editorial might well have been written in Moscow except that the motivation of the Russian totalitarians would be one of circumspect distortion rather than blind ignorance. The editorial is, indeed, one of ignorance. A highly reputable organ run by Americans of Armenian ancestry, which was not given a hearing by the

*Post's* editors, goes a bit further by saying, "The offending editorial is really not an editorial; it is a cartoon in the worst possible taste calculated to destroy an issue by the application of the great American belly-laugh."<sup>12</sup> It is also an insult to our legislators for, as *Hairenik* states further, the editorial "has caricatured not only their motivation in expressing their warm support of the common cause of the Captive Nations of the Soviet, but has in effect cavalierly scorned the sacred aspirations to be free (as *The Washington Post* is free) of 119,000,000 non-Russians who, today, in a classic syndrome of colonialism, are dominated by a minority of 96,000,000, the Russians of the Soviet Union."

Now, point by point, let's examine this editorial cartoon. First, brushing aside its silly sarcasms and belly-laughs, we meet at the outset a definitive statement that Idel-Ural, Turkestan, White Ruthenia, and "good old Cossackia" are pseudo-states which really shouldn't be listed in the Captive Nations Week Resolution. Mind you, this is the last word of precise knowledge from literary artisans who know there are no such animals in the human kingdom as "the wicked Communists." This first argument alone reveals how pathetically ignorant the editors are. Historically, each of these national entities staked out an independent state in the 1917-23 period. This isn't the place to teach them history, but if they would move their lazy minds, a quick reading of Idel-Ural and its revolution in 1917 would show the writers how foolish they really are.<sup>13</sup> Analytically, they also don't make sense. White Ruthenia is Byelorussia, a Republic-state in the USSR. Then, even if all four had never attained to statehood, they possess more national substance than can be found in most states of Africa; and the Resolution talks about captive nations, not states. The vital distinction between nation and state is obviously too heavy for our omniscient editors.

Regarding these national entities, the views expressed by the many who sent their letters to the *Post's* editors, only to have them liberally suppressed from publication, make for some choice reading. One, for example, after having cited the population of each of these entities, states, "In 1918, they were all proclaimed independent National Republics and were on the road to rebuilding their countries before being brutally destroyed by Russia in the name of 'world Communism.'"<sup>14</sup> A young scholar at Columbia University, who has written *Marxism and Existentialism*, published by Doubleday, strikes a point in his suppressed letter: "Before becoming comic about Idel-Ural and Turkestan, it would be wise to remember that no more than two hundred years ago America was a tiny, backward nation whose struggle for national independence evoked a sarcastic smile on the faces of the 'sophisticates' of Britain and Europe."<sup>15</sup> Need more be said about the *Post's* sophisticates?

Aside from the childish, personal slur, the second point made in the editorial is that the Resolution is "fanciful cold-war rhetoric" issued in "a surge of hysterical anti-communism." This interpretation is far removed from the facts. Anyone who knows the facts of the quiet and deliberative passage of the resolution in Congress, the explosion in Moscow, and Khrushchev's apologetic harangues over this event, cannot but

<sup>12</sup> "The Washington Post: A Captive Organ," *The Hairenik Weekly*, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 113, pt. 19, p. 25634.

<sup>13</sup> "Anniversary of First Revolution, By Captive Nations," CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 113, pt. 24, pp. 32266-32268.

<sup>14</sup> Walter Tutka, Letter-to-the-Editor, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 113, pt. 19, p. 25634.

<sup>15</sup> Walter Odajnyk, Letter-to-the-Editor, *The Ukrainian Bulletin*, October 1-15 1967, p. 88.

<sup>10</sup> "Captive Congressmen," editorial, *The Washington Post*, July 10, 1967.

