Taylor, Thomas I., 3228840.
Thieke, Christopher D., 3223013.
Treadway, William G., 3239532.
Vrablick, Michael S., 3225871.
Walters, David C., 3229112.
Wangsgard, Brian K., 3209833.
Watts, James F., Jr., 3205513.
Weisman, Michael C., 3229264.
Williams, David E., 3228975.
Williams, Paul F., 3180935.
Wilson, Bruce D., 3224203.
Young, Freddy, R., 3229374.
Zartner, Donald C., 3228696.

U.S. ATTORNEY

Frederick B. Lacey, of New Jersey, to be U.S. Attorney for the district of New Jersey for the term of 4 years, vice David M. Satz, Jr., resigning.

## CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate July 8, 1969:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Philip H. Trezise, of Michigan, a Foreign Service officer of the class of career minister, to be an assistant Secretary of State.

John Richardson, Jr., of New York, to be an Assistant Secretary of State.

David D. Newsom, of California, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be an Assistant Secretary of State.

John R. Stevenson, of New York, to be legal adviser of the Department of State.

AMBASSADORS

John C. Pritzlaff, Jr., of Arizona, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Malta.

Ridgway B. Knight, of New York, a Foreign Service officer of the class of career minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Portugal.

Joseph Palmer 2nd, of Maryland, a Foreign Service officer of the class of career minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Kingdom of Libya.

Adolph W. Schmidt, of Pennsylvania, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Canada.

Terence A. Todman, of the Virgin Islands, a Foreign Service officer of class 2, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Chad.

John A. Calhoun, of California, a Foreign Service officer of the class of career minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Tunisia.

Luther I. Replogle, of Illinois, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Iceland.

Kenneth Rush, of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Federal Republic of Germany.

J. Fife Symington, Jr., of Maryland, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Trinidad and Tobago.

Samuel Z. Westerfield, Jr., of the District of Columbia, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Liberia.

U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE OAS

Joseph J. Jova, of Florida, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be the representative of the United States of America on the Council of the Organization of American States, with the rank of Ambassador.

U.S. ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INFORMATION

William F. Buckley, Jr., of Connecticut, to be a member of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information for the term of 3 years expiring Jan. 27, 1972.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COURT OF GENERAL SESSIONS

W. Byron Sorrell, of Maryland, to be an associate judge of the District of Columbia court of general sessions for the term of 10 years.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Tuesday, July 8, 1969*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. J. Theodore Alam, Irvington United Presbyterian Church, Fremont, Calif., offered the following prayer:

James 1: 5: *If any of you lacks wisdom, let him ask God, who gives to all men generously and without reproaching, and it will be given him.*

O God, as we come to Thee this day we thank Thee for this great Nation of ours. We thank Thee that we can have a small part in determining the destiny of that Nation. But when we realize the magnitude of this responsibility we feel very humble in Thy sight, and turn to Thee for Thy divine guidance.

We bow in the shadows of those great men who have gone before.

We are sure that they too felt their need of Thy guiding hand.

We have faith to believe that even as Thou didst direct their decisions Thou wilt help us in ours.

Out of the uncertainty, confusion, and chaos we find in the world today, help us to bring order and harmony to all people.

May the peace of God that passeth all understanding be with us this day. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

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

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

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

H.R. 11612. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 11612) entitled "An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. RUSSELL, Mr. STENNIS, Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. HRUSKA, Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota, and Mr. MUNDT to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

## THE LATE JULIA EDITH KUNS ASPINALL

(Mr. ROGERS of Colorado asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, it is with a heavy heart that I announce the death of Julia Edith Kuns Aspinall, wife of our beloved Member, the gentleman from Colorado, WAYNE N. ASPINALL.

Mrs. Aspinall died this morning at 8:15. Prayer services will be tomorrow night at 8 p.m. at the Gawler's Funeral Home on Wisconsin Avenue and Harrison Street NW. Services later will be in the State of Colorado.

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I too would like to express to WAYNE ASPINALL and the members of his family my very sincerest sympathy on this loss. I knew Mrs. Aspinall, and I am certain all of us are sorry to hear of her passing.

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

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I join the distinguished gentleman from Colorado in expressing the sympathy of all of us in the House to our wonderful colleague, WAYNE ASPINALL, who has this day lost his dear wife. We all love WAYNE. He is one of our finest Members, and one of the most competent committee chairmen that I have ever known. Our hearts go out to him and his children in this hour of their great sorrow. May our Heavenly Father comfort them in their grief.

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

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I join with the distinguished gentleman from the great State of Colorado in mourning the death of such a fine and outstanding lady as the wife of the chairman of our great Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. ASPINALL). I extend to the gentleman and to his family the sympathies of Mrs. Haley and myself.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I yield to the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I am saddened by the passing of the beloved wife of our colleague, the gentleman from Colorado, WAYNE ASPINALL. WAYNE and I came to the Congress in the same Congress on January 3, 1949. Our offices were across the corridor from one another. As a consequence, I became a close personal friend of WAYNE ASPINALL,

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and our families became well acquainted. We developed a closeness that I have deeply appreciated.

The Aspinall family is one of the very finest and they will miss a wonderful wife and mother.

Mr. Speaker, I want to express to WAYNE and his family the deepest condolences of the Ford family in his hour of grief.

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

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for calling this sad event to the attention of the Members of the House.

Julia Aspinall was one of the loveliest and one of the most gracious women I have ever had the privilege of knowing. She was a close friend who was loved by all of the wives of the members on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs—a kind and gracious and thoughtful person who contributed in many, many ways to the Aspinall team and its dedicated representation of the people of Colorado.

She was a wonderful mother. Her children are a living legacy that will enrich their State and the country for many years to come.

