graduates to be permanent lieutenants (junior grade) and temporary lieutenants in the Dental Corps of the U.S. Navy, subject to qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Michael Gotthardt, Jr.
William L. Willis

The following-named Naval Reserve officers to be permanent lieutenants in the Dental Corps of the U.S. Navy, subject to qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Don M. Barron
Gerald B. Branham

Daniel Kalashian, Naval Reserve Officer's Training Corps candidate, to be a permanent ensign in the line or staff corps of the U.S. Navy, subject to qualifications therefor as provided by law.

Lt. Comdr. Walton E. Yates, USN, to be a permanent chief warrant officer in the U.S. Navy, subject to qualifications therefor as provided by law.

(Navy enlisted scientific education program) candidate to be permanent ensigns in the line of the U.S. Navy, subject to qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Bonnett, David E. — James A. Milam
Edward J. Lynch — Francis L. Sink
Richard L. McCance — Dennis E. Strother

The following-named officers of the Navy are nominated for permanent promotion to the grade of lieutenant as indicated:

LINE

Peter B. Dodge — Andrew M. Kelly
John E. Mander — John L. Vanderslice
Edward W. Morris

MEDICAL CORPS

Walker H. Campbell — George L. Negron
Thomas E. Corley — Donald F. Sprafke
Bruce R. Geer

CHAPLAIN CORPS

Earl L. Boyette — Robert J. Paciocco

DENTAL CORPS

Jerald J. Archer — Milton C. Van Meter, Jr.
John F. Begg
Alan G. Sirmans

NURSE CORPS

Margaret M. Conway — Mary C. Ledgerwood
Kathleen M. Kendall — Laveta F. Link

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

POLISH NATIONAL HOLIDAY

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1968

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, on May 3, Americans of Polish origin—and, in fact, Poles everywhere—celebrate a national holiday. This is the Polish Third of May Constitution Day.

Ever since President Franklin D. Roosevelt paid tribute to Poland as the inspiration of nations during World War II, this country has annually marked this day as one to honor the proclamation and adoption of Poland's Constitution of 1791.

In the First Congressional District of Massachusetts there are many residents of Polish origin, as there are all across America. May 3 is their day to pay tribute to the Polish nation and to remind themselves and their fellow Americans that Poland was one of the first pioneers of liberalism in Europe.

The importance of the May 3 Polish Constitution lies in the fact that it eliminated in one strike of the pen the fundamental weaknesses of the Polish parliamentary and social systems. It accomplished great social change without a revolution, without a war, and the Polish people have placed this date at the head of their days of national celebration. This in itself is a tribute to the Polish love of freedom and their faith in a better and brighter future.

The philosophy of government which may be seen throughout the Polish Constitution of 1791 is not unlike our own, and it is easy to believe that the American and Polish people have drawn inspiration for their respective constitutions from the same source.

Celebration of this anniversary deepens the faith of every Pole. It reminds them of their great heritage and their destiny in the history of mankind.

In Poland itself the heavy yoke of Communist oppression has removed many Polish traditions, and observance of this day is forbidden.

So it remains for Poles living in the free world—and with them Americans of free spirit—to keep the faith with this noble legacy that speaks with so clear a voice of the moral strength, civic virtue, and wisdom of their forefathers.

This year the anniversary date also marks the 25th year since the tragic death of General Sikorski, free Poland's wartime leader and statesman; and the 70th year since the discovery of radium by Madam Curie, a proud daughter of Poland and one of history's greatest scientists.

The dark clouds that hang over the Polish horizon cannot remain forever. This great country is destined to rise again—just as she did at the end of the last World War.

A line in the Polish national anthem that goes, "Poland is not lost" is the source of inspiration and courage until that day comes.

In the meantime, Poles and Americans must believe that the time is coming in which international justice will come and Poland will return again to the family of nations as a free, independent, and sovereign state.

On May 3, I had the privilege of being honored with an Appreciation Night by the St. Kazimier's Society of Turners Falls, Mass., a Polish-American organization from my congressional district. I include a copy of my remarks to them at this point in the RECORD:

POLISH NATIONAL HOLIDAY

I want to tell you how pleased I am to be here and how proud I am to be honored by you with this "Appreciation Night."

It is a special pleasure for me to be with you tonight on this May, the third, which celebrates the 177th anniversary of the adopting and proclamation of Poland's historic Constitution.

The Constitution, adopted in 1791, has come to be known as one of the most liberal and progressive pieces of legislation adopted in its times. Although the communist government in Poland abolished May 3rd as the national holiday of Poland, it is truly fitting that people of Polish descent all over the world continue to celebrate this day as the true national holiday of their homeland.

This year of 1968 also brings to mind other significant events in the history of Poland. It is the 25th anniversary of the tragic death of General Sikorski, free Poland's wartime leader and statesman. It is the 70th anniversary of the discovery of radium by Madame Curie—one of history's greatest scientists.

It is also the 50th anniversary of the rebirth of the Polish Republic which took place in 1918 after so many years of partition and foreign control.

Free people throughout the world look forward to that day when we will again see such a rebirth. Free people throughout the world anxiously await the day when Poland once more will be a free, an independent and a sovereign state.

The existence and the activities of your organization and similar organizations in this country and abroad do much to perpetuate the spirit and the faith and the hope which are so important for the future of Poland.

The activities of Americans of Polish descent in this country are a source of great pride for our nation and a reflection of the true greatness that is presently shackled by communist domination and control of Poland.

Polish Americans in this country have come to be particularly known for their dedication, their scrupulous integrity and their great capacity for hard work and sustained effort.

I have thus found it especially rewarding to have been able to sponsor many private bills in the House of Representatives in the past ten years which have helped reunite long-separated members of Polish families.

I also took great pleasure in assisting in making funds available to build the American Research Hospital for Children which stands today in Krakow, Poland.

As the ranking Republican member of the Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommititee, I strongly urged and backed our committee action and the subsequent House action to provide funds for this most worthy project and I was very proud to attend the dedication of the hospital in Krakow in 1965 as a member of the United States Government delegation.

A plaque in the main hospital building reads, "Erected by the American people to promote the welfare and health of the children of Poland and dedicated to the enduring friendship between the peoples of the United States and Poland."

Your people have known generations of oppression in your beloved homeland. But the resolve, the strength, the patriotism and the dedication of the Polish people has always stood face to face and shoulder to shoulder in opposition to such oppression and to imposed domination. These characteristics have brought victory for the people of Poland in the past. They will do so again in the future.

These characteristics have also been superbly demonstrated in our land where Americans of Polish descent starting from the days of the great Revolutionary hero Pulaski have fought valiantly and often given their lives in the defense of freedom and in the service of this nation. From the time of the revolution to today's troubled times, the Polish American traditions have been carried forward with courage, with honor and with love of this country and its political institutions.

In World War II alone, it is estimated that some 900,000 to 1,000,000 Americans of Polish descent saw active duty in our Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force. Some Polish American families had as many as eleven sons on active duty at the same time during those days. Polish Americans have fought in the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, the Spanish American War, both World Wars, the Korean War and today in Viet-

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nam. Their heroism and their record of courage and valor is one of the finest aspects of the long record of accomplishments of Polish people in America.

In 1870 there were some 50,000 Poles and ten Polish parishes in the United States. By 1875 there were 200,000 Poles and fifty parishes. By 1889 there were 800,000 Poles in 132 churches. Today there are more than 1000 churches in this country with Polish parishioners.

The city of Chicago with a population of over half a million Poles is today the second largest Polish city in the world, Warsaw, of course, being first.

In the year 1870 Polish immigration to the United States increased remarkably, due mainly to the desperately depressed economic conditions of the homeland. This immigration continued at an accelerating rate for almost the next fifty years. Polish national consciousness came to life anew in the United States. The Polish people had for centuries been deprived of participation in the national life of their native country, and for a century and a half had been subjected to the political domination of foreign hostile governments.

Many Poles emigrated to the United States from the sections of Austria, Germany, and Russia that had formed the Kingdom of Poland more than a century earlier. Thus the immigrants who for economic reasons ventured beyond the ocean to the supposed land of plenty knew little of Poland as an independent country. But the Poles who came to the United States soon gained a stronger ethnic consciousness than they had known in their small villages, and after meeting others from the land of departure they developed new passions and aspirations for their Polish homeland.

During the early stages of the mass immigration, mutual help was exercised sporadically on a case-by-case basis by collections taken up for the benefit of an individual or family in need. Since the burden fell on the more settled and prosperous members of the community, they were particularly anxious to substitute a regular system of life and health insurance for this unsystematic voluntary assistance. The first Polish mutual aid society established in the United States was that of Saint Stanislaus Kostka in Chicago in 1864. In time, the Mutual Aid Society became partly a social club that arranged dances, picnics, musical and sports affairs, and lectures. Naturally, at these parties and events, the Polish language and Polish customs were very much in evidence. Gradually the Mutual aid societies assumed other functions. They became the center of information for newcomers, visitors, and travelers. They acted as representatives of the Polish-American community in its relations with American institutions.

Eventually the leaders of the mutual aid societies, desiring more recognition, prestige, and security for Polish-Americans, adopted as one of their objectives the establishment of Polish parishes with Polish priests. They realized that the success of this effort would assure the permanence and social solidarity of Polish American communities. The parish organization would not only provide better social cooperation, but would also stimulate interest in new fields of social activity, such as stores, banks, travel agencies, theaters and social centers.

The parish became the center of social and cultural activities. The tendency toward concentration grew stronger; at the turn of the century, for example, two Polish parishes alone were larger than many dioceses. In 1899, St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish of Chicago had a membership of over 50,000 parisioners, and the Buffalo Parish of St. Stanislaus Bishop and Martyr numbered 30,000 parishioners. The parish church in America took on the form of a Poland in miniature. With the establishment of the parish, new institutions, especially the parochial school, came into being. The purpose of the parochial school was not only to impart Christian education but to acquaint the child with his or her own Polish heritage.

Thus, it is clear that there has always been a strong Polish pride, a strong attachment to family life, and a tradition of mutual help in the Polish-American communities of the United States.

Your St. Kazimier's Society is part of that tradition.

It is a great tradition. It serves Polish-Americans faithfully and with great distinction. It serves the ultimate goal of a free and independent Poland equally well.

This is why I am especially happy to be with all of you tonight and especially proud to be the recipient of this Appreciation Night, an honor I would like to assure you that I will long remember.

Thank you very much.

TEN DAYS IN APRIL

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, in the past month I have noticed a sense of alarm and a strong awareness of impending crisis in speech after speech delivered on the Senate floor. Senators of all political persuasions from both sides of the aisle seem to have had their confidence in the permanency of our constitutional Republic shaken by the series of shattering events which have occurred in recent weeks in our cities.

An excellent and perceptive column on this subject was published in the National Review of May 7, 1968. The column, entitled "Ten Days in April," was written by Frank S. Meyer. Mr. Meyer discusses the seriousness of the domestic and foreign crises, their relationship to each other, and their possible significance. His words are strong words, but the times call for nothing less. I hope he is wrong, but I am afraid he is right.

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

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

PRINCIPLES AND HERESIES: 10 DAYS IN APRIL

(By Frank S. Meyer)

The ten days from the night President Johnson ran up the white flag of surrender in Vietnam to the afternoon Martin Luther King was buried will, I believe, one day impress the historian as the most fateful point in American history since Fort Sumter was fired upon 107 years ago.

I may be wrong, I may be "over-reacting," as a colleague of mine recently accused me of doing. Events may not move as fast as I believe they will. The Communists may make impossible the modicum of face-saving that Johnson is bound to insist upon in his surrender, and the war may be renewed, perhaps this time at a level capable of achieving our objectives. The fever of the Negro insurrection may die down, and the Negro middle classes, under the leadership of men like Roy Wilkins, may prevail over the nihilist spirit that presently rides high.

But these are unlikely eventualities. It is far more likely that the first days of April have ushered in a massive crisis, internal and external, in the history of the United States—a crisis which could bring all the inherent pathologies generated by decades of liberalism to cataclysmic resolution. We are living, I fear, through a climactic movement of that liberal drive to civilization suicide that James Burnham has analyzed.

At such a time, I thought the editorial discussion in the last issue of National Review (April 23) lamentably lacking in urgency and—in spite of excellent reportage and considerable acute analysis—remiss in failing to show the depth of the two crises and their common origin in liberal relativism and liberal nihilism. For both crises reflect relativist disdain for the values of Western civilization and nihilism towards any order, national or international, even an order that makes freedom possible. They are, in fact a single crisis of moral purpose and civilizational esprit.

The domestic crisis most clearly reflects the breakdown of moral authority. What has been happening in the streets of our cities the last few years is not in any primary sense the result of Negro economic and social conditions. Indeed, insurrectionary violence would seem to have burst forth just when those conditions are rapidly improving. Nor will massive panicky expenditures or constitutional emasculations like the open housing provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 touch the cause of disorder. Such ransom paid to the blackmail of violence is actually more likely to increase than diminish the virulence of the attack on American society.

The tired formulas of liberalism will be no more effective when they are escalated than they have been in the past. The Civil Rights Act of 1968 will have little effect on the social situation, but it will immensely increase Washington's power over the individual citizen. Programs like that of the Kerner Commission or Rockefeller's $150-billion plan would only mean a massive proliferation of bureaucracy and a crushing increase in the already crushing burden of taxation borne by the producing majority of the population (and let us not forget that there are millions of Negroes in that producing majority).

The cause and the solution of our crisis are not to be found in such economic and social nostrums. Our poor are better off than any in the world, far better off than any in past history. Every official voice, governmental and private, has been raised to do what exhortation can do to lower social barriers—support which other minority groups, from the Irish to the Jews to the Italians, never had as they worked their way forward.

The cause is not social and economic, but moral. It is not by chance that at this point we face the lawless explosions not only from our cities, but from our universities. We are reaping the harvest of two generations of contempt for the constitutional tradition of law and ordered freedom. The consummation of a decade of rapidly mounting crime was the spectacle, telecast the country over, of arson and looting going unchecked while troops and police stood by. This was not local or accidental; as the *New York Times* has revealed, it was a national policy conceived on the highest level of government.

But the moral duty of citizens to government depends upon the social compact by which government guarantees the protection of the citizens and their property against outlaws, in return for which the citizens surrender their right to use force in their own defense. Once the compact is broken, that right reverts to all citizens, and the outcome can only be Hobbes' anarchic "war of all against all."

Our external crisis, like our internal crisis, proceeds from the corrosion of national morale. The prosecution of the war in Vietnam has been vitiated from the beginning by the internal decay of our attitude to world Communism, by our refusal to face the reality of an enduring challenge to our existence and the existence of our civilization. The war in Vietnam was a partial rally from our base and irresponsible retreat before Communism. Surrender in Vietnam will

lead to renewed retreat and appeasement on an unprecedented scale—unless the country in its agony finds new leadership and a new morale.

Here and here alone lies the solution to the American crisis at home and abroad. It may be objected that this is an ideal answer, that it will not occur in time, that more immediate and practical steps are necessary. But the fact is that there are no such steps. Only national renewal of leadership and moral authority will meet the crisis. And historically it has happened time and again that solutions which seemed distant and improbable have emerged with startling rapidity from the crucible of crisis.

AMERICA AND THE MORALITY GAP

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, on April 12 of this year, Mr. George Champion, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, delivered a speech which touched on the deepest problem facing America today—the erosion of responsibility and the decline of moral values.

As Mr. Champion points out, the dollar is not the only American institution which has steadily declined in strength and value in the recent past. Just as dangerous has been the weakening of America's traditional sense of moral and ethical values.

Because of the importance of this subject, and the timeliness of Mr. Champion's remarks, I insert then in the RECORD:

OUR MORAL DEFICIT

(Address by George Champion, Chairman of the Board, the Chase Manhattan Bank, at 11th Annual Good Friday Breakfast for Business and Professional Men, Los Angeles, April 12, 1968)

It is an edifying experience, indeed, to participate in one of your impressive Good Friday breakfast meetings.

Si Fluor tells me that when these meetings began back in 1958, there was some doubt as to whether business and professional men could be persuaded to attend a religious event, especially at such an early hour. That there are so many of you on hand this morning, however, would seem to refute any suggestion that businessmen as a group are either lost souls or lazy ones!

Being here under the auspices of the YMCA is particularly meaningful to me because I still cherish memories of my days as president of a Hi-Y Club in San Diego. I thought at the time it was the most exalted office, anybody could hold—more important by far, than Chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank!

Besides, it entitled you to a place of honor each month at a 15-cent bean dinner!

At that time, we used to consider your community a flourishing little suburb of San Diego!

However, we could see, even then, that you were destined for bigger and better things!

The last time I spoke here in Los Angeles was nine years ago last January. On that occasion, I warned of the danger of a serious balance-of-payments deficit. Since most bankers and businessmen were far more concerned then with the "dollar shortage," the audience regarded me as a well-disposed but not very well-organized fellow, titling at economic windmills.

This morning I'd like to talk about another kind of deficit—one that may seem as remote a threat now as the balance-of-payments did in 1959. Yet my own conviction is that it is not only more serious for the longer run, but also one of the root causes of the eocnomic and social problems that beset us today.

I refer to what columnist James Reston has described as our "moral deficit." Though he was writing primarily of the inequities of the Vietnam War, the phrase has far wider application. Just as the payments deficit measures the gap between what we spend abroad and what we collect from other countries, so the moral deficit represents the gap between the highest standards of ethical conduct and our often disappointing performance as a nation.

We don't have to look beyond the front page to find examples of this deepening moral deficit. We see it reflected in stories of city streets that are unsafe to walk at night; parks that cannot be enjoyed because of the constant threat of muggers; a soaring crime rate that costs us $20 billion a year and translates into one major crime committed every eight seconds.

We see this moral deficit reflected in flagrant violations of free speech and the freedom of movement of our government officials. We see it in a minority of our college students who find it fashionable to be "against" everything and "for" nothing in the way of a positive program. We see it in the rioting, looting and bloodshed that tore our cities apart last summer.

Perhaps most appallingly, we see it in the case of an articulate symbol of non-violence struck down in an instant of violence that many fear may portend our longest and hottest summer.

Even in high places we see distressing signs of the moral deficit. Within the recent past, both the United States Senate and the House of Representatives have been confronted with ethical issues involving a member of each body. A recent Gallup Poll reported that six out of ten people believe that unethical conduct by Congressmen is "fairly common."

Nor has business been free from serious violations of ethics and laws. Too often the government has had to move in to put a stop to serious transgressions. Kickbacks and conflict-of-interest situations have become too frequent occurrences, while embezzlement and other crimes in business have reached an all-time high.

The moral deficit also extends to broader issues in our society—the existence of poverty amid prosperity, of the lowest national unemployment rate in many years alongside the highest Negro teen-age rate, of the befouling of our environment to the point that the air is scarcely fit to breathe or the water to drink.

In my view, this deficit is also a contributing cause of the monetary malaise from which we suffer today because it has eroded the sound economic attitudes on which our country was built. Such concepts as "an honest day's work for an honest day's pay" are ridiculed as hopelessly outmoded. The "straight and narrow" path to achievement is scorned for the short-cut and the dodge. The dole has become standard operating procedure for millions of Americans under welfare programs that sustain life but kill hope.

Given the growing acceptance of these attitudes, is it any wonder that we find shoddy workmanship, wage settlements that exceed productivity gains, spiraling inflation, persistent deficits in the national budget and the international payments account, and a crisis of confidence in the dollar?

The American dollar, like the British pound, has come under pressure because, as The Times of London put it, "in the last analysis, economics is a matter of human nature and not of formulas; no country can be saved if its people will not save themselves."

Evangelist Billy Graham has tellingly summed up the decline of individual responsibility in this way:

The word "sinner" has been all but deleted from our vocabulary. The drunkard is no longer looked upon as a wayward, selfish man; having failed to adjust to society, he is an alcoholic and a sick person. The criminal is no longer a law-breaker looked upon with contempt by society; rather he is a psychopath in need of treatment. The juvenile delinquent is no longer looked upon as an incorrigible; he is just an unfortunate child, the victim of circumstances. And so it goes; no one is to blame for his sins.

In light of these observations, I cannot help thinking back to my boyhood when the cashier of a local bank was convicted of embezzling $7,000. His deed would scarcely have arched an eyebrow in many quarters today. But at that time, public condemnation was so severe that the man's son and daughter were forced to drop out of college and his wife moved out of town to escape the shame.

I am, of course, not advocating a return to such social ostracism. But we have got to be less tolerant of the transgressor. A general toning up of our moral posture and our sense of individual responsibility is an absolute must.

Government's response to the problem, characteristically, has been that "there oughta be a law. . . ." In the first session of this Congress, more than 20,000 bills and resolutions were introduced, 20 per cent more than in the first session of the previous Congress. The same approach has been in evidence on the state and local levels.

The objective seems to be to hold together our fractured moral structure by wrapping it in endless layers of new laws—a kind of LSD trip by legislation. Yet it should be clear by now, even to the busy lawmakers, that the great lesson to be learned from our attempts to legislate morality is that it can't be done. For morality must come from the heart and the conscience of each individual. The great minds of the past 2,000 years have never been able to improve upon the Ten Commandments as the basis of man's relationship with his fellow men.

The business community's responses to the problem has been ambivalent. At its best, it has shown an impressive willingness to face up, with candor and courage, to the task of helping to solve America's social problems outside of government. Here in the Los Angeles area, you have scores of heartening examples of what can be done when a corporation resolutely sets its mind to grappling with such issues as hard-core unemployment, job training, education, social welfare and good government.

Regrettably, though, there are still some businessmen who seem more intent on finding an excuse for evasion than an opportunity for experimentation.

"Leave it to government," they say in one breath. And, in the next, "Government is getting its hands into everything!"

We can't have it both ways. Either we must bear the costs of social projects or the consequences of evading them.

Some businessmen seek endlessly for elaborate rationale to justify the social role of the corporation.

Business, they say, should participate in the war on poverty because this will help build markets for the future; or because slums are siphoning off more and more business profits in the form of higher taxes; or because the alternative may be riot-ruined cities.

Isn't it time somebody stood up and said: Business should participate because it's the *right* thing to do—the humanitarian, the moral, the Christian-like thing to do.

This, after all, is the essence of personal responsibility.

Too often, I'm afraid, we are tempted to take the easy way out as Pilate did. You'll recall the passage in St. Matthew's account:

When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but rather a tumult was made, he took water and washed his hands before the multitude, saying: "I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it."

I would venture to say that history will judge us no less harshly if we attempt to wash our hands of the problems confronting our cities and our nation today. Despite the cynicism and apathy so widespread in some areas, we are essentially still our brother's keeper. The fact that many of us have forgotten this, or that—remembering it—we have not been doing a very good job, does not justify writing off so basic a principle of human conduct.

How, then, can we as business and professional men give expression to our sense of personal responsibility?

First, through commitment to the things we believe in. This is a word—commitment—that has been kidnapped by students of the New Left and spirited off to the college campuses. It's about time we got it back, and treated it with greater respect.

Commitment is the opposite of complacency. It implies the dedication of free, rational, responsible individuals to a good cause.

Today we have crime because we, as individuals and as a whole, tolerate crime through complacency. We have waste in government, inadequate public schools and labor union irresponsibility for the same reason. We have riots and dope parties and dishonesty in business because you and I and all of us put up with them.

Keeping a free society free, strong, and vital is no job for aimless or listless men. It calls for an understanding of the basic fact that freedom and responsibility are inseparable, and for a firm commitment to act responsibly to preserve our freedom. As Abraham Lincoln put it: "Determine that the thing can and shall be done, and then we shall find the way."

Second, we can demonstrate our sense of personal responsibility through direct involvement—through speaking out and working for the things we believe in.

I hear surprisingly few voices raised these days in opposition to trends that pose grave threats to economic freedom. Indeed, there has been an almost total absence of constructive critical comment from the business community with regard to these developments. Many businessmen seem afraid to take a stand on public issues—afraid of what stockholders may say, afraid of what business colleagues may think, afraid of what may happen to defense contracts..

The inevitable result is that public opinion is increasingly being shaped by the columnists, commentators, professors and government officials, while corporate leaders confine their views to the privacy of the executive dining room.

Too often when executives are invited to Washington or the state capital or city hall to take on responsible assignments, they suddenly become indispensable men whose companies simply can't get along without them. Unwittingly, perhaps, they play right into the hands of critics who contend that what happens to the company is more important to the average businessman than what happens to the country.

This is hardly the time to be timid in word or deed. If we have men afraid to stand up to government when they believe it is wrong—or unwilling to cooperate when they believe it is right—then we have the strongest indictment of "Big Government" that could ever be imagined. When that happens, economic freedom will be on its way out.

If we truly believe in a free society, then we must prove ourselves worthy of one. Each of us must resolve to do a better job, be a better citizen, live a better life. Each of us must take seriously the commitment to things we believe in and the determination to get involved in things that really count.

We sometimes hear it said that our country's days of greatness are behind us. That we're over the hill. That we've lost the hop on our fast ball.

I don't believe that for a minute—and I'm sure you don't either.

If you have had occasion to travel abroad, as I have in recent months, you know that countries overseas are looking to us more eagerly than ever for leadership and example. They expect more of us than in the past, precisely because they recognize that our capabilities are so great and our potential for good so enormous.

The pride that an American traveler feels abroad is reinforced when he tours his own country. Certainly there are lawbreakers, cheaters, dope addicts and hippies. But these represent only a tiny minority of our citizens. It's a mistake to let the fraction of one per cent who burn their draft cards obscure the patriotism and dedication of hundreds of thousands of young men who are defending freedom in Vietnam and elsewhere around the globe.

The overwhelming majority of our people are doing what they can to make this great country of ours a better place to live. If more of us in the business community exert constructive leadership, through word and deed, it won't take long to turn around the dangerous trends that we deplore.

It is well to remind ourselves—not alone on this solemn day but on every day of the year—that business is not an end in itself but only the means to an end. That end is the happiness and fulfillment of the people. Unless industrial progress serves to widen opportunities for the attainment of these goals within the framework of a free society, then it is an empty achievement.

This is the ultimate reality about business, a reality that encompasses a deep and abiding sense of spiritual values. This is the reason that in any business we must look beyond the strictly financial figures to the broader moral balance sheet.

If enough of us do this, we can help our country overcome the moral deficit and, in so doing, take a long stride toward eliminating problems like the budget deficit and the payments deficit as well.

EDUCATION COMMISSION OF THE STATES

HON. MARK HATFIELD

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, one of the significant developments of recent years in the field of education was the formation in June 1966, of the Education Commission of the States. Established by interstate compact, the Commission's membership now includes 40 States. I take pride in the fact that I was privileged as Governor of Oregon to play an active role in the organization of this important new force in American education. It holds great promise for the future. It seeks to focus the combined judgment of Governors, legislators, and educators on the critical educational problems of our time.

The April 1968 issue of Compact, the Commission's monthly magazine, is devoted entirely to urban education. More than a dozen articles and features deal authoritatively with the difficult and complex aspects of this problem.

Four of the articles, I believe, warrant special attention. One is an article on the Portland experience in improving the quality of education for disadvantaged youth, written by Malcolm C. Bauer, associate editor of the Portland Oregonian and correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor and for the London Economist. Mr. Bauer is a trustee of Mills and Reed Colleges and it was my privilege to appoint him as a representative of Oregon on the Education Commission of the States.

The second article is by Gov. Otto Kerner, of Illinois. It summarizes the recommendation for urban education of the Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders which Governor Kerner headed.

Carl B. Stokes, mayor of Cleveland, is the author of the third article. It outlines the urgent need for close working relationships between "city hall" and the "board of education."

The fourth article is by William G. Colman, Executive Director of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. It emphasizes the serious fiscal disparities between the central city and its suburbs that underline much of today's urban crisis.

I commend these four articles to all Members of Congress and readers of the RECORD. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

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

INTEGRATION OR BETTER GHETTO SCHOOLS; THE PORTLAND EXPERIENCE

(By Malcolm C. Bauer)

(NOTE.—Associate editor of The Oregonian, Mr. Bauer is Oregon correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor and Northwest correspondent for the London Economist. He is a member of the Boards of Trustees of both Mills and Reed Colleges and is an ECS Commissioner.)

There may be as many answers to the question, "integration or better ghetto schools?" as there are cities in the United States. For there are innumerable possible combinations of the alternatives—racial balancing in the classroom, on the one hand, and compensatory education, on the other.

One mixture of the two that has passed the test of approval of the neighborhoods directly involved is the Model School Program in Portland, Oregon. Parents have demonstrated at the ballot box their liking for the program—now in its third year—involving both an enrichment of education in the schools of Portland's most economically depressed areas, both white and Negro, and a free enrollment policy encouraging a wider distribution of Negro youngsters throughout the school system.

THE COMMITTEE ON RACE AND EDUCATION

More than four years ago, the Portland School Board appointed a Committee on Race and Education. Headed by Circuit Court Judge Herbert M. Schwab, the Committee of 43, including prominent industrial, professional, and social service leaders (Oregon's Governor Tom McCall was a member), was charged with seeking answers to the following question:

"1. Does the Portland school district, to any extent, deprive the children of one race of education opportunities equal to those of other races? If so, what corrective steps should be taken?

"2. What might be done to improve achievements of students in culturally deprived areas of the city in meeting the educational objectives of this school system?

"3. What might the school system do through its educational processes to elim-

inate unreasoned prejudices in the minds of children of one race against persons of another race?"

Late in 1964, the Committee concluded that there was, indeed, discrimination in education detrimental to children living in culturally deprived neighborhoods both white and Negro; and it recommended, among other things:

(1) The creation of a Model School Program embracing elementary schools in North and Northeast Portland, including schools of predominantly Negro enrollment in what some call Portland's Ghetto, Albina, "to bring intensive educational efforts to bear" on the pupils in these schools, whatever their race;"

(2) Transfer of pupils from these schools to other Portland schools, either by administrative decision or by parents' initiative, such transfers to be based on the best interests of the individual students involved;

(3) An intensive effort by the school administration to obtain and maintain a closer relationship between the schools of the Model School Program and the communities they serve; and

(4) A program through the schools of the entire community aimed at the elimination of prejudice based on race.

The Portland School Board promptly adopted the basic recommendations of the Committee on Race and Education. The Model School Program and other features of the recomemndations had their first test in the 1965–66 school year—financed, in part, by a grant of $1.5 million in federal funds.

There was some opposition to the Committee's recomemndations and their adoption by the School Board. Some civil rights spokesmen, both white and Negro, protested that the Committee's report did not give enough attention to integration of the races; i.e. in reducing the heavy concentration of Negro pupils in schools of the Albina district, with more than 90 per cent Negro enrollment in a few instances.

But these protests have disappeared as the Model School Program and other products of the Committee's report have been developed. At the end of the second year of operation—in the spring of 1967—the Program received the accolade of ballot box approval in the neighborhoods directly served by the nine elementary Model Schools, most of them with heavy Negro enrollment. Although voters in the city as a whole twice that spring rejected special property tax levy measures, based in part on needs for the Model School Program, a strong point of support for the measures was in Model School neighborhoods. These same neighborhoods had regularly been unfriendly to school tax levy measures prior to introduction of the Model Schools.

OPEN ENROLLMENT: BUSING TOO

Portland's Negro population is small compared to that of most U.S. cities—something over five per cent of the whole. But the proportion of Negro enrollment in the schools is higher—about 5,000 out of 54,000 in the elementary schools. Over half of Portland's Negro youngsters are in the nine Model Schools, whose total enrollment in this third year of the program is about 5,800. The rest are distributed throughout the city school system. The open enrollment program, combined with the school administration's system of individual transfers of pupils to schools with enrollment vacancies outside the Model School area, has accelerated integration.

Two years ago, 35 or almost one-third of Portland's 112 school buildings were without Negro pupils. This year, only 11 or less than one-tenth are without any Negro children.

The Portland school system provides transportation for about 400 Negro youngsters from their homes in the Model School area to schools elsewhere in the city and its suburbs. In addition, about 200 Negro pupils are permitted, through the open enrollment policy, to attend schools outside their neighborhood, with parents paying the cost of transportation. Nearly all of those bused from one location to another are Negroes, although the transfer also includes a few white children.

Thus, about 600 of Portland's 5,000 Negro children of elementary school age are bused to schools in predominantly white neighborhoods, and other hundreds live in integrated neighborhoods.

There is skepticism about the worth of such busing programs. Oregon's U.S. Rep. Edith Green, a former school teacher and among the House of Representatives leaders in school legislation, said recently: "I believe it is insulting to think that a Negro can't learn unless sitting beside a white child."

But Dr. Harold Kleiner, who has been director of the Model School Program here from its beginning, has a different view on this point. "I think those Portland youngsters who have been transported to other schools have made good progress," he said, "and have had an opportunity for a different kind of experience helpful to developing human relations, understanding and new attitudes. Our program (of transfers and busing) is going successfully because it has been predominantly on a voluntary basis. We have not taken classes of students wholesale and moved them."

Every indication is that the system of transfers is working. Negro children have been uniformly welcomed in schools in predominantly white residential neighborhoods. Some teachers and parents there have pointed to the advantages to white student bodies in having day-to-day contact with even a few Negro children and thus an experience in interracial understanding. The minor part of the Portland program that calls for integration-by-bus appears to be going well, but it is on a small scale.

THE ROLE OF THE MODEL SCHOOLS

What, then, of the 3,000 or so Negro youngsters and almost that many underprivileged white children of the nine Model Schools, many of them in schools still heavily Negro in enrollment? It is to their needs that the efforts of the Model School program under Dr. Kleiner have been particularly directed.

I sat with Dr. Kleiner one afternoon recently in his office in a small newly-erected building in the heart of Albina as he explained with enthusiasm the concept and practice of teaching students of limited background and motivation. The school plays a much more important part in the development of children of culturally-barren background than in that of other children, he said. "Some children do not have the stimulation at home or in their neighborhood to develop their potential. For them, the teacher is the only hope. This does not mean that such a child is less intelligent or less able potentially. Teachers must be trained to teach each child with an understanding of his particular needs."

Dr. Kleiner believes that his Model School teaching staff has caught the spirit of the challenge in their unorthodox classroom work. He does not think this is due to the "premium" pay the Portland School Board recently approved for teachers in the Model School Program—$500 above regular scale for teachers with *three* years' service or less, $1,000 above scale for teachers with *four* years' service or more. He says that this is welcome as an expression of the serious interest and pride the school administration is taking in the Model School Program, but, he adds, it does not account for the elevation of professional esprit he has noted in the teaching corps, as the Model School Program evaluated its work. Teachers, he has found, have grown more willing to consult specialists in such fields as reading and to adopt new techniques.

It is possible in this, the third year of the program, to identify positively the improvement in the performance of some children in the program, Dr. Kleiner said. "There is evidence," he said, "that the performance of pupils in the primary grades (one, two, and three) is considerably better" than in the years before the concentrated effort of the Model School Program.

In the Model Schools the emphasis is on individual instruction in all the subjects of the elementary program. Each pupil receives all the individual assistance possible in overcoming any difficulties he may have in understanding a subject. To this end, class sizes are small, some with as few as ten youngsters, most with about 20 pupils, as compared to about 30 in the classroom of other Portland schools.

The Model Schools encourage teachers to plan excursions to points of interest in the city on a scale larger than practiced in most schools. The Committee on Race and Education found that many children in the Model Schools area had not been more than a few blocks from home in all their lives.

The classroom is related to the homes around the school by community service officers operating out of each school. It is the purpose of the community service officer to develop neighborhood activities to make the life of the school a part of the life of the community. He organizes functions at the school and in the community to encourage interest in the school and what it is trying to do on the part of parents and other adults in the neighborhood.

There is at least one such officer at each of the nine Model Schools. There are also some assistant community service officers. It is Dr. Kleiner's objective to have from four to six such aides for each school. These, he said, would extend the school's ability to maintain close contact with the people of its community. Such aides would speak the language of the people of the neighborhood.

There is, of course, a catch. This and all other operations of the tailored-for-the-pupil Model School Program cost money. Portland's Model Schools are now spending about $275 per pupil more than the average annual per-pupil cost of about $600 elsewhere in the city's school system. But Dr. Kleiner believes they should spend many hundreds of dollars more—if they can get them. He points out that public schools in Oregon spend as much as $2,400 per pupil in schools for crippled children, and $1,600 per pupil for the deaf. The child handicapped by a limited cultural background or by prejudice against his race also deserves a more costly education, he says.

"By themselves the schools, however willing cannot break down residential restrictions, nor guarantee jobs, nor eliminate prejudice, nor abolish poverty, nor conquer apathy and delinquency," Judge Schwab's Committee on Race and Education said on submitting its report to the Portland School Board more than three years ago. "It is nevertheless likely," it said, "that the schools can be the single most important agency of social change both with respect to handicaps arising from cultural or economic deprivation and with respect to problems of racial isolation."

After almost three years of experience with the policies and programs recommended by the Committee, Portland schools are proving at least a measure of this potential. Their answer to the question, "integration or better ghetto schools?" is: a pinch of integration and better, better and even better ghetto schools.

THE CURRENT CRISIS IN URBAN EDUCATION

(By Otto Kerner)

(NOTE.—Much of Illinois Governor Kerner's article grows out of his experience as chairman of the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. The eleven-member Commission, created in July 1967 after the Newark and Detroit riots, released

its report in early March. A summary of its recommendations for urban education follows Governor Kerner's statement.)

One of the problems of living in a complex society is that every component is affected by and, in turn, affects many other components. So is it with education. The crisis in urban education is part of a bigger crisis, the megalopolis crisis. Total solution for the educational component cannot be achieved until the principal ills of the megalopolis have been met—the geographic strait-jacket on Negro housing, deterioration of city neighborhoods, the increasing discrepancy between the metropolitan tax base and the need for inner-city services, the consequent rising urban budgetary deficiencies, transportation problems, and the growing loss of job opportunities open to ghetto dwellers.

Should we then throw up our hands and, as some people have suggested, declare the urban educational crisis insoluble, unmanageable until these other evils have been eradicated? Assuredly not. Partial solution of urban educational problems is possible despite the continuance of overall urban problems. Such a solution in itself will materially assist alleviation of other metropolitan ills.

Better education of the disadvantaged means their greater effectiveness in job-finding—and smaller welfare rolls; a better educated and higher skilled inner-city work force means less incentive for industry to move out of the city. We will need, however, to remember at all times the multi-faceted nature of the problem, both as a goad and as a sober reminder. Within a crisis-ridden, urban framework, educational progress is slow and painful; the more this framework can be strengthened, the faster the educational breakthrough.

Where do we start?

ESTABLISH GOALS AND DETERMINE ROADBLOCKS

I suggest the first order of the day is to determine goals and priorities in urban education. Fortunately, the task is not as difficult as it would have been three or four years ago. At the time the civil rights ideology was pressing on educational questions, causing considerable confusion as to real goals. Since then, a number of facts have emerged. One major one came out of that monumental report of the U.S. Office of Education, "Equality of Educational Opportunity." The authors founds that racial balance within schools was one of the few factors that materially aided improvement. Thus, since low achievement of disadvantaged children is *the* most pressing problem of urban schools, desegregation is becoming as much an educational tool as a civil rights principle.

A second fact to emerge is that "desegregation" and "quality schooling" are not interchangeable terms; the first does not assure the second.

I believe a consensus is being reached on educational goals, that from now on the highest priority should be given to development of high-quality, high-accomplishment educational systems in the cities. This goal is not only worthy of our best and united efforts but one that will require them!

The second step will have to be a candid assessment of each city's successes and failures in meeting urban educational problems. The purpose must be to improve educational strategy.

In general, our failures are painfully obvious. One is the high drop-out rate: almost one-third of the city children who start high school never finish. Another is the lower achievement levels of deprived Negro children than white children of the same age. The successes have been less obtrusive but no less real: the rise in teacher qualifications, the increasing enrichment of curricula, the greater attention to pupils with special skills and special problems, the decrease in class size, etc. Some attempts to establish causation for both successes and failures undoubtedly has to be made. But I would hope that none of us would fall into the easy error of ascribing the educational failures to the educators and the educational successes to the critics.

Let me now outline a few of the strategies I think we should follow in pursuing our overall goal.

DEVELOP FLEXIBILITY OF APPROACH

Although there is a great deal of recent and on-going study of educational techniques, it is clear that there is not now a given formula for educational success. Instead, we have a series of open-ended probabilities, such as "better teachers make for better students" (but what is a "better" teacher?); or "integrated classes raise the accomplishment levels of Negro pupils" (but how much integration?): and so forth.

Lacking sure-fire guidelines, it becomes necessary for all those concerned with education to abandon rigid doctrinaire approaches in favor of innovative and pragmatic ones. Perhaps we need to use the approach of the medical researchers, the attempts by experimentation to find cures for diseases whose basic causation has not yet been determined. I have been particularly struck with the dangers of a too-ready acceptance of various explanations for non-achievement of Negro pupils.

Several acute observers of the educational scene have recently suggested that the high rate of absenteeism among male Negro youth may be due not to lack of motivation, as is commonly supposed, but simply to boredom. These youngsters find the normal classroom atmosphere and techniques pallid and uninteresting in comparison with the excitement of the streets. The solution may lie, therefore, not in attempting to develop a motivation which may well be there but latent, but instead in attempting to arouse interest. Reading skills could be developed from books on jujitsu instead of standard readers; arithmetic skills might be built on solutions of simulated problems of the quartermaster and ordnance departments of the army.

In a number of school districts and communities just this kind of approach has been adopted. However, if all educators are expected to develop and carry out such techniques, the purpose of such experimentation must be well understood and approved by the community in general and by the press in particular. Experiments that prove unsuccessful cannot be utilized as the basis for horror articles by professional critics of the educational establishment. The job of defusing irresponsible criticism is one which the entire community must undertake, particularly influential laymen whose disinterest is patent.

UTILIZE OUTSIDE RESOURCES

I suspect it would be difficult to find an educational principle more widely accepted—or more honored in the breach—than the need to use outside resources. The reasons for this condition are not hard to find. It is one thing to sit down and write glowingly of the vast opportunities for firsthand learning experience that outside institutions—business, governmental agencies, cultural organizations—can offer. It is quite another matter to carry out this mandate, to develop the relationships which make it possible, and to initiate and complete the lengthy and difficult arrangements necessary to such educational enrichment. Weary school administrators, reading such admonitions to enlarge their work load, must often wish they could change places with their armchair quarterbacks.

Nevertheless, fully acknowledging how difficult it is to establish such arrangements, we are still left with the necessity of doing this. Perhaps the very reasons such arrangements are difficult to establish—the growth in complexity of our culture and the acceleration of the rate of change throughout society—make it more imperative than ever that children gain as much knowledge as possible of these complexities and of these changes.

Let me suggest, as a partial solution, the delegation of such activity to outside sources themselves, leaving only the coordinating function to the educational administrators. Thus, the local chapter of the League of Women Voters might be called upon to arrange for visits of school children to various governmental agencies; local and state chambers of commerce might be invited to schedule visits to factories and businesses; conservation groups might be tapped to sponsor unusual field trips. The range of such experience is limited only by the resources of the community itself and the imagination (and time) of the school superintendent.

NEED FOR FEDERAL FUNDS

To write meaningfully of urban education without mentioning money is a condition which I hope one day can be achieved. But not yet. There is no question in my mind that the urban schools (and the rural ones) need more money. The question is from what source and how much. I have grave doubts that much more assistance can be obtained from the cities themselves or the states; most of them have already tapped available sources of revenue up to the danger point. This leaves only the federal government as the final resort.

The question of how much more money will be an even more difficult one to solve since educational need must be matched against the myraid other demands on the federal purse. The people of the country will themselves have to decide whether they are willing to pay higher taxes to obtain high-quality education. My own feeling is that they would make that affirmative decision providing they are assured that educational monies will be wisely spent. School administrators throughout the country must therefore take immediate steps to provide such assurances. Once this is done, the rest of us can assume our share of the burden to assure the United States the kind of education needed to provide full and complete opportunities for all its people.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS: EDUCATION

(Summary of the recommendations for education made by the President's Commission on Civil Disorders)

Education in a democratic society must equip children to develop their potential and to participate fully in American life. For the community at large, the schools have discharged this responsibility well. But for many minorities, and particularly for the children of the ghetto, the schools have failed to provide the educational experience which could overcome the effects of discrimination and deprivation.

This failure is one of the persistent sources of grievance and resentment within the Negro community. The hostility of Negro parents and students toward the school system is generating increasing conflict and causing disruption within many city school districts.

But the most dramatic evidence of the relationship between educational practices and civil disorders lies in the high incidence of riot participation by ghetto youth who have not completed high school. The bleak record of public education for ghetto children is growing worse. In the critical skills—verbal and reading ability—Negro students are falling farther behind whites with each year of school completed. The high unemployment and underemployment rate for Negro youth is evidence, in part, of the growing educational crisis.

INTEGRATION HELD ESSENTIAL

We support integration as the priority education strategy; it is essential to the future of American society. In this last summer's disorders we have seen the consequences of racial isolation at all levels, and of

attitudes toward race, on both sides, produced by three centuries of myth, ignorance and bias. It is indispensable that opportunities for interaction between the races be expanded.

We recognize that the growing dominance of city school district populations by disadvantaged minorities will not soon be arrested. No matter how great the effort toward desegregation, many children of the ghetto will not, within their school careers, attend integated schools.

If existing disadvantages are not to be perpetuated, we must drastically improve the quality of ghetto education. Equality of results with all-white schools must be the goal.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To implement these strategies, the Commission recommends:

Sharply increased efforts to eliminate de facto segregation in our schools through substantial federal aid to school systems seeking to desegregate either within the system or in cooperation with neighboring school systems.

Elimination of racial discrimination in Northern as well as Southern schools by vigorous application of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1961.

Extension of quality early childhood education to every disadvantaged child in the country.

Efforts to improve dramatically schools serving disadvantaged children through substantial federal funding of year-round quality compensatory education programs, improved teaching, and expanded experimentation and research.

Elimination of illiteracy through greater federal support for adults basic education.

Enlarged opportunities for parent and community participation in the public schools.

Reoriented vocational education emphasizing work-experience training and the involvement of business and industry.

Expanded opportunities for higher education through increased federal assistance to disadvantaged students.

Revision of state aid formulas to assure more per student aid to districts having a high proportion of disadvantaged school-age children.

The Role of City Hall in Improving Urban Education

(By Carl B. Stokes)

(Note.—Mr. Stokes has been Mayor of Cleveland since November, 1967. Previously, he was for five years a member of the Ohio House of Representatives.)

The two blocks that separate City Hall and the Board of Education headquarters in Cleveland for decades have been as broad as the sea, and the islands of cooperation have been so few that it will take bold urban navigators to venture forth now. But venture forth we must, if we are to deal effectively with the difficult social and economic problems that confront Ohio's largest city.

Ohio has a long tradition of separation of school and city. In a fashion characteristic of all but the largest communities throughout the United States, the School Board in Cleveland is elected by the voters. School bond issues are voted by the citizens. The School Board's budget has long since exceeded the maximum taxation which it can impose without voter approval, and as a result its operating expenditures are in practice also approved by the voters. The budget is larger than that of the city administration.

As mayor, I have no legal responsibility for education in Cleveland. Because of this separation of powers and responsibilities, the tendency has been for City Hall and the School Board to nod politely when they chanced to meet and then continue to pursue their own course, each hopeful that it could make the more compelling appeal to the same voters for necessary funds.

The city built playgrounds and the Board of Education built school buildings with little thought of joint use. The doctors and dentists employed by the school system scarcely knew the City Health Department. Social workers in the city's employ—before the county assumed most welfare functions—had only a distant acquaintance with the principals and teachers of the schools in the areas in which they worked.

School guards and recreation workers almost alone have maintained the few scattered islands of cooperation. The city's Department of Public Safety hires the guards who protect public and parochial school children at street intersections as they walk to and from school. The city's Recreation Division and the School Board for many years have conducted a joint recreation program in the summer time, in which counselors paid by the city and counselors paid by the schools work harmoniously in programs conducted alike on school playgrounds and city parks and playfields.

THE COMPLEX CHALLENGE OF SCHOOL NEEDS

The need for planning and working together in many more spheres of responsibility and concern now seems obvious. Urban problems are complex, and as Cleveland's able superintendent of schools, Dr. Paul W. Briggs, has said, "Education will not solve all of Cleveland's problems, but none of them will be solved without education."

A few years ago when one studied the staggering unemployment rates in Cleveland's core and learned that many of those who were unemployed were nearly unemployable because their educational levels were so low, the inclination was to attribute the problem to the heavy in-migration from other parts of the country. Then evidence mounted that many of the undereducated and unemployed young people were second generation Clevelanders, the sons and daughters of families who had moved to Cleveland during World War II and who had received their education—or had failed to receive it—right in Cleveland.

Once the right questions were asked, one answer to them was clear: There was no single cause; instead, a compex skein of factors contributed to educational failure and both the schools and the city have responsibilities to accept and challenges to meet.

Some of the factors clearly challenged—and continue to challenge—the school system primarily: too few teachers, too little vocational education, inadequate and outmoded schools, too little remedial assistance, a curriculum too often lacking in relevancy, segregation.

Others factors just as clearly challenged—and continue to challenge—City Hall and other levels of government: inadequate health services, dilapidated and overcrowded housing, inadequate and expensive public transportation, job discrimination, poor police-community relations, ghetto despair and frustration.

In Cleveland, both the schools and City Hall are now moving ahead. The schools have forged steadily ahead since Superintendent Briggs assumed office in August 1965. Bond issues totaling $111 million have financed or will finance new high schools, junior high schools and elementary schools, many of them replacing obsolete structures in the heart of the inner city. Through increases in operating millages, teachers' salaries have been raised and the teacher-pupil ratio has improved. A score of new programs, ranging from special reading instruction to free breakfasts for inner-city elementary children, are reversing the downhill trend of education in Cleveland.

CITY HALL'S ROLE

On the City Hall side, we are moving, too. Since taking office as mayor last November, we have put together a vigorous, imaginative administration, the first major changes in Cleveland's municipal government in 24 years. Numerous structural changes have been made in an effort to organize a government to deal successfully with today's problems. We know the direction we must go—and we are on our way. Cleveland schools will benefit.

Let me outline some of the ways City Hall can help to improve urban education.

The first is by improving health care, particularly in the inner city. An ill child, like a hungry child, is at a great disadvantage. Nutritional and medical deficiencies which impede physical growth surely affect learning capacity adversely as well. An unwanted child is often not a loved child, and a child unloved at home does not learn easily at school, lacking the encouragement, the motivation to achieve. The City of Cleveland is building multi-purpose health centers on both the East Side and West Side which will provide a broad range of services to children as well as adults.

Any successes we are able to achieve in the housing field will also aid the schools. Children who sleep four to a bed and live in a family of eight crowded into one or two rooms obviously are likely to achieve less in school because they lack both sleep and opportunity for study. Children growing up in slum neighborhoods are conditioned to hopelessness, not achievement, and in too many instances are predestined for the welfare rolls, not the gainful employment that will enable them to be self-sustaining, productive members of society.

The Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority, the public housing agency, has been strengthened by the appointment of two men of vision, understanding and imagination to the five-member board. For 10 years or more, public housing has lagged in Cleveland. An insufficient number of new units has been built, and CMHA has failed to take advantage of all of the available techniques: rehabilitation, turn-key housing and so forth. The various non-profit corporations which have been formed under religious, private and union auspices to engage in housing rehabilitation are now finding maximum cooperation from the city administration. Each move to improve existing housing or to add to the supply of decent dwelling units will help the schools.

The control of crime is a third area in which City Hall improves urban education. When students fear violence on their way to and from school, when volunteers are afraid to visit school buildings, when teachers are frightened by the prospect of assignment to an inner-city school, education obviously suffers. Two hundred forty additional policemen have already been placed on the street and, gratifyingly, major crimes have taken a statistical dip. Police-community relations are showing signs of improvement as a result of insistence on strict but fair law enforcement.

City Hall also helps the schools by promoting employment opportunities in the community. Nothing is more discouraging to a student than the knowledge that students who have preceded him and have completed a course of study nevertheless are unemployed. Job opportunities have the highest priority in Cleveland's new municipal administration, and we were glad to provide full cooperation to the Board of Education when the school system embarked on a pioneering job-training program for dropouts, conducted in an inner-city factory donated to the school system by the General Electric Co.

In this same area of interest and concern, we have moved to establish a Department

of Human and Industrial Resources in city government. The aim is two-fold: to provide manpower training and development services, including the coordination of some 20 existing federal, county and private programs, and, secondly, to seek to attract new job-providing industry as well as to induce existing businesses and industries to remain and expand by working with them on land acquisition problems, zoning requirements, traffic planning, police and fire protection and so forth. As an employer itself, City Hall is putting its own house in order and is becoming a place of equal opportunity, as it has urged private industry to become.

Health care, better housing, improved police protection and job opportunities—all of these are day-by-day concerns of City Hall. Progress in any or all of them is bound to have a substantive, positive impact on urban education. It is also worthwhile to discuss something less tangible but equally or surpassingly significant toward which a mayor and his administration hopefully can exert a beneficial influence: improvement in the quality of urban life.

Life—for young and old alike—can be rich and varied in a city with Cleveland's heritage and resources, and richness and variety can be made available to all without regard to family income levels. City neighborhoods should have community centers, open late afternoons, evening and weekends for recreation, serious study and the enjoyment of arts, games and handicrafts. Institutions like the universities, Art Museum, National Science Museum, the Zoo, the Cleveland Aquarium and others can extend and enlarge their programs, using their skilled staffs and facilities to help make the central city a place in which people live because they want to, not because they have to.

Toward this goal, City Hall can prove determined, innovative and resourceful leadership. A city which has an image of progressive change, of dedicated and enlightened leadership, is a city in which the schools will be helped and flourish and in which children will grow to be proud, self-sustaining, contributing citizens.

THE NEED FOR PARTNERSHIP: THE FISCAL VISE

The municipal administration and the Board of Education must work in partnership if Cleveland is to become the model city that I envision. City Hall also needs effective, constructive partnerships with the federal government, the state government and the county government, as well as with all elements of the private sector—business, labor and the professions, but none is more needed than that with the schools.

Financial problems should be apparent to much of what I have outlined. Saving them for last may suggest how all-pervasive they are. Under Ohio law, I have no responsibility for the financial problems of the Cleveland school system, and the Board of Education has no responsibility for the onerous financial problems of the city. In fact, however, our financial problems are inseparable. We depend primarily on the same tax base. Between us, we have imposed property tax rates as high or higher than the average in the surrounding suburbs. Because of central city circumstances, however, it is an increasingly difficult task to have these same tax rates yield services adequate to the scope and intensity of the problems.

Per pupil expenditures in Cleveland schools are about $100 less per child than in the surrounding suburban communities. Obviously the per pupil expenditure in Cleveland should be higher than in the suburbs because many Cleveland pupils are disadvantaged, being deprived of the medical attention, the books and magazines, the travel and social and cultural mobility to which suburban youngsters generally fall heir.

On the municipal government side, crime rates are higher in the central city and betray the need for more policemen. The housing is older, requiring more building code inspectors. Traffic congestion is more acute, air pollution more obnoxious, and so on.

Thus, Cleveland, like many large cities, is caught in a fiscal vise. A concentration of low-income families requiring expensive services is one jaw of the vise; a continuing flight of middle- and upper-income families and of industry, retail stores, offices and apartment houses to the suburbs is the other jaw.

State legislatures do not recognize that the vise is steadily and painfully closing. There is no state aid to compensate for the heavy costs of police protection in an inner city. In Ohio there is no state money for middle- or low-income housing. The action of the Ohio General Assembly this last year in providing $100 for compensatory education for each child supported by ADC (Aid to Dependent Children) is laudable, but it is only the first step in a direction in which we must move steadily and rapidly. Ohio still provides far more financial assistance to suburban school systems, taken as a whole, than it gives the Cleveland schools.

The Ohio legislature, in which I served for five years, still operates under the mistaken assumption that Cleveland is wealthy because it is the largest city in the state. This notion still prevailing, only a nickel is returned to Cleveland industry for every dime in taxation that Cleveland citizens and Cleveland industry and commerce send to Columbus, the state capital.

In the struggle for fair treatment from the state legislature. Cleveland City Hall and the Cleveland Board of Education must be the firmest of allies.

THE STATES AND URBAN CRISIS: THE FISCAL DISPARITIES

(By William G. Colman)

(NOTE.—Mr. Colman is Executive Director of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Washington, D.C. Following are excerpts from an address he gave to the 1967 Annual Conference of the Governmental Research Association in Boston, Massachusetts in September 1967.)

The states stand today at a fork in the road—a turning point in the American federal system of government that has prevailed in this country since the Constitutional Convention of 1787. In one direction lies a new measure of responsibility and dedication by state governments to try to cope and to cope successfully with the numerous, grave problems confronting Americans everywhere, especially in the great urban centers. Signs along this road also point to constitutional revision, administrative modernization, state legislative face-lifting, more services, more functions, more state taxes to provide funds to local governments and to equalize the great and growing gaps between the haves and have-nots in the large metropolitan areas.

In another direction lies state abdication and surrender of a truly meaningful role in the federal system. States taking this road will be concerned primarily with keeping taxes low, getting new industry in and keeping the poor out. States taking this road will be so occupied with things like protesting federal encroachment and clamoring about states' rights that they will have little time for states' responsibilities. They will have even less time for the problems of local government, especially the cities.

Yet, the future of our states depends in large degree upon the health and vitality of our cities. It is good economics, good government, and good politics on the part of governors, state legislators, and other state officials, to recognize and deal effectively with the needs of the urban areas. Some states have already demonstrated their willingness and ability to move on this front. Others are beginning to stir. Still others need to read the road signs and reconsider the route they are taking.

IMPROVING FISCAL BALANCE IN METROPOLITAN AREAS

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations for several months has been giving concentrated attention to the financing of metropolitan services, within the context of a comprehensive study entitled *Fiscal Balance American Federal System.*[1]

The Commission's detailed analysis of the socio-economic and fiscal disparities between the metropolitan central cities and their surrounding suburban communities reveals that—

There is, with few exceptions, a concentration of "high fiscal cost" citizens in the central city, and there is every reason to believe this concentration will increase in the future. For example, 27 percent of Maryland's population is located in Baltimore, yet 72 percent of the state's Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) expenditures are in that city. And Boston, with 14 percent of Massachusetts' population, accounts for 40 percent of that state's AFDC expenditure.

The paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty emerges most patently in the central cities of the large metropolitan areas—and most especially in the older central cities of the industrial Northeast and Midwest.

The cost of governmental services is illustrated by the level of noneducational expenditures in the large central cities. Central city governments have been given greater local governmental responsibilities than their suburban counterparts, even within a particular state. The 37 largest central cities had a noneducational (municipal) outlay of $232 per capita in 1965—$100 greater than their suburban counterparts.