<sup>11</sup> Lev E. Dobriansky, "Letter to the Editor of *The Washington Post*," CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 113, pt. 19, p. 25633.



wonder where our editors hibernated at the time, and even since then. There is a sad case of misplaced hysteria. As *Haïrenik* accurately points out, "the *Post* apparently is unaware that since 1959 the Soviet Government has directed an intensive worldwide propaganda effort against the Captive Nations cause, for there is no doubt in the least that the Achilles heel of the Soviet is its captive world—and the Kremlin knows this."<sup>16</sup> Offering a concise historical background on Russian imperialism from the days of Muscovy, another suppressed letter stresses that "the idea of the Week has transcended our own leaders and promises to awaken countless other individuals and nations to the historical character of Russian imperio-colonialism."<sup>17</sup>

The *Post's* third point is clearly an argument of desperation, which it attempted to use during "the Shevchenko affair" in 1963-64. Because of the resolution, it holds that most Americans who come from now-Communist lands "are insulted by being treated as hyphenated citizens." This supposedly brilliant argument ignores completely the experiences these citizens have to offer for our benefit and security, the heavy participation of native Americans in the annual Week, and the mythical nature of the argument itself. As one letter pointedly states, "Yearly observances indicate that Americans from all walks of life participate in observances and express their support of the traditional American principles for freedom and independence of nations."<sup>18</sup> It then drives home the additional observation, "During the last Israel-Arab conflict, American Jews supported Israel 100%. I have not seen anything that stated or even implied that they were 'hyphenated' citizens. American Irish actively supported Ireland's struggle for independence, without being accused of 'hyphenated' citizenship or 'old-country ethnic backbiting.'" Evidently, the *Post* reserves its argument only for those who oppose the Russian colonialists.

Another suppressed letter dwells on this same point in this vein: "Only the *Post* could conjure up a 'hyphenated citizen.' Benjamin Franklin, one of this country's founding fathers, is credited with the view that anyone ashamed of his forebears could add little to our country. This would certainly discredit hyphenated citizenship, not to mention the editor's mythical non-ethnic origins."<sup>19</sup> The classic Coolidge statement on immigrants and Americanism could be thrown in for added measure.

Going from the absurd to the ridiculous, the *Post* now charges "ethnic discrimination" in the resolution because Russia is not mentioned and, with baseless reference to the writer, "Ukrainian nationalism is nothing if not anti-Russian." The conqueror of other nations is scarcely qualified for such listing, no more than a circle is a square. Also, to be anti-Russian imperio-colonialist does not mean being anti-Russian as concerns the Russian people at large, who have been captive in another sense for literally 500 years, namely to barbaric Russian institutions of tyranny, genocide, and imperialism. As another suppressed statement puts it, "The *Post*, consciously or not, upholds the foundation of the Russian empire, with all its ugly and inhuman features, including anti-Semitism. No wonder that in past years *The Post's* policy on the captive nations was praised by the Communist press within the

Soviet-Union."<sup>20</sup> *Haïrenik* again sums it up in good humor, "Let us here draw a smile. To list Russia as a Captive Nation would be to have listed England with India, Uganda, Kenya etc., etc., among the territories of the British Empire which were candidates for decolonialization!"<sup>21</sup>

In essence, Ukrainian nationalism is no different from American nationalism and scores of others that brought independence from a foreign, imperialist power and for the self-determination of people. One of the suppressed letters puts this cogently, "In the days when more African peoples have won their independence, to deny the right to freedom for Ukraine, Armenia . . . is a contradiction to the concept of universal freedom and justice which is talked about so much in the free world nowadays."<sup>22</sup> What the writer is unaware of is the fact that the *Post* operates on a double politico-moral standard.

The *Post's* further contention that this writer "has prepared an insidious rebuttal" on the downgrading of the Week and "attributing criticism to foreign manipulation" can be disposed of briefly. It is a figment of their own imagination. However, as the record well shows, it is interesting to observe how the Red totalitarians, the Kennans, *The Post*, and a few others have shared the same objective. And, finally, is adulation of the President's omission of the countries specified in the resolution and his ostensible rejection of the resolution's tenet that "Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence" is also largely inflated. From Eisenhower to the present, identical omissions have been made chiefly because of a fear of irritating the Bear and not knowing how to implement the resolution. As for the second item, it would be absorbing, to say the least, to see the President openly support *The Post's* statement at face value.