Central city educational expenditures have fallen relative to their outside central city counterparts, not only on a per capita basis, but for the first time they are significantly lower on a per pupil basis as well. In 1957 the per pupil expenditures in the 37 metropolitan areas favored the central city slightly—$312 to $303 for the suburban jurisdictions. By 1965 the suburban jurisdictions had forged far ahead, spending $574 compared to $440 for the central cities. And yet the central city school districts must carry a disproportionately heavy share of the educational burden—an increasing number of "high cost" underprivileged children. *Children who need education the most are receiving the least.*

The resulting overall picture shows an expanding noneducational burden in the central city and a short fall in the levels of educational expenditures in the same cities.

A clear disparity in tax burden is evident between central city and outside central city. *Local taxes in the central cities are 7.6 percent of income; outside the central cities only 4.9 percent of income.* Higher central city taxes are reinforcing the other factors pushing upper income families and business firms out of the central city into suburbia.

The picture revealed in the Commission's studies is stark in its implications for the future economic and social bases of our cities and our society.

The disparity between fiscal needs and resources is strikingly illustrated by the fact that the 230 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas in the United States account for: 65 percent of the population; 75 percent of federal personal income tax collections; 70 percent of taxable assessed education; 80 percent of bank checking accounts.

But these same areas contain most of the nation's poverty, crime and delinquency, and civil disorder.

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[1] To be published by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations in the spring of 1968.

It is impossible simply to apply the resources within these areas to the problems at hand, because state constitutions and statutes have spawned a system of Balkanization of local government in urban areas. It has become necessary to ship increasing amounts of money to Washington and back in order to get it moved acress a local government boundary.

The conclusion from all this is clear: state, local, and federal legislative actions are required to bring fiscal needs and resources of our urban governments into better balance.

PRIORITY NEEDS OF EDUCATION

Let me touch further on a critical area that demands priority attention from both state and local governments—education.

It is generally agreed that the economic and social well being of the individual is shaped largely by the level of his educational attainment. Because the intensity of this direct relationship increases commensurately with the growing complexity of our society, it is critically important to insure that state financial aid is geared to equalizing educational opportunity by bringing fiscal capabilities and needs into close alignment. But—and here is a most shocking fact—the net effect of state aid in many states is to give greater relative help to the suburbs than to the central city school districts.

It is well recognized and documented that the per pupil cost of providing "adequate" education to children in slum areas is considerably higher than the cost of providing an equally "adequate" education to children coming from middle or higher income families. The reasons for the higher costs are many: (a) need for smaller classes in order to give more personalized attention; (b) need for more remedial classes; and (c) desirability of keeping schools open in the evenings, on weekends, and in the summers to provide both "catch up" and enrichment instruction. In short, the school must provide additional attention to compensate partially for serious inadequacies in the home environment.

While many state aid formulas recognize differences in the fiscal capacity of school districts (usually measured by assessed valuation of property) and tax effort (usually measured by the effective property tax rate), hardly any states take into account the third part of the equation—namely the higher cost of educating the poorer child.

In draft legislation to carry out a thoroughgoing re-evaluation of state educational aid formulas in order to reduce educational disparities between central cities and suburban jurisdictions, the Advisory Commission has suggested that states require as a precondition for state aid the "basic" school tax rate to be applied against all property throughout the metropolitan area.[2] Proceeds and excesses of a designated amount per pupil would be redistributed among the poorer districts within the metropolitan area, each school district being free to impose a supplemental rate.

THE FUTURE OF THE FEDERAL SYSTEM

There are important, feasible steps that can be taken to ameliorate metropolitan disparities. Much of this should involve state rather than federal legislation because the form and structure of local government is regulated by the state. The federal government, through conditions attached to grants-in-aid, can affect local government structure and policy. The state path to fiscal and structural reform is much more clear and direct.

As far as state and local revenue systems are concerned, one of the first orders of business, of course, is to straighten out the property tax situation. By all odds, this $25 billion revenue producer stands out as the "sick giant" of our domestic revenue system—a fiscal pathology that can be traced to individual and group property taxpayer overburden. Second, the concentration of poverty is the single most disturbing factor undermining a balance in our intergovernmental fiscal system by causing the most serious type of financial over-loads.

Public assistance trends provide a fairly accurate picture of poverty concentrations, and there appears to be high correlation between concentrated poverty and tax overburden. Data gathered by the Commission point to the fact that central city residents are clearly overburdened by local taxes when compared to their suburban brethren.

In theory, metropolitan-wide tax levies could produce the needed revenue to compensate the central city for extraordinary expenditure demands imposed by poverty. But as a practical solution, this areawide taxpaying approach has political roadblocks since suburbanites, as a general rule, show little predisposition to accept plans for coming to the fiscal aid of the central city. Thus, if additional help is to come, it must come from either the state capital or from Washington, or both.

One recommendation gaining support is that the federal government assume exclusive financial responsibility for public welfare programs—both categorical assistance and general welfare. This is based on the assumption that the income redistribution function of government should be assigned wholly to the national government because its jurisdictional reach is universal.

A policy calling for greater state tax effort in most states and a greater local tax effort in some states can be justified on the grounds that states, and many localities, have considerable untapped potential. Our estimates are that the total potential existing in the three major tax areas—personal income, general sales, and property tax—approximates $20 billion annually. If tapped fully, these potentials would increase state-local tax revenues by 35 percent. But let's take another look at this figure.

Assuming the possible, though unlikely, event that the states should tap the full potential of over $20 billion additional annual revenue, would this insure a balance in our fiscal system? Obviously not. One cannot average the added potential of some states with the deficits in others when expenditure needs are measured against available fiscal resources. A surplus in Scarsdale is of no help in New York City. A full tax effort by South Carolina and Arkansas up to the level of the "top ten" still does not give those states the resources necessary to equalize adequately the costs of education between well-to-do children and poverty children.

We assume then that the superior fiscal resources of the national government must be deployed in some new fashion so as to help states and localities attain a higher degree of budgetary adequacy and flexibility. There are two basic approaches that may be taken:

(1) a federal policy designed to strengthen state and local tax systems either by means of tax credits against federal personal income tax liability, or

(2) a federal policy transferring federal tax dollars to states (and localities) with few or no conditions attached—the so-called Heller Plan. Since our concern is primarily with the states, an exposition of these federal fiscal alternatives is beyond our perimeter of attention here.

It is obvious that a great many actions, many of them politically hazardous, need to be taken by the state governments to ease the desperate situation in the nation's cities.

The states indeed are at a fork in the road. One road—the road of cynicism, neglect and business as usual—leads surely to the demise of the American federal system because a federal system cannot exist without strong and responsive state government.

The other road leads to what can be a "New Frontier" for state government and the American federal system. The challenge is great; the problems are manifold; but the opportunities along this New Frontier are unlimited.

[2] Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 1967 and 1968 Legislative Programs, "Fiscal Measures for Equalizing Educational Opportunities for Economically and Socially Deprived Children." See Compact, vol. 2, No. 1, February 1968, p. 7.

PER CAPITA TOTAL LOCAL TAXES, CENTRAL CITY (CC) AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY (OCC) AREAS, 37 LARGEST STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1957 AND 1964-65

Area	1957			1964-65		
	SMSA	CC	OCC	SMSA	CC	OCC
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	$126	$155	$102	$207	$227	$194
San Bernardino-Riverside-Ontario, Calif.	98	141	81	188	203	181
San Diego, Calif.	86	93	76	149	151	146
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.	124	140	111	224	248	217
Denver, Colo.	104	131	68	166	192	143
Washington, D.C.	124	185	75	184	291	129
Miami, Fla.	107	132	94	143	169	131
Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.	66	78	47	111	131	84
Atlanta, Ga.	68	98	44	107	128	89
Chicago, Ill.	123	138	99	166	203	123
Indianapolis, Ind.	97	106	68	158	155	168
Louisville, Ky.-Ind.	78	92	59	97	113	79
New Orleans, La.	56	62	38	71	84	47
Baltimore, Md.	87	105	62	123	143	102
Boston, Mass.	127	161	116	179	223	167
Detroit, Mich.	111	127	95	154	171	141
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.	98	115	75	162	172	152
Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.	85	105	69	132	135	131
St. Louis, Mo.-Ill.	84	98	75	128	167	110
Newark, N.J.	146	178	139	220	273	205
Paterson-Clifton-Passaic, N.J.	$116	$118	$116	$183	$177	$185
Buffalo, N.Y.	114	116	112	176	170	179
New York, N.Y.	164	167	153	262	279	221
Rochester, N.Y.	121	122	119	179	181	180
Cincinnati, Ohio-Ky.-Ind.	101	137	65	139	190	108
Cleveland, Ohio	103	106	98	161	151	169
Columbus, Ohio	78	80	72	120	113	138
Dayton, Ohio	81	126	52	138	180	116
Portland, Oreg.-Wash.	99	135	66	149	189	119
Philadelphia, Pa.-N.J.	94	115	74	135	147	126
Pittsburgh, Pa.	82	113	68	123	164	110
Providence, R.I.	84	105	73	118	160	103
Dallas, Tex.	78	101	43	105	122	77
Houston, Tex.	85	84	70	118	114	132
San Antonio, Tex.	51	54	26	63	(1)	(1)
Seattle, Wash.	66	81	48	122	128	116
Milwaukee, Wis.	118	126	104	167	193	122
Unweighted average	99	119	81	152	173	137
Weighted average	113	132	94	174	200	152

[1] Data not available.

Source: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Compiled from various reports of the Governments Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census.

PER CAPITA AND PER PUPIL CURRENT EXPENDITURE FOR LOCAL SCHOOLS, CENTRAL CITY (CC) AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY (OCC) AREAS, 37 LARGEST STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1964-65

Area	Per capita			Per pupil		
	SMSA	CC	OCC	SMSA	CC	OCC
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	$118	$94	$134	$558	$424	$654
San Bernardino-Riverside-Ontario, Calif.	123	14	115	578	598	631
San Diego, Calif.	107	89	129	549	485	621
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.	127	79	158	701	565	758
Denver, Colo.	111	95	124	471	493	457
Washington, D.C.	107	90	117	545	508	562
Miami, Fla.	94	94	94	503	503	503
Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.	67	67	67	362	362	362
Atlanta, Ga.	86	69	100	378	342	403
Chicago, Ill.	86	67	109	508	433	578
Indianapolis, Ind.	106	79	176	471	407	579
Louisville, Ky.-Ind.	71	45	97	416	350	455
New Orleans, La.	57	50	71	333	310	369
Baltimore, Md.	85	81	90	429	407	452
Boston, Mass.	84	68	88	493	490	499
Detroit, Mich.	108	81	129	509	454	539
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.	108	80	135	564	527	587
Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.	91	59	117	494	425	531
St. Louis, Mo.-Ill.	82	68	88	532	411	594
Newark, N.J.	$106	$96	$109	$595	$515	$619
Paterson-Clifton-Passaic, N.J.	95	76	101	557	477	579
Buffalo, N.Y.	125	74	157	694	507	777
New York, N.Y.	121	96	181	790	728	889
Rochester, N.Y.	138	104	172	807	700	885
Cincinnati-Ohio-Ky.-Ind.	79	78	79	472	429	494
Cleveland, Ohio	94	81	105	528	433	609
Columbus, Ohio	82	70	115	410	368	550
Dayton, Ohio	101	100	102	431	431	432
Portland, Oreg.-Wash.	115	92	133	543	444	616
Philadelphia, Pa.-N.J.	88	63	108	586	477	656
Pittsburgh, Pa.	90	58	100	521	419	544
Providence, R.I.	70	64	72	430	436	427
Dallas, Tex.	73	60	93	422	334	597
Houston, Tex.	86	62	164	430	311	794
San Antonio, Tex.	65	(1)	(1)	310	(1)	(1)
Seattle, Wash.	119	74	169	527	476	556
Milwaukee, Wis.	85	66	116	485	421	568
Unweighted average	97	82	113	514	449	574

[1] Data not available.

Source: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Compiled from various reports of the Governments Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census and from the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

SUMMARY OF FISCAL DISPARITIES INSIDE AND OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY, 37 LARGEST STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1964-65

Item	37 largest SMSA's				Remainder of Nation
	In central city		Outside central city		
	Weighted average	Unweighted average	Weighted average	Unweighted average	Weighted average
Per capita total (direct) general expenditures	$332	$304	$278	$265	$203
Per capita educational expenditures	99	99	146	141	107
Per pupil current expenditures	(1)	449	(1)	574	(1)
Per capita (direct) general noneducational expenditures	232	205	132	124	96
Per capita taxes	200	173	152	137	103
Per capita Federal and State aid	88	78	80	78	76
Per capita total general revenues	340	301	268	253	212
Per capita income	2,607	2,482	2,723	2,552	1,789

[1] —Data not available.

Source: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL GENERAL EXPENDITURES INSIDE (CC) AND OUTSIDE (OCC) CENTRAL CITY, 37 LARGEST STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1957 AND 1964-5

Area	1957		1964-5	
	CC	OCC	CC	OCC
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	36.7	45.8	34.1	47.6
San Bernardino-Riverside-Ontario, Calif.	49.7	41.7	47.5	46.5
San Diego, Calif.	37.7	47.6	36.2	46.4
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.	29.1	48.7	26.3	47.8
Denver, Colo.	34.1	50.3	34.8	64.7
Washington, D.C.	20.9	64.1	21.8	58.1
Miami, Fla.	31.0	41.4	36.8	45.9
Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.	30.2	56.2	32.6	57.8
Atlanta, Ga.	34.8	53.0	24.8	51.9
Chicago, Ill.	23.8	60.6	28.7	59.9
Indianapolis, Ind.	34.8	70.1	43.5	76.0
Louisville, Ky.-Ind.	38.3	62.3	43.6	62.6
New Orleans, La.	28.2	32.5	28.8	33.9
Baltimore, Md.	29.6	50.0	30.8	55.6
Boston, Mass.	18.7	37.4	19.8	41.7
Detroit, Mich.	30.1	57.0	34.3	53.3
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.	29.7	51.1	28.0	57.5
Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.	33.9	49.1	33.0	57.3
St. Louis, Mo.-Ill.	30.9	57.3	29.9	60.8
Newark, N.J.	31.3	48.6	27.6	48.2
Paterson-Clifton-Passaic, N.J.	36.1	51.6	37.7	52.2
Buffalo, N.Y.	26.9	47.1	28.4	51.3
New York, N.Y.	24.5	53.8	25.3	55.2
Rochester, N.Y.	26.5	46.9	35.5	56.4
Cincinnati, Ohio-Ky.-Ind.	32.9	47.0	42.1	47.9
Cleveland, Ohio	27.3	44.0	33.3	49.8
Columbus, Ohio	31.3	60.3	33.6	62.7
Dayton, Ohio	28.1	60.5	36.2	57.3
Portland, Oreg.-Wash.	36.9	61.1	42.8	62.9
Philadelphia, Pa.-N.J.	29.7	52.2	30.7	60.7
Pittsburgh, Pa.	21.8	50.0	27.9	55.6
Providence, R.I.	37.9	60.0	39.2	59.9
Dallas, Tex.	35.3	59.3	36.7	56.3
Houston, Tex.	41.9	67.4	39.5	73.1
San Antonio, Tex.	42.5	83.7	(1)	(1)
Seattle, Wash.	32.8	61.3	35.2	35.5
Milwaukee, Wis.	22.3	40.5	28.4	39.6
Unweighted average	31.0	51.3	32.6	53.2
Weighted average	(1)	(1)	29.9	52.5

[1] Data not available.

Source: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Complied from various reports of the Governments Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census.

DR. FISCHER SEATED WITH MINISTRY GREAT

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, when I first came to Saginaw, Mich., in April 1949, one of the first persons I met was Dr. Henry W. Fischer, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Saginaw. Dr. Fischer put great effort into welcoming newcomers not only to the church in which he served as pastor, but newcomers to the community as well. His was one of the warm, friendly smiles that greeted you on arrival and caused you to believe, "This is the kind of city in which I want to live and bring up my family."

In addition to his warmth and friendliness, he was a tremendous source of strength to the members of his church and to all of his friends. He gave generously of his time throughout a lifetime of service in Saginaw.

Now that his voice has been stilled by death, he will be greatly missed in that community. With his many other devoted friends I extend my sympathy to his widow and at the same time express my great admiration for the manner in which he lived his life.

Edward W. Miller, columnist in the Saginaw News, has well expressed the feelings the community held for Dr. Fischer. Mr. Miller's article follows:

DR. FISCHER SEATED WITH MINISTRY GREAT

Death last week seated Dr. Henry W. Fischer, 86, among the memorable great Saginaw clergymen for all time.

For 36 years he was pastor of First Presbyterian Church. He was as lofty an inspirational figure to his parishioners as its spire.

He retired in 1956, then served as supply

pastor and interim minister for the Saginaw Presbytery.

Dr. Fischer radiated a wise benevolence. His sense of humor went right along with his prayer book. At the pulpit he could talk to his congregation in the manner of a father to his family—and so he seemed sincerely to regard them all.

His sermons invariably were delivered with a style not unlike thoughtful conversation, without froth or frenzy.

The admiration and respect felt for him in Saginaw went far beyond his own church and particular religious faith.

He had a special talent for getting the message of faith through to young people and in palatable, un-preachy fashion. What he told them, or the way he counseled them, nearly always stayed with them. For many years he delivered the baccalaureate to Arthur Hill High School graduating classes.

A former president of the Saginaw County Council of Churches and the Saginaw Ministerial Association, he also served on Saginaw's Censorship Advisory Board.

He had been president of the Presbyterian Corporation at the University of Michigan and a trustee at Alma College, where he received an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree in 1924.

It was a chill, rain-dismal day in December, 1920, when Dr. Fischer arrived in Saginaw with his wife to assume the pastorate at First Presbyterian Church. He used to recall with a chuckle that his first impression of Saginaw on that sullen winter afternoon was that he would linger here only about two years. But he remained most of his life as one of Saginaw's most dedicated and loyal citizens, apart from his glistening clerical career.

Under his leadership and organizational talent, First Presbyterian Church thrived. It grew from 400 familes when he came here to more than 1,150 when he retired in 1956. A splendid new addition was dedicated near the close of his pastorate in 1954.

The long life of Dr. Fischer was as eloquent in deed and ardor for humanity as the finest of the many fine words he bestowed from the pulpit, in a hospital sick room, during the glowing joy of a baptism, in the soaring bliss of a marriage, or to make a funeral service seem less final.

PRAISE FOR THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

HON. WALTER F. MONDALE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, today I wish to speak in praise of the Small Business Administration, a small agency in our Federal Government.

SBA may be small in numbers, Mr. President; it is not small in action.

Over the 15 years of this Agency's existence it has provided help to more than 117,000 borrowers. Through the funds that have been disbursed in loans by SBA and participating banks, faltering small businesses have achieved success and have created thousands of new jobs. SBA has provided management training and counseling and the assistance of retired businessmen volunteers through the SCORE program. Many, many disadvantaged people who have the ability to run a business now get a chance to be their own bosses through the economic opportunity loan program.

This program is a vital one. I know that the borrowers under the plan will agree.

Do Senators know what it means to hope for a chance to build a business and watch the hope die for lack of an opportunity?

SBA is in the business of turning hope into reality. The story of one of my constituents, A. C. Brown, of Minneapolis, is a good one to illustrate my point.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Brown's story, as it was published in the Twin City Observer and the Minneapolis Spokesman, be printed in the RECORD so that Senators may share the sense of accomplishment that A. C. Brown and the Small Business Administration feel.

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

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Twin City Observer, Apr. 25, 1968]

SBA MAKES LOANS

Of 30 Small Business Admin. loans approved in March in Minnesota and western Wisconsin, four were to Minneapolis Negro businesses under the Economic Opportunity Loans.

Nate Battle of Nate's Shell Service, Emerson and Plymouth Ave. N.; Mrs. Ruth Lewis, of New Deal Cleaners, 1512 E. Franklin, Mrs. Curry, of Curry's Coin Laundromat, Chicago and Lake Ave., and Korner Grocery, 38th and 3rd, are recipients of $121,000 in loans.

All 30 recipients anticipate 125 new jobs will be added as a result of the new loans, many of which are being used for expansion purposes.

The Economic Opportunity loans provide business loans and management assistance for low income persons living in poverty, and for persons lacking equal opportunity who are above the poverty level but who cannot qualify for SMA's regular loan program. In this way SBA is helping to create business opportunities for people who have the ability but not the chance to be successful businessmen.

One such similar case is that of Mr. A. C. Brown, born and raised in Little Rock, Arkansas. During World War II, with only a ninth grade education he worked at an arsenal and served in the army until he was 18.

But Brown, realizing the need for a high school diploma for employment, returned to graduate and under the GI Bill of Rights, trained as an automotive mechanic at Dunbar Junior College in Little Rock.

In 1950 Brown came to Minnesota, married and had six children, went to Dunwoody Institute to become a transmission expert. After training through General Motors United Delco School, he started the A. C. Brown Service Garage Co. on 27th St., but was required to move two years later due to an urban renewal project.

Through the help of the Small Business Administration, Brown received a loan of $15,000 to purchase a garage at 3101 E. 25th St. His sons, Charles and Anthony, have helped their father in his now successful business.

"Without the loan from SBA, I could not have purchased the business I now own," he remarked. "Working with the people at SBA in handling my loan application could not have been better."

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Spokesman, Apr. 25, 1968]

TECHNICAL ABILITY HELPED GARAGE OWNER: SBA LOAN HELPS ENTERPRISING MAN BUY AUTO SERVICE GARAGE

A Twin City man who is a firm believer in the Small Business Administration's loan program is making good progress with the business which he purchased through a SBA loan.

A. C. Brown the individual in question was born and raised in Little Rock, Arkansas and attended the Wrightsville Elementary and High School through the ninth grade. At that time the country was involved in World War II, and there was a need for men to fill jobs. As a result, Mr. Brown moved to Pine Bluff where he worked in the arsenal until he was inducted into military service at age 18. He served in the U.S. Army in which most of the time was spent in the Philippines. After almost three years of service, he was honorably discharged in May, 1946.

He recognized that employment opportunities were not going to be too great without his high school diploma, so he returned and graduated from high school. In addition, under the GI Bill of Rights, he received three years of automotive mechanic training at the Dunbar Junior College in Little Rock. This training also included other subjects such as Math, English, and History. While going to school, he worked for several small garages in the community.

In 1959 Mr. Brown came to Minnesota where he has resided since. He is married and a father of six children. When he first came to Minnesota, he went to work at one of the packing houses in South St. Paul. To further his education, he went to Dunwoody Institute in Minneapolis and became a transmission expert. He has received extensive training through the General Motors United Delco School and received his diploma in 1965. With all of his training and experience, Mr. Brown is one of the top automobile transmission experts in the Twin Cities.

In 1963 he started the A. C. Brown Service Garage Co. on E. 26th St.; and about two years later, he was notified he had to move because of an urban renewal project. About this time, he got in touch with the Small Business Administration where he told the people at SBA his problems and his need for finding a new location.

After searching for sometime, he found a service garage at 3101 East 25th Street in Minneapolis that was for sale. He then applied for a SBA business loan which was approved in the amount of $15,000 making it possible for Mr. Brown to buy the station and, in addition, to provide some working capital.

Because of his technical ability, the business has been successful ever since. Both of his sons, Charles and Anthony, are very mechanically inclined and spend many hours when they are not in school helping their father, Mr. Brown stated, "without the loan from SBA, I could not have purchased the business which I now own." He mentioned, "working with the people at SBA and the smooth way they handled my loan application could not have been better."

Mr. Brown lives at 916 Marshall Av., in St. Paul and is an active member serving as deacon at the Pilgrim Baptist Church in St. Paul. Arthur L. Whitaker is pastor of the church.

FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY AND THE URBAN CRISIS

HON. WILLIAM O. COWGER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. COWGER. Mr. Speaker, you must be interested, as I am, in the complete lack of governmental fiscal responsibility in Washington. On the evening of January 17, 1968, President Johnson appeared before a joint session of Congress to pre-

sent his state of the Union message. He spent the major portion of his address in an attempt to justify another deficit budget and an appeal for increased taxes. He presented his case for a 10-percent surtax by saying that with this additional income his budget would only show an $8 billion deficit. Without this new tax, the President predicted a $20 billion loss and runaway inflation. Quite honestly, I question the accuracy of both of these figures.

Last year, the President predicted a $9 billion deficit, later changed it to $11 billion, and we ended up with almost a $25 billion loss. I have received a good many letters from some of our leading businessmen urging me to support the President's 10-percent tax increase. I can anticipate no circumstance that would allow me to vote increased Federal taxes at this particular time. The President has not been honest with you, nor with Congress, in his fiscal planning. I have been in almost every large Government office building in Washington and can tell you that we have at least 20 percent more employees than we need. Without reducing services, I think that you could walk down the line of desks in any of these office buildings and tell every fifth person that they can pick up their sick leave and their annual leave and are free to go out and find one of those big paying jobs in private business. I found in city hall that when you fire some people for inefficiency, those who remained worked harder and did a better job.

The advocates of the Great Society believe in what they refer to as "creative federalism." This simply is a theory that the White House can direct all of the Great Society programs with efficiency and dispatch. You and I know that this simply is not true. The cost of managing these tremendous Federal programs from Washington has been a national disgrace. I have always believed in the decentralization of those institutions providing services to the people. I further subscribe to the competence of private enterprise as a partner with government in problem solving. Through the techniques of tax credits and other reimbursement devices, the private sector can provide more employment and better housing for less money. The "Great Society" has faltered and the residents of the ghettos across America have been disenchanted with promises that have never produced performance.

TASK FORCE HEARINGS

As chairman of our Congressional Task Force on Urban Affairs, I have arranged a series of hearings over the past several weeks in an effort to analyze urban problems and determine priorities for their solutions. The first to appear before us was a group of New York investment bankers who spoke in favor of establishing a domestic development bank to promote the cooperation of business and government in creating business and jobs in ghetto communities. Mr. Patrick Healy, executive director of the National League of Cities, in his appearance before our task force, urged closer cooperation between local, State and Federal Governments and a broader tax-sharing base to ease the heavy burden of municipal governments to provide adequate services without an adequate source of income.

Mr. Bobby Mitchell, Washington Redskins football star, told the task force of the working organization of athletes who go out into the ghetto areas assisting and counseling businessmen on the operation and improvement of their businesses, and also assist in finding employment for the undertrained. Mayor John Lindsay of New York City appeared before us and endorsed the report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders, urging further study of its suggestions and action toward its goals. He also endorsed the human renewal fund concept, coupled with a cut in Government spending.

One of the most important projects on which the task force is presently working is to develop a permanent Standing Committee of Congress for Urban Affairs—one which could work permanently and constantly to solve the problems of urban America as they arise.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL OF 1968

The U.S. House of Representatives passed the 1968 civil rights bill by a vote of 250 to 161. Some of the highlights of the bill are as follows: The bill would make it a Federal crime to interfere with anyone trying to exercise his civil rights; make it a crime to cross State lines with intent to and then actually to incite a riot; make it a crime to make, transport or instruct in the use of firearms for use in a riot; and extend the Bill of Rights to Indian reservations.

The bill provides no financial help, but gives legal protection to Negroes to live where they want to if they can afford it. Next January 1, all multiunit housing and real estate developments would be covered. A year later all other housing would be covered with the following exceptions: A single-family owner-occupied house would be exempt provided the owner sold or rented the property himself, without the aid of a real estate broker and did not advertise in a discriminatory manner. The national real estate interests fought and lost a fierce battle to permit the homeowner to instruct his broker to discriminate.

An owner-occupied building of up to four family units where rooms or apartments are sold or rented would be exempt. And an owner of up to three single-family houses, even though not occupying the property, could sell one in any 24-month period without being subject to the act provided he did not use a broker.

I have been advised by the U.S. Justice Department that the Louisville ordinance concerning open housing and the recently adopted Kentucky State law concerning this subject, would take precedence before the new Federal law would prevail. In other words, local and State civil rights legislation prevails over Federal laws. I voted for the passage of this legislation.

THE BATTLE OF KHESANH

Our troops at Khesanh have won a tremendous victory, even though the newspaper reporters and columnists, who picture themselves as military strategists, predicted defeat in the same manner as the French suffered at Dienbienphu. According to General Westmoreland, at Khesanh 220 of our men were killed, while the enemy sustained 15,000 casualties. This victory was attained primarily because of the bombing carried out by our Navy and Air Force pilots, which points out once again that air power cannot win a war, but it is extremely important for winning battles.

BATTLE FOR WATCHDOG SUBCOMMITTEE

I have joined with my 14 Republican colleagues on the House Government Operations Committee opposing the abolishment of our Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Government Information. Recently the committee chairman, WILLIAM L. DAWSON, of Chicago, ruled to discontinue this very worthwhile and important watchdog subcommittee in the House of Representatives. Last year this subcommittee saved the taxpayers over $300 million but made the Johnson administration unhappy when they issued a critical report on Vietnam land reform. Incidentally the subcommittee's chairman is JOHN MOSS, a Democrat from California. We are hopeful that our 81-year-old chairman, Mr. DAWSON, will bring this fight to a full vote of the committee. It appears that some of the Democrats will join with us in overruling the chairman's decision.

EASTER RECESS

I was pleased to be able to spend 10 days in Louisville during the congressional Easter recess. At that time I had an opportunity to speak on six different occasions before business, civic, and service organizations and enjoyed very much the close contact with so many of my constituents. I would like to remind you again that I stand ready to assist any of you at any time.

URBAN EDUCATION

HON. CHARLES H. PERCY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, the Republican coordinating committee recently issued a report from their study group on urban education. Under the able leadership of Congressman ALBERT QUIE, the study group has outlined a set of basic policies and priorities based on the conviction that "The urban crisis in America will never be resolved until the quality of education for all children attains a level commensurate with the demands of life in our complex urban society and offers the opportunity for the fulfillment of the potential abilities of all children."

I am especially pleased that the study group has pointed to preschool education as the first of our educational priorities. The Headstart program has dramatically demonstrated that the barriers outside the classroom that contribute to the widening gap between the disadvantaged child and his contemporaries can be overcome. But Headstart is reaching only a percentage of our children. The opportunity of preschool education must be available to all children at the earliest possible age if they are to be able to take

full advantage of their years in elementary and secondary school.

I commend this excellent statement to my colleagues and ask that the report be printed in the RECORD.

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

URBAN EDUCATION: PROBLEMS AND PRIORITIES

(Adopted by the Republican Coordinating Committee, March 18, 1968; presented by the study group on urban education)

". . . I am convinced we are allowing social dynamite to accumulate in our large cities," wrote Dr. James B. Conant in 1961 in his assessment of the quality of education in major urban centers. Events in the past seven years have forcefully demonstrated the accuracy of his judgment, but America has not yet been moved to deal in a determined and resourceful manner with the troubled conditions of urban education.[1] These are the facts:

Children from low-income families in metropolitan areas, especially among minority groups, begin their schooling with a handicap. For example, on standardized achievement tests given to first graders in metropolitan areas, minority group children on the average scored about 15 percent below other children.

Urban school programs do not compensate for this handicap. Based on achievement tests the average minority group child in metropolitan areas is roughly the equivalent of two grades behind the others at grade six; three grades behind at grade nine; and four grades behind at grade twelve.

In our fifteen largest cities roughly 60 percent of the tenth grade students from poverty neighborhoods drop out before finishing high school; unemployment and delinquency rates among these dropouts are many times greater than the national average.

Our big city schools generally spend only about two-thirds as much per pupil as do the schools in adjacent suburbs.

These figures reveal an educational deficit of vast proportions in American cities today, with millions of children tragically ill-equipped to participate meaningfully in modern urban society. The picture contrasts sharply with the traditional American ideal of offering excellence and equality of educational opportunity to all children.

We believe that the challenge of eliminating the educational deficit in the cities must be elevated to a position of high national priority: first, for the welfare of educationally disadvantaged children, whose lives do not attain fulfillment; and second, for the welfare of society that needs the undeveloped talent possessed by these children and needs the order and stability which have been jarred by civil disorders. The urban crisis in America will never be resolved until the quality of education for all children, regardless of social or economic background, attains a level commensurate with the demands of life in our complex urban society and offers the opportunity for the fulfillment of the potential abilities of all children.

A REAFFIRMATION OF GOALS

At the outset, we wish to reaffirm our belief in the guiding principles of excellence and equal opportunity in education. In straight-forward terms, an excellent education is one which fully serves the needs of the individual and the needs of society. For the individual this means an education which challenges the individual and fosters the development of a strong self-image, a spirit of independence and motivation, a continuing thirst for learning and re-education, and which prepares him to be an active and productive member of society. Society, in turn, derives its strength from the contributions of its individual members. Excellence in education, therefore, promotes an effective and enduring democracy, a strong and expanding economy, and a stable and progressive social order.

Equality of educational opportunity implies a condition in which: (1) the education program presents no barriers within the school to the full development of the capabilities of the individual student; and (2) education programs effectively compensate for barriers which may exist outside the school. Equal educational opportunity is a key ingredient of individual fulfillment and upward mobility, values which have always occupied a special place in the hierarchy of American beliefs.

Throughout our history, the American people have stressed the importance of education, and have devoted great resources and energy to the education enterprise. But we have never rested on past accomplishments. At a number of points in the development of the nation, our people have effected basic and necessary changes in the educational system in response to new changes.

The challenge of today and for the 1970's is to raise the quality of education for millions of children in the cities to a new standard of excellence and equal opportunity never before envisioned. By accepting these goals, and with the determined support of the American people through their public and private institutions, we are confident that this challenge can be met.

THE UNIQUE PROBLEMS OF URBAN EDUCATION

There are a number of aspects of the present conditions in the cities which illuminate the unique nature of urban education problems, and establish a framework for making various proposals.

The first is the increasingly high concentration of families from disadvantaged social and economic backgrounds in large portions of the central cities. This increase is attributable to the migration of these families to the cities, largely from the rural areas, due to economic dislocations in agriculture, and the expected job opportunities, and hoped for social betterment in urban centers. Typically these families lack adequate education and training. Their children grow to school age with poorly developed skills, and without benefit of the cultural and motivating experiences which middle and upper income families often impart to their children. Consequently, large numbers of these children start school with an education handicap that slows their rate of progress, and creates special problems for the school system.

The central portion of many cities is often characterized by high mobility rates, crowded and substandard housing, unemployment, socially disruptive welfare regulations, and by racial tensions. These conditions frequently result in the breakdown of the social structure and intergroup communication. Many times these factors develop homes with children who tend to be uncertain, frustrated, withdrawn, and even hostile as they attempt to deal with the program presented by existing schools. Even stable homes are handicapped in efforts to guide their children. Crowded living conditions and inadequate recreation facilities make it almost impossible for children to overcome such conditions and to develop constructive social and educational attitudes and habits.

This sense of alienation has another dimension. With the high turnover of residency in the inner-city, and with teachers and schools staff frequently living elsewhere, teachers and parents find themselves strangers to one another, and school-community relations are strained. Both parents and teachers in turn feel isolated from the highly centralized city-wide education agency, which in most cases determines education policy, and makes detailed decisions on school practices and problems with minimum consultation or participation on the part of either group.

While their problems of education mount, most cities find their capacity to finance needed improvements sorely strained. The departure of industry and middle income families to the suburbs, and their replacement by low income residents, has left the cities with an array of social problems whose costs are rapidly increasing, but without the tax resources to pay for them. For instance, between 1930 and 1960 the average per pupil expenditure for education in fourteen of the nation's largest cities rose by 331 percent, while the per capita value of taxable property rose by an average of only 97 percent, indicating that the tax base of the cities has not kept pace with the demands of education. Also, non-school governmental expenditures tend to account for about 60 percent of property tax receipts in large cities, but take less than 50 percent in small towns and rural communities. The fiscal squeeze on the cities has resulted in an increased need for State and Federal aid, yet even such problems as overcrowding and deteriorating school buildings remain unsolved.

The large city school system is often the center of a hostile public attack, one that it is ill-equipped to withstand due to limited resources. For instance, the neighborhood group that demands the replacement of an antiquated building, destructive to both pupil and teacher morale, leaves little defense for the school authorities who know too well the validity of the proposal.

A final aspect of the urban education problem is that society today, and particularly urban society, places heavier demands on the school system than ever before. The complex, challenging, and turbulent nature of urban society, and indeed of the entire world, requires to an unprecedented degree a citizenry of great ability and character and one which manifests an understanding awareness of the problems and attitudes of all mankind. Education plays a pivotal role in broadening the horizons of young people, and in preparing them to assume the responsibilities of modern living.

Also, our technological economy, centered in urban areas, has an increasing need for the highly educated and the well trained, and less and less place for the semi-literate, the unskilled, and the dropout. An unemployed person faces greater hardships in urban areas, where living costs are high, and where extended family relationships are lacking to provide temporary shelter to those out of work.

In short, the stakes of success or failure in urban schools today are higher than in times past, and higher than in many rural areas. The schools, therefore, will be required to assume an increased responsibility for matching the attitudes and aptitudes of the urban population to the needs of a dynamic and challenging modern world.

ESTABLISHING PRIORITIES

Efforts to overcome the enormous educational deficit in the cities must proceed within the framework of well-ordered priorities. Too often scarce resources have been spread thinly among a proliferation of programs, with the result that major improvements in any single program are hardly discernible. We believe that an especially high priority should be attached to five major problem areas in urban education, as follows:

1. Early childhood education.

[1] This paper addresses primarily the problems of elementary and secondary education in urban areas, and does not include an analysis of the problems pertaining to higher education. Recommendations concerning education in rural areas are contained in "Revitalizing Rural America," issued by the Republican Coordinating Committee in July, 1967.

2. Community-school relations.
3. The quality of teaching and administration.
4. Transition from school to the world of work.
5. Inter-cultural education.

1. Early childhood education

Early childhood education programs should, as a matter of priority and urgency, be expanded to include all 5 and 4-year olds, and *perhaps 3-year olds, from impoverished neighborhoods who could benefit from this experience.* For a child who comes to school lacking the home experiences and reinforcements which make for successful schooling, we believe that it is imperative for the education system to prevent or offset these deficiencies with special programs at the earliest possible age. Compensatory efforts to prepare children to reap the full benefits of regular schooling are central to our concept of equal educational opportunity.

A disadvantaged early childhood has numerous dimensions beyond the inability to score well on standardized achievement tests. Low test scores may be a manifestation, not only of poor language training and learning experiences, but also of health and diet deficiencies, unstable home situations, and other factors. The nature and extent of these problems, which may begin at birth, vary greatly from one child to the next. We believe that the task of preparing these children to be able to utilize opportunities and to function effectively in society must be viewed in the most comprehensive terms to include not only schooling, but also attention and assistance related to these other human needs.

Early childhood education programs, therefore, must have a *strong interagency orientation,* and must be concerned with the whole child and his environment. This requires a flexible program of cooperation and consultation among teachers, health officers, and social welfare workers with the school providing common facilities and performing a central coordinating function.

2. Community-school relations

One of the more disturbing aspects of urban education today is the prevailing sense of mistrust and alienation among students, teachers, and parents. In part this is caused by differences of background and attitude which even under the very best conditions, would make effective communication difficult. However, we believe that the problem is aggravated by the highly centralized nature and lack of flexibility of most big city school systems, which tends to exclude parents and teachers from the decision process on many problems on which their knowledge and understanding is crucial. This over-centralization minimizes the opportunities for interaction between the school system, the parents, and the community.

The specific solution to this problem should properly vary from city to city according to the needs of the local situation. However, we feel that recent proposals for school decentralization in a number of the larger cities are worthy of serious attention and consideration by others as possible guides for action.

The decentralized, community school concept offers numerous potential benefits. By bringing citizens into the decision-making process at the community level, a cooperative partnership of professional educators and parents could be formed. Such a partnership would be in marked contrast to the lack of understanding and communication now frequently existing between these groups, as a result of the monopoly of detailed decision-making often exercised by the city board of education and by the professionals who staff the central education agency. Also, delegation of many operating responsibilities to the community level would relieve the city-wide superintendent and board members of many time-consuming tasks. This arrangement would permit these leaders to devote needed attention and energy to broad policy formulation, creative planning, and the strengthening of education standards.

The concepts of increased local community control and responsibility, and the full participation of the individual citizen in decisions affecting his family's welfare, are basic precepts of the Republican Party. Decentralization in many aspects of school operations in urban areas would be the application of these traditional principles to a contemporary problem. By enabling parents and teachers to work together toward a common goal—the welfare and education of the child—decentralization could help build an enduring sense of community now so often missing in the cities today.

3. The quality of teaching and administration

The teacher is a fundamental and crucial link between the educational system and the child. A child is under the influence of his teachers for a continuous period of five hours or more per day, 180 days or more per year. This is less than one-third of his waking hours, but it is a longer and more sustained exposure than to almost any other adult influence in his daily environment, including, in many cases, his parents. It is apparent that success or failure of an education system will depend most vitally upon the quality of teaching. Yet in urban areas today, because of numerous difficulties, the quality of teaching and the pupil-teacher relationship frequently do not meet the needs of the disadvantaged child.

One pressing need is to provide teachers and school administrators, many of whom come from middle income and small community origins, with a broader knowledge of the special problems and backgrounds of children who live in congested, lower income sections of large cities. Universities and colleges need to modify and strengthen programs of preparation and retraining for teachers and administrators, by offering a richer mixture of academic courses and field experience covering a broad range of social sciences. Opportunities for full-time graduate study, as well as part-time research and training programs, should encourage teachers and administrators to expand their knowledge and preception of the urban child and of the influences on his growth, development, and learning.

In addition to the study of formal academic subjects, the teacher's awareness of the child's background and culture should be extended through greater direct contact with the community. City school systems have their effectiveness impaired because many teachers live a long distance from their schools; thus their contact with pupils outside the class and with parents is minimal. Consideration should be given to special incentives, designed in conjunction with other urban policies, to encourage more teachers to live and participate in the community where they teach. Also, opportunities for wider contact and communication between teachers and the community would be enhanced under the school decentralization concept. Changes of these types are needed to build a strong sense of identity between teacher and child.

Teachers in urban schools today often encounter numerous difficulties, such as overcrowding, heavy teaching loads, disciplinary problems, and inadequate pay which hamper their effectiveness and undermine their morale. Under these conditions, and in the face of competition from suburban schools, it is a major challenge to attract and retain a high quality and experienced teaching staff in central city schools. Far too often it is the young and inexperienced teachers who are given the most difficult assignments.

As a basic principle, we believe that teachers must be accorded the professional status, pay, and perquisites commensurate with the challenge of the assignment and with the benefits which society realizes when this assignment is successfully discharged. In order to attract and retain more intellectually gifted and highly motivated individuals to teach in city schools, benefits will have to approach those offered in other professions.

To relieve the heavy load on the professional teacher, greater use should be made of teaching assistants recruited whenever possible from the immediate community. Personnel of this type could relieve the teacher of the burden of many tasks which are important to classroom and school operations, but do not require the preparation of a professional teacher. They could also serve as another communication link between teacher and community.

Computerized instruction programs and other electronic teaching devices have the potential to offer the child certain types of learning experiences on an individual basis, while permitting the teacher to devote additional time to those parts of the curriculum that demand the human touch. These new educational tools should be given increased attention.

4. Transition from school to the world of work

High unemployment rates among city youths, which run as high as 25–30 percent for Negro teen-agers, are a stark indication of a failure of our society to provide a workable transition between the secondary schools and the job market or education beyond high school. Youth, the community, and the economy all suffer because of this situation, since the unemployed youth are neither in gainful jobs nor continuing their education. Responsibility must be shared jointly by the schools, by business and labor groups, and by the entire community, and new patterns of cooperation and interaction between public and private institutions need to be devised. The goal must be a flexible system of schooling, training, and part-time work experience which each year will enable millions of young people, with varying abilities, inclinations, and talents, to make either an effective transition from full-time schooling to full-time productive employment or help provide the incentive for further schooling.

The schools, for their part, must take immediate steps to reorient existing occupational preparation programs, which are greatly in need of modernization to match the current demands of the job market. According to the latest figures, the number of students in Federally aided vocational education programs engaged in an agricultural or home economics curriculum is more than seven times the number in technical and industrial pursuits. This imbalance must be corrected, and new types of training programs should be introduced to meet the needs of an increasingly technological and service-oriented economy.

Elementary and secondary school students need to have their sights raised in accord with their potential, and to identify themselves with the diverse occupational possibilities open to them and with the preparation programs required. Guidance and counseling programs for students require strengthening for those who are planning to enter the job market directly from school and for those who should be encouraged to continue their schooling. The schools should make greater efforts to avail themselves of the assistance of business, labor, and other occupational groups whose representatives could most accurately help students learn the nature of various jobs, the opportunities for placement, and the requirements for entry and success.

An increasing number of jobs in our economy require training and education beyond that available in most secondary schools, yet do not demand a full college or professional degree. To meet this expanded demand for

skilled technicians and semi-professional personnel, and to offer the high school graduate a choice other than ending his formal education or pursuing a four year college program, we urge the expansion and strengthening of two year technical institutes and community college programs located near the students' homes.

For their part, business and labor unions need to recognize the critical need to train and employ youths, and must adjust their hiring and membership practices to accomplish this objective.[2] Company hiring regulations and aptitude tests administered to job applicants often set arbitrarily high education standards for unskilled and clerical positions, thereby automatically excluding many who could perform adequately in these jobs. Restrictions of this type should be reexamined and modified, for business and labor must accept the principle that just as all youth have a place in the school, so at a certain age, all must have a place in the world of work.

Business and industry can play a more active and innovative role in matching their employment requirements to the needs of city youth. A number of companies have set outstanding examples of cooperative action by "adopting" a particular high school in a low-income section of a city, and working closely with school personnel to prepare students for gainful jobs with the firm.

One of the deficiencies of current efforts is the fragmentation of responsibility and lack of communication among schools, business, labor and other government agencies in the training and employment of young people. We believe as a general principle that the schools should assume much of the principal coordinating responsibility for placing students who are not college bound in gainful employment.

In order for the schools to fulfill this role, new administrative procedures and machinery and new methods of communication among those involved will be required. This might involve establishing local community employment councils composed of educators, businessmen and labor leaders; allowing the schools to exercise greater influence in the planning and administration of government programs of job training assistance to industry; and developing local data systems that will enable rapid correlation and exchange of information on job training programs, trainees, and employment opportunities.

By pin-pointing to the schools greater responsibility for a successful transition to the world of work, educators would be encouraged to review critically existing programs, to attempt to identify potential employment handicaps at the earliest possible age, and to work more closely with business and labor.

5. Inter-cultural education

We firmly believe in the positive value of inter-cultural and inter-racial educational experiences for all children. Integrated schools expand the knowledge and understanding of the child, increase his awareness of others, and provide lessons of tolerance and fairness that are important assets to the individual and to society. Such experiences help young people understand that those who differ in racial, national, ethnic, religious, and social backgrounds have much in common in abilities, interests, and reactions. Such experiences also help young people to learn to appreciate the value of diversity among peoples. These attitudes help to strengthen the foundation of equal rights, democracy, and international understanding, and to equip young Americans to work effectively with others in a multi-cultural and multi-racial nation and world.

In working toward these goals, a requirement is to provide conditions of living, including high quality city education programs, which will stem the migration of whites to the suburbs and attract suburbanites back to the city. Education policies alone cannot achieve this objective; equally important are policies in regard to housing, urban renewal, employment, and public transportation. However, city schools of exceptionally high quality could be a key factor in stemming the flight to the suburbs and in bringing about greater integration in education.

ADEQUATE SCHOOL BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT

The priority needs expressed in the previous section will be impossible to meet without adequate school facilities. The typical school building in central sections of the large cities is seriously overcrowded and physically dilapidated; these conditions are the result of age, neglect, or obsolescence. High population densities often place on the school building a pupil load far beyond the original design capacity; double or even triple sessions are not uncommon in some cities.

Physical surroundings of this type are detrimental to the quality of education, and to the quality of life in the neighborhood. They erode the morale and sap the creativity of both teachers and students, and affect adversely the attitude of the community toward the school. The existence of unsound and unsightly school facilities is tangible testimony to many years of neglect, and to the educational deficit that has accumulated in the large cities.

We recommend that steps be taken to embark on a construction program to provide new and expanded school facilities in the cities, equivalent to the modern and spacious plant frequently found in suburban school districts. Such a program would begin to reverse the spiral of deterioration in city school facilities, would promote a sense of community pride, and would be of lasting benefit to urban education. In view of ever-rising construction costs, these efforts should proceed without delay.

THE ROLES OF FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Today all three levels of government in our Federal system share importantly in the responsibility for educating children. In the 1950's and early 1960's the issue was whether the Federal government would become involved to any significant degree in the support of elementary and secondary education. That question has been answered—in the affirmative; Federal support for 1967 was estimated at $2.4 billion. Since this is less than 10 percent of total outlays for elementary and secondary education, and inasmuch as local governments and many States simply do not have adequate revenue sources, we expect that Federal support will grow in the year ahead.

The issue of the 1970's is what the distinctive roles of each level of government should be in the total education enterprise. This question has not yet been answered.

Our views on this issue can be summarized by saying that education is a Federal concern, a State responsibility, and a local function. All three must bear a portion of the cost of developing the total education system. The Federal government with its superior revenue raising powers should provide increased financial support. The main thrust of Federal support should be aimed at raising the overall expenditure for education to adequate levels, and at equalizing the ability of the various States to support education. Federal funds should be channeled to the States in a manner that will encourage greater support efforts on their part.

State government must bear the basic legal responsibility for education, set standards for attendance, teacher certification, curriculum, and per pupil expenditures, and develop comprehensive long-range plans. Local school systems should always perform the functions of instruction, including teacher selection and school administration, and retain the principal responsibility for program development.

Within this framework we feel that Federal aid programs for elementary and secondary education, which currently number over 30, should be combined into a smaller, more manageable number of grant categories, in order to provide larger amounts of aid to problems of the highest priority.

Federal support should, as a general rule, not only be channeled through the States, but it should be made available in a steady and predictable manner, based on objective formulas, so that States and communities can plan with confidence, and can avoid disruptive starts and stops in vital programs. As a condition of providing support, the Federal government should establish broad planning requirements for the State departments of education and should set general ground rules for the planning process. For example, the Federal government might require that the planning process provide full opportunity for all interested parties to participate, including officials of non-public and city school systems. Also, the Federal government should encourage the States to extend their efforts to improve education, by giving the greatest flexibility in expenditure of Federal funds to those States which increase most their investment in education.

Local school systems should be responsible for developing specific projects and programs in applying for assistance. They should be permitted maximum discretion and flexibility in the selection and administration of these programs, consistent with State plans and broad Federal policies.

We envision a strengthened role for State departments of education in developing comprehensive State-wide urban education plans, and in administering Federal assistance. Some State education departments have not in the past responded adequately to the needs of urban areas, and may not be fully equipped to handle these increased responsibilities. We view this as a problem to be overcome, but not as a rationale for failing to try to strengthen them. The 50 States should perform an intermediate planning and review function between thousands of local school districts and the Federal government, and should equip themselves to provide leadership and maximum assistance for the solution of metropolitan school problems.

THE ROLE OF NON-PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Non-public elementary and secondary schools constitutes an important element of the total education system of the nation. Today about one out of seven children attends a non-public school nationwide; however, in many large cities as many as 25 percent or more attend parochial schools. The existence of these schools permits parents to exercise a degree of freedom of choice in the education of their children.

In recent years many non-public schools have encountered serious financial difficulties; per pupil costs have risen sharply and government assistance to non-public school children traditionally has been very limited. Overcrowding in these schools is very common, and in some instances schools have been closed.

The Republican Coordinating Committee previously pointed out in its statement entitled, "The Restoration of Federalism in America," issued in December, 1967, that if financial aid goes only to public institutions, the existing balance could be shifted strongly toward public education. The Committee in-

[2] This recommendation and others related to job opportunities for youth are contained in "Full and Equal Employment Opportunities" issued by the Republican Coordinating Committee in December, 1967.

dicated that this could effectively be remedied in part by the granting of Federal income tax credits for tuition and certain other expenses in education. Financial aid programs such as this must be carefully designed, along with other needed education programs, to include significant assistance to young people from families with the greatest financial need.

In response to the financial difficulties of non-public schools, Federal, and in some cases, State support has been provided for such indirect purposes as pupil transportation, books, school lunches, shared time programs, teacher training, and compensatory education. At the local level, there are many excellent examples in the country of highly successful programs of cooperation between public and non-public school systems which are worthy of attention.

The educational goals of excellence and equality of opportunity in urban schools, to which we subscribe, apply uniformly to all American children regardless of whether they attend public or non-public schools. For this reason Federal government aid to education should be distributed on the basis of fair and equitable treatment of all school children.

We urge the States to present plans that would include distribution of such Federal aid to non-public school children, and that provide for the participation of nonpublic school representatives in the planning process, but where State conditions prevent use of funds for non-public school children, there shall be a public agency designated to administer Federal funds.

In making these provisions, it is important that programs devised for non-public school children meet the same minimum standards of quality and nondiscrimination required of public schools. Moreover, in recognizing the need for support for non-public school children, we must never lose sight of the goal of maintaining the strongest possible public school system.

CONCLUSION

This paper outlines a set of policies and priorities which we believe must become the basis for a most determined and comprehensive attack on the grave problems of urban education. There is no escaping the fact that to overcome the enormous educational deficit confronting the cities of this nation, an equally vast commitment of educational resources—funds, facilities, personnel, and leadership—must be summoned at all levels of government and in the society as a whole.

Under present economic conditions this will call for a searching re-examination of priorities in the allocation of resources, and an unrelenting effort to increase the efficiency of school operations by means of improved management. One method of accomplishing this objective is through research efforts aimed at finding more effective methods of education, followed by the devotion of adequate resources to demonstrate and encourage the adoption of research findings that will increase educational quality and productivity.

Increased outlays for education should properly be viewed as an investment in the future. Though many of the benefits of education are qualitative and not subject even to rough measurement, the direct economic benefits alone are undoubtedly sufficient to justify the cost. A concentration of expenditures on the upgrading of urban education will result in increased lifetime earnings for individuals, and will reduce the costs of welfare, unemployment, delinquency and crime that bear so heavily on the cities today.

We believe that the pay-off in these terms alone, to say nothing of the advantages of greater individual dignity and fulfillment and social stability, makes a vast commitment to urban education an investment the nation can ill afford *not* to undertake.

REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, as the sponsor of legislation to create a Redwood National Park in northern California, I am gratified that the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is aggressively pursuing hearings on this matter.

The committee held field hearings on the Redwood National Park proposal last month, and has scheduled 2 days of hearings this month—May 16 and 17—in Washington.

While Michigan may be far removed from the site of these magnificent trees, there is no lack of interest among my constituents.

Similarly, there is great interest in the preservation of the North Cascades of Washington State.

As one constituent, Malcolm Goodwin of Utica, Mich., wrote me:

My wife and I have traveled in the Pacific Northwest and feel strongly about the necessity of saving as much land as possible in that area for our future generations to enjoy. I am afraid that excessive logging, roads and commercialism will destroy the natural beauty of these areas.

And another constituent pleaded eloquently:

In this age of man-made miracles, please make safe our country's own miracles of nature.

Recently, the Utica Daily Sentinel, a newspaper published in my district, printed an editorial which I think expressed the interest of residents of Michigan's 12th Congressional District in the redwoods of California and the north Cascades of Washington.

Said the Sentinel:

Somewhere in this great stream of progress, someone has to take time to set aside some of our natural resources. A blend of the old and the new must be maintained. Enough must remain to remind future generations of their heritage.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be a sponsor of legislation to create a Redwood National Park.

I include the editorial, "Save the Redwoods," in the RECORD, as follows:

SAVE THE REDWOODS

The House Interior Committee is currently considering legislation to create national parks in California and Washington. Under advisement are proposals to raise both the Redwoods area, in California, and the North Cascades area, in Washington, to the status of national parks.

Although the proposed park areas are far removed, geographically, from the Sterling-Shelby-Utica area, we do have an interest in them:

1) They are part of our national heritage;

2) U.S. Representative James G. O'Hara, (D-Utica), is a member of the committee reviewing the proposals.

At stake is the vanishing beauty of "natural" America.

Probably few of us realized the Redwoods area, not to be confused with the Sequoia National Park area, was not a part of the national park arrangement, until legislation was presented.

Here is one of the last vestiges of natural beauty and greatness in our country. The giant Redwoods are renowned and many a family has spent a vacation touring the area of these sturdy titans.

The loss of virgin Redwoods would be a loss to all. If taken away, not in our generation—nor several to come—would people be able to view the virgin beauties.

The North Cascades, in the state of Washington, is a wilderness of unparalleled beauty. It captures the imagination and provokes a gasp of untamed grandeur. Truly, here lies the "great land" that once spread across our plains and over our mountains.

Logging and mining interests, in pursuit of their endeavors, seek to use this vast area.

The expansion of our land is a great and promising challenge and one would be naive to think that this expansion will stop. But, somewhere in this great stream of progress, someone has to take time to set aside some of our natural resources. A blend of the old and the new must be maintained. Enough must remain to remind future generations of their heritage.

If you would like to see these areas put into park sites you can write Congressman O'Hara.

Letter concerning the Redwoods should be received by April 30 and before May 8, for the North Cascades.

THE KENTUCKY DERBY AND THE PRIDE OF KENTUCKIANS

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, the late Irvin S. Cobb was once asked to describe the Kentucky Derby and he replied:

Describe the Kentucky Derby? If I could do that, I'd have a larynx of spun silver and the tongue of an anointed angel.

Now that the 94th running of the Derby of last Saturday is a memory of the past, I am often reminded of an article entitled "Love O' Homeland," written in 1926 by the late Damon Runyan. The article seems to me to capture the spirit of the Derby and the pride of Kentuckians in their State.

I ask unanimous consent that this article, which is reprinted each year at this time in the Kentucky Irish American, be included in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

LOVE O' HOMELAND—DAMON RUNYON'S FAMOUS PIECE ON 1926 DERBY STILL A CLASSIC

A strange regret came over me when Bubbling Over, the Kentucky horse, won the Kentucky Derby at Churchill Downs, and I stood witness to the most tremendous display of human enthusiasm I have ever witnessed.

I saw silvery haired old ladies, their faces bright and shining, fairly shivering with joy. I saw old men, with weather-beaten faces, leaning forward breathlessly, eyes glowing fiercely, and lips moving. I saw exultant-looking citizens standing with fists hard lifted to the sky as if trying to drive them through some unseen opposition overhead. I hear their voices booming.

I saw beautiful girls, flushed, disheveled with excitement and nervous agitation, their delicate fingers clutching, their voices shrilling.