It may astound the editors to learn that we, too, are for a genuine "peaceful coexistence," not the present Russian ersatz type, and for openings to East-West peace and stability, but based on principle, truth, and expanded freedom, not blind and obscurantist impulses. As a suppressed letter states it, "We do not believe, however, that such an exploration should be on the account of the captive nations in tightening their captivity, but rather in supporting their right to freedom and self-determination."<sup>23</sup> As another suppressed one views it, "Peaceful coexistence may be a tempting policy—but if it means peace at any price, then it is certainly a prelude to war . . ."<sup>24</sup> And as a last suppressed one puts it, "The National Captive Nations Committee is in the forefront of a people-to-people program for peace and stability—much more so than the *Post*—for NCNC dares to mention the forgotten peoples—those in the USSR!"<sup>25</sup>

The reader has noticed my challenge to the editors of the *Post*, contained in my suppressed letter of July 17, 1967. "I challenge you," it read, "to arrange a discussion meeting in the *Post's* auditorium, which would bring you face-to-face with living victims of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism from Idel-Ural, Turkestan, White Ruthenia, and Cossackia. . . . Let us see how courageous you are in meeting those people—whom you think are ghosts without a national background of independence struggle—before the audience of the *Post's* personnel who, in this setting, would have the opportunity to gauge the level of their editors' understanding of this vital problem."<sup>26</sup>

## THE OUTSTANDING CHALLENGE

In view of the *Post's* editorial, this, you will agree, is a most reasonable challenge. To this day, there hasn't been a whimper from the editors concerning it. Just stony silence. Meanwhile, able representatives of these national entities have stood ready to engage in such a constructive discussion. Their counterparts in the Soviet Union may be muted by Russian tyranny, but here no one will mute them, least of all the *Post's* editors. The challenge is outstanding.

The double standard of the *Post* should be recognized by all. When, for example, its editors sharply criticize the Greek Junta for curbing free speech and assert "That is hardly the behavior of a government prepared to let its opposition speak," the integrity of its words can be properly weighed on the scale of its own policy and behavior.<sup>27</sup> So, too, captive non-Russians in the USSR speak out at times and are arrested and confined to forced labor, and Americans who keep abreast of all this, also speak out in criticism of our Government's inept policy toward the USSR. By all means, let the opposition speak, but everywhere and not just those areas determined by double-standard judgments. In behalf of opposition speech, I repeat, the challenge still remains outstanding.

## Pollution of Lake Michigan

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert in the RECORD an excellent resolution on pollution of Lake Michigan adopted by the Michigan United Conservation Clubs, one of the great conservation organizations of the Nation. This resolution speaks clearly and effectively for the preservation of Lake Michigan.

The resolution follows:

## RESOLUTION ON POLLUTION OF LAKE MICHIGAN

Whereas, it is a demonstrated fact that the pollution of Lake Michigan is increasing at a rapidly accelerated rate which already has and will continue to reduce the beneficial uses of the lake and increase the hazard to health; and

Whereas, the major sources of this pollution are the rivers that empty into the lake and the municipalities, industries, commercial establishments and farmlands that border on the lake; and from dredgings, watercraft and alewives in the lake; and

Whereas, up to the present, public and private efforts to reduce the pollution of Lake Michigan and the streams that drain into it are not sufficient to restore the quality of Lake Michigan waters so that they shall be of maximum beneficial value; and

Whereas, it appears that the only effective means of alleviating the pollution of Lake Michigan is an immediate, concerted effort on the part of Federal, State and local units of government, including, strong enforcement penalties; and

Whereas, studies by professionals in the field of pollution abatement indicate that there are certain measures which, if initiated at once by the appropriate government agencies, would do much toward bringing about a solution to this problem:

Therefore be it resolved that the Indiana Conservation Council, the Illinois Federation of Sportsmen's Clubs, the Wisconsin Wildlife Federation, and the Michigan United

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25634.

<sup>17</sup> Walter Pretka, Letter-to-the-Editor, daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 1, 1967, p. A3898.

<sup>18</sup> O. Szczudluk, Letter-to-the-Editor, daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 113, pt. 19, p. 25633.

<sup>19</sup> Vera A. Dowhan, Letter-to-the-Editor, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 113, pt. 15, p. 20019.

<sup>20</sup> Peregrinus, "The Washington Post and Captive Nations," CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 113, pt. 19, p. 25633.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25634.

<sup>22</sup> Walter Tutka, *op. cit.*, p. 25633.

<sup>23</sup> O. Szczudluk, *op. cit.*, p. 25633.

<sup>24</sup> Walter Odajnyk, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>25</sup> Vera A. Dowhan, *op. cit.*, p. 20019.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25633.

<sup>27</sup> "The Right Direction," Editorial, *The Washington Post*, October 9, 1967.

Conservation Clubs jointly urge that the Federal, State and local governments embark now, before it is too late, on a vigorous and accelerated overall program to eliminate the further pollution of Lake Michigan; and

Be it further resolved to urge that such program shall include a careful consideration of the following recommended measures:

1. Abatement of the discharge of solids into the Lake Michigan system and filling by erosion.

2. Reduction in disposal of wastes high in oxygen demand and nutrients into Lake Michigan and its tributaries.

3. Curtailment of the use of persistent pesticides and the release of other poisons into the Lake Michigan watershed.

4. Steps to halt filling of shallow areas of the lake.

5. A firm control over thermal loading that will enable us to forecast the effects of various levels of heat loading on the waters and the climate.

6. Where possible, a monitoring system to detect and trace discharge of oils, chemicals and other contaminants to clean water.

7. Control of alewife die-off.

8. Agreement on means to prohibit industrial classification of waters in the Lake Michigan watershed.

### Negro Schoolchildren

## HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the whole sorry record of neglect of education of our young Negro boys and girls in the District of Columbia public schools is effectively summed up in a column by William Raspberry in the Washington Post edition of March 20, 1968. There is no doubt in my mind that a similar column, with only the names and dates changed, could be written about most public school systems in the Nation in which Negroes are enrolled.

However, the situation is particularly inexcusable because Negroes number about 90 percent of the total public school enrollment in the District and almost as high a percentage in other grades. When nine out of 10 schoolchildren are being short changed the consequences can only be disastrous—and this in the capital of the Nation.

The harvest of bigotry, discrimination, and racism, disguised as administrative indifference and inertia, has done little to stir us as citizens or Members of Congress. Some of us might well spend less time denouncing Mississippi and Alabama and more time tending to problems in our own Northern communities.

Under unanimous consent I include the article at this point in the RECORD:

(By William Raspberry)

Many of the west-of-the-Park parents who are biting their nails in anxiety over what new boundaries the School Board will come up with see themselves as victims of a pushy Julius Hobson and an overzealous Judge Wright.

They are looking in the wrong direction. The true villains are their neighbors and predecessors in the nice part of town from whom they have inherited the problem of unequal education. A good many of them would just as soon pass it on to yet another generation.

Even before the public schools here were desegregated the white parents of affluence

and influence had a chance to do something to improve the educational prospects of Negro children. They chose, instead, to do as little as they could get away with, while maintaining the status quo for their own children.

They knew—they must have known—that they were merely postponing the problem. But they knew, too, that if they could postpone it for long enough, their own children would no longer be in the public school system. This is how the problem got handed down from year to year, and this is why it has been inherited by the parents of the current school population.

Twenty years ago, for example, parents of pupils at the all-Negro Browne Junior High protested the fact that their children were getting only part-time instruction because for five of the previous six years Browne had been operating a double shift.

The response was to explain why nothing could be done to relieve the crowding at Browne.

Six months later, Browne parents came back with the suggestion that Elliot Junior High, then operating at about 80 per cent of capacity, be transferred to the Negro division. And again came the explanations why nothing could be done. None of the reasons given, incidentally, had the slightest reference to the needs of Browne school or its pupils.

The school administration refused to act, in fact, until Browne parents staged a boycott. The "solution" was to transfer two eight-room elementary school buildings (both about 40 years old and both operating below capacity) to the Negro division.

There were no science or economics classrooms, of course, and students in these courses were sent across Benning Road for half-day shifts at Browne's overloaded facilities.

But no matter. The arrangement made it possible to silence the Negro parents, while assuring the white ones that their children would continue to get full-time, full-scale education in the still more-than-adequate space at Elliot.