I saw young men fairly jumping up and down in an excess of joy, yelling hoarse shouts. I heard the cries of little children.

And seeing this, and hearing this, I thought to myself, standing there: "Old boy, it must be a wonderful thing to be a Kentuckian at this moment!"

And that was the moment of my regret, and my regret was over not being born and raised down there in Kentucky, that I might feel in my heart the joy of these people and be a party to their enthusiasm.

I got my little thrill just from the spectacle of the race, to be sure. I always get some thrill out of these things. But it didn't exactly stir my soul. It didn't reach down into the very depths, as it did with these people, and bring out in one sudden blast of emotion that amounted to a fury that very wonderful emotion—Love O' Homeland!

I tell you I envied those Kentuckians!

I felt quite alien, and very much of an outsider as their common joy swept them together in one glittering phalanx of pride, and they seemed to face the rest of us, standing there a bit silent, and bewildered—seemed to face us with an air of triumphant arrogance, as much to say:

"Why you poor fish!"

But I didn't feel any tinge of resentment. I merely felt regret. I regretted I hadn't even bet on the Bradley stable to win the Derby, that I might have at least a sort of non-resident share in the Kentucky enthusiasm.

Now then, you may say a horse race is a mighty little thing to produce all this fuss.

If you say that, you do not understand, and not understanding it is useless to argue with you.

There was in that outburst, not only Kentucky's joy over a Kentucky victory in a horse race, but Kentucky's defiance to these who had planned to steal one little mite of Kentucky's prestige, whether represented by men or horses.

Behind it was the same general sentiment that rallies Kentuckians to arms against a foe. That Kentucky crowd didn't see only the Kentucky horses, Bubbling Over and Bagenbaggage galloping there in front of the colors of the East. It saw the glory of Kentucky spread before alien eyes like a banner in the sky.

I say to you here that I love every blade in the Blue Grass because of the loyalty of Kentuckians to Kentucky; because of their pride of race. I despise the man who speaks disparagingly of his home town, or his home State—the professional non-homer, which has become a familiar type in some parts of the land, although I rather doubt that he exists in Kentucky.

My neat, but gaudy made-in-Baltimore straw hat is lifted once more to Kentucky in something more than the casual gesture.

I have said before in this column that the Kentucky Derby is the greatest of all the American sports spectacles, but I was never before fortunate enough to see it as a real Kentucky victory, with Kentucky horses running one-two.

I am inclined to think that the demonstration over Bubbling Over—they refer to him in Kentucky as "Bubblin'," and over Bagenbaggage, too, was "tops" as the boys say in fervor, and in reflecting something more real, more genuine in feeling than mere delight in winning a bet.

It's a great State, Kentucky. They're great people, Kentuckians.

And they've got great horses down there, too.

DAMON RUNYON—1926.

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY, MAY 3, 1791

HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, May 3 will mark the 177th anniversary of the proclamation of the Polish Constitution and the inauguration of an orderly and stable government in Poland.

In 1791, the people of Poland embraced political philosophies which men of the free world continue to hold most dear, including belief in government by the consent of the governed, and belief that an essential function of any government is to preserve for its citizens their individual rights and human dignity. The Polish people created a constitution which championed respect for law, the sanctity of all persons and property, and political rights for all citizens. More, the 1791 Polish Constitution set ideals for social and economic reform, thus affording the possibility of a new sound and progressive national life, for the betterment of all Polish citizens. In choosing this form of government, the people provided themselves with constitutional rule in substitute for earlier systems which had deprived many of their inherent right to life, liberty and the pursuit of their individual aspirations. Their inspired body of legislation earned for the people of Poland an honorable distinction as pioneers of constitutional government in Europe.

One year later, the armies of Catherine of Russia invaded Poland and seized control of the Government, forcing the abrogation of the Constitution and ultimately bringing about the extinction of Poland as an independent state. Today, the Polish people are victims of Soviet Communist imposed rule, and the democratic traditions for which their great Constitution stood have been stifled by an alien power.

Yet, today, we do not honor a defunct document which appeared briefly and then was lost to history. Today we honor the spirit of a people, who put into that body of legislation their ideals and beliefs in freedom, in humanity, and in equality for all mankind. We honor a people who today continue to live by the principles revered by their ancestors, principles which inspire them to strike out against the oppression of their Soviet masters.

On Polish Constitution Day, we of the United States reaffirm our wholehearted support for the Polish people in their struggle for democracy and self-determination, and we share with them their hope that Polish freedom will be restored and their rightful aspirations realized in the future.

TOWARD A MORE LAWFUL AND BETTER SOCIETY IS THEME OF MEANINGFUL LAW DAY ADDRESS BY FEDERAL JUDGE ROBERT E. MAXWELL IN WEST VIRGINIA

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, news dispatches from Bluefield, W. Va., May 1, reported that U.S. Judge Robert E. Maxwell, speaking of the citizen protest in America, made a case there for orderly protest as a basic and necessary right in the American system of government. But the news accounts also emphasized that the chief judge of the U.S. Court for the Northern District of West Virginia took a very positive position against violent and disorderly protest, having said:

> We cannot—indeed, we will not—permit mob rule to supplant rule by law. Orderly protest lies at the bedrock of our democratic institutions. Mob rule, violence, burning, and looting, on the other hand, are the impermissible extremes, the first reckless steps in the downward plunge into the darkness of anarchy, jungle law, and nothingness.

Judge Maxwell spoke in the morning during Law Day observances at a Bluefield high school as one of several leading West Virginians on a statewide telephone hookup to high schools throughout the State. Then he delivered the Law Day, U.S.A. address at a luncheon of lawyers, court officials, and law-enforcement officers in Bluefield.

Mr. President, because I believe that Judge Maxwell's address makes a significant and thought-provoking contribution to the theme and, in fact, to the essentiality that only a lawful society can build a better society, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

TOWARD A MORE LAWFUL AND BETTER SOCIETY

(A Law Day, U.S.A. address delivered May 1, 1968, at Bluefield, W. Va., by Judge Robert E. Maxwell, of Elkins, W. Va.)

Almost every day we hear critics of every stripe say that we as Americans have lost our devotion to America's ideals. They say that the individual American has put aside his faith, his hope, his conviction, his devotion and his vitality. They say he is a spoiled, demanding, overfed, selfish creature who cares only for his own comforts and diversions.

I ask that you join with me in not subscribing to this viewpoint. I only recognize the fact that something is wrong. At a period in history when for survival we need all of our sense of purpose, and to be totally in command of our capacity for sustained effort, we appear to be in danger of losing our bearings.

We need only to reflect upon the tragedies of Dallas and Memphis; to examine the reports from Watts, Detroit, Washington and Baltimore; to review the protests at Berkeley and Howard and more lately at Columbia; or to read the larger headlines in our newspapers, to recognize and to understand that our system of self-government is on trial. When we read or hear of such catastrophic events we are reminded of Doctor Albert Schweitzer and his comments shortly before his death, where he described this as

the most dangerous time in history, and in support of his observations said, "Heretofore nature has controlled man in the last analysis, but now man has learned to control the elemental forces of nature before he has learned to control himself."

Our problems have become so complex that it is not easy for the individual to see precisely what he can do about them, although most individuals realize that while they cannot do everything, they can do something. The tasks that faced the frontiersman of the seventeen hundreds—though harsh, demanding and dangerous—were nevertheless obvious. Each man knew his obligation; each man recognized his place in the order of everyday existence. What can the average man of today do about poverty, be it in the ghetto or in rural America, or about problems of civil rights, or crime in the streets, the population explosion, the gold drain, or the policies of containment in lands which until recently were thought to be far-away places? There are, to be sure, solutions to all of these problems, but they are not immediately self-evident. The individual American, busy making a living, raising his family, and participating in community and civic activities, does not hear one clear and vibrant call to action.

On this tenth annual Law Day USA we are asked to consider the theme, "Only a lawful society can build a better society," and, we are asked to offer suggestions for the effective and quick deliverance from the common problems that concern, perplex and confound us, as we look out on all sides of our daily existence. This is a large order.

On this occasion there is indeed serious uneasiness in the nation, and now is the time for some serious thinking. None of us is totally satisfied with the way things are going. When we look at the statistics on crime, and find that we spend twice as much for tobacco, and three times as much for liquor, as we do on the entire system of criminal justice, is there any doubt that we need a reordering of priorities?

Crime is certainly one of our more critical problems. The current Uniform Crime Reports reveal that serious crime in the United States increased eleven percent in 1966 over 1965, and that it was among the very young that criminality was pronounced. Youngsters under eighteen accounted for one-fifth of all non-traffic arrests and those under twenty-four years accounted for half of all the arrests for such major crimes as homicide, rape and robbery.

But the foregoing figures are only a fraction of the true cost of illegality in America. There is organized crime, which skims away approximately fifteen billion dollars annually from our gross national product. There are silent and sinister dealings in the more urbane parts of our society, where manners and social position take precedence over morals and human conscience. The looter is no less guilty of wrongdoing than the racketeer with his high-paid legal counsel, or the corporate board chairman who employs the wiles of larceny to obtain water rights from an unsuspecting public. Style is the name of the game, but regardless of where it occurs, disobedience of law is the great destroyer of our democratic institutions, and every such act of disobedience of law carries all of us a step nearer to the loss of our individual liberties.

Because over half of the United States population soon will be under twenty-five years, and sixty percent of serious crime is committed by those eighteen years and under, it is appropriate that we as attorneys address ourselves primarily to this problem. Young people who are marginal in society must be regarded not only in relation to society as a whole but also in relation to the social patterns of their local communities. It is sometimes over-generalized that the young who are marginal in school are also marginal in their communities. This may very well be the case.

But equally important is the fact that the society which produces the conformist and the conventional middle class youngster, also produces the non-conformist, the deviant, the delinquent. So whether we like it or not, we must look to ourselves for the cause, as well as the solution, of the crime problem in our midst. Many of the problems relating to these out-of-step young people stem from the failure of the public to know and appreciate the new dimensions and ramifications of community life. Traditional law enforcement measures will not repress and contain them. As Joseph D. Lohman, dean of the School of Criminology, University of California, said, "An effective law enforcement function must be familiar with and equal to its target." The ultimate answer is to look upon crime and violence, not just as problems of law enforcement, but as problems in education, family organization, employment opportunity and housing. These are the structures which incubate deviance and, in the end, delinquency, crime and violence.

In our democratic system, the power to make and implement the law lies with the majority, and it is therefore, with the majority that we must find, and then apply, the remedies to the problems that today confront us. The young have frequently demonstrated that they view the law, not as their own making, and, as a result, they have been sharpest in their protest against the institutions we consider inviolate.

There is an explanation of some validity for this situation. With the trend toward urbanization and metropolitan patterns of life, there have been created an enormous mobility and fluidity in America. This has given rise to a sense of detachment and irresponsibility on the part of many individuals, and the whole system of law enforcement has been brought under stress. In the boredom, the dullness, the despair and despondency of this society, the individual seemingly counts for little, and all too many of our young people, believing they are nameless, faceless statistics in the mob, have become ready customers for the excitement which will help them find a release from their chronic frustrations.

Never in American history has there been a situation of such profound and sudden upheaval as we find today. The whole of human society has been caught up in it, and the young, in their confusion, are seeking a new set of standards for an established way of life, which to them, and in light of their inexperience, seems to lack substance and meaning.

It goes without saying that what they are seeing is only the thin and superficial crust of a condition, but it is one which, through our mass circulation media, we show to the world. This is the face of a family as a high consumption unit, with minimal social links and responsibilities. Our contemporary existence is many things to many people, but perhaps as attorneys we should characterize it as the compounding of life into the split-level syndrome, where membership in the country club, the second car, the color television set, take precedence over everything else, including self-discipline, sacrifice, and thrift, which in essence have been the foundation stones of our society in these United States.

No doubt many of our less privileged want and mean to get a lot more of the substance of life. This is not all they want. They have to look hard to find the balancing picture of America's wider horizon, and to learn that high private consumption is not our ultimate aim in life, nor our answer to all evils and disorders in a time of violent social change.

The contrast between the private affluence which we have just discussed, and the public squalor in which our less fortunate live, is more than many of our youth can tolerate, and in their exuberance and enthusiasm they have mounted a rebellion of different shades and styles. As attorneys, we do not condemn this search for social justice. As attorneys, however, we do condemn that part of this age of excitement which does violence to the rule of law.

We must never lose sight of the fact that protest is as American as the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence. There is nothing in the entire system of American jurisprudence which denies an individual the free exercise of his conscience and the right to advocate his own beliefs. We are, in other words, tolerant of differences among men and respectful of schools of thought which oppose our own. We cannot—indeed, we will not—permit mob rule to supplant rule by law. Orderly protest lies at the bedrock of our democratic institutions. Mob rule, violence, burning and looting, on the other hand, are the impermissible extremes, the first reckless steps in the downward plunge into the darkness of anarchy, jungle law and nothingness.

Perhaps some of us have lost sight of the fact that when one element in a pluralistic system becomes very powerful in relation to the others, the pluralism of the system itself is in danger. Even with the best of intentions, the dominant element is likely to squeeze out the other elements or render them impotent.

Recognizing this as a truism, we have devised a variety of ways to protect the dissenter. The litany of personal liberties, contained in the Bill of Rights, is a part of the system, and so are Robert's Rules of Order, the grievance procedures and the commonly held view that we should hear both sides of an argument. In short, it is a tradition in America to insure that points of view at odds with prevailing doctrine will not be rejected or suppressed.

John W. Gardner said on this subject that dissent and protest are the grist of our political philosophy.

We do not expect organized societies to be above criticism, nor do we trust the men who run them to be adequately self-critical. We believe that even those aspects of a society that are healthy today may deteriorate tomorrow. We believe the power wielded justly today may be wielded corruptly tomorrow. We know that from the ranks of the critics come cranks and troublemakers, but from the same ranks come the saviors and innovators.

Some tolerance of dissent has characterized many human societies and organizations down through the ages. But the deliberate and systematic attempt to make life livable for the dissenter is a product of the American political system alone, and this is why as attorneys, and more importantly as citizens, we must guard it jealously.

There is nothing fundamentally wrong with our system of government or its purpose. The pieces and parts which brought us to our present eminence in the world are still in place. It is simply that all too many of us have lost sight of the American ideal, which endows each man with inalienable rights and permits him to pursue life, liberty and happiness to the outer limits of those rights. He may feel disillusioned and set apart from society, but if he will look beyond himself he will find that never in history has a legislative body such as our Congress or a judicial system such as our courts devoted more of their attention to the constitutional guarantees of the individual than they do today.

I believe that we have confused the free with the free and easy. As Adlai Stevenson once said, if freedom had been the happy, civil, relaxed state of ordinary humanity, man would have everywhere been free. Do not let us make any mistake about this, and let us not, even to the slightest degree, misunderstand. The natural government of man is servitude. Tyranny is the normal pattern of government. It is only by intense thought, by great effort, by burning ideal-

ism, by strong religious conviction, and by unlimited sacrifice, that freedom has prevailed in any system of government.

He who offers this thing that we call freedom as the soft option is a deceiver or is himself deceived. He who sells liberty cheap or offers it as a by-product of this or that economic system, is but a fool. It puts consent and personal initiative ahead of command and obedience. By relying upon the devotion and initiative of ordinary citizens, liberty gives up the harsh disciplines that underpin all of the tyrannies which down through the centuries have stunted the stature of man.

As citizens of a free society, enjoying the highest order of individual liberty ever known to man, it is timely for us to believe that we have had enough of adjustment and conformity, of easy options and the least common denominator. We need to see the "pursuit of happiness" in such terms as are historically proven by voting on election day, by serving on juries without protest, by keeping ourselves informed of the issues of the day, and speaking out for the good and against the evil that surrounds us. We have a role to play, everyone of us, if we are to build a lawful and better society in America. Goethe sketched that role for us when he said, "What you have inherited from your fathers, earn over again for yourselves or it will not be yours."

MORE BLESSED TO GIVE THAN TO RECEIVE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the ravings of the so-called welfare recipients front is a disservice to those many aged and infirm citizens who are thankful for the charity and help they receive but would never think of telling a Senate subcommittee, "We are telling you to move over or we will move you over."

Since some religious sounding organizations think enough of "instant welfare payments" to litigate the matter perhaps Congress should see how much of the welfare budget these "tax free" bodies will contribute, or better, should be taxed for.

Mr. Speaker, I include the welfare demands over the past 2 days here in the Nation's Capital following my remarks:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 4, 1968]

GO TO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, GET ON WELFARE IMMEDIATELY, POOR ARE TOLD

(By Charles Conconi)

MARKS, Miss.—The top organizer for the Poor People's Campaign here told a rally last night that campaigners can go to Washington one night and be on welfare the next day.

The Rev. James Bevel spoke to about 500 youths, gathered in a weed-thick campsite, about the same subject argued before the Supreme Court in Washington this week. District lawyers said that if the high tribunal allows a ruling to stand which knocked out Washington's one-year welfare residency requirement, the city would be deluged with welfare demands by participants in the Poor People's Campaign.

Bevel shouted "We gonna go to Washington and demonstrate, get on welfare, and go to jail." The rally was held in front of one of four circus-type tents erected here for marchers to Washington.

NOW RECRUITING

Organizers for the campaign were getting down to the real business today of recruiting people from this Delta town and the region around to join the movement to Washington Tuesday.

By then the SCLC and the nearly 300 marchers who came Thursday from Memphis hope to increase greatly the number of demonstrators who will leave the Quitman County seat for Washington, some by freedom train and some in mule-drawn wagons.

"Sock soul . . . sock soul . . ." the youths shouted happily at last night's rally, using the new slogan that a group of militant Memphis teen-agers have brought to the movement.

Bevel, who had been introduced as the "prophet" by SCLC fieldworker J. T. Johnson, spoke in the language every kid could understand and complained that no institution in America respects the Negro.

He told the youths that if they wanted to be men and women they must first love themselves. "Jesus is not coming to Marks to deliver anyone," he shouted. "If you get out of your mess it is because you love yourself."

PLANTATION DAYS OVER, GROUP TELLS CONGRESS

(By Ronald Sarro)

The chairman of the District's Welfare Rights Alliance told Congress and the District Government yesterday that "your plantation boss days are over."

Mrs. Etta Horn, outspoken alliance chairman, warned the Senate D.C. Appropriations subcommittee: "We are telling you to move over or we will move over you."

Mrs. Horn also served notice that the alliance would meet with Mayor Walter E. Washington on Monday to determine "if he is for the people or just another Uncle Tom on your plantation."

She said the alliance demands adequate welfare payments to meet 1968 food and rent prices and other payments amounting to 100 percent of this year's cost of living.

Mrs. Horn's position was supported in earlier testimony by Mrs. Wayne Coy, chairman of the D.C. Public Welfare Advisory Council, who criticized the city government's proposal to bring welfare payments to 70 percent of the cost of living, compared to a requirement that they be at 100 percent.

CITIES SURVEY OF COSTS

Mrs. Coy disclosed that the council has just completed a survey of seven census tracts which showed that 65 percent of the aid-to-dependent-children recipients surveyed live in substandard housing, but pay 35 percent more than they are allowed for rent under welfare.

The subcommittee also heard testimony from Donald R. Crone, vice president of the D.C. Federation of Citizens Associations, opposing any increased appropriations to support "the endless growth of welfare" and urging that youths be required to pay cash for recreation facilities.

CRITICAL OF SIZE

Crone was critical of the fact that some 35,000 to 40,000 persons receive welfare and that about 4,000 persons are engaged in city government welfare work. Crone noted that this number of workers "exceeds the number of police (authorized strength, 3,100).

Crone and John Zolyak, an official of the Washington Federation of Business Associations, Inc., complained about proposed increases in taxes and federal borrowing, contending businessmen and residents could not stand added increases.

But Sen. William Proxmire, D-Wis., acting chairman, told the two that the city has problems that will require substantial funding and that "if we neglect welfare, we are likely going to have all kinds of problems."

Reading from a report, Proxmire noted that in 1967, District residents and businessmen had a relatively small tax burden compared to 21 major U.S. cities.

Among these 21, the District taxpayer burden ranked 17th among families with $5,000 incomes; 15th among families with $7,500 incomes; 14th among families with $10,000 and 9th among families with $15,000 Proxmire said.

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., May 2, 1968]

HIGH COURT TOLD MARCHERS COULD DRAIN DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA WELFARE

(By John Fialka)

The District government has warned the Supreme Court that the city may have to provide support for thousands of participants in the Poor People's Campaign if the city's one-year residency requirement for welfare is struck down.

Asst. Corporation Counsel Richard W. Barton yesterday told the court the demonstrators would qualify for welfare under the terms of the decision of the three-judge District Court panel that called the residency requirement unconstitutional.

Barton said that because the demonstrators will be physically present in the city with an intention to remain indefinitely they can apply to the Welfare Department for support.

"That would open the drain and pull the plug out of the fiscal bathtub and then there would be no money for the program for the rest of the year," said Barton.

District welfare officials, meanwhile, were urged today to help feed the demonstrators by tapping a never-used source of federal funds.

Ralph D. Fertig, a candidate for national convention delegate on the pro-Kennedy slate in Tuesday's District Democratic primary, called on District Welfare Director Winifred G. Thompson to "take immediate action" to obtain the food assistance.

He explained that the Economic Opportunity Act, as amended last December, provides a $25 million fund to be used in cases where local welfare directors certify that persons in their jurisdictions are not adequately fed.

Fertig is a social work consultant and former executive director of the Washington Welfare Association and Southeast House.

TWO STATES IN APPEAL

The Supreme Court heard the District's defense of its law yesterday along with appeals from Pennsylvania and Connecticut, where lower courts have struck down similar residency requirements.

Peter S. Smith, attorney for the Neighborhood Legal Services in Washington, said the facts do not support the "gut feeling that one has that people are running around the country seeking welfare assistance."

Arguing on behalf of four women who challenged the D.C. rule, Smith argued that it violates a poor person's right to travel and other basic rights guaranteed by the 14th Amendment's clause requiring equal protection under the law.

District officials said they experienced no deluge of welfare applicants after they stopped enforcing the requirement last December, in the aftermath of the District Court panel's decision.

Several of the justices, including Justice Thurgood Marshall, closely questioned Barton and attorneys defending the state laws. Marshall referred twice to laws which "fence out the poor."

Forty-six states have residency requirements on at least one category of welfare aid. Washington has one-year requirements on all categories.

CITES BASIS FOR RULES

Barton said that arguments supporting the constitutionality of the rules rest on the need "to protect the public fisc (treasury)," the need for government to prevent a chance for fraudulent applications, and on the administrative convenience of being able to predict how many applicants there will be in a given period.

If a jurisdiction has reasonable grounds for the rule, he added, courts should not scrutinize it too closely.

Francis J. MacGregor, assistant attorney general of Connecticut, argued that a Supreme Court ruling ending the residency statutes would immediately force states which have relatively high welfare payments to reduce them.

"There will be a rush by the states to see who can reach the lowest common denominator," he said.

William C. Sennett, attorney general of Pennsylvania, said his state's law was different from Washington's because it provided for immediate medical care and aid to dependent children, and thus did not automatically penalize travelers.

Pennsylvania, he said, would have to be protected from any substantial inflow of the indigent.

"Are you afraid of a march on Harrisburg?" quipped Justice Marshall.

GROUPS ATTACK RULE

Also yesterday the National Conference of Catholic Charities joined other religious and charitable organizations in filing briefs with the Supreme Court attacking the residence requirements.

The Catholic Charities position, issued in Washington, declares that the 5th and 14th Amendments to the Constitution are violated by rulings on residence as a prerequisite for federal aid to families with dependent children.

The statement also holds that denial of such relief imposes an unconstitutional restriction on the freedom to travel.

Other agencies filing similar briefs with the Supreme Court include the American Jewish Congress, the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds Inc., the National Council of Churches, the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Social Equality Inc., and the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association.

CARMICHAEL, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AIDES TALK—VOLUNTEERS GEAR FOR MARCH

(By Paul Hathaway)

Two of Mayor Walter E. Washington's top aides met with black power militant Stokely Carmichael on Wednesday night in what was described as an informal discussion of mutual interest.

Sources confirmed yesterday that Carmichael met with Corporation Counsel Charles T. Duncan and Julian R. Dugas, director of city licenses and inspections, and the mayor's chief troubleshooter.

The session, lasting about three hours, was held at Duncan's home. Sources said it was the first "dialogue" between high officials of the city government and Carmichael since he established residence in the District last year.

The sources said the discussion covered Carmichael's activities, the aims of the new city government, the coming Poor People's Campaign and urban problems in general.

The principals involved had no comment.

Meanwhile, the 1,800-member Washington Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers set up shop yesterday to throw its full weight behind the Poor People's Campaign.

More than 400 professional and lay volunteers met at the Mount Bethel Baptist Church in two separate meetings, one to lay plans to operate centers for children and the elderly in the campaign, and the other to discuss the most effective method of explaining to the community the meaning of the campaign.

The meeting, which broke up into workshops, also discussed plans for supporting a Mothers' Day march through Washington's ghettos next Sunday.

The Rev. Jefferson Rogers, president of the Washington office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which will sponsor the campaign, told those meeting on care for the children and the elderly that the campaign will be "a confrontation where we will try to create a language of the gut for all people to understand, a language that will say to all America that this trouble must be dealt with in something other than words."

Fay Zigmund, coordinator of the direct services part of the campaign for NASW, said that a Social Services Committee would set up a day care center which would operate on a 24-hour-a-day basis.

She said that the children's accommodations will be set up to handle 50 children originally, but that it can be expanded if more come.

She said accommodations also would be established for elderly persons who are unable to participate in demonstrations every day.

All direct services, said Miss Zigmund, will be located in the "City of Hope," the shantytown which the demonstrators will build somewhere in the Washington area.

The committee also will maintain a personal counseling service for the demonstrators, said Miss Zigmund.

WILL ADDRESS GROUPS

Mrs. Sanjuan W. Barnes, coordinator of the educational resources section, said teams of social workers will be formed to speak before churches, social agencies, civic groups and schools on the campaign issues.

"We will try to explain the whole cycle of poverty and why the success of the campaign has meaning even to the middle-class community," she said.

"We feel the public has to understand what the campaign is about."

The issues the social workers will discuss are education, employment, housing and income maintenance.

Charles Cheng, president of the Washington Teachers Union, told the meeting that Freedom Schools would be established for the demonstrators.

"We are hoping to conduct revolutionary schools where they will not just hear what they hear in a regular school but more about what democracy can mean," said Cheng.

MOTHERS' MARCH

Mrs. Catherine Jermany, of the National Welfare Rights Organization, urged the social workers at the meeting to give their full support to the Mothers' March, which will be led by the widow of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

"We feel that welfare in its present form is a fraud against the recipients and the entire tax-paying public," said Mrs. Jermany.

[From the Evening Star (Washington, D.C.) May 3, 1968]

HUMPHREY PROCLAIMS HIMSELF A "SOUL BROTHER"

PHILADELPHIA.—Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, proclaiming himself a "soul brother" in the brotherhood of man, has called for a "new and complete national commitment to human rights."

The vice president, seeking the Democratic presidential nomination, yesterday told wildly cheering delegates to the 38th quadrennial session of the African Methodist Episcopal church that he would work "to meet, and to meet now, the hard, tough problems two centuries of the indecent denial of human equality in this country has created."

Saying human rights and peace are the "central issues of our times," Humphrey was interrupted 40 times by applause from the 5,000 persons in the new Spectrum sports stadium.

ON TO OHIO TODAY

Humphrey takes his campaign today to Kent, Ohio, his first appearance in that state, where he will speak at Kent State University. Tonight he speaks at a Jackson-Jefferson day dinner near Akron.

Humphrey did not cancel his Ohio trip despite his wife Muriel's illness, but he did delay his appearance here last night.

He said it was "high time for the great working majority of Americans who do believe deeply in each other . . . to say so and to let our voices be heard above those who teach divisions, who preach despair and destruction, and who prophesy chaos and catastrophe."

He recalled that he led the fight for a civil rights plank in the 1948 Democratic party platform and said that 20 years later "we know we haven't done our job well—but most of us are trying mighty hard now to do it right."

RESPECT OF NEIGHBORS

"We have civil rights today—that the courts will protect," he said, "but so much less can even yet be said of human rights—which depend on the respect of neighbors and are real only in terms of the self-respect of the individual.

"I count this, along with peace, the central issue of our times. I expect, in the months ahead, to contribute the best that is in me to the formulation—through democracy's essential process—of a new and complete national commitment to human rights, to meet, and to meet now, the hard, tough problems two centuries of the indecent denial of human equality in this country has created."

QUALIFICATIONS ON RIOTERS

The vice president said, however, that meeting the rights problems also means "dealing squarely and effectively with those who defeat their own cause by violence and riots and civil disorders—for they undermine the determined efforts of those of us who are trying hardest to make equal rights into equal results."

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., May 1, 1968]

POOR MARCH AIDE IS HELD AS DESERTER

BALTIMORE.—The Rev. James W. Webb II, a field secretary for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference who came to Baltimore to organize the Poor People's Campaign, faces military charges of being a Marine Corps deserter.

Edwin R. Tully, agent in charge of the Baltimore FBI office, said Webb was arrested by two agents at the Baltimore SCLC headquarters. Military police took him to Ft. Meade, Md., for confinement.

Tully said Webb was listed as a deserter from Camp Lejeune, N.C., on Sept. 17, 1967.

Tully said Webb's name was on a circular issued to all FBI bureaus.

Webb had arrived in Baltimore about a month ago to help organize the area for the Poor People's Campaign.

A volunteer worker at the local SCLC office said Webb's mission was to involve Baltimoreans in the March and to ready Baltimore as a staging area for demonstrators arriving from northwestern cities.

The volunteer worker said Webb, who has been with the civil rights group since 1962, is one of two field secretaries on its staff.

Webb, a Negro, is reportedly an ordained minister but his religion was not immediately determined. Tully said Webb gave his age as 19.

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., May 5, 1968]

PRIDE WORKER CHARGED IN LIQUOR STORE SLAYING

A 29-year-old man identified by police as a Pride, Inc., worker was arrested last night and charged with the fatal shooting on Tuesday of a Northwest Washington liquor store owner.

Ernest M. Greely, who lives in the 300 block of T Street NW, was arrested at his home about 7 p.m. by homicide squad detectives. Police said he offered no resistance.

He was arrested under a U.S. commissioner's warrant charging him with first degree murder in the shooting late Tuesday afternoon of Benjamin Brown, 58, owner of the Service Liquor Store at 1100 9th St. NW.

Brown, who had reopened his business several days earlier, after it was looted during the rioting last month, was killed by a single shot. The gunman had burst into the store with a group of about 15 people.

Witnesses told police the crowd, mostly youths, first ordered soft drinks and then began grabbing bottles from the store's shelves.

Suddenly, one man reached over the cash register and began banging its keys in an attempt to open it. When Brown ordered him to move away, the man drew a gun, witnesses said.

Seeing the gun, Brown reached for the pistol he kept under the counter. He was shot in the chest as he grasped the pistol. Brown got off two wild shots.

The slain liquor store owner, who lived at 1900 Lyttonsville Road, Silver Spring, had waited about three weeks after the riot before reopening his store, and then had only partially restocked it.

LOOTERS STRIPPED STORE

Looters had broken all the windows in the store and left only a few bottles of cheap wine. Friends said Brown, who had run the store for more than 25 years, had not decided whether to keep it open permanently.

His elder brother, Louis, died in 1964 after being shot by a gunman in the liquor store he operated at 1432 New Jersey Ave. NW, about a half mile from Benjamin Brown's store. The gunman was later convicted of murder.

Greely was being held last night without bond in the central cellblock at police headquarters.

A Pride official confirmed that Greely worked for the pioneering work-training program for youth.

He said a check was being made of Greely's work record to see "if he was on the job during the time and day in question."

FREEDOM OF CHOICE

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the people of South Carolina are now undergoing a campaign of harassment aimed at the disruption of the public school system in our State. Community after community has been informed by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare that the freedom of choice attendance plans are not acceptable.

The goal of HEW in these cases is not the furtherance of quality education, but racial integration, above all other considerations.

The State newspaper, of Columbia, S.C., sums up the problem succinctly in an editorial entitled "Freedom of Choice," published on April 25, 1968:

In short, the mutual acceptance of partial integration by both the white folk and the black folk of a community is not acceptable to HEW. Freedom of choice is permissible only when the choice leads directly to the full-scale mixing that obsesses the Washington bureaucracy now guiding the destinies of all Americans.

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

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

FREEDOM OF CHOICE

It is about time for South Carolinians, for Southerners, for Americans to realize that the dictatorial Democrats of the Johnson administration are determined to impose THEIR version of integration upon the whole nation—regardless of the wishes of white people or black people.

The latest and most flagrant proof of that attitude is immediately at hand. The Columbia city school system, which has made a continuing and conscientious effort to comply with federal laws on desegregation, is faced with a withholding of federal funds because the pace of integration doesn't satisfy Peter Libassi, the ranking race-mixed of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Mind you, the schools are NOT in defiance of any legislation enacted by the Congress. The schools are NOT in violation of any operating federal court decree. It is simply that the bureaucratic despots of HEW are not satisfied with the degree of race-mixing being accomplished through the freedom of choice pattern which DOES comply with the law.

To Libassi and his coercive cohorts of HEW, education is not the primary goal of American schools. The single over-riding aim of HEW under the Johnson administration is integration of the races. Time and again, officials at HEW have admitted publicly that the wishes of school patrons and school pupils are of no consequence whatever unless the cause of complete integration is furthered.

In short, the mutual acceptance of partial integration by both the white folk and the black folk of a community is not acceptable to HEW. Freedom of choice is permissible only when the choice leads directly to the full-scale mixing that obsesses the Washington bureaucracy now guiding the destinies of all Americans.

Under these circumstances, the term "freedom of choice" is a fraud and a farce. There is no freedom where only one choice is available. And where there is no freedom, tyranny reigns—as is rapidly coming to be the case in the public school systems of America.

The American people, bound down by bureaucratic regulations and hounded by bureaucratic interpretations of the law, have only one real freedom of choice—that of the ballot.

Come November, Americans will have their chance to decide matters, to determine whether Washington will continue to control the affairs of their schools and their children.

If they want more of the same sort of dictation, all they need do is to perpetuate the Democratic Party in power. The prospect of Hubert Humphrey or Bobby Kennedy or Eugene McCarthy as President of the United States gives promise of more socialistic regimentation, more centralization, more bureaucratic meddling from Washington.

While there is still freedom to vote, Americans had better take advantage of that remaining liberty and sweep the despots out of Washington—NOW!

USING SCIENTIFIC METHODS TO PUT "FIRST THINGS FIRST"

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, April 26 I had the privilege of attending a conference for government and business leaders in my own Congressional District, the 33d, which pointed out the progress made by the San Bernardino area's united community services priorities project. The project, which began almost 2 years ago, was a pioneering effort to develop short- and long-range planning to cope with the social and economic problems in a nine-community area with a population of approximately 256,000. The study was spearheaded by the Planning Division of United Community Service, UCS, an area fund-raising and planning agency serving the nine communities of San Bernardino, Colton, Rialto, Bloomington, Crest Forest, Crestline, Grand Terrace, Loma Linda, and Highland, Calif.

TRW Systems Group, a principal contractor in the U.S. missile and space program, designed a resource management systems technique for the project. The services of three TRW professionals with backgrounds in sociology, economics, and systems management were donated to conceive, plan, and assist in the implementation of this year-long project to identify, develop, and prioritize programs to resolve the area's social problem. Over 400 volunteers, representing all ethnic, socioeconomic, and organization segments of the community, contributed 10,000 man-hours to the priorities project.

This is the first time that the systems approach has been applied in a program to meet total community needs. The San Bernardino area's united community services priorities project is rapidly becoming a national model and is proving that the orderly and sophisticated methods of the space age are a vast improvement over the vague guesses, vested interests, and excessive emotion that control so many attempts at community social planning.

Indicative of the success of the project is the contribution of $29,000 by local businessmen to continue consultation services from TRW as the project moves into the implementation stage.

Under the leadership of a San Bernardino attorney, Robert V. Fullerton, who serves as volunteer chairman of the united community services planning division, and four subcommittee chairmen, Ann Ivey, Ernest Martin, John Wing, and John Hawley, four urgent community problems were identified. Programs for their resolution are now being refined and implemented with the aid of systems technology.

May I call your attention to the fact that this project can serve as an example to the rest of the Nation of the kind of social planning that can be handled most effectively at the local level and that depends primarily on resources from the private sector for its success. All

persons involved in the San Bernardino area's united community services priorities project are to be complimented for pioneering in the development of an orderly, local, and workable system for community social planning.

LOCK AND DAM NAME SHOULD HONOR PIONEER RIVER MEN

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the State of Oklahoma, which it is my privilege to represent in this body, is a relatively new State, but it has a long and fascinating history.

Today, I am joining the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma and many of the State's leading citizens in asking the Congress to take note of one of the high points of the early history of that part of the United States which is now Oklahoma.

I am introducing a bill which would name lock and dam No. 17 on the Verdigris River in Oklahoma the Chouteau lock and dam. I have here Enrolled House Concurrent Resolution 586 of the Oklahoma State Legislature, which requests this name change, and I would like to have this resolution appear in the RECORD. In my office I have a great many letters and resolutions from civil organizations, and they are unanimously in favor of this name change.

Lock and dam No. 17 on the Verdigris is under construction, and is part of the great Arkansas River navigation project. In the early 1800's, Maj. Jean Pierre Chouteau and his son, Col. Auguste P. Chouteau, came into this part of what is now Oklahoma and constructed a complete shipyard at the falls of the Verdigris near the site of lock and dam No. 17. At this shipyard they built large keel boats used to transport hides and produce down the Verdigris and Arkansas Rivers into the Mississippi, and on to the booming New Orleans market.

In 1970, the Arkansas-Verdigris Waterway will be open to commercial navigation again for the first time in nearly 100 years. It seems only fitting that one of the great structures which will make this navigation possible should be dedicated to the memory of the two men who first saw and used the shipping potential of these rivers.

ENROLLED HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 586

(A concurrent resolution memorializing members of the Oklahoma congressional delegation to the Congress of the United States to introduce legislation which will result in an official designation of a certain lock and dam on the Verdigris River under construction near Okay, as part of the Arkansas River navigation project, as "Chouteau Lock and Dam"; and directing distribution)

Whereas, the Arkansas River Navigation Project that is presently being constructed by the Tulsa District Corps of the U.S. Engineers for the purpose of barge navigation of the Verdigris, Arkansas and Mississippi Rivers, and which operation will require the construction of a number of locks and dams; and

Whereas, it requires legislation by Congress to rename a lock and dam, and Lock and Dam No. 17, four miles northwest of Okay on the Verdigris River in Wagoner County, has not yet been so designated by Congress; and

Whereas, Col. Auguste P. Chouteau built a complete shipyard at the falls of the Verdigris River near the location of this lock and dam and for the construction of large keel boats to transport hides and produce down the Virdigris, Arkansas and Mississippi Rivers to the New Orleans market that reached maximum shipment early in 1824; and

Whereas, the Corps of Engineers has written a letter stating that they have no objection to such designation by Congress and feel that in considering the known history of the area that the name "Chouteau Lock and Dam" be an appropriate name.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the second session of the thirty-first Oklahoma Legislature, the Senate concurring therein:

Section 1. That members of the Oklahoma Congressional Delegation introduce legislation in the Congress of the United States officially designating Lock and Dam No. 17, now under construction on the Verdigris River as a part of the Arkansas River Navigation Project, as "Chouteau Lock and Dam" to honor the family who visioned the feasibility of navigation of these streams for commercial purposes and brought it to fruition.

Section 2. That duly authenticated copies of this Resolution, after consideration and enrollment, shall be prepared for and sent to C. E. Chouteau, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, and other known descendants of Jean Pierre Chouteau and Col. Auguste P. Chouteau.

Adopted by the House of Representatives the 11th day of April, 1968.

REX PRIVETT,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Adopted by the Senate the 17th day of April, 1968.

ANTHONY M. MASSAD,
Acting President of the Senate.

STATE OF ISRAEL CELEBRATES 20TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1968

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues and freedom-loving people the world over in saying "mazeltov," congratulations to the people of Israel on the anniversary of their independence.

In the 20 short years of her existence as a free state, Israel has become a model of stability, prosperity, and progress. Against seemingly insurmountable odds, and in the face of constant danger from hostile neighbors, Israel has not been deterred from the course she charted 20 years ago, when in her Declaration of Statehood she stated:

It (Israel) will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all inhabitants; it will be based on freedom, justice, and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel; it will insure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race, or sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture; it will safeguard the holy places of all religions; and it will be faithful to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

History has recorded the fulfillment of these ideals. Israel's achievements in social, economic, and political areas have been lauded worldwide with deep admiration, not only for the accomplishments in themselves, but for the faith, courage, and perseverance which made them possible.

Sterile wasteland has been transformed into fertile farming acreage; and economic potential has been further realized to the extent that for several years now, Israel has been lending technical assistance to less advanced countries. Militarily, she has developed and maintained a large and efficient armed force, the might and strength of which could well be unparalleled for a state the size of Israel.

Mr. Speaker, the history of this democratic state, in an area where democracy is the exception rather than the rule, has been truly remarkable, and on this occasion, we wish her a future of continued growth and productivity, while saluting her adherence to the ideals which have made her development so admirable and awe inspiring.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

HON. JOE R. POOL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, this spring, in a postal patron mailing, I sent out a legislative questionnaire to my Congressional District 3 of Texas. The results from the 19,220 returns have now been tabulated. I believe that the answers obtained in this opinion poll will be of interest to the Members of Congress, and I am therefore submitting the tabulation for their information:

[Answers in percent]

1. Do you feel your views might be better represented if you had an opportunity to vote for candidates from a third major political party?

Yes	48.1
No	51.9

2. Do you believe the President should use all the force necessary to curtail the predicted summer riots?

Yes	92.9
No	7.1

3. Do you believe Congress should pass a tax bill if the administration does not give evidence of substantial cuts in federal giveaway programs?

Yes	21.1
No	78.9

4. Do you believe France should be required to pay its World War I indebtedness to the United States?

Yes	95.6
No	4.4

5. Do you think persons advising young men to avoid the draft illegally should be prosecuted?

Yes	87.7
No	12.3

6. Do you believe the U.S. should trade with communist countries in order to improve our balance of payments deficit?

Yes	14.6
No	85.4

DO NOT LIVE IN TERROR

HON. JAMES V. SMITH

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, in these days of severe testing of our society in many respects, it is good to know that those in positions of influence are speaking out in a worthwhile manner.

Ross W. Dye, minister of the 16th and Decatur Church of Christ, Washington, D.C., has spoken in a most direct and effective way in their church bulletin, the Capital Letter, which is published weekly.

At this point I insert his recent article on "Civil Disobedience," for the consideration of all who are deeply concerned about effective means of maintaining law and order and self-respect:

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(By Ross W. Dye)

During the last dozen years millions of Americans have been conditioned to lawlessness, which is another word for civil disobedience. When exhortations to disobey the law began to be heard from the pulpits, in the streets, in the universities, and from such national figures as Adlai Stevenson; I often said that this would lead to wholesale lawlessness. Unfortunately nearly all of the voices raised against it at its inception were, like mine, only local in influence and heard by few. It appeared to me then, as it does now, that when you counsel and condone calculated civil disobedience you release a torrent of evils that will become a flood threatening to destroy all order and ultimately visiting its most severe penalties upon the very people who were supposed to find the protection of law to exercise rights by flouting law.

I believed at the beginning of the era of civil disobedience that violence was inherently bound up with it, and I have found no reason to change my mind. Erwin N. Griswald, Solicitor General of the United States and former dean of Harvard law school, said recently as quoted in U.S. News & World Report, "Intellectual and practical consequence of civil disobedience is the 'legitimation of violence' of which we have seen too much." I have an idea that more people are beginning to recognize this, but it is unfortunate that the hour is so late. I fail to see how you can have anything but anarchy when every man makes his own rules as he goes. Every man's rights are in jeopardy when any man is at large who has no respect for law, for law alone can enable one to be secure in the exercise of any right.

Civil disobedience runs counter to the examples and precepts of the New Testament. The only freedom which the apostles ever considered above the law is freedom of religion. They never engaged in disrupting traffic or any phase of public affairs and life. They never advocated civil disobedience or led masses or individuals in violation of any law except orders from officials who sought to stop the preaching of the gospel.

The example I recommend is not Gandhi, the high priest of lawlessness, but Jesus Christ whose life was taken by evil rulers while he forbade his disciples to resist them. The New Testament abounds in passages which forbid civil disobedience, and no preacher can do his duty without respecting them. I cite I Peter 2: 13 as typical of the New Testament posture on this subject, and I fail to see how it can be misunderstood. It says, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake." This therefore is my position on civil disobedience, and always has been.

With the so called poor people's march beginning and in light of the recent disorder in Washington, I feel compelled to not only state the foregoing position on civil disobedience, but to issue a word of admonition to our members and friends on related matters as well.

First of all, Christians must not allow the tension between the races to alienate us from each other along racial lines. Black and white Christians in Washington must continue to love one another. Both black and white must divest themselves of racialism and bigotry. There is no place for the Ku Klux Klan or its counterpart, black racialism.

Secondly, both races must obey the law. White people must not be permitted to circumvent the law by exploiting black people, and black people must not be permitted to resort to arson and looting. All laws must be impartially enforced.

Thirdly, white people and black people alike must repudiate the doctrine of mass guilt. To lay the murder of a black man or all of the ills of racialism at the door of the whole white race is as wrong as charging the whole black race with arson. To do this is to stir up more hate and resentment when we need cool heads.

Fourthly, we must all work for a better society where there is truly "liberty and justice for all." But the place to change laws and redress wrongs is not in the streets but in the courts and at the polls. The way to do it is not civil disobedience but through education and persuasion. As Christians and as citizens we ought to do our civic duty. We as citizens have many avenues open to us to work for the improvement of society in general. At the same time we must distinguish between the role of the church as a force for morality and righteousness and the function of the political arena as the realm where political policy is shaped. Our job is to preach the gospel and change hearts and lives. This in turn will produce citizens who will support just and equitable laws. In the final analysis therefore the real need is faithful preaching of the word, not mere social action. Social action of the right sort will then ultimately come and come orderly and lawfully.

Fifthly, I would urge our members to not live in fear. Prudence is one thing, but fear is destructive. Let us not be afraid to come to church services at night or any other time. Reasonable caution ought to be taken, but let us come to services as we always have this spring and summer. We must not live in terror, for this is not to live at all.

Finally, pray for our city and nation, and be sure you are in a frame of mind to really pray.

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1968

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is an honor for me to join my colleagues in commemorating the 177th anniversary of Polish Constitution Day.

In an attempt to replace their medieval system of government with a modern constitutional monarchy and a parliamentary form of government, Poland, on May 3, 1791, proclaimed its Constitution. It is interesting to note that this occurred only 2 years after the adoption of our Constitution in America.

But Poland, the strength and determination of its people notwithstanding, was less fortunate than the United States in terms of geography and history. Catherine the Great of Russia moved the Russian armies against Poland in April of 1792 primarily for reasons of imperial power. However, another motivation was to destroy the Polish Constitution, which was based on such "revolutionary" premises as, and I quote: "All power in civil society should be derived from the will of the people."

In spite of an incredible effort of will and determination to stay the Russian armies; in spite of winning three major battles; in spite of 3 desperate months of fighting—the conflict terminated with a Polish defeat. The Constitution was abolished, Catherine of Russia ruled the conquered Poles through a confederation, and Poland was partitioned, losing its eastern provinces to Russia and the area known as Great Poland to Prussia.

We therefore commemorate today an event of tremendous significance in the history of democracy and freedom, an event involving a proud people with whom we have felt a close affinity for centuries. The people of Poland, again due to historical and geographical circumstances and the stark shadows of Soviet power, have been unable to reassert the fundamental principles of freedom so proudly proclaimed in 1791.

But we Americans, in our commemoration of Polish Constitution Day, hope and pray for that time when the light of justice will shine over Poland, instead of the darkness of oppression. On this day then, we celebrate the momentous and still inspirational occasion of the Polish Constitution which was proclaimed on May 3, 1791, and salute a great people.

Men and women of Polish birth or descent have contributed mightily to the growth and the glory of our own United States. I am happy and I am privileged to number among my constituents in the Second District of Illinois many Polish-Americans whose friendship has been to me a fortress of strength in the many years I have been privileged to serve them.

TENTH DISTRICT QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, early in January I mailed a questionnaire across my entire congressional district and received 25,969 replies—an overwhelming return. A great many of the questionnaires were returned prior to the Tet offensive in South Vietnam, and all of them were returned prior to the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the recent riots in Washington and other cities. Admittedly, some opinions may have changed as a result of these events, but I am sure the questionnaire results are an accurate reflection of 10th District opinion early in the year 1968. It follows:

[In percent]

	Yes	No	Undecided
1. Would you favor a Federal law making it illegal to refuse to sell or rent any housing on the basis of race?	28.2	62.4	9.4
2. Do you favor the use of Federal funds to "bus" schoolchildren from one area to another to achieve racial balance?	11.9	81.7	6.4
3. Would you favor a guaranteed minimum annual income subsidized by the Federal Government?	13.7	78.7	7.6
4. Do you favor the President's proposed 10 percent tax surcharge?	24.1	66.4	9.5
5. Should the offense of illegally acquiring or selling marihuana be reduced from a felony to a misdemeanor?	27.9	63.8	8.3
6. Do you support the compromise Redwood Park bill passed by the Senate?	37.5	16.5	46.0
7. Do you favor the President's expected request for about $600,000,000 for a model cities program?	25.9	57.8	16.3
8. Do you approve a plan to return a percentage of Federal tax revenues directly to the States for locally selected and administered programs?	55.7	30.1	14.2
9. Should Congress change Washington's Birthday to "Presidents' Day" and set it, Independence Day, Memorial Day, and Veterans Day, on Mondays?	50.5	39.4	10.1
10. Should war on poverty funds be—			
(a) Increased	19.5		
(b) Continued at current level	28.8		
(c) Cut back	51.7		
11. If a cease-fire and peace negotiations in Vietnam are not secured in the near future, which military policy would you consider best?			
(a) Unilaterally withdraw U.S. forces	20.8		
(b) Withdraw forces to small coastal "enclaves" in South Vietnam and assume a defensive stance	7.8		
(c) Hold territory we presently control, stop bombing the north and make no further offensive efforts in the south	15.2		
(d) Increase our military commitment to the extent required to clear all of South Vietnam from Communist control	36.0		
(e) Invade North Vietnam with combined ground, naval, and air action	20.2		
12. In your opinion, which diplomatic approach stands the best chance of bringing peace in Vietnam?			
(a) Turn the matter over to the United Nations	16.1		
(b) Reconvene the Geneva Conference and agree to abide by its determination	14.0		
(c) Stop bombing and seek negotiations	10.6		
(d) A planned program of military disengagement with an offer to participate in unconditional negotiations	11.2		
(e) Military deescalation followed by massive social and economic aid to South Vietnam	5.4		
(f) Continued military pressure to force negotiations	42.7		

ISRAEL'S 20TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1968

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in the Congress in extending congratulations to the people of Israel on her 20th anniversary. This is not a long time for this ancient nation—first known as Canaan and later as Palestine—but her very survival and her record of tremendous achievements make the rest of the world pause for marvel. Surrounded by hostile neighbors, she has fought to stay alive, and not only has she survived but Israel has extended the cause of freedom by her example and shown the world what a courageous and determined people can achieve.

The events of a year ago when Israel overpowered superior forces bent on her annihilation, heightened world awareness of her problems and the remarkable quality of her progress in spite of these problems.

Israel is the most free and most democratic country in the Middle East. It is the most hospitable to refugees around the world. It has proved itself to be the most generous, the most self-reliant, the most modern in technology, education, medicine, and outlook.

Unlike her neighbors, Israel does not peddle hate; she offers help. She continues to assist and inspire undeveloped nations in their quest for self-sufficiency. Israel has established a parliamentary democracy with basic freedoms as exercised in the United States. She has assured that all religious denominations are free to worship in their own way. She has more than doubled cultivated areas to over 860,000 acres, increased irrigated areas fivefold, tripled its imports, and multiplied its exports more than 20 times.

Mr. Speaker, Israel's first two decades are eloquent testimony to the virtues of a way of life in which we as a nation believe. We in the United States can be proud of the support we have given Israel. We have had a worthy relationship and our country must make sure this relationship continues into the future.

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1968

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise on this occasion to commemorate and pay tribute to the thousands of citizens of Polish heritage as they celebrate May 3, a national holiday of Poland. This day marks the proclamation and adoption of Poland's Constitution of 1791, one of the most liberal and progressive pieces of legislation of 18th century Europe.

I also would like to call attention to two other significant events in Poland's history. This year is the 25th anniversary of the tragic death of Gen. Wladyslaw Sikorski, free Poland's wartime leader and statesman: the 70th anniversary of the discovery of radium by Madame Sklodowska-Curie, recognized as one of the greatest scientists of all times.

Poland, now dominated by a totalitarian government bent on the destruction of Polish cultural traditions, has abolished May 3 as the national holiday of Poland. Polish people everywhere but Poland now observe this day.

I call particular attention to the thousands of Americans of Polish ancestry in my Sixth Congressional District, proud of their heritage who have kept and will keep faith with this noble legacy that speaks of the moral strength and great civic virtue and wisdom of their forefathers.

"Poland, divided and ruled many ways over the years, is not lost", states the Polish national anthem. Poles everywhere in the world believe that the time is coming when Poland will again return to the Western family of nations as a free, independent, and sovereign nation.

THE ROLE OF THE FBI IN CIVIL DISORDERS

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, riots in the cities of America and other criminal acts have occasionally been followed by charges that the Federal Bureau of Investigation failed to perform this or that duty. The charges included failure to accept responsibility and accepting too much responsibility. This type of charge should be quickly clarified both in relation to past events and with respect to any future occurrence in which the role of the FBI might be mentioned.

In the May issue of the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, Director J. Edgar Hoover discusses this role. He concludes that:

> If the FBI has been consistent in any one commitment over the years, it is in its awareness of the exacting limitations within which it must operate. We have meticulously avoided infringement on responsibilities belonging to local and state authorities. By the same token, we have always met our obligations regardless of criticisms and attacks from special interest groups, whoever they are.

I hope that this short statement by the Director will have wide dissemination so that future unwarranted criticisms can be met with the facts. "Message from the Director" follows:

MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

When riots occur and there is a breakdown of law and order, emotions and prejudices often overwhelm judgment and sound reasoning. We have seen this occur in the recent past in many of our major cities. In such instances, most people agree the restoration of law and order is, and should be, the paramount issue. Disagreement sometimes arises over how this can best be achieved and by whom.

In any circumstance where passions are aroused and prompt decisions are necessary, it helps materially if the lines of responsibility are clearly drawn and understood. This is particularly true in riots, racial turmoil, and disturbances where arson, murder, looting, and wanton destruction occur.

Apparently, the role of the FBI in civil disorders is not fully known to all citizens, and therefore it is frequently misunderstood. Some highly vocal groups insist that the FBI is obligated to step in and usurp the power of local law enforcement and "police" the areas where, in their opinion, a breakdown of law and order has occurred. The FBI has no lawful authority or jurisdiction to take this action and certainly does not seek such national police power. In those instances when we refuse to exceed our authority, some extremists in these groups have accused the FBI of racism. Many times it is determined that these bigots are the same agitators and exploiters who provoked the disorder in the first place. On the other hand, some individuals insist that the FBI in performing its duties exceeds its authority and encroaches on the authority belonging to State and local enforcement agencies. In both instances, emotions and expediency override rationality.

The FBI's responsibilities are clearly defined and limited by Federal statutes and Presidential directives. This Bureau has no jurisdiction to protect persons or property or to police and control riotous conditions. These are obligations of local and State police agencies. Basically, the FBI's role in civil disorders is the development and dissemination of intelligence information, at the same time being alert to any specific violations of Federal laws over which it has investigative jurisdiction. In the field of civil rights, this Bureau functions solely as a fact-gathering and fact-reporting agency. The information and evidence gathered are furnished to the Attorney General for prosecutive consideration. For years the FBI has offered to local law enforcement agencies every possible cooperative service in the fields of civil disorders and civil rights. During the 1950's, for example, the FBI conducted almost 600 civil rights police schools, and since the early 1960's, this Bureau has instructed almost 80,000 law enforcement officers in the various functional aspects of mob and riot control.

If the FBI has been consistent in any one commitment over the years, it is in its awareness of the exacting limitations within which it must operate. We have meticulously avoided infringement on responsibilities belonging to local and State authorities. By the same token, we have always met our obligations regardless of criticisms and attacks from special interest groups, whoever they are.

Diversionary tactics by lawbreakers are as old as crime itself. Those bent on civil disobedience, riotous rebellion, and racial strife make good use of the technique. Time after time, with wild, unfounded charges, they have, in the minds of some people, successfully made law enforcement and established authority the scapegoats while diverting the critical public eye from their unlawful conduct. We can expect these groups and individuals to continue these disruptive practices. During the coming months, if riots occur, unwarranted criticisms will again be directed against the FBI and other enforcement agencies by those who are eager to mislead the public and to negate effective police cooperation by misrepresenting the facts. The public should remember that persons who defy the law frequently find it expedient to disparage agencies charged with enforcing it.

INVASION OF PRIVACY

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, at the conclusion of 3 days of hearings before my Special Subcommittee on Invasion of Privacy, the Associated Credit Bureaus of America agreed to sponsor a series of industrywide meetings on the protection of privacy. Certain disturbing procedures were brought to light during the hearings and the credit industry resolved to discuss alternatives and to report back to my subcommittee this summer. The credit industry showed a commendable willingness to admit that problems exist and to soberly and responsibly search for answers.

The first steps have now been taken, I am pleased to introduce into the RECORD at this point a report on a preliminary meeting held in Chicago last week. It is my hope that these promising beginnings will be followed with constructive and workable corrective measures, thus assuring that information given for the purpose of receiving the privilege of credit will not be abused.

The report follows:

CHICAGO, ILL.—Guidelines for the protection of consumer privacy in credit reporting will be developed by a consumer credit industry advisory committee as the result of a two-day meeting sponsored here by the Associated Credit Bureaus of America, Inc.

Participating in the meeting were 42 representatives of nine consumer credit trade associations, leading national credit granters, major credit card companies and finance industry representatives.

The advisory committee will be named within 30 days, it was reported by John L. Spafford, of Houston, ACBofA executive vice president who was chairman of the meeting.

A thorough re-evaluation of consumer Protection of Privacy practices by local credit bureaus and the relationships of these practices to credit granters was concluded at the meeting Tuesday (4.30.68).