Or take 1949, when the local chapter of the American Federation of Teachers appealed to the School Board to transfer either Central or Roosevelt High School to the Negro division to ease the load on Cardozo.

Cardozo had been built in 1905 as the white Business High School, abandoned in 1931 as educationally inadequate and transferred to the Negro division in 1933.

By 1949, Cardozo was operating on triple shifts, at 172.7 per cent of capacity, while only one white high school was about 66 per cent of capacity.

Still, the Board of Education said no to the transfer proposal. Among the reasons cited:

White schools in the past had operated on multiple shifts.

Some 1400 white pupils would be displaced "to gain temporary advantage for Cardozo." Besides, the white pupils would lose their only swimming pool.

White students in Central's "home area" would be without any school of their own. (All Negro schools were citywide at the time.)

The superintendent's solution was to transfer 500 girls from Cardozo to the Park View Elementary School.

As in the Browne case, the responsibility was the superintendent's. But there can be little doubt his action—or inaction—was supported by the bulk of the white parents.

So it went, before desegregation and after. And so it continues now. White parents will agree on the need for quality education for all children, but almost always in terms that will leave their own advantage undiminished.

Now, as one observer puts it, they seem to be saying: "You can fill up our empty spaces, but leave our children in Wilson, Western, Gordon and Deal so they can graduate and get into a prestige college. After that we won't care."

## How Would Our Boys in Vietnam Vote on April 2?

### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, during a primary election on April 2, 1968, citizens of the city of Madison, Wis., will be faced with the responsibility of deciding whether to support a resolution which opposes American military involvement in Vietnam. This "end the war" referendum, an issue of national concern, was approved by the Madison City Council for placement on the ballot following the receipt of a petition in favor of the referendum from nearly 20 percent of the city's eligible voters.

In compliance with State law, the city council was required to place the referendum question on the ballot. However, immediately following this authorization, the council voted unanimously in urging the citizens of Madison to vote against the antiwar resolution.

The resolution, as it will appear on the April election ballot, states:

It is the policy of the people of the City of Madison that there be an immediate cease fire and the withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam, so that the Vietnamese people can determine their own destiny.

The actual campaign to place the referendum on the ballot involved an intensive effort on the part of several hundred persons who systematically canvassed the entire city with petitions. It has been publicly charged that some of the principal instigators of the referendum, including certain out-of-State students at the University of Wisconsin, were persons whose primary objectives were designed to promote dissension among the American people and to undermine the morale of our armed forces in Vietnam. Moreover, it is readily understood that many of those citizens who signed the referendum petitions were sincerely interested in bringing peace to Southeast Asia; however, their desire for ending the war has apparently been exploited by an active minority which does not have America's best interests at heart.

Several organizations have been devoting their full support to the anti-Vietnam war referendum including the Madison Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam and the Madison Veterans for Peace in Vietnam. I believe the following information concerning these two groups is worthy of consideration.

The Madison Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam—MCVV—whose headquarters is located at 206 King Street, Madison, has functioned as the principal group agitating for support of the referendum. Organizer of the referendum petition drive, the MCVV is a broadly based organization which credits itself for placing the antiwar resolution on the April ballot. The MCVV serves as the coordinating center in Madison for promoting the referendum as well as for disseminating voter information and antiwar literature. The group has published several pieces of printed literature, one of which



is a leaflet entitled "Vote Yes To End the War" containing a list of over 60 sponsors of the MCVV representing Madison businessmen, educators, professional people, and clergymen.

According to a letter sent to the newspaper of the Trotskyist-Communist Socialist Workers Party, the Militant, published in its February 26, 1968, issue, a MCVV sponsor openly urged readers to send needed contributions to the MCVV. The MCVV representative, Paul H. Hass, wrote that the MCVV is "now mounting a full-scale publicity and educational campaign against the war."

The chairman of the MCVV is Maurice Zeitlin, who is a sociology professor at the University of Wisconsin. Zeitlin an avid supporter of the Communist government of Cuba and has been affiliated with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, a notorious front organization for the Castro regime. He also has been an active participant in numerous anti-Vietnam war demonstrations in both California and Wisconsin. Zeitlin was listed as a sponsor of a testimonial dinner held on April 28, 1966, in New York City to celebrate both the 50th birthday of Communist Party national committeeman Herbert Aptheker and the second anniversary of the American Institute for Marxist Studies.