"The purpose of this entire project is to give the consumer the benefits of the use of credit in our economy and still protect his privacy," Spafford said.

The advisory committee will continue the study of protection of consumer privacy by credit reporting firms and communicate the findings to the consumer credit and credit reporting industries.

"The credit reporting industry and credit granters it serves must place themselves in focus with society today," Spafford added. "We have recognized during these meetings that changes must be made . . . some of which may affect the credit bureau relationship with credit granters."

"Our objective is to re-evaluate the consumer credit industry and Protection of Privacy as they relate to the consumer, to the credit granter and to the credit bureau," Spafford stated.

The credit reporting practices that were studied by 42 leading credit granter executives and credit bureau officials included:

1. Disclosure of credit histories to consumers by credit bureaus.
2. Various credit bureau services and the customers they serve.
3. Credit bureau file content.
4. Procedures followed in retaining information in credit bureau files.

"We hope to have a crystallized viewpoint on these subjects by the consumer credit industry as well as the credit reporting industry within 60 days," Spafford pointed out.

"Each official who attended this and other meetings ACBofA has conducted on Protection of Privacy will report back to his trade association or credit granting firm the thinking and concepts that have been discussed," Spafford added.

"We hope to develop out of these meetings specific guidelines for credit bureaus, credit granters and legislative groups which are concerned with these highly sensitive areas," Spafford said.

ACBofA, which organized and conducted the meeting, is an international trade association consisting of more than 2100 local credit bureaus with headquarters in Houston.

Among the groups represented at the Chicago meeting were the National Retail Merchants Association; American Bankers Association; National Foundation for Consumer Credit; National Consumer Finance Association; International Consumer Credit Association; American Petroleum Credit Association; Bank Administration Institute; and Robert Morris Associates.

MAY 10: RUMANIA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on May 10, Rumanians and those of Rumanian descent who are able to live and believe freely will celebrate Rumania's Independence Day. Those, however, who still live in the Rumanian nation, now under foreign and oppressive rule, will not be able to officially and openly commemorate this traditional national holiday. They will do so in their hearts, nevertheless, for this day is a symbol of the struggle through which they first gained freedom and independence, of the founding of their kingdom, and now it is especially the symbol of the hope and courage to believe that freedom will again be theirs.

As in the past, I speak out strongly in support of the right of all nations and peoples to live in freedom and in peace, and I call to the attention of my colleagues, as requested by the Rumanian National Committee, the moving history of this people. The material follows:

THE 10TH OF MAY: RUMANIA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY

The Tenth of May is the national holiday of the Rumanian people, celebrating three great events of its history.

On May 10, 1866, Charles, Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a scion of the Southern and Catholic branch of the Prussian royal family, was proclaimed in Bucharest Prince of Rumania, and thus founded the Rumanian dynasty. It was the successful outcome of the nation's long struggle to acquire the right of electing as its sovereign a member of one of the Western non-neighbouring reigning families in order to put an end to the strifes and rivalries among native candidates to the throne. This ardent wish, though officially expressed as far back as 1857 by the Moldavian and Wallachian Assemblies—the "Ad-hoc Divans"—convened as a result of the Paris Treaty of 1856, was nevertheless opposed by the Russian and Austrian empires, equally disquieted by the growth in power and prestige of the young bordering nation they both secretly hoped to absorb some day. It was due to unrelenting efforts made and wise steps taken by Rumanian patriots, and also to the constant diplomatic assistance of Napoleon III, Emperor of the French (to whom Prince Charles was related through the Beauharnais and Murat families) that all political obstacles were gradually removed and what was to be the prosperous and glorious reign of Charles I could be inaugurated on May 10, 1866.

Eleven years later, on May 10, 1877, during the turmoil of the Russo-Turkish War, the Principality of Rumania, until then nominally a vassal of the Sultan, proclaimed her independence by severing the old and outdated bonds that linked her with the Ottoman Empire. This independence had to be fought out on the battlefields south of the Danube, where the young Rumanian Army, as an ally of Russia, played a noteworthy part in the defeat of the Turkish forces. The Congress of Berlin of 1878 confirmed Rumania's independence and conferred Europe's official recognition, a bright page in the country's dreary history though marred unfortunately by the loss of Bessarabia, cynically wrenched by Czar Alexander II and his government from the ally who helped them obtain victory over the Turks.

Another four years elapsed after the Rumanian people had proclaimed their independence and a further step was taken as they decided to raise their country to the rank of a kingdom. On May 10, 1881, Charles I was crowned, by the will of his people, King of Rumania. A prosperous era, which lasted over six decades, opened on that day for the nation. Its apex was attained when national unity within the historic boundaries was reached after World War I. The socially progressive country had now become a factor of peace and equilibrium in the South-East of Europe.

During all those years and up to the present time, Rumanians have cherished and revered the Tenth of May as their national holiday, the anniversary of happy and glorious events in their history, in which achievements of Monarchy and people were interwoven. It remains the symbol of their permanency and perseverance through woes and hardships to reach the ultimate end of freedom and well being.

The ruthless foreign rule which now oppresses the Rumanian nation has not been able to uproot the people's attachment to the traditional celebration of the 10th of May. In order to try and alter at least its significance, official celebrations were shifted from the 10th to the 9th of May, anniversary of the Soviet victory. But, though flags are now hoisted on May 9th, Rumanians in their captive homeland celebrate in their hearts the following day, awaiting with faith and courage the dawn of new times, when freedom shall be restored to them.

MONITORING PHONE CONVERSATIONS AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, on Friday of last week, May 3, George W. Ball appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to give testimony concerning his proposed appointment as representative of the United States to the United Nations with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and the representative of the United States in the Security Council of the United Nations. Mr. Ball was asked if there was a facility at the State Department which can be used and is used to monitor and record conversations unbeknownst to the telephone participants. Mr. Ball responded:

I certainly would have been aware of it had there been such a room, had there been such a device and there was none. There is none.

It is my understanding that Mr. Ball's statement concerning the existence of this facility will be challenged in the near future.

DO WE HAVE AN ATTORNEY GENERAL?

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, a Negro mother told me recently that during the open rioting, burning, and looting last month, her teenaged children watched another Negro carrying merchandise out of a vandalized store. As he ran, with arms loaded, he dropped some of his loot. A policeman, standing nearby, stooped and picked up the stolen goods the thief had dropped and handed it back to him. This mother was incensed, because the example of the policeman aiding the thief taught her children that crime was acceptable if committed under the guise of so-called civil rights.

Our teenaged generation, growing up by our present standards of creeping lawlessness, obviously advocated by our Attorney General and Department of Justice, will certainly treat any attempt at maintaining law and order with contempt.

Last month's burning of the city of Washington, during which time the above episode occurred, only points up more vividly that in recent years we have witnessed a deterioration of our moral structure which has reached new depths; we have witnessed the takover of higher educational institutions by outside hoodlums and radical professors and students; we have witnessed the burning of our cities—the looting of our businesses—and crime running rampant in our streets, from purse-snatching to murder, with very little effort being made to halt or convict the criminals.

With our Attorney General tying the hands of our regular law enforcement agencies by refusing to act on these crimes presently being committed, and the Supreme Court freeing those already convicted, it was only a matter of time until protection agencies would spring up.

I do not question the legitimacy of such agencies one way or another at the present time. However, again, it will be only a matter of time before the muscle men and troublemakers start taking over the legitimate agencies and starting their own protective insurance schemes, now that law and order has deteriorated to such a level that only the criminal element is guaranteed protection by our law enforcement officers and courts.

As proof of what is happening to America, I submit an ad from the Washington Post that I saw 2 days running during the week of April 28, 1968:

Boarding-Up of Houses & Businesses, Vandalized or Vacant. We Protect What is Left. Emergency services radio dispatched. 737-4477—*Any time.*

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am honored beyond measure once again to participate in the observance of Poland's great national day, which for many years we have fittingly recognized in the House.

First, I want to state that I am greatly privileged and honored today to include in the RECORD, as part of my remarks, the magnificent statement of His Excellency, August Zaleski, President of the Polish Republic. I am deeply impressed, as I am sure every Member of the House, who has had the opportunity to read it will be, by the fine, strong, inspiring sentiments on freedom that have been expressed by the very distinguished President in behalf of the great Polish cause he so admirably exemplifies.

More than ever this year, when there is so much instability, war, and violence in the world, it is necessary that we again speak our minds in behalf of the Polish people, who with sustained courage, seek freedom and self-determination for their land.

This Nation and Government have long upheld the cause of Poland, and at this time it is well for us to refresh and renew our firm commitment to the aims, aspirations, and dedication of Poland to the principles of freedom and to the early return of their institutions they prize so dearly.

Once again let it be known, not only to the struggling Polish people, but to all peoples in the world, who cherish and seek freedom, that this great Nation, born in freedom and dedicated to its perpetuation, will ever seek to render every measure of support and assistance to their sacred cause.

The bonds between Poland and this country go back to our early days as a Nation when gallant Polish leaders and great Polish heroes rallied to our cause of liberty and freedom and gave us invaluable aid.

The blood of Polish patriots drenches the soil of many lands where Polish sons have fought and died in the defense of freedom. Many of our own fellow citizens and neighbors of Polish blood have given their lives and made the supreme sacrifice in the defense of our country and human liberty.

I hail and salute the Polish people and their leaders on this day of celebration and resolution and wish for them, from the bottom of my heart, the early release from totalitarian rule and return to the ranks of the free nations of the world.

May their dreams for freedom, understanding, brotherhood and peace soon be realized. May our own great Nation always stand loyally and helpfully with them. The statement follows:

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND TO THE POLISH NATION, ON THE OCCASION OF THE POLISH NATIONAL DAY, MAY 3, 1968

His Excellency August Zaleski, legitimate President of the Polish Republic, addressed

the following message to the Polish nation on the occasion of Poland's National Day this year:

"Having by long experience come to know the ingrained defects of our government, as the preamble to the Reform Constitution of 1791 commences, and perceiving the great danger facing the Polish Commonwealth, the Polish nation realized it should, as Adam Mickiewicz—Poland's great national poet and patriot—expressed it, 'put an end to the ever greater inactivity of the gentry in decline by strengthening the central authority on the one hand; and, on the other hand, by extending civic rights to all classes of the community, to regain independence and the country's lost position in Europe by placing freedom in Poland upon a firm basis.'

"This was the universal desire. The whole nation, headed by the King of Poland, was in accord with this with but very few exceptions. The Four-Year Seym immediately began its labours, aided by the participation of many politicians and political writers who had published numerous works on the political structure of several countries which could serve as examples to follow, with France and England pre-eminent in this respect. Thus, in the Polish Reform Constitution of 3rd May 1791 we perceive the influence of the constitutions of both these countries, at that time the only ones in Europe with really democratic systems.

"Unfortunately, the Constitution of 3rd May 1791 could never be implemented. Fearing the consequences that this great reform might produce by reviving the strength of Poland, Russia and Prussia immediately invaded the country and carried out the second partition of the Polish Commonwealth.

"None the less, that Constitution remains for all time not only evidence of Poland's struggle for freedom but also of her ties with western civilization.

"Invariably wishing Poland well, Pope Pius XI chose the anniversary of this Constitution, so dear to all Poles, as the Day of the Holy Mother of God—Queen of the Polish Crown, thus giving yet another proof of the indissoluble ties that join the Polish Republic with the Faith of Christ.

"AUGUST ZALESKI."

SWISS DEBATE BUGGING AND A BUG GIVES PROOF

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the creative and crafty Swiss have recently given those of us in America a valuable lesson in effective ways to control the use of electronic eavesdropping equipment.

In order to continue an open society in America, our citizens must be able to feel secure in their privacy. If we casually permit a suffocating sense of surveillance to blanket the free exchange of communications we may do something very basic to the American society. For let us be very clear about exactly whose privacy it is that is being invaded. It can be the criminal's, the man under suspicion for crimes, but it can just as easily be yours or mine.

Mr. Speaker, this Swiss example is highly informative and I am pleased to insert a report from the New York Times of May 4, 1968, into the RECORD at this point:

SWISS DEBATE BUGGING AND A BUG GIVES PROOF

GENEVA, May 3.—A special committee of the Swiss National Assembly unanimously approved today a Government bill outlawing "mini-spy" gadgets after hearing a tape recording of the committee's supposedly secret discussion.

The discussion had been relayed by a tiny radio transmitter hidden in a chandelier of the committee room to a receiver in a car parked outside a Government building in Bern, the Swiss capital.

Donat Cadruvi, the committee chairman, explained that he had had the recording made to show the effectiveness of the transistorized eavesdropper and that he would have the tape destroyed immediately.

DUNDALK NAVY CORPSMAN DIES AT OUTPOST IN KHESANH

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, HN Charles B. Boynton, Jr., a fine young soldier from Baltimore, was killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend his bravery and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

DUNDALK NAVY CORPSMAN DIES AT OUTPOST IN KHESANH

A United States Navy corpsman from Dundalk, who served at the Khe Sanh Marine garrison in South Vietnam during the long Communist siege earlier this year, was killed in action at the outpost April 16, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

The dead serviceman was identified as Charles B. Boynton, Jr., 20, a third class petty officer and the son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Boynton, of 49 Kinship road, Dundalk.

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His death occurred less than two weeks after 20,000 United States troops broke through the North Vietnamese Army's force which had encircled the 7,000-man American and South Vietnamese detachment at Khe Sanh.

Petty Officer Boynton, who arrived in Vietnam last November, was assigned to Khe Sanh January 22 and served there as a battlefield medic during the worst days of the three-month Communist siege.

His last letter to his parents—dated the day of his death—said he was serving on Hill 689, one of the most hotly contested pieces of ground during the bitter fighting that raged just below the buffer zone separating North and South Vietnam.

FEW DETAILS

Mrs. Boynton said her son gave the family few details of his assignment as a Navy hospitalman.

"He just said it was tough going. He said to keep praying. He never complained. I guess he didn't want to worry us," Mrs. Boynton said.

She added that she thought her son would be "safe" in the Khe Sanh area because of his survival there during the battles preceding the lifting of the Communist siege.

PLAYED TRUMPET

Petty Officer Boynton was graduated in June, 1965, from Dundalk High School, where he played trumpet in the school band and orchestra.

An amateur performer, he played in the Baltimore Colt's marching band and played, sang and did comedy routines before civic and church audiences in the Dundalk area. He also played in the drum and bugle corps of Dundalk Post No. 38 of the American Legion.

He enlisted in the Navy in June, 1966, and was assigned to the Great Lakes (Ill.) Naval Training Station. He then underwent additional training as a battlefield corpsman and served for about six months at the United States Naval Hospital in Annapolis before going to Vietnam.

SURVIVORS LISTED

Petty Officer Boynton was a member of the Abbott Memorial Presbyterian Church, Bank street and Highland avenue, and was active in its choirs and youth groups.

Besides his parents, he is survived by two sisters, Janice I. Boynton, 24, and Charlotte B. Boynton, 22, both teachers in the Baltimore county school system, and a brother, Nelson P. Boynton, 12.

Also surviving are his paternal grandmother, Mrs. Augusta Boynton, of Rochester, N.Y., and his maternal grandmother, Mrs. Martha Groff, of Baltimore.

WHAT IS HAPPENING TO OUR COUNTRY

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, on May 2, I was privileged to address a luncheon gathering in recognition of the 80 years of service of the Salvation Army to my hometown of Lansing, Mich.

Because of the many and varied problems confronting our Nation today, I directed my remarks to the question which all of us hear so frequently, "What is happening to our country?"

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my address to the Salvation Army:

WHAT IS HAPPENING TO OUR COUNTRY

I am honored indeed with your invitation to share this occasion. It permits me to express . . . for myself and also on behalf of our community the great measure of respect and gratitude all true Americans feel for those who are carrying on the work and the ideals of the Salvation Army. How fortunate we are. How fortunate all Americans are to have had such a humanitarian organization.

Eighty years is a long time.

It is also a short time.

It is a long time in the life span of an individual.

It is a very short time in the life of society.

Think back, for a moment, to eighty years ago when the Salvation Army first began serving the community of Lansing.

The State Capitol building was still new.

Lansing's population was just over 10,000.

Michigan Agricultural College had but 312 students.

Topics of conversation were the Haymarket riot at Chicago; the first electric street railway that had just been placed in operation; and the finanical panic in New York. President James A. Garfield had been shot shortly before. There still was a land frontier in America. The wild west was actually real—not just on TV!

Much has happened in eighty years.

During these decades the Salvation Army has grown with this and other communities. We are proud of this growth. We hope we have each done our part to help make this possible. But as we meet today to award Lansing's Service Ribbons to these good sol-

diers, we cannot only look to the past—We must look to the future.

As I thought of my message to you, I could not help but speculate on the demands that our tomorrows will thrust upon the Salvation Army. We know they are ready to march as service calls. They have proven that. But as one who shares in a small measure the responsibility of government I asked myself . . . are we keeping faith with the dedicated soldiers of this Army? Is government at all levels, local, state, national, doing its full part to cope with the social problems of our times?

As I asked myself the questions, and as I reflected on the scourge of war that plagues us, the riot scorched cities of the land, rising crime . . . and the resistance to authority everywhere, I had an uneasy feeling about the adequacy of our effort.

What has come over the structure of our society as we have known it these past few years to cause such violence to the basic fabric of community life? What is happening to our country?

Crime is rampant. The situation seems to be getting worse rather than better. The FBI tells us that since 1960 major crimes have increased 88% while the population has increased 10%.

We know that sureness of punishment is a strong deterrent to crime. Yet today less than 21% of the reported crimes result in arrest, and only 6% lead to conviction. The criminal has a 94% chance of "beating the rap" every time he strikes.

If this seems remote, let me tell you that when I was privileged to serve as the Prosecuting Attorney of Ingham County the office had 5 assistants and 3 secretaries. Today, just 12 years later, this same office has 11 assistant prosecuting attorneys and 8 secretaries. This clearly shows that our own community is not exempt from the national trend.

Our courts have become so consumed with the rights of the accused that we are frequently asked who is looking after the rights of the law abiding citizen.

We have daily reports on the growing use of drugs and the sordid tales relating to this abuse.

Our mails have become so choked with lurid pornographic materials that the Congress had to pass legislation to stem its flow.

There are many alarming indicators of a growing disintegration of the family unit, the core of our society.

Draft dodging has almost become respectable and we have those who take public pride in counselling our youth on how to avoid service to their country.

We have demonstrations for everything. The teachers are learning the art fast and its not unusual to see clerical garb in the photographs of protest movements. If enough people can get together and gang up to get their way the end seems to justify the means employed. Just this week, we had a march on Washington demanding among many other things that the government provide a guaranteed annual wage.

People are expecting more and more from Uncle Sam, apparently under the premise that everything from the government is free. No one seems to realize that the only funds the Treasury has are exacted from you, our citizens.

It wasn't too many years ago that I would see a picture in the newspapers of rioters battling with police in some foreign country and think to myself how glad I was that I didn't live in that kind of unstable, chaotic society. I associated such scenes with something foreign to the American concept—prided myself on the thought that in this country we had the orderly, established machinery to effect necessary change—in truth, to make freedom work for the advancement of mankind.

I prided myself too, on the fact that we had the rights of criticism and dissent—and that dissent was expressed not in rock-throwing and window-breaking but at the ballot box. Times have changed. Riots have swept the land. They have almost become accepted as a way of life.

It is tragic when the process of dissent becomes so volatile that the travel plans of a President of the United States are kept secret until the last possible moment for fear of demonstrations that could lead to violence. It is tragic when our Secretary of State has to sneak through the alleys and into back doors of our hotels when he discusses the great issues that bear on the peace of the world.

Yes, things have changed. We see students disrupting university life and resorting to force and violence, taking over the president's office, holding university officials captive to impose acceptance of their demands and insisting that policies be revised by mob decree. We read of these and similar activities occurring daily—all in total disregard of the fact that our educational institutions have been established to provide the education. Our taxpayers have built and support many of these institutions. I can remember when students were glad to go to school, were willing to conform and knew if they didn't, that they would be expelled. But today we find them not only taking over, but demanding immunity from disciplinary action.

It was a shock to see Army units patroling the streets of our nation's Capitol—soldiers with rifles stationed at street corners—a government-imposed curfew in the District of Columbia—windows smashed within a few blocks of the White House—and dense smoke drifting by the window of my Rayburn Bldg. office across from the Capitol.

And while basic, underlying reasons in terms of frustrated human aspiration and lack of opportunity, can be identified and steps taken to correct them, I wonder if there isn't another cause which reaches to a fundamental moral and spiritual problem.

Will Durant, the historian, once wrote:

"A great civilization is not conquered from without until it has destroyed itself from within. The essential causes of Rome's decline lay in her people, her morals, her class struggle, her failing trade, her bureaucratic despotism, her stifling taxes, her consuming wars. The political causes of decay were rooted on one fact—that increasing despotism destroyed the citizen's civic sense and dried up statesmanship at its source."

We Americans always have been a restless people. We have never been too content with things as they are. We are always trying to do the job better—to build a better mousetrap.

One of the great things about our people is the energy which has been applied to constructive pursuits. We have always thought big and acted big.

Coupled with all this has been a respect for fundamental values and morals—a respect for institutions which had been tested and retested and found to be the best that man could devise to successfully govern himself.

Today our land is torn with a lack of respect for our fundamental institutions—a lack of respect for law and order and a lack of respect for the rights of others.

I am not here to say that all our institutions are perfect. Certainly they are not. This I well realize, but one of the features of our system is that our individual relationships to our institutions are constantly challenged and redefined and this is done in an orderly way and for the common good.

I don't know how we can better define our national purpose than in the words of the Preamble to the Federal Constitution:

"We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessing of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

As we carry out this purpose, we must do so with respect for the orderly processes of society. We cannot impinge on the rights of others. Dissent can and must be expressed in other ways than by tearing down our structure.

We must restore and maintain respect for the basic institutions of our society.

We have no greater problem today than that of maintaining law and order throughout the country. This we must have, for when it is lost we shall soon have anarchy.

But also, law and order and the institutions built on this foundation must give expression to the aspirations of the individuals who live with them.

No one should be excluded from the mainstream of American life.

I think we are making great strides toward realizing this goal, but it will be achieved only if every citizen will undertake his full share of responsibility to make our great system work and be guided by the Golden Rule in his dealings with his fellow countrymen.

This is a pretty grim picture, you may say. Yes, it is grim! Our work is cut out for us if we are to get this country back on the track and rolling toward the progress and greatness that can be ours. But I'm really not despondent about this. We have been challenged many times before and we've always made out. As a matter of fact, sometimes it takes a crisis to bring out the best that's in us.

With our energy, our yankee ingenuity and our resources I have faith that together we can solve any national problem if we only determine to do so and make the necessary commitment to the cause.

I caution however, that there will be no easy or quick solution. We are a nation in trouble. Our illness has not struck us suddenly but has been building up for years, and it's going to take a long while for us to get well.

The very first thing that we must do is to restore law and order throughout the country. Until this is done we cannot turn our full energies to treating the causes of our disease.

We must realize fully the importance of our security and support our police. Not just with a bumper sticker but with our words and deeds. We must tell our policemen when we have the opportunity—and if we don't have the opportunity we should find one—that we're backing them and that we appreciate their efforts. Speaking for myself, I don't go for these loose charges of police brutality. As your Prosecuting Attorney I've worked with all our law enforcement officials at all levels. They're good people, trying hard to do their job. I have observed their patience under the most aggravated provocation and to their credit, I have never yet had a case of police brutality called to my attention. This is not to say that this could not be so elsewhere or perhaps even here, but I say that this is a weak, overworked alibi for those who refuse to obey the law. But speaking of brutality, I think riots can be brutal and regretfully it may sometimes be necessary to use brute force against brute force to restore order. We simply cannot surrender to violence.

Just as we must back our police we must take an interest in our courts and insure that justice is meted out fairly and equally under the law. The police have their job to do and so do the courts. The punishment for crime must be made certain.

With law and order restored we can then turn our full energies to the task of curing the conditions that have spawned our troubles.

The long range answers to our many problems rest in education. This is nothing that can be accomplished with passing an appropriation bill no more than you can get a super-sonic airplane by just appropriating money. It must be built.

Likewise we must undertake to build greater capabilities for our citizens who want a fuller life in our society. This is not just a one-way street and it will require lots of work on both sides.

Our economy is one that pays off on ability and we must make a greater effort for all to have the opportunity to acquire skills and talents that can be used. I put education at the top of the priority list for only through it will we be able to avoid perhaps even greater problems in the years ahead.

We need a greater sense of priorities in Federal education aid, and more effectiveness in its use. For example, we need a greater effort to concentrate Federal funds on those school districts and attendance areas most in need of special programs for poor children. Under the existing Act, the aid is widely dispersed among about 90 percent of the school districts of the country, which means that less is available where it is most needed.

Again, in terms of priorities, we should be paying far more attention to assuring high-quality vocational education for all our youth. A recent study of vocational education shows that, five out of every six children now in school will not complete college, yet only one in five of our young people have any vocational training in high school, and probably not more than one in ten is prepared for employment upon graduation from high school. Needless to say, the 700,000 school dropouts this year are even less equipped to find and hold a job. Experience has proven that good vocational education programs vastly reduce school dropouts and failures, as well as provide the security of a job with a future.

Greater educational opportunities, of course, are inseparably entwined with employment and job opportunities, retraining and apprenticeship programs. In these areas I feel that we should turn to the business sector of our economy and enlist its help by offering tax incentives to encourage, employ, train, or retrain and upgrade the working skills of individuals. The successes of Federal bureaucrats in this area have certainly been less than spectacular and I have enough faith in our free private enterprise system to know that it can do a better job if given the chance.

Speaking of employment opportunities I must take just a minute to pay tribute to our Mayor of Lansing and our city officials, the Chamber of Commerce, and the major employers of this area for the job they are doing to upgrade the employment of our people. I am satisfied that practically every job opening in Lansing is available to anyone that has the skill and talent to claim it. I've met with the people that have been working with the program and I know of their sincere concern. They are to be commended, for it is hard work such as this that is going to help restore the balance to our social order.

I am satisfied that together we can meet the challenge we face. We must remember that while those who riot have given us a traumatic jolting, the great bulk of our people are law-abiding citizens and want no part of this tearing up of our country. When we read of college protests, we must remember that probably 99% of our students are going about their normal academic pursuits. It is the protestor and the "kook" that gets his name in the paper. Every day thousands of people cross the Brooklyn Bridge and you never hear a thing about it, but let one demented misfit jump off and it's on the front page. I suggest that it's time that those who labor to build should get "equal time", or as much time and attention for their efforts as those who are full time agitators bent on tearing down and destroying what we have. Let's accentuate the positive and eliminate the negative just a bit more.

Finally, let us remember that if we are to continue to possess the unalienable rights of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" spelled out so eloquently in our Declaration of Independence, we must assume the duties that go with them—the correlary duties of protecting the system under which we claim these rights. If we are to have privileges we, as citizens, must accept the responsibilities that go with them.

In the summer and fall months ahead let us each be mindful of the liberty and freedom we have in this great land. We are at the fork in the road as a nation with many of our problems and the course we select to travel will be made by our citizens this fall. Because of the turbulence of the times, this is a solemn obligation that takes on even greater meaning.

America was built and has been sustained by men of vision; by men who endured and prevailed over hardship and adversity; by men possessed of lasting values and determined self-discipline.

These men provided the moral leadership which enabled a small confederation of thirteen separate States to assume a position of world leadership—to grow into a Nation abundant in resource and mighty in promise, a Nation of moral integrity and practical fortitude. If we are to preserve this legacy for our posterity, we must preserve the moral leadership and fundamental principles that gave us our greatness. This task must be undertaken by each one, acting individually. Our collective strength will make our liberty secure!

Let us all make a renewed and greater effort to obey the admonition of our Lord, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" and each take upon himself the commitment of the Salvation Army to restore dignity and purpose among all of our people.

AID ASSISTANCE IN PANAMA

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the important work which our Agency for International Development is doing in Latin America is strickingly indicated by an article on the cooperative movement in Panama by Mr. George W. Westerman in the March 23, 1968, issue of the Panama Tribune. I think this splendid article will be of interest to my colleagues and I wish to insert it at this point in the RECORD:

COOPERATIVES: "HOPE IN MANY SEEMINGLY DESPERATE SITUATIONS"

(By George W. Westerman)

The cooperative movement in Panama has throughout its brief history been favored with motivated and dedicated people. "With vision and determination," reports Darwin Bremer, AID cooperative specialist, "these people are pressing for approval of legislation to get a legal framework within which the cooperate movement can continue to grow and develop."

Approximately 20,000 people in Panama are now members of cooperatives. Most of them have had to learn the hard way how to operate a cooperative by substituting home and group study and by paying close attention to their leaders as a substitute for lack of formal education.

In reviewing this situation Bremer said: "Cooperatives have brought hope to many a seemingly desperate situation. Most of the members have had their spirits lifted. Most feel life is worthwhile after all as a result of the benefits received from participation in their cooperative.

"So far the benefits are mostly intangibles—a better understanding of how business operates, respect for differing opinions, a respect for majority control, the responsibility of having a vote in policy decision making, experiencing dissappointments resulting from their own bad decisions, some education, at least along vocational lines and frequently much more far-reaching."

In addition there have been some direct economic benefits in practically every case. Sometimes these benefits were in the form of lower costs or improved prices or less stringent conditions in a production contract, but these were all in addition to any operating savings that were made.

The Cooperative League of the U.S.A. established 65 years ago has long ago extended the hand of friendship and help to its neighbors. The Organization of the Cooperatives of the Americas and the International Cooperative Alliance with headquarters in London are both designed to improve, develop and strengthen cooperatives. No doubt the friendship developed between Panamanian cooperative leaders and those of cooperative organizations throughout the world has been yielding handsome dividends.

The first introductions to cooperativism by the Panamanian community were gained in the year prior to 1954. Previous to that year attempts were made at forming cooperatives on the Isthmus of Panama and, to a certain degree, they existed. However, these were North American credit unions in the Canal Zone which happened to have Panamanians as members. As such they had little impact on the cooperative movement in Panama itself.

During this period all attempts at forming cooperatives in Panama proper ended in failure. The absence of enabling legislation, Bremer said, was one of the principal causes of the failures.

An important event of this period was the arrival in 1939 of German expatriate professors at the University of Panama. Some of these professors gave classes in cooperatives to students who later became leaders in the movement. One of the most outstanding of these students was Ofelia Hooper. Miss Hooper has since distinguished herself in this field and still continues as an employee of the Department of Cooperatives at the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry.

Under Article 229 of the 1946 Constitution it becomes a duty of the State to promote and supervise producers' and consumers' cooperatives, and for these purposes it shall seek to establish such enterprises as are necessary. This provision has served and is serving as the basic cooperative legislation.

It was during these initial years of the cooperative movement that Panama made the first contacts with the Cooperative League of the United States, Bremer said.

In September, 1954 the first Law of Cooperatives was approved and the basis for a systematic cooperative action in Panama was introduced. According to Miss Hooper this cooperative law was the effort of many Panamanian and foreign assistants who brought to Panama knowledge from many discipines.

One of the main participants in this effort was the late Porfirio Gomez, a Panamanian graduate of the National Institute who studied in Chile, once headed the OIRSA in El Salvador, and later became chief of Panama's Agrarian Reform. Under

this law there has been established a National Council as the highest body in the cooperative movement, whose function it is to develop, guide and fiscalize.

The members assigned to the Council, however, have no right to intervene in the administrative policy of any cooperative. Each cooperative, treated as a public entity, enjoys full autonomy so long as it complies with the stipulations and statutes of the law.

As an adjunct to this first law there was created a Section on Education in Cooperatives within the Agricultural Extension Service of the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry. Until 1963 this section relied on the services of Miss Hooper, who was supported by Mrs. Luzmila B. de Ceballos and Mrs. Rosa de Correa.

The establishment and development of cooperatives during this period was due largely to the unselfish labor of the Education Section, which did not limit its work to education within cooperatives, but also to developing them. They helped in a large measure, but not exclusively, because from the outset persons and institutions in other private, official, national and international areas actively participated in the development of cooperatives in Panama.

One of the participating institutions during this period from 1954 to 1963 was the Catholic Church. Bremer said that clerics in Panama were instrumental in spreading the idea of cooperation in the Provinces of Panama, Colon, Los Santos, Herrera, Veraguas, Chiriqui and Bocas del Toro.

The support and dedicated participation of some members of the clergy, he added, were factors of great help in that they gave respectability to the cooperative idea. The Institute of Economic Development also helped in fostering the first cooperatives by furnishing audit services and financing. Technical aid supplied by Point Four in the formative years assisted in the organizing of savings, agricultural, consumer, fishing, housing, electrical and juvenile cooperatives.

The most successful cooperatives during these years were those dealing with credit and savings. The credit unions progressed at a rapid rate as there was a vital need by the Panamanian community for such a service. First because the Section for Education in the Cooperatives considered this type of cooperative the easiest to organize and administer, and second because it could serve as a base for cooperative development in other fields.

In December, 1961 efforts of organizing credit unions reached a peak with the founding of the Panama Credit Union Federation. The general purpose of the Federation is to organize, support and defend the affiliated credit unions.

Another milestone in the growth of the cooperative movement occurred in March, 1963 with the signing of the Agrarian Code with its attendant Title VIII covering cooperatives. This new law restructured slightly the National Council of Cooperatives to be comprised of a delegate each from the Agrarian Reform, Institute of Economic Development, Agrarian Publications, and Cooperative Department.

Members assigned to the National Council are restricted from intervening in administrative matters of any cooperative, which enjoys full autonomy as long as it complies with described laws and regulations.

The Council meets intermittently without remuneration.

Under the new law the Section of Education in Cooperatives was absorbed into the Department of Cooperatives with greater responsibilities and functions as reflected by Article 341 which states: "The aspects of education, development, organization, technical assistance and orientation of cooperatives, as well as aspects of fiscalization and guidance will be the responsibility of the Department of Cooperatives of the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry. This department will have the necessary means and will be given an expense account which will be relative to the size and growth of the cooperative movement in the country."

At present the Department of Cooperatives has seven offices—one central office which services the cities of Panama and Colon; the other six offices are located in the interior where they serve the communities of Carrasquilla, Capira, Penonome, Chitre, Santiago and David. All of these offices are located with MACI.

The Department of Cooperatives has and continues to be plagued with a scarcity of material and human resources. In fact, the entire movement has been encumbered by problems in administration, expertise and financing. But in spite of limitations much has been done and much will continue to be done. The cooperative movement is a story of people concerned about their future, willing to act together in helping each other to effect change and overcome limitations.

Take for example the five men in Boquete who in 1957 began weekly meetings to discuss problems of unavailability of farm supplies in the area. There was Alvero Soto, a Spaniard, who had seen cooperatives at work in Europe. He urged his friends to organize a cooperative.

Fred Ava brought more ideas and information from the German cooperative movement. He was enthusiastic about the opportunities a cooperative would open.

These two individuals drew an increasingly larger number of people to their weekly discussions. At first it was difficult to convince others of the validity of the cooperative idea; but after a year a group of 21 founders emerged from the meetings. On July 19, 1958 they met to sign the Charter and apply for legalization papers.

Acquiring the necessary finances for cooperative operations, making satisfactory supply connections, and learning to administer the program were the early problems of the cooperative organizers.

Operations started in a small rented room utilized as an office and sales room. Thatcher Lamustus served as first manager and as secretary of the Board of Directors. This Panamanian received his advanced education in the United States and has since studied the cooperative movement extensively both in the U.S. and in Europe.

George F. Jenner, a cooperative specialist with the Institute of Economic Development from the International Cooperation Administration (ICA) served as the first advisor to the Boquete set-up.

From 1958 to 1961 the cooperative operated in its first rented quarters. Gradually the membership grew from 22 to 85 members and sales volume increased from $22,400 to $42,000.

In 1963 the cooperative opened a branch in Cerro Punta to serve members with farm supplies. Sales volume of $33,000 the first year grew to $87,500 with net earnings of $5,300 in 1967 in rented quarters.

Later in the year the Board of Directors established a policy of on-the-job training for managers and directors of other cooperatives. A scholarship was also set up to help needy individuals.

In 1966 a $27,000 building was erected and a complete line of petroleum products added. Gulf Petroleum loaned the cooperative $27,000 for 15 years to finance this construction. Presently a farm supply and petroleum distribution center is being built in Cerro Punta by the cooperative; this expansion is also being financed by Gulf Petroleum.

Bremer said the cooperative has received no grants or financial assistance of any kind other than the straight commercial dealings with bankers and suppliers. Yet, through cooperative effort, it has attained an improved situation for its members as well as the community. Sales have reached $300,000 per year and patrons' savings are approximately 10¢ on the dollar.

In April, 1965 a group of 39 fishermen gathered in a meeting place in Chorrillo, a West Side ghetto district, to learn how to organize and operate a cooperative, hoping that through collective effort greater individual profits could be realized.

Twice weekly the group met under the leadership of cooperative specialist Lili de Marcos. They finally received their Cooperative Charter in December. There were 65 members when the Cooperative Pescadores del Chorrillo R.L. was formed and they have continued their study meetings on a once a week basis.

The Pescadores operate 14 fishing boats. Two of these boats fish in the Montijo area where a business relationship has been established with the Cooperative de Pescadores de San Jose de Montijo, R.L. The former buys certain types of fish for the market in Panama and delivers other types of Montijo for market in the interior.

The Chorrillo Cooperative has begun construction of a retail fish market on its property in the Bay of Panama about ½ mile from the Bridge of the Americas on the Poets Avenue. This facility is under construction with $5,000 capital furnished by AID while MACI undertook to provide technical assistance in administration and operation until the cooperative becomes self-administrating.

Many other stories could be told of other cooperatives formed for credit availability, consumer goods, agricultural pursuits or housing, which prompted Bremer to remark: "wherever men with common needs realize the strength they have in mutual-aid, they take the important step of organized cooperation for economic improvement."

Credit unions, of which there are 112 now legally constituted, are the most common type of cooperatives in Panama and the only type at present which have formed a federation. After credit unions the most numerous cooperatives are those centering on the consumer which number about 28. Twenty-six of these are stores on banana farms in the District of Baru in the Chiriqui Province, having a total volume of $1½ million in the sales annually.

These cooperatives are now discussing the formation of a federation or of forming a centralized cooperative in order to operate more efficiently by centralizing purchasing and management, thus substantially reducing food prices.

At present agricultural cooperatives have the greatest volume of business but great expansion is required in this field to meet the needs of farmers for marketing and farm supplies. A federation is being established of the agricultural cooperatives now operating. Financing, however, presents an acute problem, especially with these agricultural cooperatives which need large amount of capital for inventory, equipment and facilities.

While Bremer admits these cooperatives must modernize their operating techniques he said their limited resources also had to be overcome.

Much technical assistance, management development and financing can solidify this type of cooperative and permit the small fisherman to count on a brighter future.

The recently formed Foundation of Housing Cooperatives of Panama has provided a strong impact on this type of activity. The foundation is a non-profit organization formed for the purpose of promoting, financing, and managing housing cooperatives. Its 5-man board was recently housed in a new office with Roberto Reyna as the Director General.

Reyna is a civil engineer who studied at the University of Panama and at the University of California. He was Executive Secretary of the Public Sanitation Commission, Vice Minister of Labor and Public Health, and most recently Manager of the Panamanian

Construction Chamber. He specialized in sanitary engineering at the University of California.

The Foundation's Charter was granted in November, 1967. Its work plan is to build 1,300 urban homes in a price range from $2,500 to $6,500 and 1,000 rural homes in a price bracket of from $300 to $1,000.

The Foundation is financed by loans of $3,500,000 from AID and $1,000,000 from Institute of Housing (IVU). The IVU loan is intended to cover the cost of acquiring land and for developing a site for construction. Initial operating costs will be met from a $40,000 AID grant.

In addition a Federation of Housing Cooperatives is now being formed. It will represent the individual Cooperatives on the Board of Directors of the Foundation and in business and government circles. Charter members are the Cooperativa de Vivienda Istmeña, Cooperativa Vivienda Sindicada, and Cooperativa Madre Cecilia and its main functions will be member education, public relations and organizational work.

Bremer said that the cooperative movement of Panama is in the development process, as exemplified by pressure extended by the cooperatives to adopt a new legal code, to remedy certain inconsistencies encountered in the process of development.

"The new legal code is designed to remove artificial restrictions and barriers which prevent the growth and development of cooperatives as a vital part of the voluntary free enterprise system.

"In addition, the proposed code will provide protection for cooperative members by requiring annual audits and by setting forth minimum standards to be incorporated in each cooperative's by-laws."

Bremer who has now been in Panama with the AID Mission for the past 15 months, said the Panama cooperative movement is learning to appreciate the value of bookkeeping and records as management tools.

He is sure that "economic success is imminent for cooperatives in Panama, if weaknesses in management and bookkeeping, which have begun to be strengthened, continue to be improved."

A few weeks ago ten Panamanian students of the Inter-American Co-operative Institute here left for the United States for a course in cooperative principles, organizational technique, administration and group dynamics. They and other students of similar courses under the Alliance for Progress program are being prepared to provide the managerial and organizational skills needed by cooperatives in Latin America.

Plans for the future include establishing a pilot rural electrification cooperative in Los Santos Province which will serve more than 10,000 users of electricity. IRHE is generating the electrical energy at La Yeguada and will deliver to the cooperative which will build the lines and distribute the power throughout the province.

At least two different types of financing institutions for cooperatives are being discussed by cooperative leaders. Action is expected in this area because financing is such a critically important factor.

Members of Canal Zone labor union Local 900 and their leaders are moving ahead with a fund-raising drive to establish a large supermarket in Panama City which would be open to the public. Their effort is based on a feasibility study which was completed last October.

Cooperative leaders are projecting realistic plans for management development, personnel training and leadership development to place the cooperative movement on a sound operating basis.

One highly placed government official, on reviewing the over-all cooperative concept in Panama, observed:

"Just as individuals have found strength in cooperation and union, so too the cooperatives must now unite into federations and ultimately into a confederation, in a true cooperative manner of mutual assistance with strength in numbers."

POVERTY IN AMERICA: THE MYTH AND THE REALITY

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, there has grown up in America in the past decade a great body of literature on the subject of poverty, its nature and extent. These writings were launched by a genuine concern for the relative poor in our society, but the high winds of political bombast have carried them far out to sea and have broken them off from their factual moorings. Severed from fact, and freed from its restrictions, these writings remain afloat, and create great hazards to shipping.

Prof. John B. Parrish, of the University of Illinois, has provided me with a copy of a very interesting speech which he delivered at the Schmidt Academic Center, DePaul University, Chicago, Ill., on February 21, 1968. The general public became aware of Professor Parrish's scholarship in this area last year when U.S. News & World Report in its September 4, 1967, issue printed a question-and-answer interview. I placed this material in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 20, page 26434.

In this recent speech, entitled "Poverty in America: The Myth and the Reality," Professor Parrish traces the development of this growth of poverty literature which in itself is a most interesting phenomenon. Professor Parrish, however, goes on to discuss the separation of the fact from the fiction in this literature which is of significant value to those interested in securely anchoring our social programs to the comparative poor in our society. Professor Parrish seeks to identify those who do need help and accentuates the positive role of our economic system in this effort. He concludes I strongly endorse:

In pursuing the task of eliminating the remaining poverty in our midst, we should all constantly remind ourselves of the urgent necessity for study, research and questioning, to the end, that we may distinguish between fact and fiction, and between the poverty myth and the reality.

Professor Parrish's entire speech follows:

POVERTY IN AMERICA: THE MYTH AND THE REALITY

(By John B. Parrish, professor of economics, Department of Economics, College of Commerce and Business Administration, University of Illinois, for presentation at the Behavioral and Social Sciences Division, DePaul University, Schmitt Academic Center, Chicago, Ill., February 21, 1968)

The nature and extent of poverty in the U.S. is a very large subject. It is a many sided subject. It is said to wear many faces.

It is a provocative subject. Why should some families be left in abject poverty when so many others enjoy unprecedented affluence?

It is a controversial subject. The war on poverty is a central part of the present federal administration's domestic policies. The differences within and between the major political parties over this issue are many and deep.

It is a confusing subject. It is often difficult to separate myth from reality, fact from fiction, claims from polemics.

Poverty is a "hot" subject. It contains many racial overtones that give it a sensitivity greater than many other public issues. Emotions can run very high on the relationship of poverty to such activities as civil rights, public welfare aid, school busing, income maintenance programs.

Poverty is an interdisciplinary subject. It is anchored in economics but is clearly interrelated to all the social sciences—to sociology, social psychology, political science, education, anthropology, history, and increasingly to management.

One hour is a very short time in which to discuss such a large and multisided subject. Of necessity, and at the risk of obvious over-simplification, I shall limit discussion to some aspects of a few basic questions. These are:

I. What are the principal claims made today about the nature and extent of poverty in the U.S.?

II. What is the truth about these poverty claims?

III. Are nonwhites being left behind in poverty while the rest of the population becomes ever more affluent?

IV. What about ghetto poverty? Is it getting worse?

V. Where do we go from here with poverty policy?

I. WHAT ARE THE MAJOR POVERTY CLAIMS?

The poverty literature in this country has become so large in recent years no one can hope to read it all, let alone analyze it.

But there has emerged from this literature a few ideas which seem to dominate the subject and which appear to have major impact on public thinking. Let me make note of just three.

A. The claim of "slow up" in reducing poverty

One of the principal claims about the status of poverty is that of "slow up" in the economy's ability to reduce poverty further. The best known exponent of this thesis is John Kenneth Galbraith who articulated this theory in his best selling, nonfiction volume published in 1958, *The Affluent Society*. Galbraith extolled the great *early* progress of our pluralistic economic system in reducing poverty. But this was all before 1950. In the 1950's he said something serious and mysterious happened. The rate of decline in poverty seemed to decelerate. The essence of this "slow up" thesis may be found in the following quotation:

"In the mid-fifties . . . the hard core of the very poor was declining but not with great rapidity . . . it is our misfortune that when inequality declined as an issue, the slate was not left clean. *A residual and in some ways rather more hopeless* problem remained." (Pp. 324 and 329, italics added.)

Now if this is true—the consequences are serious indeed. They are in fact rather terrifying. It suggests that those who were in poverty in 1958 were likely to stay that way while the rest of the country enjoyed ever more affluence. One can vision a society broken into two parts: the permanent poor, the permanent well off, separated by some impenetrable barrier imposed by cruel fate of history.

What evidence did Professor Galbraith provide in support this disturbing thesis. None. Absolutely none. The reader is expected to be sufficiently impressed with Professor Galbraith's prestigious Harvard credentials and his Cambridge address and to accept this provocative thesis on faith. And in truth, a large part of the American reading public did just that—and incidentally helping Professor Galbraith into affluence him-

self. It is reported that this best selling nonfiction book brought Mr. Galbraith nearly a quarter of a million dollars. This he denies, however, and says he is much closer to poverty than that—the royalties were only around $125,000. In any case, the book had great impact on public thinking.

B. The claim that poverty is "massive"

The "slow-up" claim started others to write on this subject. In 1962, Michael Harrington wrote a book called *The Other America*. It was published as a paperback so even the poor could buy it. They did. So did the affluent. It became another best seller. In it Mr. Harrington said that Galbraith was undoubtedly right but that if anything he had underestimated the size and the plight of the poverty population. The Harrington thesis can be illustrated by the following quotation:

"The other America, the America of poverty, is hidden today in a way that it never was before. Its millions are socially invisible . . . 40,000,000 or 50,000,000 people, have remained in poverty in spite of increasing productivity and the creation of a welfare state." (pp. 3 and 12)

Now the poverty claims began to build. The economy had lost its ability to further reduce poverty. The poverty population was massive—40 to 50 millions. These millions were hidden away. And they were "hopelessly trapped".

What evidence did Mr. Harrington offer in support of this extended thesis. None. None, whatever.

At this point a few indivduals raised some questions about claims advanced with no supporting evidence.

But the poverty claims were now widely accepted. Apparently, they must be true. And, shortly, statistical evidence was offered to prove conclusively and without question, that the poverty claims were correct.

The November 1964 issue of *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* carrier an article entitled: "Trickling Down: The Relationship Between Economic Growth and the Extent of Poverty Among American Families" written by W. H. Locke Anderson, a former staff member of the Council of Economic Advisers.

Using correlation coefficients and Pearl's curves Dr. Anderson demonstrated beyond a shadow of doubt that there was indeed abundant statistical support for the poverty thesis so forcefully presented in literary style by Messrs. Galbraith and Harrington. Dr. Anderson concluded: ". . . the elimination of poverty through trickling down is likely to be slower and more uncertain in the future, than in the past."[1]

C. The claim that poverty is "invisible"

About this time the poverty literature exploded. A very substantial proportion of the nation's academic social scientists jumped on the poverty bandwagon. Most are still there.

A relatively unknown author, Dwight McDonald, achieved sudden and dazzling recognition, including Presidential praise, for an article, "Our Invisible Poor" in the affluent *New Yorker* magazine. The poverty population, he said, was new, distinctive and massive, yet, *somehow we can't see it.*

Herman Miller published *Rich Man, Poor Man.* Ben H. Bagdikian wrote, with great journalistic skill, another best selling paperback, this one entitled, *In the Midst of Plenty.*

Library shelves began to bulge with poverty books. In fact, so many have been issued to date, many bear the same identical title. Publishers simply ran out of poverty titles.

It is fair to say, nearly all of these volumes, repeated and built on the Galbraith-Harrington thesis, noted above.

[1] *The Quarterly Journal of Economics.* Vol. LXXVIII, No. 4, November 1964, p. 512.

II. WHAT IS THE TRUTH ABOUT THESE POVERTY CLAIMS?

Is the U.S. really filled with poverty?

Has the economy's ability to reduce poverty suddenly "slowed up"?

Is the size of the poverty population really massive?

Have the poor since the mid 1950's been "hopelessly trapped"?

Has the "trickling down" process all but ceased?

What is the truth?

Measuring the extent of poverty: Two different yardsticks

There are two principal ways of measuring poverty, or its converse, well-being. One is with income statistics. A second is with statistics on the consumption of selected consumer goods and services. Each yardstick has certain advantages and each has certain limitations. Both are very useful.

The poverty story as told by income statistics

Let me turn first to the poverty story as revealed by family income statistics.

In 1947, the first postwar year for which we have adequate data, the percent of U.S. families falling below the arbitrary $3,000 annual family income poverty yardstick was 28.9 percent. By the time the poverty claims were first made by Galbraith in 1958 the percent had fallen to 21 percent. By the time Anderson proved Galbraith's slowing up thesis correct for 1960, the percent had fallen to 20. And by 1966 the latest year for which we have data, the percent had fallen to 14.

What about the "slowing up" thesis? There is no basis for it, whatever. There has never been any basis for it except possibly in the case of erratic short term year to year fluctuations.

Lets look at the mysterious "slowing up" process a little more closely. When the poverty claims were first made, in 1955 to 1958, the decline of families in poverty was from 22.8 percent to 21, a decline of 1.8 percentage points or about 8 percent.

In the latest period, 1963–1966, the percent of families in poverty declined from 17.5 percent to 14.3. This is 3.2 percentage points or 18 percent. The decline in poverty has not stopped. It hasn't slowed up. The truth is, *it has accelerated.*

A more sophisticated yardstick for measuring poverty was developed by the Social Security Administration of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, in 1965. This new poverty index takes into consideration not only family income, but income needs depending on family size, type of family head, age of family head, farm-nonfarm location. The variable index ranged in 1966 from a low of $1,110 for a one member farm family, female head, to $5,430 for a nonfarm family of seven or more members with a male head.

Data are available to apply this variable index with constant dollars since 1959. And what does it reveal? It reveals that poverty in the U.S. has *continued to decline steadily since 1959* reaching an *all time low of 15 percent in 1966.*

This still means that 29,000,000 Americans are classified as in poverty. And that of course is 29,000,000 too many. But let's keep perspective. This is still the smallest proportionate total number so classified in any country, anytime, anywhere and it continues to decline.

Actually there are a number of groups in that poverty class who probably don't belong there. For example married college students living independently are apt to fall in this category. Are they hopelessly trapped? I doubt it. American college students have a rate of access to higher education greater than ever known in history. Apprentices learning a trade are classified in poverty. Are they trapped in poverty? No, they are in preaffluent training, they are postponing earnings for a while, to learn a skill, confidently looking forward to the highest real wages craftsmen have ever earned. A man who retires takes a sharp cut in income and may well fall into the poverty class measured by income. But if he has a $20,000 home full of furnishings, as refrigerators, washing machines, TV sets, an automobile, all paid for, is he really in poverty? No, he enjoys more years of retirement at a higher level of living than people in his age bracket have ever known. He would like it to be even higher. But its the highest achieved by any society thus far.

Is the poverty population really massive? No, it is not. Measured by income statistics it is not 35, 40, 50 or 70 millions but probably closer to 25 millions and declining.

The poverty story as told with consumption statistics

The second major yardstick with which to measure well being, is the consumption of goods and services. Can it be said that America is divided into two classes—a class of affluence enjoying all the prerequisites of abundance, and the other a poverty class excluded from these consumption items by mysterious barriers of location, race, or age, or other inhibiting factors?

What is the truth?

The truth is not difficult to find—if one cares to take the time to gather evidence *before* coming to conclusions.

Let me trace briefly the record of diffusion for a few typical consumption items.

Electric refrigerators: In 1930 only about 7 percent of U.S. families owned an automatic refrigerator. It was a luxury item. Only the very wealthy could afford this appliance. In 1940 the percent had risen to 44. By 1950 it had climbed to 80. And by 1960, just two years after Galbraith's poverty thesis, it reached 99 percent. And that includes the ghettoes. Who has been hopelessly excluded?

Automatic cooking equipment: What about automatic cooking equipment? Are 30, 50 millions of Americans unable to prepare proper meals because they lack adequate cooking equipment? The record shows that in 1910 only about 20 percent of all U.S. families had automatic cooking equipment. The record shows a steady rise in this percent with few interruptions for the next half century until in 1965 the percent reached 99.

Television: And what about the "culture of poverty" in which millions of poverty families are shut out from communication with the rest of the population. Now television provides instant access to entertainment, current news, symphony concerts, lectures, etc. Has a huge poverty class been shut out from this communication? In 1950 only 12 percent of U. S. families had TV sets. This jumped to 88 percent in 1960 and is currently around 96 percent. The trickling down has not only continued, it has accelerated. Almost no one has been excluded.

Automobiles: The purchase and maintenance of an automobile is a much bigger item than refrigerators and TV sets. One would not expect families in acute deprivation to spend money on cars. Yet the record of the diffusion of automobiles is a remarkable story in itself. In 1910 only about 5 percent of U.S. families owned an automobile. By 1930 this had risen spectacularly to 68 percent. After a decline in the Great Depression of the 1930's the percent recovered to 60 in 1950, reached 77 percent in 1960 and is now just under 80 percent. In the active age group of families, with heads 34 to 44 years of age, the percent in 1966 reached 87.5 or just a little under 90 percent. Where are the "invisible" Americans?

How can so many poor continue to buy so much with so little?

How is it possible that such a large segment of the population classified in poverty with income statistics, can buy so many goods?

Let me put the matter somewhat differently. How can it be that those persons classified as the very bottom of the income scale, far, far below $3,000, can buy so much with presumably so litte?

That America's poor, classified as such by income statistics, actually enjoy many of the perquisites of affluence can be illustrated very easily.

Let's take the case of telephones. Now a telephone is a very convenient consumer service. But it is not an absolute necessity. You can't eat it, or wear it, or drive it.

In 1966 the U.S. Bureau of Census made a special study of households enjoying telephone services. In so doing the Bureau made a very interesting discovery. Over half of all households with less than $3,000 annual income had telephones. Most surprising of all, among those household units at the very bottom of the income scale, i.e., with incomes under $500 a year—and you can't get much poorer than that—nearly 60 percent had telephones.

Now why should households, presumably the most deprived, most isolated, most disadvantaged, most impoverished and hungry people, order telephone service?

This suggests does it not that income statistic are a very useful measure of well-being but that they have many limitations. Standing alone they may be quite misleading. The below $500 households, clearly had other sources of income or support and their economic status was evidently much higher than revealed by income data alone. Without full knowledge of this other support we see only a partial picture.

Let me illustrate in a somewhat different way the limitations of income statistics.

In a study in 1967 the U.S. Bureau of Census surveyed the kinds of goods purchased by low income families. For purposes of comparison let us adopt the $3,000 annual income as the poverty level. What did the poverty families buy? Of particular interest to me were the young poverty people, those under 25 years of age and earning less than $3,000 annually. What did they buy?

Well, 5 percent purchased a *new* automobile. But *49* percent purchased a *second hand automobile*. Over half of the young poverty population of the U.S. bought cars in a single year. Were they really hopelessly trapped in poverty? In addition, 27 percent purchased refrigerators and 54 percent purchased television sets. America's youth in poverty were able to buy more consumer goods in a single year, than the adult affluent classes in European countries over many years, not to mention the rest of the world.

It is obvious is it not, that young families, just starting out, perhaps living in only a room or two, are indeed beginning careers with low incomes. But their ability to buy is relatively high and may reasonably be expected to increase with time. Cross section analysis of well being can be misleading, it can easily overstate poverty. Well being is a longititudinal process. And incidentally the low income families of this country have access to the world's largest second hand market for consumer goods. This market enables them to stretch dollars far beyond dollar purchases in the first hand market. As noted above, 49 percent of the young poor purchased *used automobiles*—at one half or one third the price of a new car.

III. ARE NONWHITES BEING LEFT BEHIND IN POVERTY?

Are nonwhites, particularly Negroes, being left behind in poverty while the rest of the population enjoys ever more affluence?

Much of the poverty literature in America today says "yes."

Writing in *The Great Leap*, in 1966 John Brooks says: "Economically, the progress of Negroes relative to whites seems to have peaked in the early 1950's, and then, in a particularly bitter paradox, turned downward. . . . between 1952 and 1963 the median income of Negro families nationally in relation to white ones was reduced from 57 percent to 53 percent . . ." (p. 296).

The anthropologist Thomas Gladwin in his 1867 book *Poverty U.S.A.* writes with reference to the Negro: " . . . there is very little evidence that the poor are really getting any richer, that families bedeviled by poverty are becoming any more stable, or that the power for reform has moved away from its traditional locus in the white middle-class establishment." (p. 174)

These views on the economic plight of nonwhites could be extended almost without limit.

Is there really a statistical case for pessimism about Negro progress?

Is it possible to find statistical support for the view that the Negro is being left behind?

Yes, it is. Many comparisons can be made which make it appear that nonwhites have made little or no relative progress. Let me refer to a few such comparisons.

Nonwhite income relative to white

In 1957 nonwhite median family income in the U.S. was 54 percent of white. Six years later in 1963 it was only 53 percent. This means no relative progress and in fact a relative decline. And this 53 percent of 1963 was exactly the same as in 1948, a decade and a half earlier. No evidence of catching up here.

Proportion of all poverty families who are nonwhite

Consider the proportion of white vs. nonwhite families in poverty. Using the $3,000 yardstick as the poverty measure, one finds that in 1947, nonwhites constituted 18.6 percent of all poverty families. By 1964, nonwhites made up 21 percent of poverty families. Little evidence of relative progress in these statistics.

Finally, one might consider the incidence of poverty. In 1966 only 10 percent of all white families were classified as in poverty using the Social Security administration's variable poverty index. But for nonwhites the percent was 41. In other words the chances of being in poverty in 1966 were four times greater for nonwhite families than for white. That hardly seems to come within the concepts of equality or social justice.

Before one presses the panic button about these statistics however, one should stop and take a second, careful, look.

A second long look at the nonwhite income statistics

It is important to take a little longer view of white, nonwhite income ratios than cited above. By adding a few years at either end of the comparison span one comes out with quite a different story.

Suppose we take the comparison back to 1939. In that year nonwhite males, a substantial proportion in Southern agriculture, earned only 41 percent as much as white males. Now come forward to 1966. By 1966 this earlier 41 percent had risen to nearly 60 percent. Still a marked differential, but also very substantial progress in closing the gap. In other words, whether or not nonwhites are actually catching up depends entirely on the years selected to begin and end the comparison.

But what about the fact that nonwhites now comprise a bigger proportion of the poverty population today, than 17 years ago? The answer is to be found in the fact that American families, both white and nonwhite, have been escaping from poverty at an unprecedented rate—the envy of the rest of the world—it means merely that the rate of escape of the whites has been a little faster, not much, but a little faster, than that of nonwhites, but both are leaving poverty.

In absolute terms the income progress of nonwhites has been spectacular and impressive. In 1947 annual nonwhite median income was $1,614. In 1966 it was $4,628—an increase of $3,014 per year and probably the largest gain in family income for any ethnic group in the world, during this period, except for one group, American whites.

A third look at the nonwhite statistics

Before leaving this subject it might be well to take still another look, a third look, if you will, at the statistics on the occupational and income progress of nonwhites.

We said above, that whereas only 10 percent of white families were in poverty in 1966, about 40 percent of nonwhites were so classified. Isn't this a rather gloomy prospect for the latter? I submit that it is not. There are many signs of very remarkable income progress among Negroes in America.

Let's go back to 1950. At that time it is estimated that the Negro middle class in America was almost nonexistent. Using $6,000 per year and up, as evidence of middle class status, only about 2 percent of all Negroes were middle class. In 1966 there were 1,800,000 nonwhite families with annual incomes over $6,000. Assuming 4.35 persons per family, this means that 7,830,000 persons were in the nonwhite middle class in 1966. This represents 37.7 percent of all nonwhite families and about 33.2 percent of the total nonwhite population of the United States in 1966.

From 2 percent to 33 percent in just 15 years represents one of the greatest "forward leaps" of any ethnic group in the history of this or any other country. This is a 17-fold "upward bound" with few if any parallels.

Is this progress likely to continue? Is this Negro middle class likely to get larger and larger relative to total nonwhite population and relative to whites?

The answer is, judging from recent occupational trends, "yes."

From 1960 to 1966 *Negroes in America made more rapid white collar, occupational progress than whites.*

Let me illustrate this briefly.

In professional, technical and managerial jobs, nonwhite employment, 1960 to 1966 rose 13 percent. The rise for whites was only 11 percent.

In clerical employment nonwhite employment rose a very sharp 50 percent. The rise for whites was 13 percent.

In sales jobs, nonwhite employment rose a sharp 48 percent. The rise for whites was 19 percent.

And among craftsmen, nonwhite employment rose 45 percent. White employment increased only 10 percent.

Interestingly enough, Negroes have often complained of being compressed into the least skilled jobs, as domestic service. Employment among nonwhites in private households fell 7 percent during 1960 to 1966. But for whites, domestic employment rose 10 percent.

The lag of some nonwhites

Are all nonwhites participating in this rapidly and spectacular movement into the affluent middle class? Unfortunately the answer to this is "no".

It is self-evident that many nonwhite families, as well as white, are being left behind in poverty and the question again is: If many are getting out of poverty—why not all?

This question is too large and involved to deal with properly in this discussion. But it is appropriate here to make note of at least several reasons why some Negroes are not keeping up with other Negroes or relative to whites in Upward Bound.

For one, the *average age* of Negro families *is much lower* than for white. In 1966 the median age of whites in the central cities was 32. The median age for Negroes was 22. Other things being equal, this lower average age makes for lower average earnings. Unfortunately this age gap depressant has widened steadily since 1950.

Secondly, the Negro families are handicapped by larger average size. In 1966 the average size of white families with male head was 3.7 persons, for nonwhites, it was 4.5. To put the matter somewhat differently: in 1966 the dependency ratio (children under age 18 per 1,000 adult males) for whites was 1,406.[2] For Negroes it was 2,216. Other things being equal, this heavy burden of dependency places a much larger percentage of Negroes in poverty than white, using the variable poverty index. This dependency ratio gap has widened with time.

Third, the Negro families are handicapped by a larger percent headed by females. Currently the percent of Negro families headed by a woman is 25, for whites it is only 9. Other things being equal this difference alone holds Negro median income far below white. And unfortunately again, this nonwhite depressant has risen steadily over time.

The importance of these three sociological factors in holding back more rapid closure of the white-nonwhite income gap can hardly be overemphasized.

It is not self evident that if they could be removed, there would be a sudden and dramatic upsurge in economic status of Negro families, relative to white. It would permit almost all of the Negro families now held back in poverty to join with the more favored Negroes in the successful race out of poverty and into affluence.

On the other hand, until these three are removed, then equal employment opportunity, civil rights, full employment can have only limited influence in accelerating the decline of poverty. Time does not permit discussion of the controversial Daniel Moynihan report and the equally controversial reply by Lee Rainwater and William L. Yancy. But the issues need much more study in academic circles than they have received. The economy has done its job. I'm afraid our community agencies haven't done as well.

IV. WHAT ABOUT GHETTO POVERTY: IS IT NOT GETTING WORSE—AND IF IT IS, WHY?

What about ghetto poverty? Isn't it getting worse?

It seems appropriate to break this very large question into a number of smaller and more specific questions. And in so doing it is important to note that there are many, many difficult problems in defining and measuring so called ghetto areas.

Is poverty primarily or almost exclusively an inner city ghetto problem? By no means. Poverty is found widespread in many suburban areas and there are probably more persons in poverty in isolated rural areas than in inner cities. It is true however, that the incidence of poverty is much greater in the central cities. In 1960 about 18 percent of all families in central cities were classified as in poverty. In the suburban areas only about 10 percent were so classified.

Are a majority of families living in areas designated as "poverty ghetto areas", actually in poverty? No, they are not. A recent study made by the U.S. Bureau of Census for the Office of Economic Opportunity revealed that of 1.8 million nonwhite families living in such areas, only about 30 percent had incomes below the poverty level.

Is poverty increasing in the inner city areas of the nation's big metropolitan areas? Taking the inner cities as a whole, the answer is "no".

At least it was still declining in 1964 the latest year for which we have adequate detailed data. In 1959 about 18 percent of central city families were classified as in poverty. In 1964 only about 15 percent.

Is poverty increasing in *some selected areas within inner cities?* Yes. There is no doubt about this. And this is a matter of great concern. Special census surveys since 1960 reveal ghetto areas with declining income, in selected inner city areas, especially those with high concentration of nonwhites.

Why should poverty be getting worse in selected inner city areas?

Why should poverty be getting worse in *selected* inner city areas? The evidence is probably inadequate to provide a full answer to this question. But there is much evidence to suggest there is considerable irony in the explanation. The decline in some areas is due to the very fact of rapid economic progress in others.

Let me illustrate this point from the penetrating analysis of changes in the south Los Angeles area prepared by Professor Lowell E. Gallaway.[3] This area includes the Watts area, sight of the tragic riots of several years ago. He found that in the five years preceding 1965 there had been a strong exodus of population out of the area. But it had been a very selective exodus of both white and nonwhites. There was a marked decline in labor force participation rates of males who remained. With this decline in participation, came declining average family income. This decline in income would have been even greater had it not been for increased welfare payments. This brought in turn deterioration in family organization and a rise in families headed by women.

In essence what Professor Gallaway is saying is, not all nonwhites originally involved in this area are worse off. True some are worse off, but in part, at least, this is because others have become much better off and have moved out. This same sharp contrast is found in many other cities.[4]

Related to reshuffling of population within metropolitan areas is another question. Why have we had such a heavy postwar migration into the metropolitan areas in the first place? Once again there is much irony in the answer. It has not been because of the failure of the economy but because of its success. The rapid and probably accelerating forward strides in agricultural technology have released, or if you prefer, displaced, millions of families in low productivity marginal farm areas. The resulting problems of human adjustment, of confusion, frustration, bitterness have been all too real and involve too many people. We need to deal with them more effectively. But at the same time one should keep the cause in proper perspective. It has been technical advance, not failure.

V. NEXT STEPS IN POVERTY POLICY

What are the logical next steps in poverty policy?

Perhaps this large question needs to be broken down into more specific questions.

Who constitutes the remaining hard-core poverty population? What can public policy do to help these people, help themselves out of poverty?

Who Constitute the Hard Core Poor?

As indicated earlier the people who still remain in poverty in America today, other than the aged and the ill, are those suffering the consequences of broken homes and excessive child bearing which tends to become self perpetuating. The evidence on this point is devastating and overwhelming.

About two-thirds of the nearly 5 million people, three-fourths of them children, are on public welfare aid because of family breakdown. Fathers are absent due to divorce, separation, desertion, or simply never married the mother.

The actual size of this group is larger than indicated above because many states have stringent eligibilty restrictions. It has been estimated that probably at least 7 million, perhaps, 8 million, need to be on welfare aid.

This group constitutes a very large segment of the total poverty population.

Let me put these statistics in another way.

Using the Social Security Administration's variable poverty index we may note a total poverty population in 1966 of a little under 30,000,000.

Out of this 30,000,000, about 15,000,000 were children.

Of these 15,000,000 about one-half were in large families with three or more children.

It is the high and excessive fertility rate and the high incidence of broken homes which explains how so many nonwhite families fail to move up out of poverty along with other nonwhites.

Here again the statistics are sharply revelatory.

Among young families with children under 18 and at home, the decline in poverty families 1959–1966 was a very encouraging –34 percent for white families.

But, it was a discouraging 7 percent among nonwhite families.

This tells the story of the poverty drag. Not the whole story. But a good part of it.

It explains much of the reason how so many white families and why a substantial group of nonwhite families have been able to move up out of poverty and into the middle income ranges, while at the same time some families seem unable to get out of poverty.

Can public policy help these remaining poor?

Can public policy help these remaining poor out of poverty?

If I had attempted to answer this question 10 years ago I would have been forced to say "no". "Very little".

Seven years ago the answer would still have been "no".

Five years ago it would have been "no".

Even three years ago it would have been "no".

Why this negativism? Because as recently as three years ago there were six major barriers shutting out an effective public policy approach to poverty. These six barriers warrant brief discussion.

1. Legal barriers: The federal and state courts of the United States for nearly a century imposed unsurmountable obstacles before public agencies, in discussing effective and responsible family planning with poverty people. These legal barriers ended in 1965.

2. Church barriers: Also for centuries many leading church denominations imposed restraints on both public and private agencies in this area. Since the *aggiornamento* of Pope John XXIII's remarkable ecumenical movement these constraints have been basically modified.

3. Location barriers: There has been much public dismay at the postwar migration to the cities of so many families from low education areas. But as long as such a substantial proportion of our population remained underemployed in marginal agriculture and in dispersed, remote, isolated, rural areas, there was no possible way of reaching them. They can be reached by central health agencies in our inner cities, today.

4. Congressional barrier: For decades the Congress of the United States was unwilling to face up to the consequences of its own welfare policies. On January 2, 1968, just 50 days ago, the President signed Public Law 90–248—one of the truly revolutionary social documents of our time. For the first time, it authorizes and provides modest funds for, family planning among the poor.

5. Medical technology barriers: Until very recently there were no simple, safe, effective, inexpensive methods for family planning.

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[2] Daniel P. Moynihan, "The Crises in Welfare," *The Public Interest*, No. 10, Winter 1968, p. 26.

[3] "Urban Decay and the Labor Market," *The Quarterly Review of Economics and Business*, Vol. 7, No. 4, Winter, 1967, pp. 7–16.

[4] See e.g., U.S. Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports, Technical Studies, Series P23–No. 20, *Changes in Economic Level in Nine Neighborhoods in Cleveland: 1960 to 1965*, September 22, 1966.

Only the educated, high income families had access to such means. This medical technology barrier exists no more.

6. Sociological barriers: Many knowledgeable social scientists only a few years ago expressed reasonable doubts about the desire of poor families in the urban ghettoes, to help themselves out of poverty through child planning. Extensive research and clinical demonstration projects, now provide a certain answer. They are interested, they will. Society is not dealing with animals. It is dealing with people who want help. They want it desperately. And they will use it effectively.

With these six formidable barriers now down, one can confidently hope that federal, state, local agencies in the welfare field will combine resources to provide multi-health services to the remaining poor. And if this is done, one can look forward not to a "slow up" in poverty reduction but a genuine "speed up" instead.

Your generation can realistically look forward to the virtual end of poverty in America—not thru politically oriented anti-poverty programs, *after the fact*, but through *preventive* programs that will help all groups, white and nonwhite, help themselves out of poverty.

In summary—

The U.S. is not really filled with poverty.

Poverty in America has declined steadily over the years. It is at an all time low.

There is no evidence of any "slow up" in poverty reduction.

Poverty is not massive. Measured by income statistics only about 15 percent of the population still remains in poverty. Measured by consumer goods and services, probably less than five percent should be classified in poverty. No group should be designated as "hopelessly trapped".

The Negro in America is not being left behind in poverty. In fact the rate of his movement into the middle class in recent years has been more rapid than that of whites.

The outlook for those remaining today in poverty has never been better. The six great barriers which in the past made much of hard core poverty, self-perpetuating and unapproachable, these have all come down in the last 36 months.

With hard work and application, every community should begin in 1968, certainly a turning point year, to reach its hard core poverty population as never before—and help them to help themselves out of poverty, which is, after all, the American tradition.

Do we need to be concerned about this remaining problem of poverty? Yes, very much so.

But let's not forget, that although we still have a considerable distance to go, we have also come a very long, long way out of the poverty past. We should be able to go a long way into the affluent future.

In pursuing the task of eliminating the remaining poverty in our midst, we should all constantly remind ourselves of the urgent necessity for study, research and questioning, to the end, that we may distinguish between fact and fiction, and between the poverty myth and the reality.

THE "PUEBLO"—HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 105th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

POLISH NATIONAL HOLIDAY

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1968

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, this year marks the 15th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Polish Republic after a century and a half of partition and alien occupation. In addition, it is the 25th anniversary of the untimely death of Poland's great wartime leader and statesman, Gen. Wladyslaw Sikorski, and the 70th anniversary of the discovery of radium by the world-renowned Polish-born scientist, Madam Sklodowska-Curie.

The importance to science of Madam Curie's brilliant and pioneering research hardly needs restating in these times when atomic physics has become such an essential factor in the lives of all mankind. Although General Sikorski is not as well known, his achievements in the military and political life of Poland were nevertheless equally inspired.

During the period 1918 through 1920, Sikorski's leadership was largely responsible for saving Poland from the insatiable lust for conquest of the Bolshevik armies. General Sikorski became Prime Minister and Minister of Interior in December 1922. He successfully applied his firm leadership, political insights, and resolute judgment, and brought peace and stability to the troubled nation. It was also under his premiership that the port of Gdynia was planned and constructed as one of the most modern in Europe, and one of the most economically important on the Baltic Sea.

After the ruthless invasion of his beloved native land by the totalitarian armies of Germany and Russia, Sikorski devoted all of his energy and intelligence to the organization of the Polish underground and the formation of the Polish fighting forces in exile. Tragically for the free world, General Sikorski did not live to see his foresighted programs reach completion. On July 4, 1943, he was killed in an airplane crash at Gibraltar under circumstances which are still cloaked in mystery.

May 3 commemorates the proclamation and adoption of Poland's Constitution of 1791, which is a landmark of liberal and enlightened legislation of the 18th century. In discussing the adoption of this progressive document, Historian Robert Lord has made the following observation:

The wonder is rather that they at last adopted a plan of constitutional reform which contained so happy a blend of liberalism and conservatism, which ran so contrary to many of their instincts and prejudices, and which contained so many things of a kind which it is not easy or popular for statesmen to propose. Adherents as they were of "the French principles," they still refused to apply them in blind doctrinaire fashion. Aristocrats, they demanded heavy sacrifices from their own class, while championing, as far as was prudent, the interests of the other classes. Republicans by inheritance and education, they made the central point in their program the establishment of strong royal power. In an age marked by its passion for "freedom" and hatred of "despots," they undertook a reform quite opposite in character to the one then proceeding in France—a monarchical revolution. To a nation extraordinarily attached to its "liberties," they preached "national existence first, and liberties afterwards."

Mr. Speaker, while the Soviet-imposed Communist dictatorship in Poland has abolished May 3 as the national holiday of Poland it can never destroy the principles for which this date stands. The freedom-loving spirit of the Polish people both in their homeland and throughout the world is unquenchable and we may be certain that the day is not far off when Poland will again be a sovereign and independent nation. Let us therefore join with the millions of citizens of Polish descent in this country, who together with their forebearers have contributed so much to our national greatness, in honoring the cause of Polish liberty. In so doing we will demonstrate to the citizens of Poland that we eagerly await their inevitable return to the company of free nations.

AMERICAN COUNSEL OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES FOR FOREIGN SERVICE, INC., ENDORSES CIVIL DEVELOPMENT

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I was most appreciative to receive from the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc., a strong endorsement of the concept of civic development; that is, the emphasis on popular, voluntary participation in human and national development in countries which receive U.S. foreign assistance.

This principle, which is embodied in the Foreign Assistance Act as title IX, is a vital one in our efforts to utilize U.S. assistance to developing nations most effectively and to obtain the best results. It would involve not only the efforts of the Federal Government, but also would give local government and the private sector—both private enterprise, and voluntary private and civil organizations—the opportunity to exercise their talents which have proved so valuable in other areas. It would also encourage the same type of whole-scale involvement by the recipient nations.

The enthusiasm and support of Mr. Radway, chairman of the title IX task force of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc., is indeed heartening and very much appreciated, and I am bringing it to the attention of my colleagues for their most careful attention:

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES FOR FOREIGN SERVICE, INC.,

New York, N.Y., April 15, 1968.

Hon. F. BRADFORD MORSE,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: It is our understanding that you were one of the sixty Congressmen who recently reaffirmed support of the concept of Title IX in U.S. Foreign Assistance legislation.

We write to let you know that the 55 or-

ganizations list d on the reverse of this sheet, members of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc., and other non-governmental organizations consulting together on Title IX, appreciate and commend Congressional concern for the emphasis placed on popular participation in human and national development.

For upwards of a quarter of a century, and in some instances longer, these organizations have conducted their programs abroad with the goals of the present Title IX as one of the prime factors. It is the conviction of these organizations that Title IX constitutes an important breakthrough in foreign assisance legislation whereby popular, voluntary participation in the development process will be encouraged and fostered.

At the present time, the organizations listed on the reverse of this sheet have several thousand personnel overseas operating in over 100 countries. In addition, these agencies have a vast network of contacts in these countries with private, semi-private, local and central government agencies. These countries are of many types, but invariably the emphasis has been upon the development of strong counterpart relations which will build toward self-sufficiency and competence on the part of the host country. Thus our agencies provide a tremendous resource in concert with our government in carrying out Congressional concern about popular participation.

The agencies, through a special Task Force, have been in consultation with AID authorities and some groundwork has been laid for cooperation between government and the voluntary agencies. More can and should be done. and it is the agencies' hope that these beginnings will flower into much fuller relationships.

Properly developed, cooperation between the government and the voluntary agencies could provide the flexibility so necessary to implement most of the provisions of Title IX. In addition, the expertise and experience, as well as the non-official character of the voluntary agencies, are of inestimable value in promoting the kind of understanding between the recipient and the donor that will build for development and for better relationships.

Just as the United States has grown through the free efforts of individuals and numerous associations, so we believe that our foreign assistance should endeavor to provide the foundation for popular participation in the affairs of the community and the country. We urge your continued support of this concept.

Respectfully yours,

WILSON O. RADWAY,
Chairman, Title IX Task Force.

MEMBER AGENCIES

American Bapist Relief.
American Council for Judaism Philanthropic Fund, Inc.
American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
American Fund for Czechosolvak Refugees, Inc.
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc.
American Leprosy Missions, Inc.
American Middle East Rehabilitation, Inc.
American National Committee to Aid Homeless Armenians (ANCHA).
American ORT Federation, Inc.
American Relief for Poland, Inc.
Assemblies of God—Foreign Service Committee, General Council of the.
Brethren Service Commission.
CARE, Inc. (Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere).
Catholic Relief Services—United States Catholic Conference, Inc.
Church World Service Department, Division of Overseas Ministries, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA.
Community Development Foundation, Inc.
Co-ordinated Hungarian Relief, Inc.
Hadassah, The Women's Zionist Organization of America, Inc.; Hadassah Medical Relief Association, Inc.
Heifer Project, Inc.
International Rescue Committee, Inc.
International Social Service, American Branch, Inc.
Iran Foundation, Inc.
Laubach Literacy, Inc.
Lutheran Immigration Service—National Lutheran Council and The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod.
Lutheran World Relief, Inc.
Mennonite Central Committee, Inc.
Mizrachi Women's Organization of America, Inc.
Near East Foundation.
Polish American Immigration and Relief Committee, Inc.
Salvation Army, The
Save the Children Federation, Inc.
Seventh-Day Adventist Welfare Service, Inc.
Tolstoy Foundation, Inc.
Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, Inc.
United Friends of Needy and Displaced People of Yugoslavia, Inc.
United Hias Service, Inc.
United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America, Inc.
United Seamen's Service, Inc.
United States Catholic Conference, Inc., Department of Immigration.
United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, Inc.
World Neighbors, Inc.
World Relief Commission, Inc.
World University Service.
Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A., National Board, International Division.

OTHER NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

ACCION International.
American Institute for Free Labor Development.
Association for International Development.
Cooperative League of the U.S.A.
International Cooperative Development Association.
International Educational Development.
Maryknoll Fathers.
National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers.
National Rural Electric Cooperative Association.
Overseas Education Fund.
Pan American Development Foundation.

THE AMERICAN'S CREED

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, this is an important time in the lives of thousands of young Americans as they are graduated from high schools all over the Nation.

It is a thrilling time not only for these youngsters, but it is a thrilling time for us older people as well as we see them take their first steps in the problems of life.

In their homelife and their school life, they have learned the value of living in a great society such as they were privileged to be born into here in America.

Many Members of Congress have been honored to be able to mail to these young people a copy of "The American's Creed" which reads as follows:

THE AMERICAN'S CREED

(By William Tyler Page)

I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a Republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign States; a perfect Union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

I therefore believe it is my duty to my Country to love it; to support its Constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag; and to defend it against all enemies.

In these days when a very small minority is disrupting the purposes of a great Nation, I feel that any step we may take to help them balance their patriotic life is a step in the right direction.

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, during a mammoth observance of Polish Constitution Day in Chicago yesterday, one of the most inspiring speeches was delivered by Mr. Aloysius A. Mazewski, president of the Polish National Alliance, sponsor of the day's tribute.

Mr. Mazewski was recently elected president of the Polish National Alliance and in this brief interval of his leadership, has brought an inspiring dimension of understanding and determination to Americans of Polish descent in their continuing struggle for human dignity.

Mr. Mazewski and his vice president, Mrs. Irene Wallace, who was chairman of yesterday's huge tribute to the Polish Constitution, deserve the highest commendation of all Americans for keeping alive in this country that spirit which has made America so great and so free.

Yesterday's tribute to the Polish Constitution in Humboldt Park demonstrated how a new generation of Americans of Polish descent are determined to at once keep alive the rich traditions of their Polish forefathers and at the same time bring to the United States a new dimension of leadership in support of those institutions of freedom which have made this Nation the symbol of hope for people throughout the world.

I am proud today to include in the RECORD the remarks of President Mazewski and to point out that I am, indeed, very happy to include him among the constituents of the 11th Congressional District, which I represent in Illinois.

Mr. Mazewski's thoughtful speech follows:

REMARKS OF ALOYSIUS A. MAZEWSKI, PRESIDENT OF THE POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE, DELIVERED AT THE MAY 3 CONSTITUTION OBSERVANCE IN HUMBOLDT PARK, CHICAGO, ON SUNDAY, MAY 5, 1968

Today, when we solemnly commemorate an event bright with promise in the history of Poland, disturbing voices are reaching us from our ancestral home. Despite unparalleled sacrifices that the Polish nation made in many struggles for its own freedom and for the freedom of other peoples, the prom-

ise of May 3rd Constitution has not been fulfilled; and its bold vision of freedom, independence and social justice remains clouded by the atavistic forces of communist tyranny.

The self-appointed spokesman of this tyranny, one Wladyslaw Gomulka, unwittingly revealed communist weaknesses, fears and confusion, when, on May 1st, he made a wild statement about American Polonia. In a frantic effort to misdirect the attention of the Poles from the abrasive protests of intellectual communities in Poland, and from the reprecussion stemming from the communist-directed attacks against the Jews as well as from anti-Zionist purges within the red party, Mr. Gomulka cried out that not in Poland but in the United States is discrimination rampant. In his marauding words, the discrimination in our country is directed against Americans of Polish origin.

The very assemblage on this platform gives this lie an eloquent answer. We can point with pride to thousands of Polish-Americans who attained positions of trust and influence in all walks of like in our pluralist, free and open society. This, unfortunately, is not the case in Poland, where only communist and faceless opportunists are admitted to the seats of power and affluence.

Gomulka's outburst, however, does not change by one iota our deep concern for the future of Poland—in true freedom and full independence.

His concern about Americans of Polish origin is unwanted and not needed, in addition to being wildly irresponsible. We are solving our problems and advancing in the American way of life highly satisfactorily. If Gomulka and his Soviet-dominated cohorts granted the Polish people one tenth of the freedom and opportunities we all enjoy in America, it would tremendously advance Polish populace from the brink of poverty and along the road to at least partial freedom from communist oppression.

The time has arrived for the West and especially for the United States to bring its policy of vacillation to an end, and help Poland in a meaningful way.

There is one vitally important act through which the West, under United States' leadership, can further the cause of Poland's freedom and security and bring the dream conceived in the May 3rd Constitution one important step further toward reality.

The final and irrevocable recognition of the Polish-German boundary along the Odra-Nysa rivers would constitute such an act of international wisdom and enlightened diplomacy.

The Poles have waited in silent suffering for such an act since the Potsdam agreement of 1945. But their staying power is not inexhaustible. Despairing of the indifference of the West, the Poles may weaken their psychological resistance against communism, and sadly conclude that only the Soviet Union can provide an insincere guarantee of their territorial integrity—at an extremely exorbitant price in economic exploitation and political domination.

There is no longer any valid reason for postponing the recognition of the Odra-Nysa line by the United States. The time of diplomatic sophistries and high sounding, yet meaningless, rhetorics about some peace conference in the indefinite future belongs to the past.

West European countries and even significant segments of West German public opinion are re-appraising this problem within the context of current realities; and there is a growing agreement among them that by the facts of history, geographic congruency, and the needs of the population, Poland is fully entitled to her western provinces.

Therefore, it is proper and fitting that from this observation, from this time and place, we set forth an urgent appeal to the United States Government to recognize the Odra-Nysa boundary.

A BRAVE GREEK PUBLISHER SPEAKS OUT

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, on April 21, the first anniversary of the military coup in Greece, the Minneapolis Tribune carried an interview with Mrs. Helen Vlachos, the courageous woman publisher who refused to submit to the censorship of the military regime. The article follows:

GREEK PUBLISHER BLAMES NATO FOR JUNTA

(By Al McConagha)

LONDON, ENGLAND.—One year ago today Mrs. Helen Vlachos' husband woke her, saying that tanks and armored cars were moving through Athens and "It looks like a coup of some kind . . ."

They had rushed then in their small auto through the early morning darkness to the offices of the newspapers published by Mrs. Vlachos to get their first reports of "The Night of the Colonels."

The Vlachos newspapers never reached the streets that morning and, as the world now knows, Mrs. Vlachos' refusal to submit to press censorship was one of the few signal acts in defiance of the regime.

Later, she was put under house arrest. But last December, her well-known white hair blackened with dye, she escaped to London where she lives now in a small Belgravia apartment.

There is still a good bit of the dye in her hair as she sits in a living room littered with dictating and writing apparatus, evidence of her continuing labors for a free Greece.

"I don't consider myself in exile," she said.

"I consider that I don't like Greece anymore. After all, there are 8 million Greeks in Greece and 5 million Greeks out of Greece.

"Of that 5 million I am one. There is no reason for me to go back at all to print two more newspapers full of propaganda. It would only be a question of making money, and what is the use of making money to live under that kind of regime?"

"I'm not a fanatic. I didn't want to start this kind of thing," she said.

"I am not a fighting female. I am simply a publisher.

"What I would write on this first anniversary is that we have seen these men for a year now. They are ignorant people. They are no good. They haven't been able to do anything but put a little order into the bureaucracy.

"It is not my impression, but my knowledge that the strength of the colonels is only a military one. I don't believe for a moment that they have the people with them.

"There is a small minority that at this moment is probably rather happy—only the industrialists, the ship owners, the tourists.

"Not tourism but tourists, because they are well cared for and because Greece is emptier than it was. And there is also that part of the people that always goes with power wherever power is."

She said that the regime which gave armed Communist uprising as its reason for being has failed to produce evidence of any armed Communists.

Its rationale now—ending government corruption—is absurd on the face of it, Mrs. Vlaches said, because the overthrown government had been in office only three weeks and it was a right-wing one, embracing some of the best elements of the Conservative party.

This brings the 56-year-old publisher to her theme: that the junta survives "entirely because of NATO power—NATO money, NATO weaponry, NATO jam in the morning, NATO suits—NATO everything you see.

"This is extraordinary. I think it never happened before that a dictatorship has no arms of its own, no force, doesn't represent any part of public opinion.

"It is neither left, center nor right. It is against Canellopoulos (leader of the Right), is against Papandreou (left-wing leader), is against the Communists, is against the right, is against the king, is against me, is against everybody. I mean everybody.

"They managed the coup like a holdup. They did it very well—very efficiently, very quickly. But from then on, they have just hung on by using the NATO-equipped army. Without it, the junta is lost within 24 hours."

That NATO or any of the nations which make up this organization might be reluctant to intervene in a matter so obviously internal to Greece is something Mrs. Vlachos dismisses as simply unjust.

"At this moment, NATO is protecting the junta. This is something that hasn't been sufficiently underlined and everybody is rather frightened to say it.

"NATO is something we put our signature on when we were free and which was to keep us free. I suggest NATO and other international organizations, like the Council of Europe or the Council of Human Rights, should make the Greek government keep its promises to the people, namely freedom of the press and elections.

"The regime should be obliged to do what it has promised by telling them, 'We are not going to give you arms any more unless you do.'

"If they persist, they should be considered as an enemy and not as an ally. These people are using a NATO army as though it was their own police force.

"If the colonels are helped by international organizations as they are helped now, they will stay forever. I have no hope unless it is international pressure."

POLISH CONSTITUTION

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1968

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, May 3, marks the proclamation and adoption of Poland's Constitution of 1791, one of the most liberal and progressive pieces of legislation to come out of the 18th century. I think it appropriate that we take note of this significant occassion.

The Polish people have manifested a deep love of freedom throughout their long history. Today, unfortunately, they are still crushed beneath the heel of the Soviet oppressors. The government which has been imposed upon them is of the most dispicable kind—fostering policies, such as anti-Semitism, which have been rejected by rational men. However, I do not fear that the Soviet oppressors will be able to conquer the indominable spirit of the Polish people. Throughout their long history, the Polish people have been subjugated by many foreign powers, but they have always risen to fight again.

Even today, with all the armed might that the Soviet Union can muster, they cannot cap the well of Polish freedom which continues to bubble. Let us not forget the Polish struggles of the past; let us not forget that the present government is

one which has been imposed upon the Polish people by the Soviet imperialists; but let us encourage the people of Poland who would like, once again, to be the masters of their own ship. For too long they have suffered under the yoke of Communist oppression.

May the time not be too distant when all the people in Poland are free, when the government represents the people, and when they can take their rightful place among a free society of nations.

SCOTLAND, MD.—REBIRTH OF A TOWN

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, recently I witnessed a most stirring event. I was fortunate enough to be present at the rebirth of a town.

Scotland, Md., a Negro community in my district, is over 100 years old. Its homes were worn out and many developers wanted the land for new suburban housing. However, the residents of Scotland wanted to stay.

Thanks to the combined efforts of many people, they will stay. On April 21, 1968, ground was broken for 100 new townhouses to replace the present substandard housing. In his speech at the groundbreaking, Secretary Robert C. Weaver of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development spoke of the efforts that revived this community. He stated:

Scotland is an example of how people and institutions deemed incompatible only a few years ago, can work together to solve the problems of the community. Many people were involved—people with black skins and people with white skins—and many institutions: the national government, a nationwide insurance company, the people of the community itself. In a special way, they have overcome—they have set an example in which we can all take great pride.

I would like to share with my colleagues the entire text of the Secretary's remarks at this occasion and with permission I place them at this point in the RECORD:

Every year I attend a few ceremonies of this kind. I enjoy them because they symbolize victory. It means that we have filled out all the forms—usually in triplicate—raised the money, held all the meetings, finished the planning, and now something is going to happen. And that something is tangible and solid—a place to live. This is what the Department of Housing and Urban Development is all about. It is what all the hard work by the President and his Administration and by the Congress is all about.

Congressman Gude in his letter inviting me to this ceremony mentioned the many programs of my Department which were used in this community effort. I would like to point out that it is only through the efforts of elected officials such as Congressman Gude that we have these programs at all.

This is a day when we are all busy congratulating one another and ourselves about this victory. And as a matter of fact, we all deserve it, because this is a very special ceremony for a very special project.

This is because Scotland had something special about it from the beginning. It is an old community, with families who have been here for many generations. It has a beautiful setting. The houses were worn out, but the people who lived here very properly wanted to stay.

I would like to note that there are a good many situations like this in urbanizing and rural areas throughout the country.

But too often the community is engulfed by suburban growth and the people who live there move away and the community is lost.

But the people of Scotland did not give up. They did not give in to the wave of urbanization which was moving in upon them. They decided to save their community, and that is perhaps the most important lesson to be learned here today. I have said this many times, but I never meant it more sincerely. People can prevail. They do not have to be swallowed up by anything, and they need not be the victims of what we refer to as the urbanizing process.

As you all know, this development started as an experimental program in self-help, low-cost housing. It was funded under one of our demonstration grants.

There were problems, of course. It is in the nature of any experiment—and we at HUD are no exception—that mistakes will be made in testing a new concept. That is the reason for the existence of our so-called demonstration programs, to try new ideas, to make mistakes and correct them, and to come out with answers which can then be used in other places.

Scotland was also unusual in the number and variety of people involved in it, and in the variety of programs that finally were brought into this one effort.

Citizen groups in this area were intensely involved, of course. Local government was interested and sympathetic to what the people of Scotland wanted. Please note that I stress the word "sympathetic." This is always a major factor in projects of this kind, the active and constructive efforts of local government.

The Federal Government became involved, and before we were finished, we had brought a number of our programs into Scotland—the demonstration grant, which I have mentioned; below-market-interest-rate financing by FHA; both home ownership and rental programs under FHA, and the rent supplemental program.

Private industry made its important impact, under the rent supplement program, and the insurance industry's billion dollar fund for the elimination of bad housing. This was one of the first projects to be funded under that program, in this case by the Prudential Insurance Company.

An important element was professional assistance. When Scotland saw itself in trouble, it went outside for advice and used that advice.

A private institution of great stature became a sponsor. The Council of Churches of Greater Washington, under the leadership of Dr. Warren, is sponsor of the below-market-interest-rate program. This was an essential factor in making this program a success.

Many people were involved—people with black skins and people with white skins. And so were many institutions. The national government and a nation-wide insurance company were two of the partners. Local government and a number of interested and involved individuals were others. They cooperated to bring a workable solution to the problem of a community. Scotland Community is an example of how a number of people and institutions—many of them incompatible only a few years ago—can involve themselves in the problems of a community and work together to solve those problems.

But I would like to repeat what I said at the beginning. The people of the community itself were the major factor. They saw a problem and they studied it. They refused to give in to the pressures of suburban growth. They helped themselves, and they asked others to assist. They used their own resources, but they also made intelligent use of outside help.

The fact that we are here today to turn a symbolic shovelful of earth is proof that they prevailed. In a special way, in their own special case—they have overcome, and it is an example in which we can all take great pride.

RECORD OF GREEK REGIME

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the strategic role of Greece in NATO and the historic freedom of the Greek and American people should motivate us to maintain an objective concern over developments in Greece. Therefore, I insert into the RECORD a letter to the editor of the New York Times published on April 27, 1968, under the title "Record of Greek Regime" by George D. Vranopoulos, Consul General of Greece:

RECORD OF GREEK REGIME

(By George D. Vranopoulos, Consul General of Greece)

As a representative of Greece I resent the continuing one-sided, prejudiced appraisal of my Government by the New York Times.

You have insisted on implying that Greece is a fascist state. You have encouraged the opinion in the United States that its Government is oppressive. You have suggested that the Greek economy is collapsing.

You have urged an embargo on military aid despite the fact that your own commanders describe Greece as "America's best ally in the Mediterranean." You have warned American businessmen not to invest in Greece despite the fact that the Greek-American community has given overwhelming support to the Greek Government. You have given credence to Amnesty International charges of torture when those charges have been publicly discredited.

You have chosen to ignore the April 11 remarks in Commons by British Labor M.P. Francis Noel-Baker, who actually participated in phases of the Amnesty investigation and felt compelled to tell his colleagues that the investigation was prejudiced and its finding could not be accepted.

You have chosen to ignore completely a year of unparalleled social-economic reform in Greece.

You have not bothered to report a recent Government decree that lifted $250 million of debts from the backs of almost 650,000 Greek farm families.

You have even chosen to ignore the recent announcement in New York of Greece's efforts to help the United States in its balance-of-payments crisis. In gratitude to the American people for their unselfish assistance to my country, my Government is depositing in American banks one of every $5 spent in Greece. That money will stay in American banks for up to five years to help America balance her accounts. And we hope it will serve as an example to other free nations who owe so much to America's generous citizens.

Again I must say I resent your one-sided presentation. Think what you like about Greece, but at least give her friends in America all sides of her story.

OGDENSBURG, N.Y., CELEBRATES ITS CENTENNIAL YEAR

HON. ROBERT C. McEWEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, on April 27, 1968, my hometown of Ogdensburg, N.Y., observed its 100th anniversary of being incorporated as a city. Many were in attendance to participate in formal ceremonies marking this auspicious occasion.

The history of Ogdensburg has been most interesting since Father Francois Picquet in 1749 settled Fort La Presentation at the confluence of the Oswegatchie and St. Lawrence Rivers. Father Picquet came to establish a mission for the conversion of the Iroquois, a fortification against the English and a post for the French fur trade. Today, Ogdensburg, a city of 16,000 and the only city on the American side of the St. Lawrence River, is noted for its friendly atmosphere.

Fondly called the "Maple City," its streets are lined with gracious maples and elms. Ogdensburg is blessed with outstanding churches and a citizenry whose spirit of Christianity is evident in its civic endeavors. It is the see of the diocese of Ogdensburg which was established in 1872 by Pope Pius IX. Fine schools, well-managed businesses and industries, and a dedicated and skilled labor force meld together in this small city to make it one of America's best places in which to live.

Ogdensburg has quick access to the friendly provinces of Quebec and Ontario. The city is the first and last U.S. port for ships entering and leaving the St. Lawrence Seaway—the gateway to America's heartland.

Ogdensburg is fortunately surrounded by unlimited recreational areas which adds to the good life enjoyed by the citizens and visitors.

It was my pleasure to be in Ogdensburg to help observe the centennial, and participate in a wonderful parade and fitting ceremonies.

In honor of the centennial observance of Ogdensburg, named after Samuel Ogden, who purchased the town in 1792, I am placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point a brief history of Ogdensburg by Selwyn B. Walter, a writer in the Government and General Research Division of the Library of Congress:

A BRIEF HISTORY OF OGDENSBURG, N.Y.

The first white settlement on the site of Ogdensburg appears to have been made in 1749 when the Abbé Francois Picquet established Fort La Presentation at the confluence of the Oswegatchie and the St. Lawrence Rivers. His purpose was to establish a mission for the conversion of the Iroquois, a fortification against the English, and a post for the French fur trade. The Indians settled there in large numbers in spite of Father Picquet's rules against drunkenness and polygamy, and by 1751 three hundred and ninety-six families were living there.

During the French and Indian Wars, Indians from La Presentation contributed to Braddock's defeat and furnished parties to engage in other attacks and raids. Following the fall of Quebec the fort was occupied by British troops, and the name of the fort and the settlement was changed to Oswegatchie. An extensive lumber business was carried on in the vicinity during the British occupation and the surrounding territory was denuded of its most valuable timber.

The post was of little importance during the Revolution. Only one attempt to take the fort is known to have been made by the American forces. This expedition was dispatched from Fort Schuyler in 1779 but returned without having effected its purpose.

Title to the post and the surrounding territory passed to the United States by the Treaty of Paris in 1783, but the British continued to occupy Oswegatchie until June 1, 1796, under the pretext of protecting their fur trade.

The townsite was purchased by Samuel Ogden on May 3, 1792, and settlement was begun by his agent, Nathan Ford, who arrived in 1796. A store was opened in the sergeants' room of the barracks. By 1798 a saw mill and a grist mill had been completed. The settlement was renamed Ogdensburg for the proprietor. In 1802, St. Lawrence County was established and Ogdensburg became the county seat.

During the War of 1812, Ogdensburg was the scene of numerous alarms and of two British raids but little blood was shed and the property damage was small.

On April 5, 1817, Ogdensburg was incorporated as a village, and President Monroe, on a tour through the Northern States, visited the village on August 1 and 2 of the same year.

Destructive fires in 1839 and 1852 resulted in extensive property damage, but, in spite of this loss, the years from 1837 to 1861 were years of growth and development.

When the Civil War broke out Ogdensburg was quick to answer the call of the Union. Captain Nevin's company, known as Company A of the Sixteenth New York Volunteer Infantry, was the first unit from northern New York to leave for Albany, and it reached Washington on June 29, 1861. As the war progressed other companies were recruited in Ogdensburg. The Spanish-American War, World Wars I and II and later conflicts have found the people of Ogdensburg ready to serve their country.

Waterways and Indian trails proved inadequate as means of transportation and the building of roads was undertaken at an early date. Among the first of these was the "Black Lake Road." The Ogdensburg Turnpike Company, organized in 1812, built a plank road from Wilna to Ogdensburg, by way of Rossie. The era of steamboat navigation on the lakes was inaugurated in 1817 when the *Ontario* made a trip from Lewiston to Ogdensburg. Work was begun on the Northern Railroad in 1848, and the first train passed over the entire length and arrived in Ogdensburg on September 20, 1850. Other railroads reached Ogdensburg in 1862 and 1878.

The people of Ogdensburg were not slow in making provision for the education of their children. It appears that a school was in operation at least as early as 1809, with Richard Hubbard as the teacher. About 1817 a plain two-story school building was built at the corner of Greene and Crescent Streets. The first academy in Ogdensburg, a private one, was established about 1830, and the Ogdensburg Free Academy was opened in 1881 with an enrollment of two hundred. As the years passed, better and larger school buildings were erected and this progress is still being maintained.

Ogdensburg was incorporated as a city on April 27, 1868, and for almost a century it has continued a steady growth and development. Water and sewer systems were introduced, streets were improved, parks were established, gas and electric plants were built, and telephone service was provided. Its location has made it an important port of entry.

CONGRESSMAN HORTON URGES THAT FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S FISCAL YEAR BE CHANGED TO CONFORM WITH CALENDAR YEAR

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, each year recently some Federal departments and agencies have suffered an intolerable fiscal squeeze because proper consideration of budget requests takes more than the 5 or 6 months which separate the submission of the President's budget and the beginning the fiscal year on the 1st of July.

This results in embarrassment to the Congress, since it is widely reported that appropriations bills not passed by the beginning of the fiscal year are unduly delayed. Thoughtful people are thankful that we in the Congress do not rush through consideration of spending bills, but the impression is nevertheless created that, somehow, Congress is slow and delinquent in taking care of the Nation's finances.

A more important consideration is the fact that the administrative departments which do not have their appropriations by the 1st of July must live on month-to-month continuation or supplemental legislation until the final appropriation bills are passed. Furthermore, Federal employees are occasionally faced with partial-pay or payless paydays because of the delay of regular appropriations bills.

This unfortunate situation hampers departmental operation since it delays the initiation of new programs or changes in existing programs. Such programs are the creatures of Congress, so the delays frustrate ideas which we in Congress have decided should be put into effect for the benefit of the Nation.

There are two important considerations, Mr. Speaker.

First, it is vitally important that the Congress devote sufficient time to appropriation requests to insure that enough money is allocated for programs, but no more money than is necessary. Given the complex society in which we live today, and the many demands upon our resources, the consideration of requests for funds is one of our most solemn duties. Experience has shown by now, Mr. Speaker, that the traditional time between the submission of the President's budget request in early January, and July 1, is not sufficient to allow adequate study of the priorities of requests, their essentiality and their ramifications.

The second consideration concerns the importance of providing administrative departments with their appropriations in such a manner that their programs can continue 12 months a year, without having to put them in limbo for 2, 3, or 4 months a year while they exist on continuing appropriations at the level of the previous year.

Two of the alternatives to the present situation, inadequate consideration of appropriation requests, or delays in programs are not acceptable.

But there is a sensible solution, Mr. Speaker.

In a bill I am submitting today, I propose that the fiscal year be changed to coincide with the calendar year. Under my plan, the President would continue to submit his budget request at the beginning of the calendar year. But it would propose spending plans for his departments beginning the following January 1.

Thus, Congress would have a full year to evaluate the detailed and complex components of the requested budget.

Experience has shown, Mr. Speaker, that this is a realistic amount of time to allow for such an evaluation. As the Federal budget creeps ever higher year after year, it has become more important that we husband our resources, making certain that each dollar is spent wisely. And while we cherish frugality, the increasing demands of a growing urban society do require new and revised programs of immense scope. The time it takes Congress to give its final stamp of approval is the time necessary to determine how much must be spent, and how our goals can be achieved with optimum cost. With the budget well above $100 billion a year, we dare not be reckless or hasty in our deliberations.

It might be objected that by alining the fiscal year with the calendar year, we would increase the margin for error in budget forecasts since, necessarily, 6 months would be added to the time between departmental estimates and the beginning of the fiscal year. Under the present arrangement, this would mean that the time during which the administration could appraise the adequacy of appropriations by reference to actual operations would be reduced from about a half year to nothing.

This would be a serious objection, Mr. Speaker, if there were no alternative. But there is an alternative which would not only overcome that objection, but also draw Congress more closely in the budgetmaking process.

I refer to my proposal for the establishment of a Commission on Public Management.

This Commission would be specifically charged with applying the systems-management approach of large business firms to the functions of the Federal Government.

This continuing examination of Government departments by the Commission on Public Management would provide Congress with current, reliable data on which to base such legislative judgments as whether to continue, increase, decrease or change directions of Federal programs, and determine program effectiveness and priority.

Having such up-to-date information available during hearings on budget requests would involve Congress to a greater and very desirable extent in the budgetmaking process.

Since, during the authorization and appropriations hearings, the operations of particular departments would be under continuous scrutiny, my plan would extend the budgetmaking process up to the time of final votes by Congress.

It would, thus, be entirely practical to change the beginning of the fiscal year to the 1st of January.

In summary, Mr. Speaker, by making that change in the fiscal year, and by establishing a Commission on Public Management:

First, Congress would have adequate time to consider appropriations;

Second, that consideration would be more effective with the addition of the information provided by the Commission on Public Management.

Third, departments and agencies would not have to spend part of each fiscal year wondering how much money they would finally receive for their operations. With a surer basis for financial planning, they could more effectively administer their programs.

Fourth, Federal employees would not be subjected to partial pay or payless payday pending a stopgap legislation by Congress.

The Government of the United States is so vast, Mr. Speaker, that the best management tools are required to ensure optimum operation. My proposals would provide two very necessary tools.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY ENUNCIATES NATIONAL POLICY: AMERICA IS NOT GOING TO PERMIT ISRAEL TO STAND DEFENSELESS AGAINST ANY WHO WOULD DESTROY HER

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last night in Chicago more than 15,000 people had the profound privilege of hearing Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY join in the tribute to the 20th anniversary of Israel's independence.

Time and again the Vice President's remarks were interrupted with thunderous applause by the highly dedicated audience in Chicago's International Amphitheater.

But the greatest enthusiasm came from these dedicated Americans when the Vice President said:

> America is not going to permit Israel to stand defenseless against any who would destroy her.

Here, Mr. Speaker, was a clear and unequivocal enunciation of American policy as expressed by the Vice President of the United States.

His bold and determined words should echo throughout the whole of the Near East—let every one of Israel's warring neighbors who would dare destroy this tiny citadel of human dignity and freedom hear Vice President HUMPHREY'S sound statement loud and clear.

Let the warring neighbors of Israel fully realize once and for all that America is not going to permit Israel to stand defenseless against any who would destroy her.

What the Vice President attempted to do in Chicago last night, is to make it crystal clear—not only to those in the Middle East—but to the Soviet Union itself that aggression against Israel will not and cannot be tolerated by the United States, for the survival of a free Israel in the Near East lies in the highest interest of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, Vice President HUMPHREY'S courageous speech marking the 20th anniversary of Israel's independence follows. I hope it will be read carefully by those who continue to stir the troubled water of the Near East in the hope that somewhere America's determination will falter and they will be able to carry out their historic design to destroy Israel.

Mr. HUMPHREY spoke for the entire Nation last night in Chicago.

Let there be no miscalculation by Israel's enemies that she stands alone in her valiant struggle to preserve her sovereignty.

Mr. HUMPHREY'S speech follows:

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF ISRAEL CELEBRATION, CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 5, 1968

I salute, with you, the first State in history that was 3500 years old on its 20th birthday.

What we recognize tonight is the timeless tradition of mankind's ceaseless search—no matter what the odds or how long and hard the course—for freedom of the human spirit and for the dignity—and the meaning—of man.

We recognize, beyond that, the greatest feat of human invention—under divine inspiration and encouragement—of the 20th or perhaps any other century: the miracle of Israel.

It is commonplace to recognize the era we live in as a time of scientific miracles—of lasers and masers, of atomic power and space-ships, of heart transplants and the creation of the molecule of synthetic life in the laboratory.

It is harder to realize that this is equally the era of social and political change and achievement equal to the magnitude of technological advance.

Israel is the evidence that man as citizen—no less than man as scientist—can invent his future.

From the ghastly ashes of a continent gone crazy, a new nation grew up in the Middle East that has shown mankind that a small nation can—in a moment of time—become a great nation, an independent nation, a creative nation, and a strong nation—no matter what the obstacles!

And the way that was allowed was freedom—not the way of tyranny that takes shortcuts across the quicksand of false promise—but the harder, yet firmer, course of freedom.

One other thing: the miracle of Israel is not the less, but the greater, for its being the story of how free men and women all over the world—and especially here in America—united in their efforts—and sharing the responsibility—to bring a land and a people back to life. Americans—and free men and women everywhere—stand taller tonight for having taken even a little part in the miracle of Israel.

And we can all be proud that the United States, with public involvement and public resources . . . with personal involvement and private resources, has supported the great nation building enterprises of many peoples in his post-war period.

Does the miracle of Israel stand alone? Or is it perhaps in part a more dramatic reflection of changes which are also taking place even here in America?

We Americans tend to ignore history. We drive ahead at a tremendous pace and seldom bother to look back at the road behind.

This has some advantages—we don't waste a lot of time and energy arguing about dead issues.

But it also limits our capacity to understand

how far we have traveled, how fast and the extent to which our society has—under our unseeing eyes—been fundamentally transformed.

A quarter of a century ago—at just about the time of Israel's reincarnation—America emerged almost as suddenly as the strongest power in the world.

Our achievement has been in the exercise of this incredible power with both effectiveness and restraint.

This has meant accepting the positive obligations of power by building the shattered societies of Western Europe.

It has meant accepting the negative but equally necessary burden of utilizing military power to contain communist aggression.

It has meant the recognition that this power carries no mandate to play world policeman, to throw our weight around the world in risky adventurism, or to organize international life in our own image. And we have not done so.

Nor have we sponsored "wars of liberation" or guerrilla movements in infringement of the sovereignty of others.

We have sailed, as President Johnson once said, in uncharted waters. The advent of the nuclear age made all the old maps obsolete.

Living in a world where decisions must be made before history is written—I think we can say that the United States since World War II, has exercised its power with restraint and responsibility . . . has shown a commitment to responsibility with an unselfish spirit that defines description as "globalistic meddling" or "neo-colonialism" . . . and at the same time has been prepared to utilize its great power to prevent the rise of new aggressors.

In short, we seek peace—not as an abstraction, but as an enforceable reality.

The course has not been easy—or certain. It is far from easy or certain today.

We are now entered on the course toward peace in Southeast Asia—a course which will surely be long and difficult.

Nor will peace in the Middle East—a lasting peace—come easily.

The five principles on which a durable peace in the Middle East can be built are still the same, we believe, as when they were stated by President Johnson last June 19.

Such a peace could be the hope not just of one nation in the Middle East but of all. It would make the difference between people progressing in confidence . . . and nations draining their strength in the ever-present fear of war.

If the peace is won, the bonds you buy today will turn out to be not simply bonds for Israel, but bonds for the Middle East. I am sure that everyone here would prefer to have it that way.

Perhaps the greatest contribution we can make to peace in the Middle East would be to reach agreement with the Soviet Union to curtail the arms race there.

If the Soviet Union—which has been willing to discuss curtailment of the global arms race—would give equal priority to slowing the conventional arms race in the Middle East, it would earn the gratitude of all mankind.

Meanwhile, however, because of what we all so deeply believe, let this be clear:

America is not going to permit Israel to stand defenseless against any who would destroy her.

For reason must prevail over force. Acceptance of nationhood must prevail over prejudice.

As President Johnson indicated in the communique issued in January following his meeting with Prime Minister Eshkol, the United States will "keep Israel's military defense capability under active and sympathetic examination and review in the light of all relevant factors including the shipment of military equipment by others to the area."

Israel represents freedom.

Israel represents modern nation building.

Israel represents a part of our spiritual and cultural heritage which Americans will never sacrifice.

I believe that the whole course of post-war history proves that man can invent the future.

Indeed we are inventing the future—of man's relationship not alone to nature but, even more important, to himself—each with every other.

All of us in this amphitheatre tonight can look back on those twenty years in the lives of two nations—one new, the other new to unparalleled power in the world—with infinite pride.

That pride is leavened with the humility that must be in our answer to what Adlai Stevenson meant by the call to greatness.

We know that the charge upon greatness is responsibility.

Yet no person here tonight would have it any other way—or choose any other time to live in.

REMARKS BY CHIEF JUDGE PAUL P. RAO OF THE U.S. CUSTOMS COURT AT THE ANNUAL COMMUNION BREAKFAST OF THE NEW YORK POST OFFICE HOLY NAME SOCIETY

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, a week ago yesterday, April 28, 1968, the New York Post Office Holy Name Society attended their annual Communion Mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City and a breakfast which followed at the Waldorf-Astoria. On this occasion, the officers and members of the New York Post Office Holy Name Society were addressed by the distinguished chief judge of the U.S. Customs Court, the Honorable Paul P. Rao.

Under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the text of the remarks made by Chief Judge Rao on that occasion:

My fellow Americans and Federal Employees: It is with deep appreciation that I accepted Father Shelley's invitation to address you here this morning. The duties of my office prevent me from accepting all the speaking invitations I receive but I felt, for a number of reasons, that this occasion was one when several powerful considerations made it impossible for me to refuse. First there is the high regard I have for your organization and the fine work that has been done by Father Shelley. I know that he has shown an outstanding ability in his pastoral guidance of Federal employees and has been a source of strength and inspiration to them. His work with Federal employees is a fine addition to his service as pastor of St. Michael's Church. It is hard to refuse the requests of a man who does so much work so well. And hard to plead the duties of my office to a man who is just as busy as I am.

The second reason I am anxious to speak to you arises from my feeling that too little attention is being paid and too little appreciation expressed for those of our public servants who perform their tasks with a minimum of fanfare and in a steady, regular and uncomplaining manner. I can think of a number of recent occurrences which could have played havoc with the orderly work of the Post Office. There was the unparalleled disruption caused by the garbage strike in New York, causing our streets to overflow with refuse. I think also of the devastating fire at the Morgan Annex and the mysterious explosions of packages in past months. Owing to your dedication and loyal service, none of these occurrences has interferred with the flow of the mail.

I like to think of the work of the post office in terms more personal than mere statistics. What comes to my mind is the comfort given to our soldiers fighting in Viet Nam when they receive letters from home and the corresponding happiness of their families here when they receive word of their heroes, that they are in good health and in good spirits. This is the reality the work of the post office has for me and this is the reason I wish to speak to you today.

We are in a time when the ordinary values of our society are being seriously attacked, particularly the commitment this nation has made to defend the people of South Vietnam against communist aggression.

I know that nothing has occupied the attention of this nation more for the last month than the astonishing announcement made by our President Lyndon B. Johnson that he will not seek a second elective term as president. This self-sacrificing gesture on his part is an unprecedented example of the placing of the national interest ahead of both personal and political expedience. Like so many Federal servants, the President has no doubt suffered the discouragement of enduring intolerable burdens without receiving the sympathy and understanding of the people. In a way it may be that the people of this country have failed to provide the President with the popular support and encouragement which he so richly deserves. I can only hope that the prospect of losing the invaluable guidance of this great man will make the American people realize just how right his policies have been both in the domestic and foreign field. We must be aware that although we are in the process of seeking negotiations for peace we are also fighting a war and must conduct ourselves accordingly.