Among the sponsors of the Madison Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam is a well-known agitator in the peace movement, Frank Emspak, a University of Wisconsin graduate and son of a deceased member of the Communist Party. Emspak was the chairman of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam—NCC—which functioned from its headquarters in Madison for over a year until its dissolution in December 1966. The NCC, whose steering committee included representatives of many subversive organizations, was the leading nationwide coordinator of the antiwar movement, and was responsible for staging a "peace" project called the International Days of Protest, on March 25 and 26, 1966. It is noteworthy that the NCC was formed in Washington, D.C., at the Assembly of Unrepresented People to Declare Peace, held on August 6-9, 1965. Toward the conclusion of the assembly's 4-day protest of our Government's policy in Southeast Asia, Emspak and several hundred other demonstrators were arrested for disorderly conduct as they forcibly attempted to invade the U.S. Capitol.

Emspak has been a staunch supporter of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America—DCA—the youth front of the Communist Party, U.S.A. In addition to having attended meetings of the DCA, Emspak joined with DCA in April 1966 as a co-plaintiff in a suit filed in Federal court against the U.S. Attorney General in an attempt to restrain the Subversive Activities Control Board from conducting further proceedings in the case of the DCA. Emspak is a sponsor of a relatively new Communist-supported organization called the Tri-Continental Information Center whose program calls for subverting U.S. military and foreign policies which maintain the security of the free world.

The Madison Veterans for Peace in Vietnam has been an active supporter of the referendum. It has worked closely

with the Madison Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam and publicly joined with members of MCVV on the occasion of the opening of MCVV's new headquarters on King Street in Madison on February 28, 1968. The Madison Veterans for Peace, located at 2924 Harvey Street, Apartment 5-G, Madison, is one of over 30 "Veterans for Peace" and "Veterans for Peace in Vietnam" groups located throughout the United States which are linked together as "joint sponsors" of a monthly tabloid newspaper published in Chicago entitled Veterans Stars and Stripes for Peace. According to this newspaper's February 1968 issue, the Madison Veterans for Peace "played a big role in getting an antiwar referendum on the ballot."

The publisher of Veterans Stars and Stripes for Peace is an organization headquartered in Chicago operating under the name of Veterans for Peace in Vietnam. The group maintains two mailing addresses, one located at 1608 West Madison Street, room 201, and the other at Post Office Box 4598. Founded in January 1966, the Chicago Veterans for Peace was organized by LeRoy Wolins who has received considerable publicity as a veteran of the Communist movement. Wolins was identified as a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and as a leader of the Chicago Veterans for Peace as late as February 16, 1967, during the testimony of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations.

In 1957, when Wolins was employed as the administrative secretary of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship, a Communist-front organization, he traveled to Moscow without possessing a U.S. passport to attend the Communist Sixth World Youth Festival. Wolins himself recruited delegates for this festival through his office at the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship. During an appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1960, Wolins invoked the fifth amendment when questioned whether he had received funds from a Soviet representative to generate interest in the world youth festival.

Two years later, Wolins again appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. On this second occasion, Wolins took refuge behind the fifth amendment when questioned about his affiliation with Translation World Publishers, a firm specializing in imported Communist literature which was charged with violating the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Wolins invoked the fifth amendment during both appearances before this congressional committee when he was asked about his membership in the Communist Party, U.S.A.

The oldest and largest of the groups which sponsor Veterans Stars & Stripes for Peace is the Veterans for Peace in Vietnam of Post Office Box 28, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. This organization was initially formed as the ad hoc committee of Veterans for Peace in Vietnam in New York City in November 1965.

The ad hoc committee of veterans, as well as its successor, has run numerous

paid advertisements in nationally known newspapers. According to one of its ads which appeared in the New York Times of March 20, 1966, the names of well-known Communist Party leaders and functionaries were listed as supporters including Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and Herbert Aptheker, the party's principal theoretician. In the spring of 1966, the ad hoc committee of veterans became known as the Veterans for Peace in Vietnam. Both the New York and Chicago groups of the Veterans for Peace in Vietnam have participated in numerous antiwar demonstrations, some of which have been sponsored by the Communist-dominated Spring Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam, and its successor, the National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam.