I wish to speak on the matters of Vietnam, the rule of law and order and our responsibilities. I speak not as chief judge of the United States Customs Court but as an American citizen—as one who volunteered to serve this country at the age of 18, like millions of other unheralded youths who were proud to wear the uniform of the United States Navy, like millions of others who were willing to die for this country, like millions of other good, true Americans who would never dream of advising someone not to serve in the defense of this country. As a person who came out of World War I disabled as a result of my experiences in France, Italy, Africa and the Atlantic I am appalled at the deterioration that has taken place in the moral fiber of some of the youth of our country. I see young men flauntingly burning their draft cards and being given excessive publicity by the mass media. Little publicity is given to the fact that many times these sensation seekers are really burning duplicates of their draft cards. When the F.B.I. or other law enforcement agencies inquire as to whether these people have their draft cards they still have the originals indicating that they did not turn in their cards or destroy them. I see other people, of a station in our society which ought to indicate the attainment of a more mature wisdom, counseling young people to avoid the draft and encouraging the withholding of tax payments and supporting violent and excessive demonstrations against the war.

I see the demonstrators themselves, a wild and unruly group, shouting down representatives of the government, throwing bricks and bottles, setting buildings afire, harassing and taunting policemen and denying to

others the elementary freedoms they purport to espouse. They claim that this country—the fountainhead of democracy in the modern world, is the oppressor in Vietnam and the television, radio and newspapers echo and spread their propaganda throughout this land. I see agitators and rabble rousers forecasting a cataclysmic upheaval in the form of riots in the streets and bloody conflict in the cities of this land, who preach violence as the means of attaining success and security in this country.

This is a time of trial for the temper of the American people and we will either emerge from it with renewed strength and revitalized confidence in the soundness of American democracy or we will fall prey to the lethargy and dissolution of ideals which hastened the end of other great civilizations, and we will be unable to withstand the pressures of totalitarianism.

I would like to share with you my reactions to both these problems; the prospect of increasing disturbances and crime in our streets and the rise of unpatriotic opposition to the war in Vietnam.

It is my belief that obedience to the law is an unalterable condition of the American way of life. Those people who have achieved success in this country have done so within the legal framework or respect for the rights and privileges of others and what they have achieved they have achieved without regard to race, creed or color. They have sacrificed and concentrated their energies and they have gained the rewards which this country holds in store for those who respect its laws. On the other hand, the fruits of a democratic way of life cannot be obtained by violence No group, whatever its ethnic background or skin color, has a right to break our laws.

An understanding of the meaning of our democracy and the responsibility it entails is also at the center of the question of the war in Vietnam. That war is not an event taking place too far from our homes. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that in this modern age only hours or minutes measure the real distances between countries. If we allow the Communists to take over South Vietnam their insatiable appetite for expansion will lead them further and further. Just as the Russian Communists entered the vacuum in Europe so will the Chinese Communists attempt to spread their insidious doctrines through the weak and unprotected lands of Southeast Asia. What is ultimately at stake in Vietnam is the safety of our children and their children and the safety of the American people for generations to come.

Our involvement in Vietnam is not a hasty or recent development. It is the outgrowth of the policies of three American Presidents, President Eisenhower, President Kennedy and President Lyndon B. Johnson. Thus I am amazed when I read about student demonstrations, anti-Vietnam war protests and anti-United States protests. What kind of Americans are these? Where is their self-respect? Where is their patriotism? To give comfort and aid to the enemy by sending money, food, clothing and medicine and to give the Communists the impression that we are ready to get out of Vietnam is as close to treason as I can conceive.

Surely our boys in whatever Armed Service they may be, appreciate the meaning of patriotism and the significance of duty, honor, country. They do not receive the publicity and exposure given to the beatniks, the Vietniks, the hippies, the shirkers, the draft dodgers, the card burners and the rabble rousers. Instead they perform their duties in silence and sacrifice, much as do the workers of the postal service.

Therefore we must ask ourselves what can be done to let our boys all over the world know that we appreciate what they are doing. What can be done to make the people who serve the American Government, whether in war or peace, conscious of the fact that the majority of the American people are grateful for their efforts and value their heroic sacrifices?

Let us first see to it that these un-American rabble rousers are dealt with firmly and surely by all law enforcement agencies, and by the Executive, legislative and judicial branches of our Government. Let us demand of the mass media that they feature and emphasize the activities of true Americans. Let us write to our boys in Vietnam and let them know that the few whose lack of patriotism is flaunted in the papers do not express the sentiment of the American people.

Let us join with our neighbors, let us take an active role in community affairs which serve to instill and reinforce the sense of uniqueness and purpose of American democracy. Let us support this great country, which is tolerant and good enough to give the dissenters the right to subvert our freedoms and insult our President and First Lady. Let us stand behind our great President Lyndon Baines Johnson, who is providing us with strong and wise leadership in this time of crisis. Let us hope and pray that he will find the strength to guide this country through these perilous times, and that he who succeeds to that awesome office will possess the wisdom, and the courage, and the vigor to wear the mantle of leadership in the tradition of his noble predecessor. Above all in this turbulent period which lies ahead let us fortify ourselves with the true spirit of American democracy as expressed in the immortal words of Stephen Decatur, which I paraphrase. May our country always be in the right, but our country, right or wrong.

TRUTH-IN-NEGOTIATIONS AMENDMENT WILL LEAD TO DOLLAR SAVINGS IN DEFENSE CONTRACTS

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, investigations by the House Armed Services Committee and the General Accounting Office have uncovered cases of overpricing on defense contracts and the need for postaward audits by the Government to detect the lack of disclosure by contractor and subcontractors of significant cost or pricing data available to the contractor prior to the award.

The bill before the House today, H.R. 10573, an amendment to the Truth in Negotiations Act—Public Law 87–653; 10 United States Code 2306(f)—would provide authority to increase the effectiveness of this act by enabling the Secretary of Defense to evaluate the accuracy, completeness, and currency of cost or pricing date submitted by contractors or subcontractors in support of negotiations as required under provisions of the Truth in Negotiations Act.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation is necessary and essential if the Defense Department is to have effective access to records required to permit verification that the contractor actually provided to the Government that data required under the Truth in Negotiations Act.

Passage of this bill by the House today will further strengthen the bargaining position of Government agents at the negotiation table with defense contractors, resulting in savings of millions of dollars for the taxpayers.

H.R. 16593, TO AMEND THE 1965 IMMIGRATION ACT

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the bill that we have been asked to consider will redefine and stabilize the immigrant patterns of the United States. The Honorable WILLIAM F. RYAN'S bill, H.R. 16593, amends the 1965 Immigration Act so as to allow for a new immigrant pattern to emerge while simultaneously stabilizing the old pattern.

The 1965 Immigration Law, Public Law 89–236, abolishes the country quota system upon which the previous immigration law was based. All those applying for visas to this country compete on a first-come, first-served basis as they qualify for the following seven categories. The total number of immigrants admitted in 1 year cannot exceed 170,000. The categories are: First 20 percent of the total is reserved for unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens; two, 20 percent for spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of lawful permanent resident aliens; three, 10 percent for members of the professions and arts and sciences; four, 10 percent of the total is reserved for married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens; five, 24 percent for brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens; six, 10 percent for skilled and unskilled labor when a shortage exists in the United States; and seven, 6 percent for refugees. When a person applies for a visa under the sixth category, he must himself prove that he is skilled and that his skills are needed. All of the members of the immediate family of U.S. citizens, in other words, children, spouses, and parents, take precedence over the seven categories.

It is clear that the intention of the 1965 Immigration Act was to refocus qualifications for entrance into the United States from those of country to those of relative or work status. On the surface, the 1965 Immigration Act categories seem to perpetuate the old pattern while introducing new blood in the form of professionals, artists, scientist, and skilled and unskilled laborers. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. The 1965 Immigration Act does not cover those families who are now second, third, and fourth generation Americans; in other words, the bulk of the former immigrant population now living in this country. It must be remembered that it was the fathers and grandfathers of these men and women who helped turn this Nation from an uncultivated frontier into a cultured and civilized society.

To illustrate my point, let us take the case of Irish immigration for example. Irish immigration will certainly decline as a result of the new law and for several reasons. First, the biggest period in

Irish immigration came in the latter half of the 19th century and the earlier part of this century. There would be few unmarried sons and daughters of Irish immigrants left in Ireland who would be available to come to this country. The same would be true of other relatives listed in the seven categories. Second, the third category, for members of the professions and the arts and sciences does not affect Irish immigration at all. During 1-year periods under the old quota system, only 1 percent of those from Ireland qualified as members of the professions or arts and sciences. Third, those seeking visas from Ireland would not qualify as refugees and, fourth, the labor for which they would be qualified is not under great demand in the United States.

The projected figures of the 10 countries who will have the most immigrants in 1969 as a result of the 1965 act are:

Italy	20,000
Greece	20,000
Portugal	19,600
China	19,000
Philippines	13,000
India	6,000
Poland	5,000
Yugoslavia	5,000
Germany	3,000
Korea	2,900

All the other nations in the world, based upon these State Department figures will be able to send 56,500.

These figures clearly demonstrate that a new sociological pattern will prevail in the next decades, and while it is beneficial to have a shift in the immigrant patterns, it is also detrimental to the now-established American society to abandon the old patterns altogether.

Congressman RYAN's bill, H.R. 16593, is a valuable compromise. His bill states that under the new law, no nation may lose more than 75 percent of the number of immigrants that were actually admitted into this country under the country quota system. The number of immigrants actually admitted is determined by the annual average of those who have been admitted over the past decade. And, so as to limit the total number of immigrants, no nation may send more than 10,000. In practice, this provision would affect only those nations which stand to be substantially hurt by the 1965 amendments. It would result at most in the entry of an additional 20,000 to 30,000 immigrants above the present statutory ceiling of 170,000. Yet, this would perpetuate the present sociological makeup of our Nation while allowing for increased immigration from those nations whose citizens did not have the opportunity to obtain visas to this country under the old country quota system.

KARTH PRAISES POLAND'S COURAGE

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1968

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, on May 3 citizens of Polish origin celebrate a national holiday—the 3d of May Constitution Day. On this day freedom-loving people around the world join in remembrance of brave Polish nationals who for almost two centuries have fought against suppression.

We recall that barely 2 years after adoption of the U.S. Constitution in 1789, Poland pioneered freedom and liberalism in Europe by adopting a Constitution of her own. This great achievement was attained without bloody revolution, and it is appropriate that we remember that this early European assertion of democracy was made in Poland.

Yet in 1795 and again in 1939, foreign troops overran Poland and partitioned a free nation. Today Soviet-imposed dictatorship is bent upon destruction of Polish traditions and moral strength.

Mr. Speaker, in spite of the setbacks suffered by Poland, I believe that someday international justice will prevail and a free Poland will emerge. This new Poland shall in the end keep alive the generations of heroes and the traditions of greatness that have been a part of her historic past.

THE FEDERAL PAYROLL AND PAY RAISES

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, it seems that every time the Federal budget is examined, some hue and cry is raised over Federal jobs: their number and cost. Many of those who would gun down our Nation's fiscal ills take first aim at the Federal payroll, reasoning all the while that the Federal budget's most heinous excess is its support of 2.9 million U.S. Government jobs.

At first glance, it may appear that Federal employees do comprise a disproportionate percentage of the Nation's work force: 37.1 per each 1,000 civilian employees. While Federal employment has increased over the past few years, few people realize that these figures are well below the all-time highs. For example, in 1952—17 years ago—there were 41.4 Federal employees for every 1,000 civilian workers.

And, although Federal employment has risen 38 percent in the last 21 years, State and local government employment has jumped nearly 150 percent. In the light of these figures, charges that the Federal Government has outpaced the population in growth is clearly a gross distortion of the facts.

Compared with the increasing demands made upon our Federal Government—consider the countless details necessary to administer the medicare and poverty programs, to cite just a few of the new programs established these past several years—the increase in Federal employment is commendably restrained.

While I favor economy in Government whenever feasible, I cannot condone economy for its own sake. To wit: the controversy over the scheduled July pay raise for Federal employees. Some legislators have suggested that, in the interests of a balanced economy, this pay raise should be either cutback or delayed. This proposal is outrageous; for, although I feel we should strive toward a balanced economy, we must also have a realistic one.

With the rising cost of living and the increased demands upon our Federal employees, it is only right and fair that these public servants receive pay on a scale equal to that received by their counterparts in private industry. The very foundation of our Government depends upon our dedicated and efficient Federal workers. To deny them their due—pay comparable to that of industry—is only to do a great disservice to our Nation.

CHANCE TO REDUCE SPENDING

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, for several years the economic welfare of the country has gone from bad to worse. Inaction is clearly no cure. Where and by whom will Government spending be cut?

The Jackson Citizen Patriot, of Jackson, Mich., in its lead editorial of Monday, April 22, 1968, offers some very appropriate observations about what actions the President could and should be taking. Since the President used the occasion of his press conference this past Friday to direct some of his remarks to the Congress, I commend the editorial to the attention of my colleagues:

L. B. J. HAS A CHANCE TO REDUCE SPENDING

As a lame duck President by his own choice, Lyndon B. Johnson has an almost unique opportunity to save the nation from the financial quagmire into which it may be sinking.

That the fiscal situation is serious is beyond argument. The balance of payments situation is not improving. The dollar is on shaky ground. Worst of all, a federal deficit of unbelievable proportions is in the works.

Fiscal officers of the federal government, as well as private financial experts, have been issuing solemn warnings that the adoption of the federal income tax surcharge and reductions in spending are essential.

Little has been done to meet the emergency because both Congress and the White House have been leaving the politically unpopular remedies to the other branch of government. For all practical purposes, the income tax increase may be dead for this session. Congress had shown little stomach for cutting expenditures for programs which affect the home districts and states of the members.

The President can do nothing about the tax increase other than urge Congress to adopt it and send his best pleaders to Capitol Hill to make a case for it.

He can, however, urge reductions in appropriations and use his powers as the chief executive to bring about heavy cuts in federal spending.

He can order department heads and assorted bureaucrats in his administration to hold up spending of funds, lay off surplus workers and to delay launching of new programs or cutting back of old ones.

Both Mr. Johnson and his predecessors in the White House have established precedents for using the executive power to reduce spending.

They and their Cabinet officers have refused to spend funds authorized by Congress for projects which the Administration considers either unwise or unnecessary. On rare occasions the Congress has chosen to order, by law, that funds be spent for a specific purpose. Generally speaking, however, the Administration has great latitude in determining how much of any given appropriation shall be spent.

Such an austerity program instituted by the executive branch admittedly would take a lot of doing. Bureaucrats generally are indoctrinated in the theory that they must spend every dime made available to them, plus whatever additional amount they believe they can spend and induce Congress to cover with a supplemental appropriation.

Tough orders would have to be issued from the White House and the President would have to be prepared to accept the inevitable wave of criticism from the bureaucrats, from Congress and from the special interests which would scream when their pet projects were hit in an economy wave.

The point is that Mr. Johnson, having declared himself out of the presidential race in 1968, has nothing to lose by ordering strict economy. No one can threaten to throw him out of an office which he is leaving on his own.

Moreover, the majority of the people would be pleased to see him crack down on useless spending.

They have seen innumerable examples of federal programs which promote waste and duplication; which have goals which may be worthy but certainly are not necessary at a time when the nation is in the midst of a fiscal crisis which could threaten its very integrity.

The people are coming to realize that the danger is real and have been hoping for someone who will have the political courage to take steps to protect them.

At this moment only the President appears to be in a position to do so.

CONGRESSMAN GILBERT CALLS FOR ACTION ON H.R. 14499—THE MORE EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS BILL

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, in the company of several of my distinguished colleagues, I have introduced H.R. 14499, the More Effective Schools Act. In these moments of national crisis, it is essential not only that we seek to avert the next outbreak of disorder but that we see the problem in perspective and try to resolve the long-range causes of these outbreaks. I am convinced that no long-range cause has contributed more to the grevious condition of the American poor, and particularly the American Negro, than appalling deficiencies in our educational system. Throughout our history, we Americans have always had great faith in education and, in one generation after another, that faith has been redeemed. But, historically, we have short-changed many of our citizens, chiefly our Negroes and our rural poor, and now, as education deteriorates throughout our cities, we are in the process of short-changing even more of our citizens. As a nation, we know now that in so doing, we are really shortchanging ourselves, for from our sowing we reap crime, addiction, staggering welfare burdens, riots and, most painful of all, wasted human lives. We cannot afford to let that continue.

The bill my colleagues and I have introduced was conceived by the United Federation of Teachers, a group as knowledgeable as it is well motivated. These teachers, face to face every day with the problem of American children, know what must be done. They know it cannot be done cheaply. But they also know each year that the essential decisions are deferred means a year that can never be recovered.

The programs spelled out by the bill call for the following:

Improved utilization of educational personnel, designed to achieve a lower and more effective per-student ratio of teachers, counselors, aides and other educational personnel.

Training and development programs designed to enable teachers and other educational personnel to continuously improve their training and educational capabilities while carrying out their responsibilities in the schools.

Comprehensive educational programs designed to meet the particular educational needs of children from low-income families, including the development and implementation of new curriculum and instructional methods, materials and equipment.

Constructive and remodeling programs to assure adequate physical facilities.

Procedures for maximum feasible participation of parents of children served by these schools and the effective use of their services.

Mr. Speaker, I implore my colleagues on the Committee on Education and Labor to give serious attention to this bill and to give that attention during the current year. The well-being of our country demands this legislation. I do not think I exaggerate when I say that no piece of legislation could possibly be more important than that which affects the schooling of our young people. I commend this bill to my colleagues and I hope we will soon have the opportunity on this floor to enact this bill into law.

Mr. Speaker, with permission I insert in the RECORD the full text of H.R. 14499:

H.R. 14499

A bill to assist local educational agencies to carry out programs for more effective schools where there are high concentrations of children from low-income families, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "More Effective Schools Act".

FINDINGS AND PURPOSE

SEC. 2. (a) The Congress finds that children attending schools in areas where there are high concentrations of children from low-income families are deprived of educational advantages made available to children in more affluent areas; that existing Federal aid for children from low-income families is designed to provide special educational services which are essentially remedial and noncurricular in nature, and that there is an urgent need for Federal support for programs which make basic and comprehensive improvements in the regular school programs. The Congress further finds that this Nation can no longer afford to delay a national commitment to more effective schools for children in low-income families.

(b) It is therefore the purpose of this Act to assist local educational agencies to carry out programs for more effective schools serving areas where there are high concentrations of children from low-income families.

PROGRAMS FOR MORE EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS

SEC. 3. Local educational agencies (as defined in section 303(6)(B) of Public Law 874, Eighty-first Congress) shall be eligible for grants from the Commissioner of Education (hereafter referred to in this Act as the "Commissioner") for planning and implementing intensive programs for more effective schools in areas where there are high concentrations of children from low-income families through—

(a) improved utilization of educational personnel designed to achieve a lower and more effective per-student ratio of teachers, counselors, aides, and other educational personnel;

(b) training and development programs designed to enable teachers and other educational personnel to continuously improve their training and educational capabilities while carrying out their responsibilities in the schools;

(c) comprehensive educational programs designed to meet the particular educational needs of children from low-income families including the development and implementation of new curriculum and instructional methods, materials, and equipment;

(d) construction and remodeling programs to assure adequate physical facilities; and

(e) procedures for the maximum feasible participation of parents of children served by these schools and the effective use of their services.

For purposes of this Act, children from low-income families" means children counted under section 203(a)(2) of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 for the purpose of determining the amount of basic grants made under section 203 of such title.

REQUIREMENTS FOR FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 4. The Commissioner shall make grants under section 3 to local educational agencies for programs for more effective schools only if he determines that—

(a) the local educational agency has a workable program of a comprehensive nature for using financial resources from all sources for more effective schools for children from low-income families;

(b) schools serving areas where there are high concentrations of children from low-income families will not receive less in expenditures per pupil from State and local sources than other schools administered by the local educational agency;

(c) each program for a more effective school will be of such size, scope, quality, and design as to assure a substantial effect in meeting the educational needs of children from low-income families; and

(d) any construction or remodeling projects financed under this Act will follow the prevailing wage and labor standards requirements of section 209 of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

AUTHORIZATION AND APPORTIONMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 5. (a) For the purposes of carrying out the provisions of this Act, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $1,000,000,000 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1968; and for each subsequent fiscal year the same sum increased by annual increments of $500,000,000 until and including

the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1975, and for the fiscal years beginning on July 1 in 1976 and 1977 the sum of $5,000,000,000. Sums appropriated under this subsection are authorized to remain available until expended, or until June 30, 1978, whichever first occurs. Any unappropriated portion of the amount authorized to be appropriated for any such fiscal year may be appropriated in any subsequent fiscal year during the period beginning July 1, 1969, and ending June 30, 1978, in addition to the amount otherwise authorized to be appropriated for such subsequent fiscal year.

(b) Sums appropriated to implement the purposes of this Act for any fiscal year shall be apportioned by the Commissioner among the States in proportion to the number of children from low-income families within each State. Sums apportioned for any particular State beyond that needed for grants to eligible applicants shall be reapportioned to other States on the same basis.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ANIMAL AGRICULTURE

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, recently, the 18th annual conference of the National Institute of Animal Agriculture met.

This outstanding organization has done a great deal to further the cause of animal agriculture, a fact recognized by many great Americans. I recently was made aware of a telegram sent to Dr. Hilton M. Briggs of the institute by Vice President HUMPHREY, which certainly indicates the esteem our Vice President feels for this industry, as well as his acute knowledge of the problems those in animal agriculture must be prepared to deal with.

Accordingly, I feel the Vice President's message deserves the attention of a wider audience, and would like to call my colleagues' attention to the following:

Dr. HILTON M. BRIGGS,
National Institute of Animal Agriculture, Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.:

I regret I am unable to join you at your banquet this evening during your 18th annual conference. The theme of the conference, "Animal Agriculture—Action and Reaction," is both exciting and forward looking. The action and reaction to animal agriculture has been and will continue to be the keystone to a sound and lasting food and fiber policy.

You who represent farmers, processors, distributors and educators in the field of agriculture have been doing your part to meet the challenge of increased population and increased affluence.

Animal agriculture is big business in the United States. Cash receipts from the sale of livestock and livestock products during 1967 were 24 billion dollars. They made up 57 percent of all farm cash receipts.

During the past 20 years tremendous strides have been made in animal agriculture. Beef consumption has risen 51 perecnt. Poultry production has more than doubled. And this has all come about in the face of a farm population which has declined 57 percent during these past 20 years.

I am confident that your deliberations will continue to produce sound and progressive ideas, including constructive ideas to improve all phases of agriculture. I especially hope that you will give particular attention to the need for bargaining power among those who produce the animals and grains that become the products which we enjoy in such abundance in this Nation.

Freedom and production have been the hallmark of American husbandry. Government has, can and should continue to be a help to all segments of agriculture but a hindrance to none.

Please extend my warm best wishes to my many friends attending this important conference.

Sincerely,

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY.

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, yesterday afternoon more than 200,000 people in Chicago had the profound privilege of hearing Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY address a tribute to the 177th anniversary of Poland's Constitution.

Mr. HUMPHREY delivered an address which was as profound in its wisdom as was the very constitution adopted by the Poles 177 years ago. Both the Polish Constitution and Mr. HUMPHREY's speech boldly put into proper perspective man's eternal struggle for freedom and human dignity.

Vice President HUMPHREY reached the height of the world's great philosophers when he stated that the unfinished business of the world is to restore freedom to all of the people, regardless of their race, their religion, their nationality, or their political beliefs.

The Vice President's speech belongs among the historic papers of this Nation, and I am sure that I reflect the enthusiasm of the more than 200,000 people who attended the stirring tribute to the Polish constitution in Humboldt Park when I include Mr. HUMPHREY's entire speech in the RECORD.

The Polish National Alliance did all of America a great service yesterday by arranging this tribute and inviting the Vice President as its principal speaker.

Mr. HUMPHREY's address follows:

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY AT POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY CELEBRATION, CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 5, 1968

The order of this day—like the business of this century—is freedom.

It is unfinished business—every place in the world.

Here in this country and abroad—in Washington and in Warsaw and in Chicago—freedom faces different enemies, meets different problems, makes different gains.

But at home and abroad, the convulsive, turbulent processes of freedom are at work—processes that are never quiet, never still, never satisfied. No people have ever gained freedom—or held it—without torment, difficulty and ferment, from the earliest days of recorded history. That is why we meet here today.

On the 177th Anniversary of Poland's Declaration of Freedom; but freedom is still to be won in Poland.

In the 192nd year of America's Declaration for Freedom; but freedom is still America's unfinished business.

World War II unleashed great forces of liberation in the Twentieth Century, even as, paradoxically, it fastened a new type of tyranny upon vast numbers of people in too many nations.

But even in those nations, the seeds of emancipation are beginning at long last to sprout.

In Eastern Europe the monolith of communism has been fractured. People are demanding—and getting—emancipation from rigid, inflexible state control.

Today, the emancipation of Eastern Europe continues—and so does the American Revolution.

"Freedom now" and "we shall overcome" are common cries all over the world.

Freedom and peace are the universalities of humanity's purpose and meaning. And as distance disappears, these stars draw closer.

The world gets too small to hide a tyranny.

There was a time when what happened in Krakow hardly reached Warsaw. Later, what happened in Warsaw hardly reached Paris. Today, what happens in Stare Miasto reaches all the way to Humboldt Park.

In both places the dream is the same—for freedom doesn't lead ever to satisfaction. It is an eternal stairway of the human aspiration.

And if America stands at the moment on a higher landing of that stairway than Poland does, the Polish American stands on both—and in both cases pushes upward.

You and those who came with you, and before, brought the lively creative qualities of the Polish people and blended them into the new world:

A love of country—and made it love of this country, too.

A blunt dislike for special privilege, and a complete commitment to equal opportunity for every man and woman.

A little haunting sadness that things are never perfect—and an optimism that they can be better if you work hard enough.

America needed that spirit when your fathers and mothers came.

America needs it now.

You above all know that when we talk of "bridge building" me mean bridges among people—bridges built of human understanding so that they will carry the business of nations.

We can be justly proud of the work of the Polish National Alliance between the people of Poland and the people of the United States.

We can be proud of the American Research Hospital for children in Krakow—some of us here, Congressmen, officials and private citizens—and I—are just a little extra proud of that.

Today, we celebrate a Constitution of Freedom—a landmark in liberty's history, and an eternal benchmark for its future.

Today, and every day we learn a little more about what it takes to make freedom real—now—here—in Poland—every place in the world.

"Freedom now" is not just a call for racial equality. It is a call for universal justice, and you can say it in any language.

The same drive to freedom is going on throughout the world—and America must continue to lead that drive.

Your fathers came here because in America there was opportunity. They believed a man should leave his home and try a new life where there was a chance that it would be a better life.

And they found it. Polish Americans have played their full part in every aspect of national life—from the hardest kind of work in the fields and factories to the highest levels of professional, intellectual, cultural and political achievement.

Now we believe that the same broad scope of opportunity should be open to people of every nation—that every homeland should be a land of opportunity. Our nation is committed to that goal.

You shouldn't have to cross the ocean to find a better life—and you shouldn't even have to cross the street.

Opportunity—a chance to be the best you can become—has become a home-town affair. No man ought to have to leave his family to find opportunity—above all, not in America. No Americans ought to understand that more clearly than Polish-Americans separated from families overseas.

Early in the life of this nation, some Americans were made free because Thaddeus Kosciuszko willed his American property for that purpose.

Early in the life of this nation, some Americans were made free.

Other Americans can have real opportunity now—not next year but now—because Polish-Americans will refuse to see justice denied to any American.

There are people here today whose fathers brought the first new light of freedom to the people of Eastern Europe.

There are others here today whose fathers or brothers or sons have fought and died for freedom, serving their country in the New World.

What Polish-Americans have done for themselves in America—what they have done for America—makes this nation more believable everywhere, and gives people everywhere more faith in themselves.

This is your tradition. It is mine. It is ours. We will go on building it—together—Polish-Americans and every other kind of American there is or ever will be.

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1968

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, 191 years ago today the people of Poland adopted a constitution which was one of the most liberal and progressive documents to come out of 18th century Europe. The liberalism of this document was, however, no more than a reflection of the liberal and creative spirit of the Polish people.

The Constitution of 1791 shares a common philosophy of government with the Constitution of our own country, drafted 2 years previously. However, the Polish Constitution of May 3 emerged under far more adverse conditions; for Poland in 1791 was a country under direct threat from external foes. Not only was the freedom of its people under attack, but the continued existence of Poland as a nation was as well.

The patriotic and farsighted men who drafted this document saw it as a potential weapon against their external foes, but one more powerful than the most potent cannon or gun. Through the expression of the spirit of the Polish people, they hoped to strengthen them and thus put Poland in a better position to resist the country's foes.

The Constitution that resulted from their efforts gave Poland a government of limited monarchy, with a responsible cabinet type of ministry. Many old features of the governmental machinery were discarded, and nearly all class distinctions were abolished. Personal privileges formerly enjoyed by the few were made available to all townsmen, and the peasantry were placed under the protection of the law. Freedom of conscience was guaranteed, and provisions were made for the periodic revision of the Constitution. This Constitution was a pioneering instrument and as such was meant to usher in a new era for the Polish people.

This enlightened document came to Poland without a bloody revolution or even a single disorder and succeeded in reforming her public life and in eradicating her internal decline. But this great rebirth and assertion of democracy came to the Poles too late to forestall the third partition of Poland in 1795 by Russian, Prussia, and Austria.

On the observance of Polish Constitution Day I am happy to be able to add my voice to the salute to the Americans of Polish ancestry.

THE MIDWEST WATER RESOURCE STUDIES, AND PROPOSED REALLOCATION PROJECTS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, on March 11, 1968, my able colleague from Iowa, Representative JOHN KYL, and I, issued a statement expressing the growing concern in the Midwest over future challenges to the water resources of that region from other more arid regions of the Nation. Water is an invaluable resource, and once lost it cannot be expected to be easily recovered. We in the Midwest have fortunately been blessed with sufficient supply, and consequently the need for scientists and engineers from our region to assess our needs and project them into the future was less pressing. However, because of the challenge to the Midwest water supply, we are called upon today to undertake this long-range assessment and our purpose is, and will continue to be, to insure that adequate information on future Midwest water needs is available, and where necessary additional study undertaken.

We intend to insure that adequate study is undertaken on the subject of Missouri and Midwest water needs in two ways. First, we intend to collect and make public the various studies currently authorized to explore the competing water resource needs of the Midwest and other regions. Some studies have been completed, others are in process, still others may be found to be necessary. Therefore, second, Congressman KYL and I are cosponsoring a bill today which would require that the Secretary of the Army, acting through the Corps of Engineers, and in conjunction with all other interested agencies and departments, make a full and complete investigation of the future water needs of the Missouri River Basin. To avoid redundancy, and waste of Government funds, the bill specifically directs the Corps of Engineers to utilize and correlate the several studies currently in progress as mentioned in these remarks and others which may be appropriate.

Particular attention has been given to the proposal advanced by the R. W. Beck & Associates, engineering firm of Denver, Colo., which would divert 9 to 16 million acre-feet of water per year from the Missouri River below Fort Randall. The water so diverted would be carried by dams, reversible turbines, and pumps along a 940-mile canal through Nebraska, eastern Colorado, western Kansas and Oklahoma, to western Texas and New Mexico.

This project would undoubtedly be of some benefit to the Southwest, but its detrimental effects on Iowa, Missouri, and other Midwestern States had not been fully explored and made public. Certain preliminary studies have been undertaken, both on this project in particular, and on the needs of the Midwestern region in general, which should be noted for the record and publicly evaluated.

The Bureau of Reclamation of the Department of the Interior jointly with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers has been conducting a preliminary study of the Mississippi River to west Texas and west New Mexico water import plans. Although this study does not name the Missouri River which would be affected greatly by the R. W. Beck proposal, the study necessarily encompasses it as an essential tributary of the Missouri-Mississippi system. Two years ago Congress appropriated $1,700,000 to the Bureau of Reclamation, and 1 year ago an additional $2,400,000 for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was appropriated for the purposes of this study. We have contacted the Bureau of Reclamation for a status report on the study and were advised that a preliminary report is expected in the near future. This report will also be made a matter of public record at that time.

In addition, the Bureau of Reclamation did provide a copy of a letter to Mr. W. E. Trommershausen of R. W. Beck & Associates containing the Bureau's requested comments on the Beck plan. This letter is inserted in the RECORD at the conclusion of these remarks.

We have also contacted Mr. Henry P. Caulfield, Jr., Executive Director of the Water Resources Council. Under the Water Resources Planning Act of 1965 (79 Stat. 244; 42 U.S.C. 1962a) the Water Resources Council is charged with the responsibility of making a continuing study of the adequacy of the supplies of water necessary to meet the requirements in each water resource region in the United States, the relation of regional river basin plans to the requirements of the Nation, the adequacy of the coordination of the administrative and statutory water resource policies, and to establish comprehensive plans and policies for the approval of the President and his transmittal to the Congress. By our letter we intended to call the impending water resource battle to the attention of the Council, and ascertain what study of a comprehensive nature may be planned by them, or hopefully already undertaken. Again, when received, this information will be made a matter of public record.

We would also like to express our great appreciation to the chancellor, the direc-

tor of the Water Resources Research Center, and the chairman of the department of civil engineering, of the University of Missouri at Rolla, for their offer of the assistance of the fine personnel and facilities of that university for any further study which might be necessary.

The Bureau of Reclamation's comments on the feasibility and cost of the R. W. Beck proposal follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF RECLAMATION,
Washington, D.C., April 4, 1968.

Hon. THOMAS B. CURTIS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CURTIS: In your letter of March 25, 1968, you asked for information on a study we are making in cooperation with the Mississippi River Commission of the Corps of Engineers of a proposal to divert water from the Mississippi River into the High Plains of Texas and New Mexico.

Very little work had been done on this diversion proposal prior to the time we started our studies a little over a year ago.

Our effort thus far has been concentrated on a preliminary evaluation of the various alternative routes for the diversion system. The preliminary studies will provide a basis for selection of the more promising routes for more detailed study. We expect to receive a report from our field office in the near future on the results of the preliminary studies. After the report has been reviewed, we will be glad to furnish you a copy for your information.

In regard to the proposal recently advanced by R. W. Beck and Associates for a diversion from the Missouri River, we were asked by the authors to comment on the plan. Transmitted herewith is a copy of our letter to R. W. Beck and Associates which contains our comments.

Sincerely yours,

FLOYD E. DOMINY,
Commissioner.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF RECLAMATION,
Washington, D.C., March 21, 1968.

MR. W. E. TROMMERSHAUSEN,
R. W. Beck & Associates,
Western Federal Savings Building,
Denver, Colo.

DEAR MR. TROMMERSHAUSEN: As promised in our letter of December 8, 1967, we have reviewed the Beck Plan as presented in the report entitled "A New Water Resource Plan for the Great Plains," which was forwarded for our review with your letter of December 4, 1967. We appreciate being given the opportunity of doing so and wish to commend you for developing this conceptual plan as a public service to stimulate some farsighted thinking on the Nation's water supply problems.

Since the Beck Plan is of a conceptual nature and we have not made any specific studies of this diversion proposal, our comments must, of necessity, be general in nature.

The report deals with a plan to divert an average 13,000,000 acre-feet of water annually from the Missouri River below Ft. Randall Dam at about elevation 1250 feet and lift it through a series of reservoirs and canals some 200 miles up the Niobrara River to about elevation 4050, just north of Alliance, Nebraska. From there the water would flow by gravity through a 940-mile canal south through western Nebraska, eastern Colorado, along the Kansas border, and across the Oklahoma Panhandle into Texas, west of Amarillo.

One of the most critical elements of the Beck Plan is the assumption that slack-water navigation can be developed below Sioux City as a completely separate, economically viable development. The Corps of Engineers is more qualified to comment on this aspect but, as pointed out in the report, the Corps considered a slack-water plan in its 1933 report on the Missouri River (H.D. No. 238, 73d Congress). Based on a series of low dams and locks and a channel with navigation depths of 8 to 9 feet, the cost was estimated to be $343,255,000 on the basis of 1932 prices. The Corps concluded that open-river navigation would provide the same benefits at much less cost and so proceeded with the open-river plan. In 1957, in joint hearings on "Missouri Basin Water Problems" before the Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs and on Public Works of the Senate, the Corps indicated that, at then current prices, the cost of the slack-water navigation plan would be three times as much, which would amount to more than one billion dollars.

A detailed study would be necessary to verify the accuracy of the assumption regarding the feasibility of slack-water navigation, but it appears to us that since navigation on the Missouri is an established use, it cannot be expected to absorb the expense of construction of additional works just to provide the same navigation use. In fact, it would appear that the resulting slack-water navigation would be inferior to open-water navigation because of the time and expense that would be involved in passing barges through the many locks. We therefore believe the major portion of the cost of the slack-water navigation project would have to be absorbed as an integral part of the cost of the proposed diversion plan. Moreover, with the reduced flows in the Missouri River contemplated in the Beck Plan, we suspect that it might be necessary to extend the slack-water navigation system down the Mississippi some distance from the mouth of the Missouri.

In regard to developing power in connection with the slack-water plan, the Corps indicated in the 1957 hearings that power was not included in its 1933 plan because of the low head of the dams and acknowledged that power would have to be considered if the slack-water proposal were to be restudied. It was suggested that if the slack-water navigation plan were revised to include fewer dams with higher heads and power installations, power production could pay the cost of that project. However, it also was pointed out that the reduction of flood hazards by construction of upstream storage and stabilization of river banks since 1933 had encouraged improvements of flood-plain properties and intensified use of flood-plain lands; thus, the right-of-way costs for high head dams would be very great. This would be an even greater problem today. The prospects appear even less favorable when it is considered that under the Beck Plan most of the water would be diverted from the river upstream and would not be available to produce power in the new plants.

Another very critical aspect of the Beck Plan is the amount of water available in the Missouri River at the proposed diversion point. The analysis in the report is based on runoff records on the Missouri River at Sioux City, Iowa, which is 120 miles downstream from the point of diversion. It is stated that the average annual runoff there is 24,000,000 acre-feet for the period 1898 to 1962, but the Corps of Engineers estimates that by 2020 upstream depletions would reduce this to 16,000,000 acre-feet annually. It is further estimated in the report that 3,000,000 acre-feet would be sufficient to meet future requirements on the Missouri River downstream from the proposed diversion for slack-water navigation, municipal and industrial uses, and stream sanitation. Thus, 13,000,000 would be available for diversion.

There is a gaging station at Yankton, South Dakota, much closer to the point of diversion. It is 6.1 miles downstream from Gavins Point Dam and approximately 40 miles downstream from the proposed point of diversion. It has available records dating back to October 1930. The average yearly discharge of the Missouri River at Yankton during the period of record, 1931–1962, is 17,800,000 acre-feet. We believe the runoff at Yankton during the more current period of record is more appropriate as a base for estimating divertible supply. The difference between average discharge over the periods of record for the two stations is approximately 5,500,000 acre-feet. This would mean that if the water supply for the plan were derived from the average runoff at Yankton for its period of record, the water supply available for diversion should be reduced to 7,500,000 acre-feet (13,000,000–5,500,000).

In regard to future upstream depletions estimated in the report, we and the other Federal agencies and the concerned States are engaged in a comprehensive survey of the Missouri River Basin which should shed more light on depletions expected in the year 2020. However, such a long-range plan as this should provide for upstream depletions at a date much farther in the future than the year 2020 to protect the rights of the users in the basin of origin. This would probably result in a further reduction of water available for diversion. Also, there is a question as to the adequacy of the 3,000,000 acre-feet of flow in the Missouri River below Sioux City. Considering modern requirements for stream pollution and other water uses, it possibly would be necessary to maintain considerably larger flows in that reach of the river.

It is stated in the report that of the 13,000,000 acre-feet of water available for diversion (using the record at Sioux City), 2,800,000 acre-feet should be deducted because of scheduling problems, seepage, and evaporation losses in the reservoirs on the Niobrara, in the canal, and in the participating project, leaving a net of 10,200,000 acre-feet per year to supply the needs of irrigators and for other uses during average runoff conditions. We believe these estimates of losses are optimistic. It appears that losses and evaporation on the canal alone might amount to about 1,000,000 acre-feet per year. Diversion losses and evaporation and seepage losses from the large reservoirs on the Niobrara River and the terminal storage reservoirs would probably be much higher but, of course, cannot be estimated without further data on the plan. For instance, the Niobrara River rises in the Sand Hills of western Nebraska; thus, there might be a question concerning the tightness of reservoirs constructed in these areas, and water lost by reservoir seepage might be very substantial.

The report takes a most optimistic outlook on the amount of potentially irrigable land that could be irrigated within the area traversed by the proposed canal. There is a possibility, however, even assuming there is 13,000,000 acre-feet of water in the Missouri River available for diversion, that Nebraska and Kansas may have sufficient lands, perhaps even within the Missouri River Basin, suitable for irrigation to use this entire water supply. If this irrigation were feasible, there would be no justification for extending the system to Texas, or the additional pumping required to serve lands in Colorado outside of the Missouri River Basin. Further, studies that have been made of the water requirements of the High Plains area of eastern New Mexico and west Texas indicate there will be an annual need for 19,000,000 acre-feet of import water by the year 2020. Even if the full amount of the diversion were committed to the High Plains area, it would fall far short of meeting the projected requirements of that area and additional imports would be necessary. There certainly would be no justification for extending the Beck Plan into the Pecos River Basin.

The report recognizes that regulatory storage will be needed along the system to pro-

vide holdover storage capacity and meet the seasonal needs for irrigation. It suggests, however, that such storage could be developed as part of the participating project and the cost estimate for the diversion proposal does not include any allowance for those participating projects. In view of the large annual variations in the flows of the Missouri River and the need for operation of the main canal as nearly as practicable at full capacity on a year-round basis in the interest of efficiency and economy, a large amount of regulatory storage capacity would be required at strategic locations along the canal. We believe this storage capacity should be considered as part of the diversion plan, and that the costs, which would be quite substantial, should be included in the estimate.

The report also recognizes that a very significant item of cost will be the pumping power required to lift the water some 2,800 feet up the Niobrara River. The report indicates that this would require 4,000 mw of pumping capacity and an annual energy requirement of 35 billion kilowatt-hours. This latter figure is derived by using 10,200 acre-feet (13,000,000 acre-feet of diversion less 2,800,000 of system losses), 80 percent plant efficiency and no allowance for friction head. Assuming a 70 percent plant efficiency (which we believe would be more appropriate) and using the gross 13,000,000 acre-feet but no allowance for friction head, our cursory computations indicate an annual energy requirement of 53,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours. This is roughly 9 to 10 times the estimated average annual output of the Missouri River mainstem hydrosystem by the year 2020. Possibly the efficiency can be improved to as much as 80 percent, but water lost in transit also has to be pumped, and friction head power requirements would be a significant amount. Even if the water is pumped around the clock most of the year, we believe the power demand would be about 6,000 mw. Since reversible pump turbines are suggested for possible peaking power operations, the required power for pumping could exceed 12,000 mw.

We note that the costs shown on the report do not include any assigned costs from the Missouri River main-stem storage reservoirs. To utilize the average flow available, the upstream reservoirs would have to control the flow of the Missouri so that the flow at the diversion point would approach the average as near as practicable. To analyze such a change from the present mode of operation would require a complete, coordinated hydropower operation study of the main-stem reservoir system to fully assess the effect on existing and planned functions of the Missouri River Basin Project. Depending upon the results of the operation study (which would cover irrigation, flood control, navigation and power as a minimum), a revised cost allocation study of the main-stem reservoir system would be needed to properly assign storage costs against the Beck Plan. These studies would also be necessary to fully assess the effect of the plan on the presently authorized functions and on future development plans.

The report indicates there is a "potential gross head of approximately 40 feet at the proposed diversion dam which would be located between Gavins Point Reservoir and Fort Randall Dam." This is not possible because the top of the joint-use pool at Gavins Point of elevation 1209, where as minimum water surface at Ft. Randall is elevation 1233, a difference of only 25 feet. A 40-foot diversion dam diverting at elevation 1250 at the location proposed also would interfere with the operations of Ft. Randell Powerplant.

Financial feasibility is not discussed in the report. Because of the scope and complexity of the plan and in view of the large number of States, cities, and local entities involved, implementation of that plan would have to be as a Federal development. If done under Reclamation law, all costs assigned to irrigation would be fully reimbursable. On the basis of our experience in the Great Plains area, however, the irrigators on participating projects in the Missouri Basin in Colorado, Kansas, and Nebraska, where a general crop-livestock economy prevails, lack sufficient payment capacity to repay very much of the construction costs in addition to the annual operation, maintenance, and replacement costs. As a matter of fact, in most instances the irrigators cannot pay any significant amount of the costs of construction other than those costs for distribution and drainage systems, thus leaving nearly all of the costs of storage and conveyance for repayment by surplus power revenues. Since the costs of the irrigation distribution and drainage systems are not included in the estimates presented in the report, the prospective irrigators, after constructing their own distribution works, would have practically no capacity to repay any appreciable amount of the costs of the main diversion and conveyance system. A large subsidy would be required from some source.

As you no doubt are aware, the Congress has authorized us and the Corps of Engineers to investigate the feasibility of diverting water from the Mississippi River System into the High Plains area of New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma. That area has been assigned a priority because its highly developed irrigated agriculture is based on ground-water pumping. Ground-water levels have been declining steadily and large imports will be a necessity in the near future just to maintain the existing economy. In formulating our planning program, we took into consideration the possibility of a diversion from the Missouri River. Because there is insufficient water in the Missouri River to meet the foreseeable needs of the High Plains area, however, our studies have been directed primarily toward diversions from the Lower Mississippi River where, with regulatory storage in the diversion plan, we believe there is ample water. We hope to complete a reconnaissance report on our studies by the end of fiscal year 1972. This investigation should give us valuable experience in the planning and design of large-scale, interstate diversion projects and permit us to make a more meaningful and constructive appraisal of the Beck Plan.

In conclusion, we appreciate the opportunity to review your proposal, and we want to thank you for your interest in the Nation's serious water supply problems.

We have received requests from Congressmen Thomas B. Curtis, Frank E. Evans, and E. S. Johnny Walker for our appraisal of the Beck Plan so we are forwarding a copy of this letter to them for their information.

Sincerely yours,

G. G. STAMM,
Acting Commissioner.

JOURNALISM AT ITS BEST

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, civil service columnist, Jerry Kluttz, on Saturday, May 4, wrote a column on my position in regard to the antiriot amendment which was tacked on to the postal payroll bill, a bookkeeping measure. This column was one which I appreciate very much.

I have come to know Jerry Kluttz and his work during my service on the committee. He is highly informed and a fair writer. But what I like best about Mr. Kluttz is his followthrough on news stories.

A previous column had named me as the author of a riot bill. Mr. Kluttz found out that I was not only not the author of the bill but the author of an administrative bill to which the antiriot amendment was added, and was, in fact, opposed to the antiriot amendment.

That is the best kind of journalism. Jerry is a thorough reporter. He is a good reporter, and I like to think of him as a friend. He sets a high standard in the Washington press corps, which includes the finest newsmen in the country. I would like to thank Jerry, his partner Mike Causey, and the Washington Post for their coverage of our hearings and the work of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

I submit an example of Mr. Kluttz' work, a Federal diary column dated May 4, 1968:

THE FEDERAL DIARY

(By Jerry Kluttz)

Protest: Rep. Robert Nix (D-Pa.) yesterday denounced the antiriot bill as approved by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee as "'a hasty, panicky and incredible action."

The only Negro member of the Committee is embarrassed because his name appears on the measure to deny Federal or District jobs for five years to persons convicted in connection with riots.

Nix said his colleagues acted without giving the proposal adequate study. He suggested any punishment of rioters be left to the courts. He thought the denial of Government employment for five years was too severe a penalty for a misdemeanor that could carry only a $25 fine in a court.

Nix's name appears on the legislation because of what his office says is "a peculiar legislative situation." The bill he introduced was a routine measure sought by the Post Office Department.

The full Committee used it in its closed session Thursday to superimpose the antiriot language to it, and announced the Committee was unanimous for it.

Nix had accompanied Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey to his home city of Philadelphia, and he did not attend the meeting of the full Committee. He took out after his colleagues when he returned here and found out what had happened to his bill.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST "DEAD" BILL, H.R. 5710

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, for more than a year I have been deluged with letters urging me to oppose H.R. 5710, the original administration draft social security bill which was later superseded by H.R. 12080.

The letterwriters all appear to be inspired by a single source, an unsigned flyer alleging that this bill, which will transfer social security funds into welfare programs. The flyer also goes on to say that the bill—which never was reported out of committee—has been ap-

proved by the House and is pending in the Senate.

Mr. Speaker, I have written letters to the editors of the daily newspapers in my district. Almost all of the newspapers in the 14th District of New Jersey, dailies and weeklies, have had stories debunking this bizarre campaign against a provision which never existed in H.R. 5710.

The very able chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, our good friend, WILBUR MILLS, sent me a letter, a copy of which is inserted at the conclusion of my remarks, setting out in chapter and verse the facts behind the Social Security Act. I have forwarded copies of his letter to hundreds of constituents. Yet, the letters keep coming.

In the New York Times of Sunday, May 5, 1968, there is a most interesting article by John D. Morris on this strange campaign, which I think all Members who are receiving letters on H.R. 5710 ought to read.

I include Mr. Morris' article in the RECORD, following Mr. MILLS' letter.

Mr. MILLS' letter follows:

DEAR MR. DANIELS: This is in reply to your recent inquiry concerning an article which appeared in one of your local papers relating to H.R. 5710 and stating that this legislation would provide a "need test" for the payment of social security benefits."

As you know, H.R. 5710, which was introduced early in 1967, contained the Administration's proposed amendments to the Social Security Act. Hearings were held on this legislation last March and April. Subsequently, however, the Committee on Ways and Means reported out a clean bill, H.R. 12080, which was approved on February 2, 1968, as Public Law 90–248, the "Social Security Amendments of 1967". Consequently, the original Administration bill H.R. 5710, can now be considered as a dead bill since it was superseded by the bill that was enacted into law.

Let me assure you that the allegations you have received are a complete misrepresentation of the provisions of the bill. There is no provision in H.R. 12080 nor was there any provision in H.R. 5710, which would have the effects described in the article. Taxes will still be collected and benefits will still be based on wages earned in covered employment, and workers will be entitled to these benefits as a "matter of right". In other words, H.R. 12080 (P.L. 90–248), instead of reversing, preserves the concept of a wage-related system.

As a complement to the Social Security Insurance System, as you know, we do have the public assistance programs which the Federal Government helps the states maintain under a matching formula, under which both Federal and state funds are used to make public assistance payments. This system has always been and will continue to be based on a needs test under H.R. 12080.

I think it is obvious that no administration would propose nor would Congress enact any such proposal as the one described by the article to which you refer.

Sincerely yours,

WILBUR D. MILLS,
Chairman.

[From the New York Times, May 5, 1968]

CIRCULAR ATTACKS BILL ON BENEFITS—FALSE ACCUSATION OF SOCIAL SECURITY DEATH FOUGHT

(By John D. Morris)

WASHINGTON, May 4.—For nearly a year, members of Congress have been trying to convince disturbed constituents that there is no truth in an anonymous circular attacking House Bill 5710.

The circular, contending that the bill would destroy the Social Security Act, first began showing up last May on the bulletin boards of factories and offices around the country.

It prompted a heavy flow of postcards, letters, telegrams and telephone calls to Representatives and Senators from worried constituents. Despite the combined efforts of legislators and the Social Security Administration to refute the charge, many Congressional offices are still receiving such communications.

The one-page circular points out, truthfully, that Social Security retirement benefits are fixed by law and that the Social Security Administration "has no discretionary powers to alter the amount." However, it adds:

"There is a bill before Congress that would destroy the Social Security Act and channel the money you have paid, and will in the future, into welfare programs with the administrator empowered to determine what retirement benefit, if any, you would receive, based on his determination of your need.

"If, in his opinion, you did not need it, he could reduce the amount or deny you entirely."

The circular says "only a flood of mail from all over the country will stop this outright steal." It suggests "letters and cards written in longhand, signed with your name and address," as the most effective.

It then gives the names of Representatives and Senators from the state in which each circular is distributed.

Actually, House Bill 5710 was the original version of the Johnson Administration's bill for an across-the-board increase in Old Age, Survivors and Disability benefits and various other changes in the Social Security Act.

The measure was revised extensively by the House Ways and Means Committee, which even changed its number to 12080. Neither the original version nor the final text signed by President Johnson last Jan. 2 called for alteration of the law's basic principles, as charged by the anonymous circular.

Under the final version, as under House Bill 5710, a worker's right to benefits and the amount of his benefits continue to be based on his record of work under Social Security. Benefits are still paid as a matter of earned right without any test of need.

At one point last June, so many inquiries were received from other members of Congress by Representative Wilbur D. Mills of Arkansas, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, that he drafted a form letter to assure prompt replies.

In it, he characterized charges in the circular as "a complete misrepresentation" of the bill's provisions.

"I think it is obvious," he added, "that no Administration would propose nor would the Congress enact any such proposal."

ONE POWER MIGHTIER THAN THE ATOM—TVEE INCITEMENT TO RIOT

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I wish to insert the Economic Council Letter for May 1, 1968 in the Extensions of Remarks in the RECORD. I feel that this report should be brought to the attention of all Members of Congress.

ONE POWER MIGHTIER THAN THE ATOM—TVEE INCITEMENT TO RIOT

What's in a name? Well, a very great deal. Especially if you are seeking a name for the race riots of early April, 1968. From where we sit, we incline toward calling them "The TVEE Race Riots of April, 1968." (At the time of writing, April 26 is still ahead.)

Some tell us they should be called "The Democrat-Communist Race Riots." Others say that if you want to be realistic, they should be called "The Kennedy-Johnson Race Riots." Others object that the foregoing leave out the big money which financed the hell-raising behind the scenes—like Bobby, Reuther, the Ford Foundation, the Field Foundation, the rich neurotics of New York, Pittsburgh, and Chicago, et al.

Anyway, we have never seen TV, radio, and the press go to such extremes to incite people to riot, to foment hate and envy, and to promote looting and burning. Few tricks were missed by most of these outfits to inflame passions and undermine law and order. From a responsibility standpoint, it was mostly on the level of the mental age of 12. When will the press grow up? We don't know. It has made no progress in the past generation.

It's too bad that those whose property was destroyed can't sue CBS, NBC, and ABC, as well as some of the radio outfits, slanted newspapers, and neurotic commentators and columnists. Perhaps a new legal doctrine can be conjured up by neurotic lawyers from Harvard that will make it possible. If so, we think it could be called "The MA–12 Riot Doctrine."

A TRIAL RUN?

Another basic question follows close upon that of name. Did the number one power structure play its ace of spades? Without suggesting that they shot King or Kennedy, it remains true that an assassination was used to set up a martyr and for mass intimidation. The whole thing had the characteristics of a trial run. It was as though all TV and radio networks and a large part of the press were plugged in to the same nauseating repetition of the same hate- and envy-fomenting lies. Obviously, there was no intent to reveal or demonstrate monopolistic control from a central point, but what more could be done to flaunt it in the face of every citizen?

Martin Luther King is reported to have once told a newsman that the mass media were responsible for the success of the militant Negroes; that H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael would not have had any following without TV. On TV recently, another national leader of the Negroes said that TV and the press were inciting the Negroes. He pointed out that, at many press conferences, there would be something like "a few Negroes and an enormous number of white press representatives." Almost every TV, radio, columnist, commentator, political prostitute, minority racketeer, liberal, sob sister, neurotic, et al., was wired to the same propaganda coaxial line at the same time, following the assassination. It was a terrific and an unprecedented snow job. The real aim was to produce a mass guilt complex. It looked very professional. If you know which outfit ran it from behind the scences, please let us know. We have not yet been able to find out.

Just think of the implications for the future of such a brazen demonstration. One is that the number one power structure now thinks it has such complete discipline in the thought-control system that it can simplify the process of extending its domination of the country by means of the next national election. All it has to do is to stampede mass opinion again. The behind-the scenes boys will not have to put out several hundred million dollars for the pros in or-

der to manipulate the political parties. It would be an automated election—subliminal projection on one frequency, over the heads of the politicos, to heat up the prejudices of the half-educated product of degenerative education.

Only a few politicians will be needed. These few will serve like puppets on strings. Will there be unemployment relief for politicians? A lot of them will be out of the gravy. And the people—all conformists, subjectively conditioned à la Pavlov—just robots.

CIVIL RIOTS

Coupled with TVEE incitement on a nation-wide scale, of course, were the riots themselves. No matter what the intent may have been, the whole thing served as a trial run. These TVEE race riots were pulled off in more than 125 cities. It was as though a button had been pushed in New York. The riots could not have been spontaneous. They did not just happen. They had to be caused from a central place. They also had to be prepared. It took two or three years for the preparations. We were warned repeatedly that a well-organized program to train looters and burners had been developed and carried out in Cuba. It called for provoking guerrilla warfare in the streets of our cities. Its inspiration and financing are reported to have come from both Moscow and China, as well as from New York, Bobby, Reuther, et al.

According to press reports, there has been a fairly free flow of trainees between the United States and Cuba, in preparation for what ultimately happened and is yet to happen. This free flow was possible, because of betrayal and sabotage of the interests of the country by the State Department. According to the press reports, allowance was made so that these characters (the trainees for civil riots) could come into the United States or back into the U.S.A. in some other guise, a certain number could be admitted daily, weekly, or monthly along with refugees from Castroism. How many members of this privileged wrecking crew were admitted without question and perhaps with no records taken? Were they carefully planted in cities throughout the United States? Did they touch things off on signal from New York? Who phones to Carmichael in Washington from New York and Cuba and tells him what to do next? Why were the warnings of such possibilities, which have been given repeatedly, ignored almost everywhere? Why didn't any one in authority want to listen?

A WARNING FROM ABROAD

Observers at a distance sometimes know more about what is in the works than those immediately on the scene. Repeatedly, that very excellent *Intelligence Digest*, published in London, has warned about what was going to happen by way of civil insurrection within the United States. For over a year it has been issuing warnings such as the one early this year, as follows:

"We forecast that the worst of the racial strife in America is still to come. Contrary to official reports we say that it is wholly *organized* from a secret Government Department in Moscow and the intention is utterly to undermine the whole American economy and split American society into hostile factions."

"LIFE BEFORE PROPERTY"

What had the effect of an open invitation to looting and burning spread over the country from the Department of Justice. It was the life-before-property doctrine with which the Department has been spraying local police for months. Could it be a part of the plan above referred to—run from a department in Moscow? It looked like the product of neurotic lawyers of the Harvard persuasion. As usual, it was a slick job of rationalizing soft-headed tactics to give the appearance of opposing something, while having the effect of inducing and inciting it.

The headline on an article describing this Department of Justice line, in the Sunday *New York Times* (April 14), fell just a little bit short of an insult to intelligence. It read: "Restraint in Riot Control Result of Long Planning." It then presented several columns about the way in which "the Federal Government had evolved a new and 'humanitarian' plan for the control of disorders with minimum violence. The new concept, planned in secrecy and great detail for rioting expected later this summer, *places life above property* in the suppression of looting and burning and *thus accepts property loss* to avoid killing." (Italics ours.)

"Restraint in Riot Control," my eye! *U.S. News & World Report* for April 22, starts its story on "Law and Order in the Nation's Capitol," as follows:

"Firemen, guarded by police and Army troops, worked around the clock to combat the 711 fires set by the rioters. . . .

"The hastily mobilized 15,000 regular troops and National Guardsmen were told to keep their rifles unloaded. Often in the early hours, outnumbered police simply stood by—under orders—watching the arson and pillage. . . .

"As violence simmered down, Washington residents and visitors were shocked by the extent of the damage. Property loss was estimated at $15 million. Fatalities number seven—two of them Negroes, burned to death in buildings set afire by the mobs."

According to returns:

125 cities in 29 States and D.C. were hit.
At least 39 persons killed.
More than 3,500 injured.
More than 20,000 arrested.
More than 2,600 fires set.
More than $100 million in property losses.
More than 68,000 troops used.

During a day in Washington a week later we picked up a few items, as follows:

At the outset, the police were ordered not to interfere with the looting and burning.

It was more than 17 hours after the hell-raising started before the authorities took even half-hearted action against it.

There was one Negro couple, 10-year residents in their block, who said they were warned 10 hours in advance that their place was to be burned. They couldn't believe it. Then four hours in advance, police came around and warned them. They then decided they had better do something. They took a few things and went off. When they returned after the battle, sure enough, their block as well as their residence had been burned.

For some time there had been carefully leaked rumors that the Moscow plan was to put this show on in Washington to give the world another demonstration of communist power. Of course, there had to be plenty of hugger-muggery in the Palace Guard to stage such use by the enemy of the White House, State, Justice, Treasury, and other dens of degeneration.

THE KERNER KUTTERS

The President's Commission on Civil Disorders is another ominous feature in the picture. It made a big contribution toward the looting, wrecking, and burning. It seemed to be keyed to "A Racial Program for the 20th Century" which, according to a report in the *Congressional Record*, was put forward in 1912 by a communist theoretician named Israel Cohen. In it, the following paragraph appeared:

"We must realize that our Party's most powerful weapon is racial tension. By pounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the Whites, we can mold them to the program of the Communist Party. The terms 'colonialism' and 'imperialism' must be featured in our propaganda. In America we will aim for a subtle victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the Whites, we will endeavour to instill in the Whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. We will aid the Negroes to rise to prominence in every walk of life, in the professions and in the world of sports and entertainment. With this prestige, the Negroes will be able to intermarry with the Whites and begin a process which will deliver America to our cause."

Of course, the Kerner Report (written by Ginsburg) makes another important contribution toward the Kennedy program to get rid of nationalism in the United States. It provides the venal TV, radio, and press with plenty of incendiary raw material which serves well the line of the "Government Department in Moscow" and the doctrine of Israel Cohen.

For anyone to allow his name to be signed to such a report, with such brazen disregard of its roots and true nature, represents a revolting betrayal of trust. To encourage Negroes toward limitless aspirations and the belief that these might be realized overnight, represents cruel and vicious sabotage. For political prostitutes to put on the travesty of passing laws which really are hollow and empty, is an insult to every minority as well as to the majority. To encourage the belief that there is any short cut to an improved status for ten or fifteen million people, has the effect of collaboration with communism.

WORLD GOVERNMENT UBER ALLES

Although the foregoing ought to be sufficient for the moment, many ask whether such hocus-pocus does not have a larger significance. What about it in relation to the broader framework of what is happening around the globe?

What Abraham Lincoln is reported to have said at Springfield, Illinois, January 16, 1858, may be helpful in relating the moment and the United States to global chaos. It follows:

PRECONCERT

"We cannot absolutely know that all of these exact adaptations are the result of preconcert. But when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places by different workmen—Stephen, Franklin, Roger and James, for instance,—and we see these timbers joined together, and see they exactly make the frame of a house or mill all the tenons and mortises exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few, not omitting even scaffolding—or, if a single piece be lacking, we see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared yet to bring such a piece in—in such a case we find it impossible not to believe that Stephen and Franklin and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan or draft drawn up before the first blow was struck."

Obviously, a limited few are running the world. What is happening is according to plan. For present purposes, let us call this group the World Government Gang. If we go back to about 1916, when their racket was launched, we can see that the primary purpose has been to get rid of nationalism in every country. Only by getting nationalism out of the way is it possible to set up the kind of structure they want for World Government.

A good job of getting rid of nationalism was put over on most countries in the world. First they got rid of the Russian Empire. Advance agents had been at work on it for many years. Millions and millions were poured out from New York to do it. Then the German Empire. The French Empire was liquidated and, after several reincarnations, it now wobbles along as another receivership. The satellites of Russia were put through

the wringer, one by one, and are now just receiverships. China ultimately was degenerated and disintegrated. India was converted into a jelly-like mess of chaos. Africa was torn asunder and headed back toward cannibalism. Latin America was filled with cancer, country after country, and remains but another conglomeration of receiverships. And so it has gone on in country after country, and especially since 1933. Quite a wrecking job on any basis. Not too difficult if you can control the currency of fifty or more nations.

However, in carrying out their global wrecking program, there was one case where they ran into difficulties which caused great delay. It was the United States. Things did not go well for the wreckers in this country. Something had to be done about it. Evidently something was done.

It appears to have accelerated with the advent of the Kennedys. According to various reports, arrangements were made, between the time Mayor Daley is said to have stolen the election for Kennedy and Kennedy's installation in office, to accelerate what became a program for undermining and degenerating nationalism in the United States from within. Whether it be called the Democrat's Program for U.S. Surrender to Soviet Communism or the Kennedy Program for U.S. Surrender to Soviet Communism, makes little difference.

All you have to do is to make an item-by-item list of the measures taken. Together they constitute a comprehensive plan to undermine and degenerate the United States from within. We have reported them often.

Recently, in connection with his disavowal of intent to run again for President, Johnson is quoted by Drew Pearson as having said to his cabinet:

"I regarded this a Kennedy-Johnson pardnership. I lived up to my share of the obligation. I kept on all his people. I acted as if John F. Kennedy was sitting here watching us, and I think that if he is looking down on us, he would say that I carried out every one of his programs and did pretty well until Bobby broke it up."

YOU MIGHT—

With the Supreme court at least 90 percent under the control of the denationalizers, the Executive Branch about 80 percent, and the Congress about 60 percent, you will have to do something extraordinary.

We think there is still enough strength in the House to hold the balance of power, if the necessary leadership is given.

A nucleus of governors ought to be organized to put together a plan to protect their respective States from a take-over by the denationalizers, using the Federal Government.

Individuals should wake up and grasp the opportunities all around to get rid of the robot senators and congressmen who have been voting right along to dismantle the United States from within. There should be a big housecleaning in November.

It is still necessary to administer a strong cathartic in the form of a $25–50 billion cut in government expenditures. A tax increase now would have the same effect as pouring gasoline on raging flames of inflation. It would denationalize, all right!

Something has to be done about TV and the MA–12 boys who run it. They are hell bent for suicide. The bellwether seems to be CBS.

If "the United States faces its worst financial crisis since 1931," note that the crazy spenders who caused it are still running the show. They are defying you, as well as common sense.

THE DRIFT

The present drift is in the direction of what may be called a peace settlement in Viet Nam, which really might put through what is yet needed for a U.S. surrender to Soviet Communism. Of course, it would have to be camouflaged to look like victory.

The drift also is toward the few remaining steps necessary to put the Congress to sleep or on the shelf as an innocuous and ineffectual menagerie from a bygone day. It probably would still cost about $400,000 a year per senator, and $225,000 a year per congressman, but, surrounded by a swarm of retainers, they would be comfortable and have to do little other than to shovel fog now and then.

The TV stampede of next October probably would do the rest. Who knows? We might wind up with Lyndon again, but not as President. Could it be as Commissar or maybe Chairman?

POLISH CONSTITUTION COMMEMORATED

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1968

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, today we commemorate a great event in the history of Europe. One hundred and seventy-seven years ago, May 3, 1791, Poland adopted a constitution which clearly defined the rights of citizens and forcibly portrayed the principles of freedom and justice.

The Polish Constitution of 1791 was a remarkable document in that it took the then unprecedented step of establishing a limited monarchy and a constitutional democracy in Eastern Europe. The powers of the King were sharply curtailed, and he was to share his executive authority with a council. The nobility lost many of its privileges and its ranks were opened to the townsmen. The peasants' relations with their landlords were regulated by law, and they were not to be subjected to any arbitrary abuse of power. Religious freedom was established. The governmental machinery was liberalized and Poland was characterized as a progressive and democratic nation. This was a distinct step forward, and a pioneering one in Eastern Europe—in no other country were there any such sweeping reforms.

Tragically, within a few years of the adoption of this superb constitution, the Polish people were to suffer the loss of their freedom and liberty—their homeland was brutally carved up by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and disappeared from the map until the end of World War I.

But, even the tragedy which befell Poland subsequent to the worldwide acclaim given its Constitution, could not obliterate the contents and the spirit of that noble document. Through the generations, Polish leaders with the love of freedom and the welfare of their people in their hearts have gone to the Constitution of 1791 for guidance and for inspiration. Today, ours is also the challenge to help perpetuate the memory of the Polish Constitution and those brave Poles who have lived by and worked for its high ideals.

The history of the Polish people of our own country provides numerous examples of the traits which gave inspiration to the Constitution of 1791. Polish Generals Pulaski and Kosciusko fought valiantly beside George Washington in the Revolutionary War. They set an illustrious example which has been followed by Polish-Americans in every major confrontation the United States has engaged in up to the present day. In every community where there are Polish-Americans their splendid influence has been felt: in civic responsibilitiy, in community development and leadership, and in the rich cultural heritage of Polish songs and dances.

In Poland itself, the tragedy has not yet ended. After a brief interwar period of freedom, Poland was invaded first by the Nazis and then by the Soviets. The Poles fought valiantly for the allied cause, but as we know, victory did not result in a renewal of freedom. Poland was transformed into a satellite of Russian communism where liberty has been brutally repressed by a police state. Yet through all the repression, the spirit of freedom has continued to live in Poland. The Poznan uprising of 1956 and the recent signs of uneasiness are proof positive that the Polish people are willing to suffer hardship and even death to express adhorence of their brutal captivity.

I commend the Polish people and encourage them in the hope that they may soon secure the ideals represented in the Constitution of 1791.

LAKEWOOD, OHIO, HIGH SCHOOL IN LIMELIGHT

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, we are tremendously proud of Lakewood High School this week. Our senior and junior a cappella choirs both captured "superior" ratings in the State finals of the Ohio music education choral competitions in Lancaster, Ohio, and kudos go not only to the fine young singers but to their directors, B. Neil Davis, supervisor of vocal music in Lakewood schools, who directed the senior choir, and Miss Ulah Gilmore, director of the junior choir. In addition, three Lakewood seniors have just been awarded National Merit Scholarships. As the enclosed editorial from the Lakewood Ledger points out, Dr. Kimball L. Howes, principal of Lakewood High, has good reason to be pleased with the splendid record his school is making.

The editorial follows:

[From the Lakewood (Ohio) Ledger, May 2, 1968]

LAKEWOOD HIGH IN LIMELIGHT

Dr. Kimball L. Howes, principal of Lakewood High School, was rejoicing exceedingly this week. In fact, he was grinning like the proverbial Cheshire cat.

And he should, what with all the recognition being currently accorded LHS students.

When a schoolmaster's senior A Cappella choir wins top rating in state choral competition, that's cause to be elated. And when his junior choir duplicates the feat he has grounds for going into orbit.

That's exactly what happened last Saturday in the Ohio Music Education Association Choral contest held in Lancaster, Ohio.

Lakewood High was the only double winner. School authorities said they cannot remember a school's junior and senior choirs receiving "superior" ratings in the same state finals.

The Lakewood Choirs "took the cake" and the frosting was provided by news that three Lakewood seniors, Tiina Allik, Ted Berry and Jeffrey Gall, have been awarded National Merit Scholarships. How do you like that? We congratulate the three distinguished scholars, every member of both choirs and their directors.

And we join with Principal Howes in feeling mighty happy about all the good news.

HUMAN RIGHTS DECLARATION BY MINNESOTA UKRAINIANS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the Ukrainian-Americans of the Twin Cities, at a protest meeting April 28 in Minneapolis, adopted a declaration defending the human rights of the citizens of the Ukraine. Copies of the declaration were sent to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations and to the International Conference on Human Rights in Teheran. The document states:

Despite all declarations, human rights have meaning only if they are available equally to every man regardless of his nationality or citizenship.

The declaration urges the U.N. International Human Rights Conference to "institute an immediate investigation of the violation of human rights by the Soviet Government in Ukraine."

And the document concludes by appealing to the United Nations to prevail upon the Soviet Union, a signer of the U.N. Human Rights Declaration, "to adhere to its principles and rectify the gross injustice committed against the Ukrainian people in violation of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights."

Following is the full Minnesota statement:

We, Americans of Ukrainian descent, assembled in Minneapolis, Minnesota on April 28, 1968, declare the following:

(1) This year, in which the entire world is observing the 20th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which has been proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly as "International Human Rights Year," and which is to be devoted to the realization of decisions and enactments regarding human rights,—we raise our voices in the defense of those fundamental human rights of Ukrainians which have been trampled upon by the Soviet Russian regime, as well as in the defense of the Ukrainian nation, enslaved by Soviet Russia and subjected by it to a process of systematic destruction.

(2) The so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, in theory an independent state with a separate government, is in reality a mere colony of Russia which rules Ukraine with an iron hand, without a genuine consent of the governed. Ukraine is rigidly subordinated to the central government in Moscow; all Ukrainian ministries are controlled by the Moscow government. The bulk of the industrial and agricultural production of Ukraine is destined to other parts of the Soviet Union or for export, to compete with the United States and the free world; Ukraine receives little in return.

(3) Despite provisions in both the Soviet and Ukrainian Constitutions for a "free exercise of religion," Communist Russian persecution of all churches in Ukraine is unmatched in ruthlessness in the history of mankind. In 1930 Moscow destroyed the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church by executing over 30 archbishops and bishops and imprisoning over 20,000 priests and monks. In 1945–46 the Moscow government destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine by imprisoning its 11 bishops and over 2,000 priests, monks and nuns. Furthermore, Moscow persistently harasses and persecutes other religious groups in Ukraine: Jews, Baptists, Lutherans, Seventh Day Adventists and Moslems. It deprives over one million Ukrainian Jews of their traditional religion by closing synagogues and terrorizing worshippers.

(4) The Communist Russian regime is guilty of outright genocide in Ukraine. In the periodic man-made famines which ravaged Ukraine in 1922, 1932–33 and 1946–47 no fewer than 7,000,000 Ukrainians perished from starvation. The 1932–33 famine was organized and sustained by the Kremlin as a means to force Ukrainian farmers into collective farms. By systematic deportations as punishment for "crimes" several million Ukrainians have perished in the wilderness of Siberia.

(5) The Soviet Russian government, following in the footsteps of its predecessors, the Russian Czars, relentlessly pursues a policy of cultural russification aimed at the creation of a "soviet man" who in essence is a Russian. Thus, the Moscow government is progressively curtailing the use of the Ukrainian language. Most schools in Ukraine are russified, including the eight universities at which most subjects are taught in Russian. Moscow has established a network of Russian schools in Ukraine, while at the same time it denies the right to set up Ukrainian schools to some 8–9 million Ukrainians living in the Russian FSSR.

(6) In the last few years some voices of protest against this state of affairs have begun to be heard in Ukraine, long before the arrest of a few Russian intellectuals such as Yuli M. Daniel and Andrei Sinyavsky. These are the voices of writers, poets, journalists, professors, students and other intellectuals, all young people reared under the Soviet system and without any connections with Ukrainians in the western world. The Moscow government has reacted with its typical ruthlessness and is at this very time engaged in wholesale arrests and trials of these young Ukrainian intellectuals. They are being tried and given severe sentences for such crimes as "anti-Soviet nationalist writings," glorification of the Ukrainian past, distribution of books by pre-revolutionary Ukranian authors now banned in Ukraine, and secret circulation of speeches of Western leaders. Since 1965 many intellectuals have been sentenced to long prison terms on such charges, among them: Vyacheslav Chornovil, a journalist; Mykhayle Horyn, a literary critic; Ivan Kandyba, a writer; Lev Lukyanenko, a lawyer; Svyatoslav Karavansky, a poet and literary translator; Stepan Vyrun; Opanas Zalyvakha, an artist-painter, and about 200 others. One of the well-known prisoners is Yuriy Schukhevych, who was arrested in 1948 at the age of 15 and is spending his 20th year in the Soviet Russian jails. His crime: being the son of a prominent Ukrainian underground leader who was killed by the Soviets in 1950.

(7) In reality, these young intellectuals demanded and are demanding recognition and respect for the Ukrainian language and culture in Ukraine. As stated by Ivan Kandyba, one of the imprisoned, they have come to the conclusion that "for the normal development of the Ukrainian nation and its statehood, Ukraine should secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, according to Article 14 and Article 17 of the Constitutions of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, respectively, and should become an absolutely independent and sovereign state."

In this International Human Rights Year, we, the Ukrainians of Minnesota, call the attention of enlightened public opinion to the cruel persecution of these Ukrainian intellectuals for demanding for Ukraine the very human rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Despite all declarations, human rights have meaning only if they are available equally to every man regardless of his nationality or citizenship.

We express our solidarity with the stand of the brave Ukrainian intellectuals in defense of human rights in Ukraine, and call on all fellow Minnesotans and fellow Americans who believe in human rights to join us in this solidarity.

In addition, we strongly urge the United Nations International Human Rights Conference to institute an immediate investigation of the violation of human rights by the Soviet government in Ukraine. We also appeal to the United Nations to prevail upon the Soviet Union, as a signatory to the United Nations Human Rights Declaration, to adhere to its principles and rectify the gross injustice committed against the Ukrainian people in violation of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA POINTS THE WAY

HON. DAVID E. SATTERFIELD III

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. SATTERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the deplorable events in recent weeks in colleges and universities across the Nation are of grave concern to us all. Encouragement given the revolutionaries by some faculty members and the spineless response to crisis by some administrators is, to say the least, distressing.

I was delighted to read on Saturday that Dr. Edgar P. Shannon, Jr., president of the University of Virginia, in true Jeffersonian tradition, stepped into the void created by events last week at Columbia University to make it abundantly clear that similar conduct by students will not be tolerated in Charlottesville. I salute Dr. Shannon for his courage and his forthright remarks and urge each Member to read his statement, together with an editorial from the May 4 Richmond Times Dispatch, commenting on it, set out below:

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT ON DEMONSTRATIONS

Recent disorderly demonstrations have disrupted the academic work of many universities and colleges, resulting in hardships to both students and faculty. For example, many graduate and professional students at Columbia University may be prevented from completing their theses and other require-

ments to qualify for the degree upon which next year's job may depend. This is what happens when libraries and laboratories are closed during a critical period of the year and comprehensive and oral examinations have to be cancelled. These are some of the tragedies that tend to go unnoticed.

At the University of Virginia the rights of minorities, majorities and individuals are equally respected. This includes the right to dramatize opinions and buttress arguments by public display—so long as the participants do not interfere with the rights of others. Picketing and other demonstrations have been regulated here for some years under requirements adopted and enforced by Student Council.

In view of the tragic and wasteful excesses elsewhere, I invite attention to the rules and regulations of the Student Council and the Board of Visitors governing conduct.

ON DEMONSTRATIONS

Demonstrations and picketing by student groups are under the jurisdiction of the Student Council and must conform to Council rules and regulations, which provide

(a) Notice of a demonstration must be filed with the Student Council office 96 hours in advance.

(b) Only organizations recognized by the Student Council may sponsor demonstrations on the University Grounds.

(c) Picketing is not permitted inside buildings.

(d) Outside picketing must not be carried on so as to interfere with entrance traffic or the normal flow of pedestrian and vehicular traffic.

(e) Precise boundaries and number of those picketing will be set by agreement among the Student Council, Department of Security, the organizations involved, and those in charge of any building specifically involved.

(f) Lack of substantial compliance with these rules and regulations or failure to register will result in a reconsideration of recognition by Student Council for noncomplying organizations.

It also seems appropriate to emphasize the rules of conduct for students set forth in University of Virginia catalogues as follows:

CONDUCT

Students of the University are expected to conduct themselves as ladies and gentlemen, both within the University and elsewhere. For student conduct which is outside the jurisdiction of the Honor Committee but which tends to discredit or injure the University, the president is authorized by the Board of Visitors to impose such penalty as he may deem appropriate, including explusion from the University. This authority has been delegated by the president to the Student Judiciary Committee, subject to review by the president or his delegated representative. When the penalty for bad conduct is expulsion, the student may appeal the decision to the Board of Visitors.

Any student found guilty of participating in or inciting a riot or an unauthorized or disorderly assembly is subject to suspension.

To prevent misunderstanding, I add the following clarification:

(1) When an assembly of students not authorized by the Student Council has been requested to disband by the president or other officer of the Student Council, or by a dean, department head or other administrative officer, students refusing to comply will be subject to immediate suspension.

(2) In the event that an assembly appears to be a demonstration related to grievances, those present should be advised that orderly procedures for the hearing of grievances are available and must be adhered to. University officials will not negotiate with such groups under conditions of duress, such as unauthorized occupation of University property.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA POINTS THE WAY

The admirable statement from President Edgar F. Shannon of the University of Virginia, published in full on this page, brings a breath of fresh air into the fetid atmosphere of spineless permissiveness that has engulfed so many college and university campuses. Dr. Shannon has set an example that should be widely followed.

Students refusing to disband at the request of University of Virginia or Student Council officials "will be subject to immediate suspension," he says. Furthermore, "university officials will not negotiate with . . . [demonstrating] groups under conditions of duress, such as unauthorized occupation of university property."

The foregoing admits of no misinterpretation. If any small minority of agitators tries to take over the institution at Charlottesville, in defiance of regulations, it will soon find itself out on its ear. That is precisely as it should be, and President Shannon is to be highly complimented for showing the way to the nation on this issue.

Of course, there are many institutional heads who are keeping their hands on the helm without fanfare, and whose campuses have been altogether quiet. They are to be commended. But the University of Virginia president has stepped out and publicly enunciated firm plans for the orderly adjudication of student grievances. His example should be widely followed.

BOSTON HERALD TRAVELER APPLAUDS PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S SELECTION OF UNITED NATIONS AMBASSADOR

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's appointment of George Ball as Ambassador to the United Nations is, as the Boston Herald Traveler puts it, "assurance that the United States will continue to be represented by a veteran and distinguished diplomatic spokesman."

This appointment caps a remarkable public career for George Ball. His service to his Nation spans three decades—and four Presidents.

His assistance to the Allied cause during World War II earned him the French Legion of Merit and the American Medal for Freedom. His service to America during time of peace has won him the admiration of his countrymen.

From 1961 to 1966 he was Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, and Alternate Governor of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction, and the Inter-American Development Bank.

Ball succeeds one of the most brilliant and dedicated men in American public life—Arthur Goldberg. Ambassador Goldberg has represented America's cause before the council of nations with great ability for 3 arduous years. His voice was always raised in the cause of peace and justice. He leaves behind him a shining legacy.

George Ball will find, as has Arthur Goldberg, that the work of the United Nations is, as the Herald Traveler notes, "demanding and at times frustrating."

However, the President and the Nation have no doubt that George W. Ball will rise to the challenge he will face as America seeks to build a better world.

I insert into the RECORD the Boston Herald Traveler editorial praising the President's selection:

[From the Boston Herald Traveler, Apr. 26, 1968]

A NEW MAN AT THE U.N.

The resignation of United Nations Ambassador Arthur Goldberg removes from the top ranks of government one of the nation's most talented and versatile public servants.

Mr. Goldberg's statement at a hurriedly called news conference yesterday that he was resigning as head of the U.S. mission to the U.N. because he thinks he can best serve the cause of peace in Vietnam in private life was a rather cryptic explanation of his decision, however.

Nonetheless, whatever Mr. Goldberg's assessment of the prospect of peace with or without his continued service in the U.N., his service there has been a fine capstone to his remarkable public career under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. As Secretary of Labor, as a justice of the U.S. Supreme Court and finally as the United States representative at the U.N., Mr. Goldberg served ably and faithfully

President Johnson's announcement that Mr. Goldberg will be succeeded by George Ball, former Undersecretary of State and frequent White House consultant, is assurance that the United States will continue to be represented by a veteran and distinguished diplomatic spokesman.

Although Mr. Ball is not expected to take over Ambassador Goldberg's role until the current session of the U.N. General Assembly ends about the first of June, he may still be expected to grapple with such momentous issues as the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, peacemaking in the explosive Middle East, and the U.N.'s attitude and actions toward the white supremacists governments of Southern Africa.

As Arthur Goldberg knows and as George Ball will discover, the role of U.S. ambassador to the U.N. is demanding and at times frustrating. But it is also an important role and it is vital to enlist men equal to its challenges.

A SALUTE TO POLAND "THE INSPIRATION OF NATIONS"

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1968

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, May 3 marks a significant event in the struggle for liberty and freedom throughout the world. On that day in 1791 one of the most liberal and progressive constitutions of 18th-century Europe was proclaimed and adopted. I refer, of course, to the Polish Constitution of 1791 which still stands today 177 years later as an outstanding document and as one of the guiding lights of European democracy.

Throughout the month of May appropriate exercises are being held in the United States wherever Americans of Polish decent live to pay tribute to the

Polish Nation and to remind fellow Americans that Poland was one of the first pioneers of liberalism in Europe.

The Soviet-imposed Communist dictatorship in Poland, bent on the destruction of Polish cultural traditions, abolished May 3 as the national holiday of Poland. The observance of this great day of Polish renaissance is left to the Poles living abroad and to their descendants.

Americans of Polish ancestry have kept and will keep faith with this noble legacy that speaks of the moral strength and great civic virtue and wisdom of their forefathers.

The 1968 national holiday of the Polish people who never accepted Communist tenets, coincides with other significant events in Poland's history.

This year will be the 25th anniversary of the tragic death of Gen. Wladyslaw Sikorski, free Poland's wartime leader and statesman; the 70th anniversary of the discovery of radium by Madame Sklodowska-Curie, the eminent daughter of Poland and one of the great scientists of all times.

Perhaps the most important is the 50th anniversary of the rebirth of the Polish Republic after one and a half centuries of partition and foreign subjugation.

In 1918 Poland regained her independence and freedom, due to valiant fighting of her volunteer armies under Pilsudski and Haller, and due to patriotic sacrifices of Ignace Jan Paderewski and the diplomatic skill of Roman Dmowski.

This rebirth of completely free and independent Poland happened in contradiction to prevailing, at that time, currents in international affairs. The diplomatic misconceptions about the Polish cause at that time were dispelled by our great President Woodrow Wilson who in his 13th point of the general peace preliminaries insisted on a free and independent Poland with an access to the Baltic.

Poland did not enjoy her freedom and independence for long. Within 20 years her traditional enemies, Germany and Russia, effected another partition and plunged the world into the holocaust of World War II.

The point that sustained the Polish faith in a better future is this: what has happened 50 years ago when Poland rose from the ashes, is bound to happen again. "Poland is not lost," states the Polish national anthem. The Poles everywhere in the world believe that the time is coming in which international justice will be meted out by mysterious forces of history, and Poland again will return to the Western family of nations as a free, independent, and sovereign state.

Poland has given much to the cultural development of America and we in this country should join with our fellow Polish-Americans to strengthen that faith and keep the hope of the Polish nation alive. I share the hope that soon the Polish people can once again live under the principles of freedom and democracy embodied in the May 3 Polish Constitution. Poland certainly earned the accolade "The Inspiration of Nations" which was paid this valiant nation by President Roosevelt.

REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, it is with gratification that I take note of the concern expressed by our younger generation regarding conservation of the natural beauties of this great land of ours. There are beauties which are unique to each area of this country and in California we take pride in our majestic redwood trees. The Congress will, I am sure, soon authorize a Redwood National Park to preserve the great stands of redwoods for present and future generations.

I am pleased to include with these comments letters I have received from some very thoughtful young people, who have a keen and vested interest in this project:

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,
April 16, 1968.

Hon. CHARLES GUBSER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: I urge you to carry out the 72,000 acre plan of Redwoods. They are a beauty to our world. If you cut all the trees down, then our children and grandchildren will never see the beauty of them.

In one part of the world there is a big forest, very cool and shady. It is very quiet and you can go there and think your thoughts without anyone disturbing you. There is a twisting gravel road that goes on forever. The trees are as high as the sky.

I request that, this letter be made part of the permanent hearing record.

BETSY INGRAM.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,
April 16, 1968.

Hon. CHARLES GUBSER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: I would like the 72,000 acre plan because if the lumber company cuts down more trees pretty soon there will be no more redwoods left and then the future citizens, your children, your grand children and your great granchildren may never see one of natures fairy tales come true, the redwoods. All I ask of you and of all the people of the nation is "Get out there and fight!"

I request that this letter be made part of the permanent hearing record.

DARRAGH LAWRENCE.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,
April 16, 1968.

Hon. CHARLES GUBSER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: I would like to have the 72,000 acre plan of Redwoods because I like Redwoods very much. They are nice trees.

I request that this letter be made part of the permanent hearing record.

CHRISTOPHER POOLE.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,
April 16, 1968.

CHARLES GUBSER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: I don't think that the Lumber Companies have the right to cut down the Redwoods. I am saying this because the Redwoods are of virgin land.

The one real thing the Lumber Companies are forgetting about is the future. Well, they do think about *their* future. Their future is *their* money. They are not thinking about how horrible it would be to have no Redwoods around. I mean *virgin* Redwoods.

All that I'm saying is what I said in the first sentence of this letter. I request the 72,000 acre plan of Redwoods.

I request that this letter be made part of the permanent hearing record.

JIM MATHRUSSE.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,
April 16, 1968.

Hon. CHARLES GUBSER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: I would like to tell you about how I feel about the 72,000 acre plan of Redwoods. I think that we shouldn't cut down those beautiful trees, as a matter of fact I don't see how anybody would want to cut them down. I want to save them because they add beauty to the world. When the lumberman cut down the trees they are only doing it for money, and maybe really they want to save those trees but are afraid to say it.

I request that this letter be made part of the permanent hearing record.

Thank you,

AMY MEYER.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,
April 16, 1968.

Hon. CHARLES GUBSER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: I would like to tell you what I think about the 72,000 acre plan of Redwoods. I think the Redwood trees should not be cut down. The lumbermen shouldn't cut down the beauty of the world. The trees are one of the few things that make the world beautiful. Another thing the lumbermen cut the trees down for money. They don't think of children when they grow.

I request that this letter be made part of the permanent hearing record.

DIANE NELSON.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,
April 16, 1968.

Hon. CHARLES GUBSER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: I think you should try to make sure that we get the 72,000 acre plan of Redwoods made into a National Park.

Why? As you may know, Redwoods are becoming scarce and yet lumbermen are still chopping them down and pretty soon there won't be any trees left.

Sincerely,

BARBARA PAYNE.

P.S.—I request that this letter be made part of the permanent hearing record.

Thank you.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,
April 16, 1968.

Hon. CHARLES GUBSER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: I would like for you to save the 72,000 acre plan of Redwoods.

I would like you to save it because I like the beauty of the Redwoods and the fun to hike, play and camp there.

I request that this letter be made part of the permanent hearing record.

VLADIMIR PIZARER.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,
April 16, 1968.

CHARLES GUBSER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: I wish that we could have the 72,000 acres of land for a park. In the future there will be no trees for animals, beauty and protection from the sun. We have very few redwoods left and if we win we will win beauty.

I request that this letter be made part of the permanent hearing record.

Yours truly,

STEVE SHAVER.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,
April 16, 1968.

Hon. CHARLES GUBSER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: I am pleased to know that you may be able to carry out your plan of the 72,000 acre Redwood National Park. I know that that is a beautiful area for a park. If we who love parks, can gain this wonderful area, I hope to see it very much.

I request that this letter be made part of the permanent hearing record.

Thank you,

STEVE SICOTTE.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,
April 16, 1968.

Hon. CHARLES GUBSER,
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: I would like to have the 72,000 acres of Redwoods to be saved so it can be a National Park. I am sure that it will be a beautiful park.

I request that this letter to be part of the permanent hearing record.

Sincerely,

DRESDEN STOCK.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,
April 16, 1968.

Hon. CHARLES GUBSER,
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: Please make the 72,000 acre plan of Redwoods into a national park. I feel that we do not have enough Redwood Parks. The Redwoods are very beautiful and should be preserved. If we cut down trees our grandchildren will not know of the beauty of the Redwoods.

I request that this letter be made part of the permanent hearing record.

Yours sincerely,

CHUCK ULRICH.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,
April 4, 1968.

Hon. WAYNE ASPINALL,
Chairman, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ASPINALL: Last month our class went to Butano State Park and planted redwood trees. I like planting trees because I want people to be able to enjoy them. I hope that when I grow up there will redwoods that I can enjoy.

Please make my letter part of the permanent hearing record.

Very sincerely yours,

CHRIS GRANT.

COUNCIL LEADS CALIFORNIA COURT REFORMS

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor of April 24 carried an article by Howard James, "Council Leads California Court Reforms." By means of a State-by-State survey of what is being done in the area of court reform, Mr. James examined the California judicial system and did not find it wanting. With the permission of the House, I commend this excellent article to your attention:

MAJOR CHANGES IN 1950—COUNCIL LEADS CALIFORNIA COURT REFORMS

(By Howard James)

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.—Few states have court systems better than California's, although this is not to imply that all of the state's court problems have been solved.

Since governors have had a free hand in appointing judges to fill vacancies and a large percentage of California's judges reach the bench in this manner, political pay-offs have taken place. New, higher standards of performance, are finally being established.

With California's population inflation and recent United States Supreme Court decisions, court business is ballooning. Appeals are up 100 percent over seven years ago.

Yet California's court system is better than most. This is, at least in part, because interest in court reform came early.

REFORM VOTED IN 1950

A Judicial Council with strong supervisory powers was established in 1926. Lacking staff and with lagging public and legislative interest, officials admit the council did not have much impact until the 1940's. Then things began to change.

In 1950 California accomplished what most states are still only talking about—a simplified court structure. In this, eight different kinds of lower courts located in some 800 independent districts were wiped out.

The present system is quite simple. It comprises a 7-member Supreme Court: 39 intermediate appellate court judges (officials are asking for 5 more to cope with the increasing load); 392 judges in the superior court (the court of general trial jurisdiction); 305 municipal judges; and 254 justice courts—with laymen as well as lawyers sitting on the justice-court bench.

Each year the number of justice courts dwindles as the population grows. They are limited to the rural areas. At the same time, county boards of supervisors can merge old court districts—establishing higher-level municipal courts.

Judicial pay should go up 20 percent this year. Salaries are automatically raised every four years, with the increase tied to a federal inflation formula. (This could be blocked or reduced by the Legislature, however.)

The chief justice of the Supreme Court is presently paid $34,000, and his associates get $32,000. High-court salaries are topped only by five states. Intermediate appellate court judges get $30,000; superior-court judges $25,000; municipal judges $23,000—more than trial judges in 41 other states. Justice-court judges are paid locally and salaries vary.

APPOINTMENT SYSTEM SCANNED

The Legislature is considering a new method of selecting judges, At present candidates for the appellate courts are selected by the governor, and their names are then presented to a special commission for approval.

It is proposed that when vacancies occur, judges be nominated by a commission and then selected by the governor. Trial judges would continue to run for office in nonpartisan elections.

This would be a watered-down version of the merit plan advocated by the American Judicature Society and American Bar Association. Under the merit plan, judges run on their record without opposition. It should be noted, however, that incumbent judges often do not have opponents in California elections anyway.

To make sure minor-court judges know something of the law, a serious problem in most states, the Judicial Council gives special qualifying examinations to candidates—something other states might well copy until lower courts are upgraded.

Judges at all levels also attend regularly scheduled training sessions—probably the best state program in the nation.

Last August the California College of Trial Judges opened at the Earl Warren Legal Center at the University of California, Berkeley. For two weeks 80 judges who took the bench after January, 1965, attended sessions on the law and basic court procedures. The course is similar to that taught by the recently established and highly respected National College of State Trial Judges, now headquartered at Reno, Nev.

California also is a leader in keeping judges informed, not only with the excellent annual report at the Judicial Council, but through regular newsletters.

If New Jersey has shown state court systems how to supervise or administer a court system, and Missouri has pioneered in selecting judges, California's greatest contribution to court reform must be it's removal system. The plan is being studied in more than half the 50 states, and 10 have already adopted it, or are expected to.

COMPLAINTS INVESTIGATED

Jack E. Frankel, executive secretary of the California Commission on Judicial Qualifications, says the plan was established by constitutional amendment in 1960, when it was decided that other forms of discipline and removal were "ineffective."

The commission examines, and when it deems warranted, investigates complaints against judges. There are five grounds which can lead to action: (1) willful misconduct in office, (2) willful and persistent failure to perform duties, (3) habitual intemperance, (4) conduct prejudicial to the administration of justice that brings the judicial office into disrepute, and (5) disability seriously interfering with the performance of duties which is, or is likely to become, of a permanent character.

Complaints are confidential—protecting judges against irresponsible charges. If the commission feels there may be substance to a complaint—whether from a citizen, lawyer, or another judge—it notifies the judge in question that the matter is before the commission. At this point a judge, if he has been doing something wrong, may choose to retire or resign—ending the proceedings.

"There have been an average of five or six such departures in the course of an investigation, per year," Mr. Frankel says.

OTHER BENEFITS SEEN

He adds that "besides providing a fair and effective method for removal and retirement of judges where cause exists," there are other benefits.

The existence of the commission is a deterrent to errant behavior. It fosters a high level of performance and a realistic assessment of capability.

Violations of ethics and derelictions not warranting removal can be dealt with.

Irresponsible and baseless accusations against judges can be disposed of quickly and impartially.

In November, 1966, additional changes in the state constitution were made, largely the "deletion of much obsolete and unnecessary language" in the judicial article, according to the 1967 report of the Judicial Council.

The list of California innovations and accomplishments is a long one—the longest in the nation. Yet hundreds of court officials in other states seem unaware of these achievements.

THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

HON. WILLIAM L. DAWSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. DAWSON. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Government Operations faces a fiscal crisis. On March 13, 1968, our appropriation was cut to $550,000, far less than we requested and far less than we spent last year.

At the time of the cut, we were informed that it was made because of the action or inaction of three of our subcommittees. At the same time, we were told that we might receive some additional funds later but that they would have to be fully justified.

At our normal expenditure rate, the $550,000 will be exhausted in a few months. Consequently, I held several discussions with senior members of the committee to see if we could find an approach which would meet the criticisms made of certain subcommittees and at the same time enable the committee to obtain enough money to maintain a high and effective level of activity for the rest of the 90th Congress.

A plan was developed which I approved. As chairman, it was my responsibility to decide what steps to take.

I am sure you know that I have always tried my best to be fair with all members of the committee. The plan reflected my desire to be as fair as I possibly could be under the circumstances. Subjects were redistributed so that subcommittee chairmen could pursue subjects in which I knew they had an interest. Only the most junior of our regular subcommittee chairmen was initially left without a post, and subsequently I found and offered him an opportunity to pursue the subjects on which he had been working.

Contrary to some misrepresentations which have been made and to some misunderstandings which may have arisen, I received no pressure and, in fact, no communication at all from the administration on this subject. Nor was any motive involved other than putting the committee into shape to meet its financial emergency.

If the committee does not receive the funds it needs to operate for the balance of the Congress without changes, steps along the lines I have suggested, or perhaps even more drastic ones, will have to be taken depending upon the amount of money we do have available.

Last Saturday, however, I was advised that many of our committee members feel very strongly, on the basis of certain discussions they have had, that the Committee on House Administration and the House itself will now appropriate the funds we need to finish the year without changing our committee structure. This reflects the efforts that have been made to improve the performance of the subcommittees involved.

Since our basic problem has been a lack of funds, I believe that it is in order to make a final effort to obtain those funds. Consequently, I have introduced a House resolution requesting an additional $250,000 for the conduct of the committee's activities. This is the amount we need to continue without substantial changes in our structure. We shall, of course, keep a tight control on funds and we may be able to return some of that amount to the Treasury unused at the end of the year.

I have also asked the Committee on House Administration to act promptly on the resolution since it would be very imprudent to continue our present level of expenditures beyond May 31 on the basis of funds now available.

In closing, I want to express my deepest appreciation to those Members who have assisted me and who have devoted much time and effort in seeking a constructive solution of our difficulties and I want to thank the many other Members who have supported that effort. I am sure the committee can proceed in a spirit of harmony whatever may be the outcome of our request.

BEST OF BARGAINS

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, last week Congress passed an appropriations bill that was properly labelled as the "biggest bargain" that this Congress will see.

The appropriations bill was for the funding of the Department of Agriculture and its many activities, including the farm program. The amount of this appropriation was for $5.5 billion, or 20 percent less than 1968. Over 60 percent of this total goes primarily to nonfarmers through such worthy programs as school lunch, school milk, Public Law 480, food stamp, and meat and poultry inspection. In addition, there are other programs that benefit the public indirectly, such as plant, insect, and disease research. The consumer benefits from each new technological advance which results in increased crop yields or greater efficiency in production by farmers.

I noted a great deficiency in title III of this bill, regarding the funding of farm credit agencies. With ever higher costs for larger machinery, higher costs of inputs, higher labor, interest and tax costs, along with the rising values of farm land, there is a corresponding need for greater loan funds. I am disturbed by the fact that the Bureau of the Budget has frozen a portion of the funds that Congress has authorized for this purpose. The amount requested for the FHA in this budget will again be far short of the needs.

Only 40 percent of this appropriations bill goes for the farm support program. Citizens today expect and get the world's largest food variety in the greatest abundance and at the lowest cost of any place in the world.

A farmer today, through his labor and efficiency, produces sufficient food and fiber for 40 additional people. His investment per farm employee is over $41,000, while the average farm investment today is over $73,000. Agriculture, while being our largest single industry, and employing 23 times as many people as the oil and coal industries combined, is in a real economic squeeze. A person living on the farm has only two-thirds of the average per capita income of his urban cousins, and the farming industry is receiving only 73 percent of their fair share of the Nation's economy.

Despite all this, the Agriculture Department did take a 20 percent cut in their budget request in light of the serious fiscal position that our country is experiencing. That is why I believe that this bill is the "best of bargains."

AFTERMATH OF THE AFTERMATH

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written by Stuart Awbrey, editor of the Hutchinson, Kans., News for his column "The View From Here." Mr. Awbrey's comments are worthy of our attention at this critical period in our Nation's history:

AFTERMATH OF THE AFTERMATH

The day we arrived in Washington, D.C., 14 building fires broke out, 12 of them attributed to arsonists.

The day we left New York City, students were barricaded in Columbia University, partly in protest against two school programs, partly just in protest.

The two episodes are related, casually if not causally, as links in our volatile age. It was some comfort, but not much, to leave them. It was no comfort at all to return home and find our own town in a mood of, if not tension, then at least uneasiness.

And, apparently for the sorriest of reasons. Ignorance and fear, fed by rumor, malice and prejudice.

What is the source of our greatest immediate national concern?

You may find it in the Negro rioters loose in the streets, or in students rebelling openly against reasonable authority. I find it in a much different place, among our "responsible" citizens, in the serious danger of overreacting against reaction, in the aftermath of the aftermath.

The man who scares me is not the pathetic Negro, on a rampage in his own slum. The man who scares me is a Mayor Daley, demanding an arsonist be shot on sight, with no trial, no judgment.

The ones who trouble me most are not students trying to overturn The Establishment, but the senators such as Stennis of Mississippi, demanding peace marchers be hounded from the streets, or Long of Louisiana, threatening "censure" for any senator "knuckling under to their demands."

The forces of rebellion and riot and open crime and mass violence are terrible indeed.

But they can be controlled, reduced, and eventually resolved if we only had a genuine revival of community spirit.

The forces of hate and rage and repression are something else again. These forces are not bred in the slums and ghettos, but in the rich suburbs, in the country clubs, in the beer taverns and barber shops, in homes where people are eager to use "crime in the streets" as a rallying cry against those they have always feared or scorned—particularly those they think will threaten their own comfort or smugness.

These are the business executives who cheered fanatically as George Wallace delivered a speech as demagogic as the voice of Adolf Hitler.

These are the 10,000 customers who canceled their charge accounts when a New York department store executive went on record in favor of open housing and equal opportunity.

This is the Navy captain, head of the reserve officers association, declaring that the U.S. should "banish" dissenters against the Vietnam war.

These are the bowlers in a Des Moines alley who cheered when the manager interrupted their game to announce the murder of Martin Luther King.

The real aftermath of that murder, and of the whole movement toward the social

changes necessary to bring social justice, may well prove not to be arson and looting and riots.

The real aftermath will be what goes on in our own hearts and consciences, and passions.

We are dangerously near the turn of the tide toward facism, if not in a political sense then in our inward thoughts. The sort of facism that brooks no dissent, permits no trial, harbors no understanding.

We are near that point where, in Walter Lippmann's metaphor, "a whole nation would welcome chains to keep its hands from trembling." Only in this instance, the manacles would go on those who dare oppose the status quo.

When that happens, when intolerance really rules, kiss your own freedoms goodbye. And don't ask how you lost them.

THE 21ST ANNIVERSARY OF VOICE OF DEMOCRACY

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, 1968 marks the 21st anniversary of the Voice of Democracy, a program sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, its Ladies Auxiliary and cooperating National and State Associations of Broadcasters.

Heyman Rothman, a friend and constituent, who became the first VFW All-American Department Commander out of New York State, has been New York State chairman of this fine program for 12 years. His work with American youth through the Voice of Democracy program has made a distinct contribution to the development and enrichment of our nation's citizenry.

The Voice of Democracy program is designed to give high school students the opportunity to voice their opinions on patriotic themes and to convey them via the broadcasting media to all America. The program is open to all 10th, 11th, and 12th grade students in public, parochial and private schools in the United States its possessions and to children of military and civilian personnel serving with the Armed Forces overseas.

The program is not confined to any specific doctrine but, rather, it is designed to give expression to the aims and goals of American youth without emphasis on conventional views. This year's theme is entitled "Freedom's Challenge," and the participants are asked to speak about freedom and positive Americanism and not against other ideologies.

I recently had the privilege of meeting with the New York State winners of the program as well as the many individuals who have contributed to the program's success. Among them are New York County Surrogate S. Samuel Di Falco, Civil Court Judge Louis I. Kaplan, and NBC moderator Ben Grauer, all of whom are residents of my congressional district. I also met with the prominent judges who serve on the program's panel: State Commander John R. Ray, New York County Commissioner Frank Gigante, and my colleague and friend Congressman SEYMOUR HALPERN.

In light of the many problems our country now faces both here and abroad, the Voice of Democracy program must be commended for its efforts to stimulate and encourage American youth in its understanding and expression of freedom today.

I know that my colleagues will want to join me in celebration of the 21st anniversary of this fine program.

THE MISUSE OF THE U.S. MAIL

HON. FERNAND J. ST GERMAIN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, all of us are cognizant of the splendid performance of the Post Office and are most grateful for the services provided by this highly esteemed Department.

This Department has experienced a most extraordinary history, gaining world renown and admiration in the process of its highly respected development, and we should do whatever we can to preserve its well-being.

We should do whatever we can to eliminate any misuse of our mailing system which, much to my dismay, does exist in various forms.

There are those who use our postal service as a means of disseminating provocative and pornographic literature that can particularly prove harmful to our youth.

There are those who use the U.S. mail as a means of distributing products that are unsolicited and that can and do prove harmful if placed in the wrong hands—such as razor blades and medicines that are so dangerous to our children.

And there are those who use the U.S. mail for deceptive business solicitations.

I have addressed this body on the first two aforementioned abuses. Today I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to a resolution passed by the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island pertaining to the use of the U.S. mail for deceptive business soliciatations.

I insert this resolution into the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS, IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, JANUARY SESSION, A.D. 1968

(H. 1402, resolution memorializing Congress with respect to the use of the U.S. mails for deceptive business solicitations)

Resolved, That the members of Congress be and they are hereby respectfully requested to enact legislation to prohibit persons from using the United States mail for the purpose of deceptive business solicitations.

Resolved, That the secretary of state be and he is hereby authorized to transmit duly certified copies of this resolution to the senators and representatives from Rhode Island in the congress of the United States.

I, August P. La France, Secretary of State of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, hereby certify that the aforegoing is a true copy of resolution (H. 1402), entitled "Resolution memorializing Congress with respect to the use of the U.S. mail for deceptive business solicitations, taken from the records in this office and compared with the original resolution (H. 1402) passed by the General Assembly at the January Session, A.D. 1968 and became effective April 27, 1968, and now remaining on file and of record in this office.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State of Rhode Island, this twenty-ninth day of April, A.D. 1968.

AUGUST P. LA FRANCE,
Secretary of State.

HOOSIER NEWSMAN'S TRIBUTE TO CONGRESSMAN CHARLES HALLECK

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the tribute, paid to Congressman CHARLES A. HALLECK at a recent dinner here in Washington, sponsored by Indiana's chambers of commerce.

Mr. Ben Cole, the respected and capable Washington correspondent for the Indianapolis Star, honored the dean of the Indiana Congressmen, who will retire this year, with a tribute laced with Hoosier humor and warmth.

I think my colleagues in the Congress might enjoy this light reading in honor of our distinguished colleague, CHARLES HALLECK, whose long and eventful career will enable him to take a place among those several personalities who have brightened and warmed the Hoosier heritage. The tribute follows:

REMARKS BY BEN COLE, WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT OF THE INDIANAPOLIS STAR AT THE INDIANA CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE CONGRESSIONAL NITE DINNER IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ROOM OF THE STATLER-HILTON HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., MONDAY NIGHT, APRIL 29, 1968

John Barnett thought I ought to be a little entertaining and a little sentimental tonight, seeing this is kind of a celebration for Charlie Halleck. But, except for my wife, I can't think of anybody who thinks I'm very entertaining when I'm sentimental.

I've been a Charlie Halleck watcher for a long, long time. I used to stand in the wings with Blanche waiting for Charlie to finish a speech so I could have the lone copy of his text. He usually didn't follow the script, but that didn't make too much difference. I reported it anyway.

When I got to Washington, Charlie was nice to me. He didn't give me many scoops, you understand. Old Dan Kidney got those. But he was pleasant, and I must say Charlie never ducked a reporter and he would answer the questions on the record.

I have a collection of memories of Charlie.

Winning the Congress for the GOP in 1946.

Losing it again after Harry Truman kicked the 80th Congress all the way from Yonkers to Walla Wall in 1948.

Charlie helping get the Marshall Plan through Congress. It sounds so orthodox today. But remember we Hoosiers hadn't even recognized New York City.

Saving Indiana from its open-record welfare law. That was a little trouble we newspapermen cooked up for him.

Leading the GOP-Dixiecrat majority

against the Administration in Harry Truman's day.

Leading the GOP-regular Democratic majority against the Dixiecrats in Dwight Eisenhower's administration.

Ducking Puerto Rican bullets in the House Chamber.

Treating the Indiana Republican delegation to duck in his Capitol hideaway he called the "Clinic." They all swore they never found a single bird-shot in the duck.

Being Indiana's favorite son in 1948. I'll bet he can give Roger Branigin some solid counsel on that vice presidency bit.

Having Cale Holder slam the door in his face when he wanted to be a national convention delegate in 1952.

Nominating Wilkie; nominating Ike; running the convention that nominated Nixon; seconding Barry Goldwater—boy, Charlie, that was a good one!

And all the time, I reckon, Charlie was aiming at being Speaker of the House one day, but the day never came.

The Republicans gave his leadership post to Jerry Ford. I think some of them would give it back now, Charlie, if they could.

But Lyndon Johnson never forgot him. Remember the first thing Lyndon did after he got to be President? Had Charlie over to his house—he wasn't even in the White House yet—for some of that thick bacon that Charlie likes.

I suppose President Johnson is a little bit like me. I'm a Charlie Halleck Democrat. Of course, I haven't been able to afford any of that thick bacon, prices and taxes being what they are. And you saw just part of the Federal payroll here tonight.

I know the reason why Charlie has friends on both sides of the aisle. He has always played the game by the rules. He has observed the white lines of the political skirmish. I've heard him blister the Democrats on the floor and watched them afterward go over and shake his hand. Above all, he has been a patriot first and a partisan second.

You know, you can tell a whole lot more about a man's patriotism by the way he observes a traffic sign than by the ostentatious way he wraps himself in the flag on the Fourth of July. I'd call Charlie a 365-day-a-year man.

And he's got a good kid, too. Young Chuck Halleck is the most prominent General Sessions Judge Washington, D.C., has ever had. He has the startling notion that poor people's courts are supposed to be places of justice. And he insists on following the law. On a few occasions, this has resulted in Chuck's turning the defendants loose and putting their lawyers in jail. It makes great stuff for the newspapers. And I'm told on high authority that when President Johnson reads about it in the papers, he says, "That's my boy."

Charlie and Blanche will be going back to Rensselaer at the end of the year. They will take a lot of affection from this place with them.

Why, by the time Charlie gets out of Congress, so many parties will have been held for him that there won't be a healthy liver left in the capital.

The Press Club's having a shin-dig for him. The friends of Charlie Halleck are having a clam-bake. There are receptions and cocktail parties and banquets. Any you name it.

I think the list of organizations starts with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee's Charlie Halleck Chapter down to the Brotherhood of Duck Baiters and Dune Hoppers.

He isn't a Congressman anymore. He's a drinking man's excuse.

All Hoosiers—Democrats and Republicans alike—are proud of Charlie Halleck. He has served his country, his state, and his party well. Those of us who toil here in Washington shall miss him.

Thank you, Charlie, for being a wonderful Hoosier. And thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the fine humor in which you have accepted this small effort of mine.

MARCH MISTAKE

HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, this is a most crucial time in the history of our country and our serious attention and consideration should be focused on the march that is presently in force and due to arrive in Washington this week. I am personally gravely concerned and feel sure that all Members of Congress likewise are mindful of the events to take place in this month.

I want to call upon the Federal Government and the District of Columbia government to prohibit the march on Washington this month.

The leaders of the march have publicly declared they would have the "most militant nonviolent demonstration" yet promoted to secure their demands. It is obvious that a demonstration cannot be the "most militant" and yet be "nonviolent."

Such a demonstration is an open invitation for extremists and anarchists to destroy public and private property and to incite riots. The District of Columbia just survived a $20 million riot, staged by the people the like of whom will be engaged in the pending demonstration.

In addition, there will be thousands of law-abiding visitors including schoolchildren visiting the Nation's Capital. They will be placed in jeopardy and possibly sustain bodily harm if this demonstration should get out of hand. For this reason alone, it should be prohibited.

The Capitol Grounds and surrounding buildings and parkways belong to all the people of the United States and are not to be maintained for a select few. They should not be permitted to encamp thereon or obstruct or interfere with governmental operations in any way. The public interest demands that these grounds, buildings, and parkways remain open to all the public.

Last year when a few thousand protestors marched on the Pentagon Building damages and expenses were in excess of $1 million and no effort has been made to recover from the sponsors of that demonstration the damages and costs. Who is going to pay for the damages and the costs of trying to maintain law and order on this march—to say nothing of the many other incidental expenses connected with this one?

At the very least, a bond to indemnify the United States from any and all damages and costs incident to the demonstration should be required of the sponsors.

Americans have a new awareness of the poor and all responsible citizens seek real solutions but threats of violence, destruction of property, and intimidation only repulse those who are endeavoring to find the solutions. The answers to their problems lies not in violence, arson, and destruction of property. Continued civil disobedience and disregard for law and order cannot be tolerated any longer.

ON LAW AND LIBERTY

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, the weekly column, "Spires of the Spirit," by Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain, U.S. Senate, yesterday was on law and liberty. This is a very thought-provoking and timely article by the Chaplain of the other body, and I feel all of our Members should have the benefit of Dr. Harris' views. Certainly I commend it to you as follows:

ON LAW AND LIBERTY

(By Dr. Frederick Brown Harris)

In the midst of his great ministry, one of the most outstanding preachers of the 20th century made a significant discovery and confession. The nation was then passing through what was being called by responsible citizens "an orgy of lawlessness." This nationally known preacher, who was listened to eagerly by great crowds, in examining his own message said: "I could not recall ever having preached a sermon on obedience; I could not recall ever having heard a sermon on obedience. I have searched volume after volume of modern addresses and sermons and I have not run upon any that dealt with respect for and obedience to authority. There was plenty on freedom, on the emancipation of the individual, on the outgrowing of old restraints, but few, if any, upon the necessity and glory of being mastered by what rightfully masters us."

Immediately after having been made conscious of that gap in the message to his generation, this prophet of God stood in the pulpit which was his throne, and preached a sermon on obedience.

Certainly now, years later, the pulpits of the land need to thunder the same message. One does not have to be an alarmist or a pessimist to declare that one of the ominous symptoms in this decade of destiny is that authority has broken down in the nation, the state, the university, the family, and the individual.

In the movies and television, upon which the eyes of millions are glued for hours every day, obedience to law is taken lightly. The representatives of the law are habitually at a disadvantage on the silver screen. The judge, the detective, the policeman usually comes off badly in the plot. Those who are thus entertained are regaled with the story of attractive murderers, high-minded robbers, and noble crooks. Even in cases of heinousness involving law we witness often a veritable debauch of public sentimentality expressing itself in specious explanation of why a criminal does what he does. It is all a silly exaltation of crime.

In May, by presidential decree, the nation observes "Law Day." In such an emphasis there is lifted before the gaze of all our people the fundamental conception on which all else in a democracy rests. "Law Day" floodlights the vital truth engraved on the facade of the noble edifice of the United States Supreme Court—"Equal Justice Under Law"—and of that sentence inscribed over the portals of the courthouse in Worcester, Mass.—"Obedience to Law Is Liberty."

Democracy is the faith that laws should be made and enforced not by an all-powerful monarch or by a dictator whose rule is tyranny, but by the whole body of "We, the people," and that laws thus made should be gladly obeyed by all the people.