A study of the record leads to the conclusion that both the New York and Chicago Veterans for Peace in Vietnam are obvious operations of the Communist Party.

I think the above information is important, for, as Director J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI observed on February 10, 1966, before a House appropriations subcommittee:

In furthering the aims and objectives of the international Communist conspiracy, the Communist Party, U.S.A. creates and utilizes Communist front organizations. In this manner the party attempts to conceal and disguise its activities and to lend a semblance of respectability to its operations.

Mr. Hoover further stated that:

Through these fronts, the party conducts pressure and propaganda campaigns, disseminates Communist literature and propaganda, raises funds, recruits new members and insidiously exploits the masses and public opinion to further its revolutionary aims and purposes.

As for the referendum's proposal to withdraw our troops from Vietnam, I certainly agree with the position of the Madison City Council, which was unanimously opposed. In addition, many letters and published accounts from Vietnam indicate that our servicemen, with their very lives at stake, overwhelmingly support our defense of the Vietnamese people against Communist terror. Our boys are learning through frightful firsthand experience the truth of a basic Communist doctrine which has been recently documented by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its report, "Communist Commitment to Force and Violence," and which can be procured by writing to the committee.

For those sincere and undecided voters of Madison, I believe this question should be given some consideration: "How would our boys in Vietnam vote on April 2?"

**No Retreat for Israel**

**HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the following message has been prepared by the

Americans for the Security and Stability of Israel and in my judgment should be of extreme interest to all Americans who respect freedom and democracy.

Israel's survival as a nation should be of concern to all Americans, for Israel alone today stands as a bastion against Soviet expansion in the Middle East.

The case for Israel is expertly stated in the following message:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 5, 1968]

**NO RETREAT FOR ISRAEL—MOSCOW-CAIRO AXIS MUST NOT PREVAIL**

The Arabs in concert with the Soviet Union are loud in their demand that Israel should retreat to the armistice lines of 1949. Their cry finds an echo among some well-meaning but naive people in support of their stand. Realism and fairness require that right-minded Americans should make known their rejection of such an unwarranted claim.

**RIGHT TO THE LAND**

Israel has inalienable rights to the Eretz Yisrael territories she won in the war forced upon her by the Arabs and their Soviet Communist allies. Israel's rights are supported by history, geography, and by international sanction.

These territories were part of the mandated area which was placed under the authority of the League of Nations after the first World War. Britain, the League's Mandatary, administered Palestine under the charge of developing the Jewish National Home. The United States sanctioned the Mandate and its purpose by a special convention with Great Britain. The historical bond of the Jewish people with the Land of their forefathers, the Land of the Bible, was thus given international sanction. The U.N., by approving the restoration of the Jewish State, confirmed this bond.

There never was, in fact, an independent Arab State in Palestine.

**NO CONQUEST BUT LIBERATION**

The Israeli soldiers, forced into a war, entered the battle for the Land not as conquerors and occupiers, but as liberators. They liberated territories which had been forcibly occupied by Egypt and Jordan and they returned them to the rightful owner, the State of Israel.

**ARABS HAVE NO VALID CLAIM**

Egypt and Jordan have no rights to the areas Israel wrested from their domination. These territories never rightfully belonged to them.

The west bank of the Jordan, including Old Jerusalem, was illegally occupied by the Jordanians in 1948. They annexed it by unilateral action after the armistice arrange-

ment left them in occupation of the west bank area. It was never ceded to Jordan by Israel nor by any international authority.

Neither was the Gaza Strip Egypt's. This Strip was part of Palestine and included in the Mandate of the League of Nations to be part of the Jewish National Homeland. It was also occupied and held by Egypt under the armistice arrangement of 1949. It was never incorporated into the State of Egypt. It was administered by Egypt as a separate territory.