Any willful violation of law thus enacted is a blow at liberty itself. In just laws there is registered the conscience of God-fearing people.

Much is being said and written these perilous days about freedom and emancipation from compulsion. More, much more, needs to be said about discipline and law. The demand "Don't fence me in" must be interpreted, if life is to be worthwhile and reach its highest possibilities, in the light of the larger truth mirrored in a great hymn—"Make Me a Captive, Lord, and Then I Shall Be Free." Says a United States senator, as with deep anxiety he sees what so many of his contemporaries are doing with their boasted "liberty": "Unless discipline and obedience can be brought back to America we are on our way to the junk heap."

There is no way by which the democratic experiment can be saved if mad insistence on individual freedom to do as one pleases crowds out sober recognition of social problems.

Often we hear of a "Back to God Movement." It is true that we need to get back to a conception of a God who is not, as some moderns have pictured Him, very amiable, even maternal, but to a God who stands for moral order—God who is all love, but also all law!

Too often we have confined our ideas of the Christ who revealed such a God as the "gentle Jesus." We think of the Man of Galilee only in terms of pity and compassion and kindness. But in these qualities we do not really touch the fundamental thing in His character. It was the thing that sent Him to the cross—"Thy will be done, as in heaven so on earth"—"Not my will, but Thine be done"—"Whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, my sister, my mother."

To follow that Christ means to heed the injunction—"Confirm thy soul in self-control, thy liberty in law!"

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, this past Friday I received a copy of a letter from Mr. Max R. McGlamry, the president of the Columbus Lions Club, to the commanding general of Fort Benning, Ga., which illustrates the quality of friendship and cooperation between the Fort Benning and Columbus communities.

To know Maj. Gen. John M. Wright, Jr., is to admire and respect him for his devotion and dedication to the infantrymen, to the Army, and to his country. To borrow apt descriptions once used by a colleague from Texas, Jack Wright is "a man of character and courage, intellect and initiative, innate integrity—as friendly as a big St. Bernard puppy, as genuine as a 14-karat diamond, as down to earth as the soles of your shoes, and as decent as a clean white shirt on Sunday."

Also, to know Max McGlamry is to admire and respect him. He is a lawyer's lawyer and past president of the Columbus Lawyers' Club. His leadership of the Columbus Lions Club reflects credit upon the excellent membership, the worthy projects of which are nationally known. From the softball diamond to the bar of our highest Court, Max is a gentleman and a man—"both terms fit him like a well-tailored garment."

The letter follows:

COLUMBUS LIONS CLUB,
Columbus, Ga., May 1, 1968.

MAJ. GEN. JOHN M. WRIGHT, Jr.
Commanding General,
Fort Benning, Ga.

DEAR GENERAL WRIGHT: On behalf of the members of the Columbus Lions Club, and their wives, children, and many other guests who attended, I wish to express our appreciation for the very fine hospitality extended by you and your military representatives during our annual visit last evening to Fort Benning.

The very large attendance from our Club and the very fine program presented to those attending speak highly of the planning and attention to detail of Colonel Houston W. Blackledge, your Provost Marshal and our Chairman for this event. In addition, we wish to thank Colonel Samuel C. Smith, Commander, Third Brigade, one of your military representatives to our Club, for arranging the buffet and the entertainment at Victory Lodge. Please also convey our thanks to Colonel Edwards of the Airborne Department for that tremendous Ranger demonstration.

As a matter of public relations the visit could not have been more successful for I heard nothing but excellent comments from all regarding the programmed activities. My wife was especially complimentary of the courtesies extended to her by both you and charming wife Helene and especially requested me to so inform you.

The evening was further enlightened by the presence of your Chief of Staff Colonel Hugh Cunningham and his delightful wife Barbara, and we would appreciate it if you would convey our regards to them.

All in all, Tuesday evening, April 30, 1968, was one of the highlights of this year for the Columbus Lions Club. Because I was so well pleased personally with last evening's events I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of this letter to my good friend, Congressman Jack Brinkley, who so ably represents the Third District, so that he will be informed of the excellent manner in which you are furthering the good community relationship that exists between Columbus and Fort Benning.

Sincerely,

MAX R. MCGLAMRY,
President, Columbus Lions Club.

PUBLIC COMES FIRST

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the following editorials from the April 30 issue of the Sacramento Union and the May 3 issue of the Washington Post clearly reiterate the obligation of our Nation's railroads to operate within the scope of the public interest.

Railroads are engaged in a systematic campaign to kill passenger service by making this mode of travel less comfortable and less convenient, and then by claiming their passenger service is losing more revenue than they would be forced to absorb.

The editorials, in challenging the railroads' public-be-damned scheme, are excellent statements of what should be the proper relationship of a public utility to public interest:

[From the Sacramento Union]

PUBLIC COMES FIRST: ONE-WAY TRACKAGE: NOT FOR RAILROADS

Public interest! Two simple words with a wealth of meaning. As one of the economic and political philosophies by which this nation is guided, it can never be taken lightly.

Abuse of public interest comes, at times, from both public and private sectors. Government is quite capable of deciding that government is the public and that by satisfying itself true public needs are met. Generations of patriots have shed blood to set such situations right.

And in the private sector there are those who believe that "What's good for General Bullmoose is good for the nation." Such philosophers do not last long in public market places.

It was in the public interest that the government of the United States last century cooperated with the private sector in constructing the great railroads that link this nation—the railroads that played such a great part in moving the American civilization farther and farther west. The government cooperated by giving liberal franchises and grants to the railroads, realizing that the people of this nation needed a comprehensive package of freight, mail, and passenger service.

Today two major railroads, Western Pacific and Southern Pacific, wish to modify "public interest" and exclude from the original comprehensive package all passenger service from the Bay Area through Sacramento to Utah. This would eliminate the famed "City of San Francisco" and the "California Zephyr."

In the latest hearing before the Interstate Commerce Commission in Salt Lake City, the railroads were well armed with arguments, as they were in earlier hearings in California and Nevada. But the arguments carry less and less weight each time they are used.

The railroads' bookkeepers have been able to allocate costs to show they have been losing money on passenger operations.

That is easy to believe! The two railroads in question have been trying for some time to get out of the passenger business. The California Public Utilities Commission contends that the railroads have a subtle campaign to drive patrons away from their ticket offices. Former passengers of the Southern Pacific service from Southern California to the Capital city could add to this story. Judging by the almost miscue advertising and promotion budgets which most railroads use to encourage passenger traffic, they most certainly are not trying to capture their share of the travel market. If the railroads are applying the same brains and ingenuity to not making money as they are to making money, the results were probably quite fast.

Any businessman can segmentize his operation and produce some phase that is not in the black. The bookkeepers required to collect taxes for the government withholding plan do not return a profit, though they are extremely valuable to the company, its employes and the government. They help serve the public interest.

The PUC has also contended that the railroads have separated their mail cargo from passenger trains to show higher operating losses. That would be an effective ploy if it is their wish to show a loss. Returning mail cargo to passenger trains and actively promoting such trains would also be a good way to put the books back in balance.

Overall, the railroads are not in a difficult financial position by any means. They have not shown that it is unfeasible for them to operate a comprehensive public service even though a portion of it might not be profitable.

Public regulatory agencies must not allow the railroads to kill passenger service or to

slight the public interest. More appropriately, they might direct the railroads to study the growing use of truly modern passenger service offered in many other countries of the world today.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 3, 1968]

WORKING ON THE RAILROADS

The idea that the passenger-carrying railroad train can be saved from joining the stage-coach as an extinct mode of transportation is one that pops up from time to time in the minds of optimists. And the last place one would expect to find such an optimist, except inside a railroad company, is inside the Interstate Commerce Commission which has peacefully watched the decline and fall of railway passenger service. Yet, hearing examiner John S. Messer has had the gall to fling down the gauntlet before the 11 Commissioners. In a remarkable set of recommendations, he has told the ICC that it has the power to arrest the disintegration of passenger service and he has suggested several ways in which it ought to exercise that power.

The assumptions that underlie Mr. Messer's audacious proposals are that there is a future for the railroads in passenger traffic beyond commuter service and that the decline in passenger traffic on railroads has now reached an absolute bottom. After pointing out all the things that have been done to discourage people from traveling by train, Mr. Messer concludes:

"With the facilities and service what they are today, it is reasonable to conclude that the level of patronage on the Nation's railroads has reached bedrock. Only the desperate and obstinate remain. Further decline in passengers can only be brought about by further train discontinuances. There are many ex-patrons who would joyfully return to an efficient passenger service."

These conclusions, of course, are totally at war with the conclusions reached by the railroads. Almost all of them see no future in hauling passengers except for commuters and, possibly, in the Northeast corridor from Washington through New York to Boston.

To reverse the downward spiral of fewer passengers, lower-quality service, fewer passengers, still lesser service, Mr. Messer recommends that the ICC assert jurisdiction to establish minimum standards for passenger trains. Such standards would include things like meal service, sleeping-cars, speed, air-conditioning, and cleanliness. To pay for this, he suggests that the railroads be authorized to sell their stations to cities or counties, who would operate them and lease back ticket office space; if a city or county did not agree to this, he would authorize the railroad to cancel its stop there. Beyond this, Mr. Messer recommends that states re-examine their taxing policies towards railroads (which are generally assessed at a percentage far higher than that applied to other property), that the railway labor unions re-examine their contracts (which, in the case before him, meant that a fireman and an engineer got a day and a half's pay for a run scheduled at 3 hours and 16 minutes), that Federal tax relief be given to railroads that, under better bookkeeping operations, still incur losses in passenger services, and that the ICC get into the business of creating a National Rail Passenger System.

The scope of the challenge such recommendations encompass may either scare to death whatever spark of life remains in the ICC or arouse it from its comatose slumber of many decades duration. Either result would be a public service since something drastic needs to be done about the Nation's railway system. If the ICC rises to the challenge, much litigation would follow since its authority to do what Mr. Messer recommends is not clear. But that would be a start and the Nation needs to start somewhere if passenger trains are not to go the way of the stage-coach.

BETTER FARM INCOME

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, with the great interest in improving farm income among the farm people, I am inserting a news release from an executive of the National Council of Cooperatives, speaking on this issue.

I insert this news article not as an endorsement but only for the additional information that it contains, and because the National Council does have a wide membership of present cooperatives in the United States.

Mr. Naden specifically points to the greater usage of the present cooperatives under the authority of the Capper-Volstead Act, and for the continuation of some of the present farm programs.

The news release follows:

Farmers can break the barriers to better income if they'll fully mobilize the marketing power machinery they already possess.

So says the leader of a farm business group whose members represent more than half the nation's growers.

Kenneth D. Naden, Executive Vice President of the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, said farmers received legal authority for effective group action in 1922, with the passage of the Capper-Volstead Act.

"That authority spawned a system of farmer-owned businesses that have grown to a size where today they can exert real economic punch. Yet the potential for broader marketing power remains largely untapped.

"Were farmers to resolve once and for all to make use of their cooperatives—for both marketing and supplies—they wouldn't need to be begging Congress for any major new bargaining authority.

"The promise of prosperity for farmers through price setting power alone is an illusion. The reality is that only through skillful marketing and control of his product from farm to store shelf, can the farmer improve his income and retain the power of decision making.

"Farmer-owned cooperatives provide the machinery for exercising this option. Some government help—in the form of marketing orders were needed—will still be required. And until farmers unite and take full command, the additional aids such as price supports and acreage diversion must be retained.

"But group action as practiced by operating cooperatives, rather than collective bargaining on the labor union model, offers the best long-run choice for farmers.

"Three choices are open to those concerned with agriculture's place in our economic pattern, and two of them are totally unacceptable both to farmers and consumers. Complete government control as a public utility is one. Domination by investor-owned corporations is another. Neither would serve the best interests of the nation.

"The third—and only logical choice—is for farmers themselves to maintain control of production and exercise more influence in the marketing and distribution of their products. They can do this through group action. A cooperative is the proven mechanism for doing it.

"Pure bargaining for price—even with the sanction of law—will yield limited results. Marketing orders approved by farmers and administered by the Federal Government add a little horsepower.

"But real market power can be assured only though integration of the basic steps of production and marketing, yielding profit to the farmer all along the way. The operating cooperative offers the way.

"In poll after poll, farmers have indicated they want market power and they want to preserve the pattern of independently-owned farms.

"In current Congressional hearings, witnesses have testified and lawmakers have declared that through cooperatives, farmers already have the potential for substantial market power. All they need do is to use it.

"To do this, farmers will have to relinquish a bit of independence. There is no question about that. They'll have to sign tight and binding contracts with their cooperative, committing themselves 100 percent to group action. A contract guarantees the marketer a source of supply and the producer a home for his products. Contract farming is rapidly replacing the old system anyway. It's only a question of who will write the terms.

"Today, farmers sell only about one-fourth of their products through cooperatives. Were they to double that figure, they would begin to exert real market influence. Through their cooperative they could control supplies marketed, promote new uses for their products, find new markets at home and abroad and influence public policy toward food production.

"The decisive role in the future of agriculture seems destined to fall to cooperatives. They are well equipped to handle it, if their members will let them and if their leaders are equal to the challenge.

"Cooperatives are not restrained by partisan politics. Neither are they confined by the philosophy of any one farm organization, commodity interest or geographic limit. For half a century they have demonstrated a high regard for the public interest.

"If cooperatives are not moving aggressively enough, it is time for farmers to insist that they do.

"If public policies are not permitting cooperatives to grow rapidly, it is time for co-op leaders to insist that they do.

"If elected officials are not encouraging the growth of cooperatives, it is time for voters to insist that they do.

"Clearly, the public interest will not be served by letting food production fall into the hands of a few giant corporations. Neither will the public interest be served by submitting to total Federal control of food production.

"There is a middle way, and that is to keep farming in the hands of individual farm operators and let them exercise control through the mechanism of a cooperative. It is high time we get on with it."

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY—MAY 3, 1968

HON. DANIEL D. ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 2, 1968

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, today we commemorate one of the high points in man's struggle for freedom, democracy, and justice; 177 years ago, Poland adopted its Constitution of 1791. That document proclaimed for all men

to know that the Poles believed that authority flowed from the individual will of man to the properly designated authority of man's collective will. That document stated:

All power in civil society should be derived from the will of the people, its end and object being the preservation and integrity of the state, the civil liberty and the good order of society, on an equal scale and on a lasting foundation.

From the inception of this declaration, the forces of tyranny sought to liquidate Poland and the Polish philosophy from the face of the earth. Germany, Russia, and Austria partitioned Poland and freedom was no more in east central Europe for 150 years.

The Polish Constitution was patterned after the American revolutionary spirit. Its provisions for placing the peasants under the protection of the law, for abolishing completely their serfdom, and for providing freedom of worship proved to be too dangerous to Poland's neighbors who held human dignity in contempt. It was for this reason that they could not tolerate her existence.

But her spirit refused to die and indeed, it never will. She survived and she also preserved her individuality.

Poland has written a glorious series of achievements. She has manned the field of battle with dignity and courage, her great universities flourished in the face of adversity, her churches have been an inspiration to the rest of the Christian world, and she has given richly of herself in her contributions to art, literature, and music. Poland and the Polish people combine the happy combination of strength, courage, happiness, industry, religion, and technical genius.

During the oppressive years, many of the cultural and political leaders were forced to flee their homeland and took refuge in America. Kosciuszko and Pulaski were timely arrivals to America, where their influence, enthusiasm, and zeal played an important part in the attainments of freedom for this country.

Poland has more than contributed its share of fine writers and musicians to the western arts. Nobel Prize winner Henryk Sienkiewicz, whose "The Trilogy" immortalized the wars of 17th century Poland and Jozef Korzeniowski, who is better known to English readers as the great Joseph Conrad, the author of "Lord Jim" and "Victory," are just two of the great Polish authors who have enriched western literature. One of Poland's contributions to the field of music is Ignacy Jan Paderewski, an internationally acclaimed pianist and also Poland's first Prime Minister when Poland was reunified after World War I. Another is the great Chopin whose immortality is assured.

It is difficult to sketch the full history of the gallant Poles in a few short paragraphs, but what we hail today is the still living principles upon which her foundation was laid, human freedom, human dignity and honor. The people of Poland are not free today, but as we make this tribute of her 177th anniversary, we are as confident as freemen have ever been that one day, in God's good time, Poland will stand once more among the free nations of the world.

FOUNDER OF $1.3 BILLION FMC CORP. REACHES 90

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, entwined in a fascinating story of American free enterprise and a successful business organization—FMC Corp., with headquarters in my district—is the story of a man, Mr. John D. Crummey.

During my 16 years in public life, I have admired Mr. Crummey's ability as a businessman, respected his philanthropic and deeply religious participation in American life, and benefited from his sound thinking and advice.

Recently Mr. Crummey celebrated his 90th birthday and an excellent feature article was written by Mr. Leland Joachim and published in the San Jose Mercury News of March 17.

Because the story could only be possible under a governmental system based upon free thinking, free enterprise, and a respect for hard work—because it is typically American—I think it would be interesting to readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The article follows:

FOUNDER OF $1.3 BILLION FMC CORP. REACHES 90

(By Leland Joachim)

Too bad John Bean can't be at "Johnny" Crummey's party.

John Bean was a fellow who liked to have his family around him.

One daughter was already in Los Gatos with her father when Addie Bean married David C. Crummey.

And if John hadn't wanted Addie near him too, there might never have been an FMC Corp. in San Jose.

On back-to-back birthday parties today and tomorrow attended by a total of 600 persons to celebrate the 90th birthday of John D. Crummey, the founder of FMC.

But John Bean kept urging Addie and her family (John D.'s father, John D. himself, who was 10, a sister and two brothers) to join him.

They finally succumbed to his blandishments pulling up roots in 1888 to start a new life in California.

John Bean came to Los Gatos in 1884 and bought 10 acres of land on which he grew fruit.

He had made his living in Michigan as an inventor. (One of his patents for a windmill pump has been used in almost every such pump in the world.) So it was like him to figure out a way to beat the "San Jose scale."

The San Jose scale came from China on trees imported by James Lick, who owned flour mills and other property and was the donor of Lick observatory on Mt. Hamilton.

The scale spread from San Jose to threaten every fruit growing region in the state.

Orchardists used hand spray guns to fight it, but it spread faster than they could knock it out. Bean invented a pump with continuous pressure and began making them for his neighbors in 1884.

How FMC Corp., with 22 divisions, two subsidiaries and a half interest in two other companies, grew out of John Bean's tinkering was told by Crummey in a recent interview.

But first he had to show the trophies of dozens of world tours beginning in 1931, and take his visitor upstairs to see "my bicycle."

Not the original two-wheeler on which Crummey set out to build FMC Corp., but an exercycle on which Crummey demonstrated how he rides five miles each morning.

Crummey shows the results. His eye is sharp, his step quick. There's no spare flesh on his frame.

But his long Irish face showed a little puzzlement at all the questions.

"Lots of people get to be 90," Crummey said to the reporter.

Sure, but lots of people don't found a corporation which did a $1.3 billion business last year.

Lots of people don't photograph game animals in Africa from a helicopter.

Or serve their church, city, county and nation half so energetically as John D. Crummey.

It all began modestly.

When the family came to Los Gatos to join John Bean, Crummey's father started a small factory in a garage to build the pumps.

John D. went to school, graduating in 1897 with the second class to leave Los Gatos High School. He attended Stanford University two years, "batching" and riding a bicycle 26 miles home on alternate weekends to put in a few hours work for food money.

When he left Stanford he went to work for a cousin who had a bicycle business at Second and San Fernando Streets.

He learned the business, meanwhile earning $3 for a 60-hour week. When the cousin opened a Sacramento store in 1899, Crummey operated it. He came home in 1901 at the request of his father and went to work in the family business.

While living in Sacramento Crummey married Vivan Gelatt, and they lived in Los Gatos.

John Bean meanwhile went to work to invent a new and better spray pump.

One day he excitedly telephoned his grandson at the factory. "Johnny, I've got it," he said.

What he had was his "magic hand spray pump," a big improvement over his first pump.

John D. Crummey in the next few months expressed the machines to every fruit growing district in California. The youth went right behind, extolling the virtues of John Bean's magic pump.

His method was to check his bicycle on the train, and since there were no telephones in the country, to ride into the orchards and persuade the growers to drive in and see the pump.

"When I got home my father shocked me. He said 'Son you've sold more pumps in four months than I have in 10 years.' Then he told me we didn't have the working capital to fill the orders."

The younger Crummey suggested incorporating.

The company was incorporated May 24, 1904, and Crummey's daughter, Faith, was born in the barn-house April 22, "so she and the company got started about the same time."

Between 1904 and 1907 Crummey canvassed Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Arkansas, taking orders and starting spray pump agencies.

In the meantime the factory had been moved to Julian Street in San Jose. Down the street was Anderson-Barngrover, manufacturers of canning and dried fruit processing machinery.

Bean Spray Pump Co. was doing a business of a little over $2 million a year in 1928 when Crummey decided to put the stock on the market.

"We put it on at $23 and it went to $27, the first day," Crummey said.

"I got to thinking that if we could combine with Anderson-Barngrover, it would double."

He met Frank Burrell, general manager and owner of Anderson-Barngrover.

It was Saturday, but Crummey called his son-in-law, banker Paul Davies, and by 10 p.m. the two firms were merged.

Within a week the new corporation had acquired Sprague-Sells Corp. in Hoopeston, Ill.,

a vegetable packing machine manufacturer. Crummey proposed that the name be changed to Food Machinery Corp.

Davies came to the company as treasurer and it embarked on a broad, planned program of diversification, branching into many other fields besides food machinery and pumps and spray equipment.

From 1929 to World War II there were many mergers.

During World War II the company entered deeply into defense operations. Its chief product was the LVT, the "Water Buffalo" the Marines used throughout the Pacific.

In later years, with the acquisition of chemical manufacturers, the name became Food Machinery and Chemical Corp.

"When we bought American Viscose, (in 1963) it didn't fit into the name," so we changed it to FMC Corp., Crummey said.

Crummey drives to "the factory" for an hour or so almost every day to "keep track of what's going on."

He said: "I'm still on the board of directors. They limited it to 72 years old for directors and made me the exception because I founded the company. I was to stay on as long as I could walk.

"There aren't many who reach 90 and have my health. It's exercise that does it. Exercise and never overweight. Those are the two things that keep you healthy, those and keeping happy and busy.

"I work eight hours a day, and when my wife is enjoying television or doing something else in the evening I go in and work then."

Crummey said he spends the time on letters to family friends and acquaintances he has made around the world in a series of long journeys. He also writes many letters by hand. Some time is spent working on investments.

Crummey has always busied himself with more than business.

But when he first came to San Jose, he felt Rotary was only for downtown merchants, a "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours," sort of association.

Crummey returned from a trip one day and noticed that attractive street signs, the city's first, had been installed. He discovered Rotary was responsible, and he joined. That was 50 years ago. He's been a Mason two years longer.

Crummey once was a prominent member of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

He followed his father as a trustee of College of Pacific, now University of Pacific, and was followed in turn by Mrs. Paul Davies and Paul Davies Jr., both of whom are on the board now.

But Crummey is prouder of his service to the YMCA and Boy Scouts.

The YMCA had lost its building when Crummey moved to San Jose in 1906. Crummey became a director and with two other men started a building campaign. The successful drive in 1911 was the first building campaign in the city. The YMCA for 50 years occupied the four-story building at Third and Santa Clara streets.

Crummey was a "Y" director for 48 years, then was made honorary president for life. His grandson, Stan Chinchen, almost as active and well-known in San Jose today as his grandfather was in earlier years, is a YMCA leader.

After a Rotary Club meeting one day Crummey and others decided the city needed the Boy Scouts. They employed the first scout executive and formed a trusteeship which in ensuing years raised much money.

During these years Crummey started a movement for religious released time from schools. This work led into formation of the Santa Clara County Council of Churches.

"The other best thing I ever did for this county was when I came home from a trip and found they'd defeated, 7 to 1, the bonds for dams for water," Crummey recalled.

A campaign started by Crummey as chairman of the water committee of the Chamber of Commerce was carried on for two years. When a second vote was held, the bonds carried by about 7 to 1.

Crummey wasn't through. He negotiated with the federal government for a grant to help build the dams, one of several times he served as an emissary in Washington.

In 1931 after major surgery his doctor urged an ocean voyage as an alternative to a rather shorter journey in a hearse, so Crummey and his wife embarked in the Dollar Lines' new *President Hoover*.

He found himself enjoying a deck chair beside Mrs. Stanley Dollar, wife of the owner of the shipline, and she arranged for the Crummeys to fly from Manila to Shanghai and embark in another ship for a voyage around the world.

"We were gone three months on that trip, with two weeks in Europe and two in England on business. I got to feeling fine."

A series of safaris which started in 1947 resulted in the formation in June of 1949 of African Films, Inc. Among the incorporators were Crummey, Roy Butcher of Butcher Electric Co., and Dean Witter, the San Francisco stockbroker.

Crummey and his friends had been getting good pictures on their trips, but had talked about how much more efficient it would be to use a helicopter, both to shoot pictures from the air and to get to out-of-the-way herds. They chose the Congo, both for its animals and pygmy population.

They had to go to Belgium to get permission. It happened that the "president" of one of FMC Corporation's factories, located in Belgium, had been a Belgian cabinet member.

The new company got its pictures. Few were ever sold, though many were shown on television's "I Seek Adventure."

Crummey is proud that he has "been on three safaries and never shot an animal."

Crummey's family is important to him too. He has 14 grandchildren and 14 great-grandchildren. He was married 50 years to his first wife, for whom the Vivan Chapel in First Methodist Church is named.

After her death in 1950, he married Mrs. Caroline Hughes Harban who had been a family friend for many years.

In 1960 he took 26 members of his family to Europe.

"Despite our great diversity of interest, we have a great love for one another and like to do things together," he explained at the time. Two other family trips followed.

Maybe tomorrow's birthday party at San Jose Country Club is the family's attempt to in some way pay him back for the tours, including a Hawaiian journey and a cruise among the Greek Islands.

The lad on the bicycle was brash. The tycoon is modest.

He gives Davies, who ran the company after 1940, credit for conceiving the plans which built it into one of the 75 largest firms in the United States.

Crummey said Davies conceived the plans for absorbing other companies and expanding into 33 states and 13 foreign countries.

"He became the brains of the business," said Crummey. "I think he's one of the greatest businessmen in the United States.

"I never would have had a billion dollar business," he said. "I would have settled for much less."

THE BELLS OF DEATH RING ONCE MORE

HON. BROCK ADAMS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

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

THE BELLS OF DEATH RING ONCE MORE

(By Leo Lipp)

Ring! Ring, you silver bells!
Let the echoes be heard afar today,
Across the oceans in foreign lands
And in our homes in the U.S.A.

Ring, ring loud, you bells of death! Let each stroke
Pierce through the hearts of men today.
A life was extinguished like an altar candle,
Of a courageous, noble man in the U.S.A.

Martin Luther King fell martyr for a cause,
They feared his tongue and feared his pen.
A bigot through his rifle sent the bullet
Which killed instantly that saintly man.

Grieving hearts and feet are marching
On city and country streets today,
Carrying banners with large inscriptions:
Justice for all: Justice must come in the U.S.A.

Ring you bells! and tell the world that
The assassin killed the man but not the desire
To bring equality to all Negro people—
His idea will gain momentum like a prairie fire.

Martin Luther King, in life you walked with dignity,
Like a saintly man, with courage and grace.
On the road of life you fell a martyr
For your fellow men—your footsteps to freedom we embrace.

You left us a heritage, the road to freedom.
In peace we shall march through days and nights
Carrying the torch which will light the way
To human dignity and to human rights.

With streaming tears and bleeding hearts
In silence are marching men, women, and children too,
On city streets and country roads in wonder,
What next will the bigots do?

Ring! Ring louder, you silver bells!
Awake mankind who slumber in pain,
To keep on marching until the goal is reached—
That the martyr's efforts will not be in vain.

VIETNAM: AN INFORMED VIEW

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, in early March, Mr. Edwin W. Dean, Jr., publisher of the Daily News, a very fine newspaper serving the people of Inglewood, Calif., wrote a series of articles analyzing the war in Vietnam. Since Mr. Dean served as an Army officer in Vietnam, he is in an excellent position to comment on the unique military problems of our involvement there.

Believing that the Members of the House will find these articles of great interest, I include them in the RECORD today and on subsequent days:

VIETNAM

(By Ed Dean)

VC AMBUSH AND DEFEAT U.S. FORCE

Ambush and defeat are two words which are never used by the military in Vietnam. Nevertheless, ambushes do occur and result in defeat.

This is the story of an ambush and the defeat of United States forces which resulted.

In mid-October of 1967, several battalions

of the United States 1st Infantry Division were operating West of Highway 13, 35 miles from Saigon. Highway 13 runs North from Saigon to the Cambodian border. Loc Ninh, with its Special Forces camp, is the last town on the highway before it passes into Cambodia.

Because Highway 13 is the main artery for traffic North from Saigon many battles have been fought on or near it. For the past year it has been relatively secure, with civilian traffic moving over it daily. Military traffic has had to proceed by convoy over most of its length, however.

The operation this story is concerned with was planned to destroy a Vietcong regiment which had taken up a position West of the highway. In this position the Vietcong posed a threat to traffic on the highway.

Several battalions were put into the area where the Vietcong regiment was believed to be and began search and destroy operations. Bases, or night defensive positions (NDP), were established by each battalion and from these they proceeded to search the surrounding jungle for the enemy.

Each base included a clear area large enough for helicopters to land for resupply and support. Bases also were set up for artillery to provide fire support for the infantry battalions.

Contact with the Vietcong started almost at once. Although contact was relatively constant, with fire fights most days, no pitched battles were fought. The U.S. forces were unable to maneuver the enemy into a position where he was forced to fight.

VC opposition also prevented the U.S. forces from covering all of the areas they wanted to search. B–52 strikes were used to help the infantry by destroying Vietcong base camps, killing his troops, and forcing him to move.

Each B–52 strike was followed by an aerial reconnaissance of the strike area to find out how much damage had been done to the VC. Two small scout helicopters flew over the area at tree-top level protected by two helicopter gunships, mounting rockets and machine guns, flying above them.

The reports of the helicopters were supplemented whenever possible by a follow up search of the area by ground troops. A ground follow up may discover weapons, bodies, ammunition, supplies, and documents containing valuable intelligence data which are in underground bunkers and tunnels and are not visible from the air.

If the area hit by B–52 strike does contain these things the Vietcong will often oppose the ground follow up in an effort to minimize the damage done by the bombing attack. Thus, if the VC fight to prevent a ground follow up it may indicate it is worth considerable effort to get into the area.

After one of the B–52 strikes during this operation the enemy did fight to prevent a ground follow up into the target area. The U.S. force cutting its way through the jungle to the target area was attacked by the Vietcong. The fight caused enough delay to prevent our troops from reaching their objective and returning to their night defensive position before darkness.

Current policy is against leaving our units in position in the jungle overnight. They spend the nights in clearings where they can be resupplied and have clear fields of fire for their weapons. Consequently, after the fire fight with the VC delayed them our troops were ordered back to their base for the night.

It was decided to attempt to reach the bomb strike area again the following day. And at this point the first mistake was made. The order was sent by radio in the clear. In other words, no code was used for the message and if the Vietcong were listening they got the message.

Next morning two companies, about 175 men, with the battalion command group left the night defensive position for the target area. Because they had to move fast, they marched in column, a point element of a few men in front to give warning and scout the way. In the main body, the two companies marched one behind the other, with the battalion command group in between them.

Each company marched in two lines of men, walking side by side. This type of formation gives fast movement with good control, but very little fire power to the front. No soldiers were stationed on the sides of the column to give warning, since this slows the march down. This formation, dictated by the demand for speed, was mistake number two.

A new route of march, different from the one used the previous day, had been planned. However, the need for speed forced the new route to be, as nearly as possible, a straight line between the night defensive position and the B–52 strike area.

The Vietcong had anticipated all this and they were ready and waiting. They placed a force, of probably two battalions, in a line parallel to the direct route of march to the target area. This line was located far enough to the North of the probable U.S. route that there was little chance of it being bypassed.

To locate the American force, the VC put a line of scouts at right angles to their main force, and stretched this line far enough that it was sure to intercept the U.S. unit. These scouts were well hidden in the jungle in a series of small ambush positions.

The battle started when the scouts at the head of the U.S. column ran into one of the Vietcong scout positions. Fire was exchanged and the VC scouts and main ambush force began moving in on the Americans. As the enemy moved in closer fighting became general up and down the column.

It was obvious by this time that major opposition had been encountered. The standard tactic in this situation is to withdraw far enough to allow the use of extensive artillery and air strikes against the Vietcong. To break contact and achieve this it is necessary to lay down a heavy base of fire to hold the enemy away while the withdrawal is being made.

The Vietcong always attempt to stay in close contact with our troops to prevent the use of air and artillery against them.

The decision in this battle was to withdraw the leading company through the rear one. This is standard procedure; the rear company provides covering fire while the leading company withdraws through it. Here, however, in a formation with poor fire power to the front, the leading company blocked the fire of the rear company.

Because there was an insufficient volume of fire to hold back the VC they closely followed the leading company as it pulled back. As they bent their line to do this a tremendous amount of fire was directed at the battalion command group and it was destroyed. The battalion commander, Lt. Col. Terry de la Mesa Allen, son of the general who commanded the 1st Infantry Division during the first part of World War II, was killed along with the battalion Sergeant-Major.

With the battalion command group gone there was no longer any central control on our side and the situation deteriorated rapidly. The Vietcong pressed on with a counter-sweep which overran most of our two companies. Fighting broke down into small groups of five or six men, back to back surrounded by VC. These small groups were quickly destroyed as the enemy drove the scattered remnants of two companies back into the night defensive position.

Reorganization and reinforcement in the night defensive position held that position through the night. The following day a force was sent out to recover our bodies. The toll was 55 dead and 66 wounded. The Vietcong lost 103 men, according to reports, most of them to the small groups of surrounded soldiers who had fought to the last and to the heavy artillery and air strikes put into the battlefield after the return to the base.

Mistakes were the cause of this defeat. Two have been mentioned, the radio message sent in the clear and the formation used in an attempt to move as quickly as possible. Responsibility for both of these errors rests with the division level command, as does that for the third mistake. The third mistake was sending too small a force into an area known to hold a major enemy unit.

One of the aims in war of any commander should be to achieve local superiority at the crucial point of action. This means simply to have more men and firepower at the decisive point than the enemy has there. The two company force sent out on this mission had the capability of achieving local superiority over no more than one Vietcong company. It was ambushed and defeated by, probably, no less than six VC companies.

Air Force Was Not Prepared for VN

"Turn us loose and we'll win this war in Vietnam for you," says the Air Force. Experience indicates they would not, even if they were "turned loose," unless nuclear weapons were used.

In World War II enemy production was greater at the end of the war than at the beginning, in spite of the most massive air bombing attacks in history. During the Korean War almost total air superiority did not prevent the Communists from moving on the ground. And in Vietnam, with total control of the air in the South and only token opposition in the North, the Viet Cong have continued to receive supplies and maintain large forces in the field.

Air power has its place, but it also has its limitations. It can destroy and disrupt the enemy's communications, industries, and troops. It can restrict the enemy's possible courses of action, and make their accomplishment very difficult. But it cannot stop him completely or prevent him from quickly rebuilding or replacing those things he vitally needs. Air power can make the enemy's job much more difficult, but it cannot make it impossible.

According to the United States Air Force Fact Sheet, "the U.S. Air Force in Southeast Asia," March 1967, the enemy is using "300,000 workers to repair or bypass damaged transportation routes. As a result of this expenditure of labor, road cuts or destroyed bridges are made passable in a few days or sometimes overnight."

The booklet, which seems more interested in selling the Air Force than in presenting the facts, also says it "takes airpower to:

"Find and engage the enemy beyond the range of ground penetration." This is also done by Army artillery and armed helicopters and by infantry lifted to the area in helicopters.

"Move ground troops up to the battle area." Air lifts by the Air Force are conducted with fixed wing transports which require an improved runway of some sort to land and take-off. Runways of this sort are only located at established, defended Army posts, where they can be protected. Army helicopters carry the troops who are moved by air into battle.

"Soften up landing areas." Artillery and Army armed helicopters are also used during these "preps" for air assaults. The final suppressive fire while the troops are being landed is furnished by the helicopter gunships.

"Strike the biggest, fastest and most telling blows against the Viet Cong." The biggest, yes, nothing matches the tremendous quantity of explosives the Air Force is able to put on a target. The fastest, no, Army artillery is always on target long before the fighter-bombers. Artillery usually gets on target within five minutes, a good reaction time for the Air Force is three times that long and it more often takes about six times as long. The most telling blows, only in part, because there are the big battles. Airpower is only one of the elements, along with ar-

tillery and gunships, supporting the soldiers on the ground.

"Supply food, weapons, equipment and ammunition in a land of heavy jungle, soggy rice fields and few usable roads." A great deal of supply is done by truck convoys and all battlefield supply is by Army helicopters.

"Evacuate the dead and wounded." Battlefield evacuation is performed by Army helicopters, the famous "Dust-offs" who have been richly and deservedly praised for their courage and daring.

"Airpower has even denied the enemy the shelter of darkness and bad weather." Obviously Viet Cong troop units move about quite freely and hide their precise locations very well. Even in good weather and bright sunlight the jungles provide excellent concealment. This problem has not been solved by airpower or anything else and is one of the key factors of the war.

"Daily air strikes throughout South Vietnam have denied the insurgents the initiative. The enemy no longer can mass for sustained attacks, and the sanctuary he once knew in the darkened jungles is a thing of the past." The Communists can still take the initiative, and, in this fall of 1967, all the major fighting is a result of their doing so. The Demilitarized Zone in the north, Dak To in the central highlands, and Los Ninh north of Saigon have been the major fighting during this period, all as a result of Communist initiative.

Our inability to deny the enemy the sanctuary of the jungle has enabled him to repair his losses there and return to battle on the offensive and with the initiative. This failure to penetrate the jungles has prevented us from totally destroying the enemy and fully exploiting his defeats.

"Frequently, additional targets of opportunity are uncovered by the airborne FAC's (Forward Air Controllers) from their light, unarmed spotter planes. South Vietnam is divided into 214 sub-areas, and each of these sectors becomes a FAC's backyard. He flies over the entire area each day and checks out any suspicious changes or unusual movement to uncover enemy activity."

The FAC's are doing a fine job, and are among the most gallant flyers in Vietnam. Flying low and slow, Army style, they find many targets and destroy them by calling air strikes. Targets of opportunity are all they do find, however. With all their flying, they develop very little intelligence information because they have not been trained by the Air Force to do it.

"Little things mean a lot" in intelligence work. Small bits of information fit together like the pieces of a puzzle to give a picture of the enemy and his intentions. If some of the pieces are missing the picture is not complete. Many of the bits of information do not warrant an attack and the FACs have not been trained to recognize their importance and report them.

In one division Tactical Area of Interest (TAOI) a single Army intelligence officer, flying only a part of each day, gathered far more intelligence information than the 13 FACs flying in the same area.

"Field commanders have never had faster intelligence information from beyond the range of ground operations. The Viet Cong and their allies are undoubtedly the most 'watched' enemy we have ever fought."

This is true, but it is the Army that is doing it. Army air supplies the same type of intelligence for field commanders as the Air Force. The only difference is that the Army delivers it faster, days faster, than the Air Force. One Army division in Vietnam surveyed this situation during October 1967. It found that all of the requests submitted to the Air Force during the period checked had either been delivered late or the Air Force had asked to have the deadline for delivery extended. Some of the extended deadlines had even been missed.

"There are 154 landing strips throughout South Vietnam. Most flights involving landing on short, hastily-constructed fields and unloading under threat of attack." The Air Force is not too concerned about the condition of these "short, hastily-constructed" air strips apparently. They were paving the parking lot of their officers club at Tan Son Nhut Air Base in Saigon during the first week of November 1966, while many of the runways north of there needed surface improvements and had not been lengthened to accommodate four-engined C-130 aircraft.

With great courage Air Force pilots and crews have flown many resupply missions into bases under attack. However, all these bases are always "under threat of attack" as is every installation in Vietnam.

The Air Force, in its zeal to sell its airpower, ignores the existence of Army aviation and the efficiency of Army artillery. No single military service can win the war without the help of the others. Army helicopters have been the most important weapon in Vietnam, supplying the flexibility and speed necessary to achieve success in this kind of fighting. And the Army is the service that would be best able to handle all of the fighting by itself. But it needs and wants the help of the other services to strike the hardest possible blows at the enemy.

All the services are making valuable contributions and none should be deprecated or overplayed at the expense of the others. With its excellent public relations organization, and great enthusiasm for airpower, the Air Force is the most prone to this failing.

The Air Force was unprepared for the war in Vietnam. Lacking proper aircraft and short of pilots it has been forced to improvise. Improvision has been only partially successful and for some of the problems no real solution is in sight.

Tactical air support is a major mission of the Air Force in Vietnam. This consists of delivering explosives and gunfire against enemy ground targets, generally in support of friendly ground troops.

The ideal airplane for this type of mission is simple, strong, stable, carries a heavy bomb load, and can "loiter" over a potential target area for several hours until it is needed. The Air Force has no such aircraft and does not seem to be doing anything to develop one.

Instead it is using very complex jets which are expensive to build, difficult to maintain, and have a very short time on target before they must return to base for fuel. The jets, which do carry a heavy bomb load, were designed for another, more conventional, type of war They have far more performance than is needed, for operations in South Vietnam, and have few of the other required attributes.

Very complex airplanes make it necessary to have very long training periods for pilots and ground crewmen, slowing the expansion which is always needed in wartime. Aircraft complexity also increases the time needed to maintain the planes reducing the aircraft availability rate, and reducing the number of bombers that can be used to fly missions.

Most of the complicated nature of the jets is due to their high performance. Flying and fighting at very high speeds creates problems which are not encountered with slower planes. The areas of pilot comfort, aircraft control and navigation, and ordnance delivery generate problems which can only be solved with increased complexity.

The very fast jets use a great deal of fuel and so have very little "loiter" capability. This reduces the flexibility and increases the response time of air support in Vietnam. Since the planes cannot remain over their target areas very long, it is hard to have constant air cover. And because they are not there ready to go to work it takes more time to get bombs on a target. In a war of ambushes and small unit fighting minutes are vital because many actions are short and sharp.

In North Vietnam the Air Force is finding the type of war it had prepared to fight. And, as might be expected, the high performance jets are doing well. Losses are low for the number of sorties flown because of the tremendous capabilities of pilots and planes. The large investment in the expensive planes is proving its worth.

However, in this Northern arena, the Air Force is hampered by targeting restrictions and the prohibition on the use of any sort of nuclear weapons. Life is cheap to the Communists, and they deliberately locate military targets in civilian areas hoping our humanity and fear of "world opinion" will prevent us from destroying them. While the Viet Cong slaughter civilians in South Vietnam in acts of pure political terrorism, often in deliberately horrible ways, our enemies and "friends" around the world stay quiet. But when we injure civilians accidentally in destroying military targets their cries of outrage are loud and long.

The prohibition against the use of nuclear weapons in this war does not lessen the destruction in the north. It does cost us losses in pilots and planes. Nuclear Weapons, like conventional explosives, come in all sizes to accomplish all sort of jobs. The tendency to think of them as only city destroying, mass destruction weapons is wrong.

The advantage of nuclear weapons is they pack more punch per pound. This means the aircraft have a better chance of surviving because they are more lightly loaded and fewer runs over the target are required. With clean "nukes" having little or no radioactive fallout the net effect would be much the same as with regular bombs.

Present air war policy for North Vietnam will only limit the Communist effort and make it more expensive. It also makes it expensive for us, in terms of cost and losses in men and planes. A less restrictive policy would result in a more economical and effective effort.

In-country airlift is another major mission of the Air Force. Carrying men and supplies by air is a major logistical resource in Vietnam. Because of the danger on the roads and the need to mount clearing operations and run convoys, the day to day business of supply is carried on by aircraft.

All bases have a runway for airplanes and all but the smallest units are based on a helicopter landing zone in the field. Helicopter cargo is hauled by the Army and the Air Force flys the transport airplanes.

However, when the war started the Air Force did not have a light transport with a short field takeoff and landing (STOL) capability in its aircraft inventory. The Army did have one, fortunately. Disturbed by the lack of Air Force interest in this field the Army had filled the gap that existed.

This plane, the CV-2 Caribou, was invaluable in the early phase of the war when runways were short and unimproved. During the past year, most runways have been lengthened and improved to take the large four-engined C-130 Hercules transport, which now hauls more in-country cargo than any other type. On January 1, 1967 the Army turned its Caribous over to the Air Force, after training crews to fly them.

The figures for airlift in Vietnam are amazing. During a typical month enough supplies are carried to fill 5,000 railroad freight cars, more than 150,000 troops are also carried. One of the big differences between our war and the French effort is in the scale of our air capability. We haul more cargo by air in a day than the French could in weeks. We deliver more explosives from the air on an average day than the French did during the entire 53 day battle of Dien

Bien Phu, not counting our B–52 heavy bombers.

Air Force reconnaissance airplanes were designed to provide the information needed to move corps and armies, as were the systems and organization which supports them. It has proved very inappropriate to Vietnam, most fighting is by battalions, brigades, or divisions.

It takes too much time to process the data gathered by the AF for it to be of much use at the command levels where the fighting is being controlled. In addition, the response to requests for support from those levels are not being met quickly enough. The need for intelligence for fighting commands is being met by Army aviation units which are able to move quickly enough to do the job. The Air Force has largely been relegated to furnishing information to the "Never-Never" land of Field Force (Corps) and Army headquarters.

Since their airplanes are not right for the job, it is difficult for the ground troops to make the coordination for Air Force recon flights. The jets have trouble getting on target on time, seldom arriving as scheduled. When they do arrive they want artillery fires stopped and the area cleared for their mission at once. This is not possible because of the amount of coordination which must be done. As a result, many missions are scrubbed, in spite of the best efforts of all concerned.

The fast recon jets lack maneuverability and the AF asks to have artillery fires withheld from the large areas they need to make their approaches and turns. This restricts the freedom of action of ground commanders to a great extent and endangers troops on the ground, who can get fire only if in contact with the enemy.

Like the fighter-bombers, the recon jets have more performance than they need to operate in South Vietnam and it hinders their ability to do the job. The speed and lack of maneuverability of these planes also creates a safety problem in crowded skies.

Moving 1,000 miles an hour faster than many of the other aircraft in use and making sweeping turns, miles wide, they increase the danger of mid-air collisions. Racing from the South China Sea clear across the country to the border in six minutes or less, they are almost impossible to control from the ground. With the sky so often filled with clouds, it is a credit to the skill of all the pilots flying there that there are so few mid-air crashes.

In South Vietnam, slower simpler airplanes could do a better job on many Air Force missions. Nothing, as yet, is being done to get them, and probably nothing ever will be done.

NAPALM BURNS

Napalm burns. It kills people. It leaves bodies black, charred caricatures of human form. It is horrible. So is war.

Bodies blown to pieces by explosives or ripped to shreds by bullets are horrible too. So are the disembowelled bodies left by Viet Cong terrorists, or the civilians they have crucified or beheaded. So are the bodies of our wounded the VC have executed, shooting them in the forehead and blowing off the backs of their skulls and splattering their brains onto the ground.

Burning to death is a terrible way to die. So is any other way caused by violence. A popular misconception seems to be that we are the only force using weapons which kill by fire. This is not true.

The Viet Cong use shaped charge rockets, similar to our "Bazooka" or the German "Panzerfaust" of World War II, against us. Shaped charge weapons use a chemical reaction to produce a jet of searing, metal-burning flame. They also use large, fire producing mines, and, on occasion, flaming "Molotov cocktails" against our vehicles.

All of these produced seared, flame-blackened corpses which compare with anything done by napalm. The complaint against napalm, as against so many other things by our critcis in this war, seems to be not that we do it but that we do it so much better than the enemy.

Napalm is efficient. It is far more efficient than any of the flame producing weapons the VC have available. And, because of its nature, napalm has certain advantages for us which no other weapon currently being used can give us. It creates very real problems for the Viet Cong and this is why they are working so hard to have its use ended.

Napalm is basically jellied gasoline, which is dropped from the air and explodes into a huge ball of fire. Its big advantage is that it flows, like a liquid, around trees and into holes in the ground. This means things which provide cover from conventional explosives give no protection against napalm.

In a war famous for jungle, bunkers, and tunnels the reason for VC concern over napalm is obvious. Men being shelled in the jungle can lie down behind a tree trunk and be relatively safe. Or they can get into a defilade behind a natural bunker of the ground, or into a shell hole, or a bunker, or a tunnel. But napalm will follow them.

If napalm is not used we either miss some of the VC we might have killed or must send in infantry to root them out, if possible. Either alternative is less efficient and more costly. Viet Cong not killed today are available to fight and kill our troops tomorrow. Our soldiers who are killed, when use of a more efficient method would have spared them, are gone forever.

Critics who argue the use of napalm is inhumane are arguing, by implication, there is such a thing as a humane war. Anyone who has ever had any experience of war knows that is nonsense. It is a sort of an adaptation of the line of thought, espoused by the Communists, that there are "just" and "unjust" wars. A "just" war for the Communists is one which pleases them and furthers their ends, regardless of other considerations.

Wars are fought in "righteous" support of some moral principle, for selfish gain, or by accident, as diplomacy breaks down and nations blunder into conflict. All wars are brutal and none are "just" for the dead. The way to fight a war is to win it, quickly and efficiently. We aren't being quick enough in Vietnam, but napalm adds to our efficiency.

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF ISRAEL INDEPENDENCE

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last night in Chicago during a moving tribute to the 20th anniversary of Israel independence, held in the International Amphitheater and attended by more than 15,000 Chicagoans, Israel Consul General Avraham Avidar delivered a most penetrating tribute to this tiny nation.

I include in the RECORD today the text of his remarks, because I think it is important that we here in Congress keep in proper perspective the full significance of a free and sovereign Israel. I have said many times that the plight of Israel is not a sentimental journey of concern only to the Jewish people; the survival of a free and sovereign Israel lies in the highest interest of the United States and all of the American people.

Consul General Avidar's remarks follow:

ISRAEL'S 20TH ANNIVERSARY

Israel's first 2 decades is the story of challenges seemingly unsurmountable and achievements undreamed of.

Here is a people which established democratic institutions in a wilderness of absolutism, brought in 2,000,000 of their kinsmen out of misery and anguish, created out of divergent elements, a new civilization in the image of its past; built new development towns, harbors and hundreds of agricultural settlements; made the arts and letters flourish; played an honorable part in exploring the vistas of the new age.

Here is a State truly alive with creativity. And all this was accomplished in face of extreme adversity.

20 years of our existence are years of threats, of intimidation, of boycott, of terror and belligerence, of 3 wars.

Only eleven months ago, Arab armies—united, equipped to their teeth, and supported by a great power—threw an iron noose around the neck of Israel, confident that the hour of the final solution had struck.

From the memories of our tormented past, from the insatiable thirst for life and freedom, the people of Israel forged in June their determination to resist—so with their backs to the sea, they wrote a new chapter in the annals of freedom. Within 6 days the combined Arab armies were in shambles and our forces stood, and stand till this very day, on the banks of the Suez, along the entire Jordan, on the Heights of the Golan. Jerusalem, the eternal city, became again, reunited—one city.

Friends—This was a year of great happiness mingled with deep sadness and bereavement. More than a thousand fresh graves have been added to the already existing long rows in our cemeteries. If there is at all a consolation for their deaths, it is, that their sacrifice was not in vain, for it is the firm resolve of our people and government never to return to the territorial insecurity and vulnerability from which we emerged in June—and there can be no withdrawal from any of our present positions, unless there will be a withdrawal by our neighbours to a position of peace.

There is nothing we desire more than peace, for we did not go to Israel to shed blood, but to work and build.

Whilst our neighbours continue till this very hour to proclaim: *No* negotiations, *No* recognition, *No* peace, Israel's hand is stretched out to our neighbours calling—For negotiations, For mutual recognition, For cooperation and an honourable peace. The issue between Israel and its neighbours is not the right of Israel to hold a parade in Jerusalem or Tel Aviv. This is for the Government of Israel to decide. The *basic* source of conflict to which the international community ought to address itself is the obdurate refusal of the Arab Nations to accept and recognize the very existence of Israel. The *immediate* problem is terrorism coming from *without* in violation of cease fire agreements.

The true choice of enlightened public opinion is between those who want to talk peace and are working for peace, and those who daily practice belligerency and prepare for yet another war. The choice is between those who need arms to *defend* themselves and those who acquire arms with the declared purpose of obliterating a State and annihilating a people.

On issues like these, there should be no silence and no neutrality.

Friends, We cannot yet see the cherished peace, but we must not lose the vision of peace. It too will come. In the meantime, one thing must be made clear, very clear. The State of Israel was established by the collective will of the Jewish People, by the sweat and toil of its pioneers, and as long as the Jewish People will stand behind Israel—Israel will continue to exist and prosper—*with or without Arab consent.*

From the agonies and trials of the past

year, the people of Israel emerged strengthened and more united than ever. From the anxieties and concern of May and June, there sprung a personal dedication in every Jew to the cause of Israel. Never were we more one people than since June last year.

And finally: I wish to express on behalf of the people of Israel and its government our deepest gratitude to a staunch and most outstanding dedicated friend of the State of Israel, for truly honoring him by participating in this celebration. I refer, of course, to the distinguished Vice President of the U.S.A., Mr. Hubert H. Humphrey. Eight days ago the Vice President spoke with great conviction about the dreams and hopes of America.

We Jews had a dream for 2,000 years—A Jewish State. This dream became in our lifetime a living reality.

The people of Israel have now a hope—Peace. It will not be handed to us on a silver platter—but—If the Jewish people, if the free world, If people of the stature of the Vice President, will continue to support the State of Israel, then our hope for peace will see fulfillment.

So I call on you assembled here to stand together with Israel, and the third decade of Israel's independence will surpass in glory and achievements the first 2 decades behind us.

Thank you!

SENATE—*Tuesday, May 7, 1968*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a.m., and was called to order by Hon. GEORGE MCGOVERN, a Senator from the State of South Dakota.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O God, our Father, who desirest truth in the inward parts, help us in this opening moment of a new day's council, to draw near to Thee in tranquillity, humility, and sincerity.

Again in Thy mercy we kneel at this altar of Thy grace with the sure confidence of Thy servant of old, as he poured out his soul, declaring "At noon, I will pray and call aloud and the Lord shall hear my voice."

To Thee we lift our hearts, bringing nothing but our need and the adoration of our contrite spirits.

By a vision of Thy eternal kingdom whose sun never sets, give us the inner strength to serve the present age—

To be true to all truth the world denies,
Not tongue-tied by its gilded lies,
Not always right in all men's eyes,
But faithful to the light within.

For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory. Amen.

DESIGNATION OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D.C., May 7, 1968.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. George McGovern, a Senator from the State of South Dakota, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

CARL HAYDEN,
President pro tempore.

Mr. McGOVERN thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, May 6, 1968, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT OF THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES ACT OF 1965

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, notwithstanding the previous order, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1085, H.R. 11308.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be stated by title.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 11308) to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That—

SECTION 1. Section 3(f) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 is amended to read as follows:

"(f) The term 'workshop' means an activity the primary purpose of which is to encourage the artistic development or enjoyment of amateur, student, or other nonprofessional participants, or to promote scholarship and teaching among the participants."

SEC. 2. Section 5(c) and section 5(f) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 are amended to read as follows:

"(c) The Chairman, with the advice of the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities and the National Council on the Arts, is authorized to establish and carry out a program of contracts with, or grants-in-aid to, groups or, in appropriate cases, individuals engaged in or concerned with the arts, for the purpose of enabling them to provide or support in the United States—

"(1) productions which have substantial artistic and cultural significance, giving emphasis to American creativity and the maintenance and encouragement of professional excellence;

"(2) productions, meeting professional standards or standards of authenticity, irrespective of origin, which are of significant merit and which, without such assistance, would otherwise be unavailable to our citizens in many areas of the country;

"(3) projects that will encourage and assist artists and enable them to achieve standards of professional excellence;

"(4) workshops that will encourage and develop the appreciation and enjoyment of the arts by our citizens;

"(5) other relevant projects, including surveys, research, and planning in the arts.

"(f) The total amount of any grant to any group pursuant to subsection (c) of this section shall not exceed 50 per centum of the total cost of such project or production, except that not more than 20 per centum of the funds allotted by the National Endowment for the Arts for the purposes of subsection (c) for any fiscal year may be available for grants and contracts in that fiscal year without regard to such limitation."

SEC. 3. Section 5(h)(3) and section 5(h)(5) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 are amended to read as follows:

"(3) Funds appropriated to carry out the purpose of this section 5(h) for any fiscal year shall be equally allotted among the States.

"(5) All amounts allotted under paragraph (3) for a fiscal year which are not granted to a State during such year shall be available at the end of such year to the National Endowment for the Arts for the purpose of carrying out section 5(c)."

SEC. 4. Section 6(b) and section 8(f) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 are amended to read as follows:

"(b) The National Council on the Arts shall, in addition to performing any of the duties and responsibilities prescribed by the National Arts and Cultural Development Act of 1964, (1) advise the Chairman with respect to policies, programs, and procedures for carrying out his functions, duties, or responsibilities pursuant to the provisions of this Act, and (2) review applications for financial assistance made under this Act and make recommendations thereon to the Chairman. The Chairman shall not approve or disapprove any such application until he has received the recommendation of the Council on such application unless the Council fails to make a recommendation thereon within a reasonable time. In the case of any application involving $5,000 or less, the Chairman may approve or disapprove such request, if such action is taken pursuant to the terms of a delegation of authority from the Council to the Chairman, and provided that each such action by the Chairman shall be reviewed by the Council.

"(f) The Council shall (1) advise the Chairman with respect to policies, programs, and procedures for carrying out his functions, and (2) shall review applications for financial support and make recommendations thereon to the Chairman. The Chairman shall not approve or disapprove any such application until he has received the recommendation of the Council on such application unless the Council fails to make a recommendation thereon within a reasonable time. In the case of any application involving $5,000 or less, the Chairman may approve or disapprove such request, if such action is taken pursuant to the terms of a delegation of authority from the Council to the Chairman, and provided that each such action by the Chairman shall be reviewed by the Council."

SEC. 5. Section 10 of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 is amended by:

(a) repealing paragraphs (2) and (3) of subsection (a) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(2) in the discretion of the Chairman of an Endowment, after receiving the recommendation of the National Council of that Endowment, to receive money and other property donated, bequeathed, or devised to that Endowment with or without a condition or restriction, including a condition that the Chairman use other funds of that En-