**AGGRESSORS CANNOT BE APEASED**

For years, prior to June 5th, Israel was threatened with annihilation. Arabs, through radio and press, promised to destroy the men, women, and children of Israel. The Gulf of Akaba was closed to Israel's shipping by Egypt's armed blockade . . . in itself an act of war. Now Israel is urged by some to show "magnanimity" and give up the fruits of the victory she has won by the valor of her soldiers. It is maintained that the Arabs will then reciprocate and make peace with the Jewish State.

Experience has shown that such advice is induced by wishful thinking. Every attempt to appease aggressors proved to be an excursion into futility. Israel learned this lesson the hard way. All peace overtures to the Arabs have only emboldened them to greater acts of bloodshed and pillage.

**INVITATION TO MURDER**

The armistice lines were an open invitation to marauders and terrorist bands. Israel suffered many casualties from such murderous attacks during Israel's nineteen years of existence.

Israel's 1949 armistice lines were indefensible. Israel could have easily been cut into two or three areas by a sudden attack. Nasser and Hussein were about to launch such an attack. Only Israel's speedy victory saved the nation from disaster.

Israel dares not risk her safety and the lives of her people by returning to the exposed positions of the armistice borders. No one has a moral right to encourage such an eventuality.

**ISRAELI'S ACCOMPLISHMENT**

Soviet Russia formed the axis with Cairo for the sole purpose of achieving the old Russian imperialist ambition: to dominate the Middle East. Had Nasser, Hussein, and Syria been successful in their attack on Israel, the Soviets would have gained control of the Eastern Mediterranean and the gateways to Asia and Africa.

The vital interests of our allies and the U.S. herself would have been imperiled. Israel's victory averted the danger to the U.S. position in the Middle East.

Israel's victory saved the day for the

Western democracies. As State Secretary Dean Rusk told Senator Thruston Morton: "It was a victory for the West." It was indeed a victory for the U.S.

**ISRAEL MUST NOT BE WEAKENED**

The Moscow-Cairo axis seeks Israel's retreat to the armistice lines in order to regain a position of strength to again attack Israel. They are already well advanced in arming for a fourth round of war.

**SUPPORT FOR AN ALLY**

The American people must not remain indifferent to the designs of the Moscow-Cairo axis against Israel. Justice and our national interest require that we stand by Israel and nourish her determination to retain her present strong and legitimate position.

Now that Israel's request for American planes and arms is under consideration, write to President Johnson, to your Senators and Congressmen urging that no pressure be applied on Israel to withdraw to the former artificial boundaries.

Urge your government to supply Israel, our friend and ally, with weapons for defense. Urge them to give Israel political support for the preservation of her birthright, security, and permanence.

Inserted by Americans for the Security and Stability of Israel, Samuel H. Wang, Organizing Chairman, 227 West 45 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036.

**The 50th Anniversary of Ukrainian Independence**

**HON. HUGH SCOTT**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 20, 1968

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, with respect to the 50th anniversary of Ukrainian independence, a private order is being submitted for the reprint publication of all statements and other insertions made by Members of the Senate prior to, during, and after the January 22, 1968, event, which was observed in the Senate on January 23, 1968.

If there is no objection from any Senator, his or her statement or insertion will be incorporated in the reprint brochure, which has been requested by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

**SENATE—Thursday, March 21, 1968**

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father God, on the threshold of a new day, send us forth armed with Thy power, to overcome evil; if need be, to endure hardship, but in all things to serve Thee bravely, faithfully, joyfully; that, at the end of the day's labor, kneeling for Thy blessing, Thou mayest find no blot upon our shield.

Thou art the center and soul of every sphere, yet to each loving heart how near.

Renew our faith in Thy power and in

the victory of Thy purposes. Here let us see again the vital and eternal things that are stronger than the noise of the world.

Quicken our love of America that we may see the shining glory of the Republic both as a heritage and a trust.

Open our eyes to see a glory in our common life with all its sordid failures, and in the aspirations of men for better things and for a fairer world, which, at last, must burn away every barrier to human brotherhood as Thy kingdom comes and Thy will is done in all the earth.

We ask it in the Redeemer's name. Amen.

**THE JOURNAL**

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, March 20, 1968, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE**

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 10790) to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the protection of the public