My wife joins me in expressing our very deepest sympathy to WAYNE and to the other members of the Aspinall family in their tragic loss.

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

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in mourning the death of this splendid woman, Julia Aspinall.

WAYNE and I came to Congress in the 81st session and in due time Mrs. Aspinall and Mrs. Gross became good friends. Julia Aspinall was a devoted wife and mother. She was completely unpretentious, caring little for the social life of Washington, but rather devoting her time and energy to her husband and her family.

Mrs. Gross and I will greatly miss this good and common friend.

To WAYNE and all members of the family we extend our heartfelt sympathy in this, their time of great sorrow.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to become acquainted with Julia when WAYNE and I attended law school together at the University of Denver in 1922.

Julia has been the right arm to WAYNE ASPINALL. They reared a fine family in the State of Colorado. We who knew Julia loved her.

During the 21 years that WAYNE has represented his district from Colorado, Julia aided and assisted him. We will all miss her in the future. I extend my sympathy to the family.

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

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, I, too, join my colleagues in expressing our deep, heartfelt and prayerful sympathy to WAYNE ASPINALL, one of the outstanding Members of this House, and to his family in this, their hour of deep sorrow.

I have known WAYNE and Julie for almost 20 years, since being here in Washington.

A memory uppermost in my recollections is about the role that Mrs. Aspinall played as a warm, cohesive, understanding and compassionate person, raising and holding together a wonderful family; and who sustained her husband over those years in times of difficulty and political stress back home and then during the years of the additional burden that came with the responsibility of the chairmanship of an important committee in developing and yet protecting the vast natural resources of this great Nation.

In recent years the strain showed on the chairman and again this frail and understanding woman was the sustaining force in the family. Then when illness beset this gallant lady, the family in turn assembled and gathered around her to sustain and comfort her in her hour of grave need.

She is gone now, but her love and their love shall live for time to come, in memory of this dear mother and beloved wife.

So I join their many, many friends, from all walks of life, in extending to WAYNE and to his sons and daughter, our deepest sympathy.

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

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts, the Speaker of the House (Mr. McCORMACK).

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I am very sorry to learn of the death of Mrs. Aspinall.

We all know the intense love that WAYNE and Mrs. Aspinall had for one another. We all know of the beauty of her life and her wonderful outlook on life. We all appreciated her understanding mind and know that her life was an inspiration for others to follow.

To my dear friend and colleague, WAYNE ASPINALL, I extend my heartfelt sympathy, and to his loved ones, in their great loss and sorrow.

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

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with my colleagues in expressing our deep sorrow and our sympathy for the family of our colleague in the passing of Mrs. Wayne Aspinall.

We all knew and loved Julia. As has been so aptly said, there has never been a finer team and a better or finer family than these two. Her contributions to WAYNE, to her church, to her family and friends were limitless.

Mr. Speaker, again I express the sympathy of myself and wife to WAYNE and to his family in this time of sorrow.

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

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to concur in these expressions of sympathy for WAYNE ASPINALL and his family.

The Aspinalls and the Mahons for years have gone to the same church and we have been good friends and neighbors. Mrs. Aspinall was a charming and delightful person. She was a very wonderful woman, warm and kind and thoughtful. Mrs. Mahon and I mourn her passing and join in words of sympathy for Mr. ASPINALL and the surviving family at this sad time.

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## PERMISSION TO FILE CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 11400, SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, the managers on the part of the House ask unanimous consent to have until midnight tonight to file a conference report on H.R. 11400, the second supplemental appropriation bill for fiscal year 1969.

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

There was no objection.

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. 91-356)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 11400) "making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes," having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 3, 10, 12, 15, 17, 24, 41, 64, 78, and 81.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 9, 14, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36 37, 45, 47, 49, 50, 52, 57, 59, 61, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, and 89, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 5: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 5, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$5,450,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 18: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 18, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$2,850,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 22: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 22, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$45,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 23: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 23, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$45,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 44: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 44, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: Restore the matter stricken by said amendment, amended to read as follows:

"DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA MEDICAL FACILITIES

"For grants and loans for nonprofit private facilities pursuant to the District of Columbia Medical Facilities Construction Act of 1968 (Public Law 90-457), $15,000,000, to remain available until expended."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 48: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amend-

ment of the Senate numbered 48, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment insert:

"DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE—CIVIL

"DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

"CORPS OF ENGINEERS—CIVIL

"FLOOD CONTROL AND COASTAL EMERGENCIES

"For an additional amount for 'Flood control and coastal emergencies', $25,000,000, to remain available until expended."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 76: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 76, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$265,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 77: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 77, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$170,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

The committee of conference report in disagreement amendments numbered 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 16, 27, 29, 31, 33, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 46, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 60, 62, 87, 90, 91, and 92.

GEORGE MAHON,
JAMIE L. WHITTEN,
JOHN J. ROONEY,
JOE L. EVINS,
WILLIAM H. NATCHER,
DANIEL J. FLOOD,
FRANK BOW,
CHARLES R. JONAS,
E. A. CEDERBERG,
GLENN R. DAVIS,
*Managers on the Part of the House.*

ROBERT C. BYRD,
RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
JOHN O. PASTORE,
SPESSARD L. HOLLAND,
ALLEN J. ELLENDER,
KARL E. MUNDT,
*Managers on the Part of the Senate.*

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 11400) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon and recommended in the accompanying conference report as to each of such amendments, namely:

TITLE I

*Military operations in Southeast Asia*

Department of Defense—Military

Amendment No. 1: Appropriates $21,500,000 for "Military personnel, Navy" as proposed by the Senate instead of $14,500,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 2: Appropriates $146,000,000 for "Military personnel, Air Force" as proposed by the Senate instead of $115,000,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 3: Deletes language for "Operation and maintenance, Marine Corps" proposed by the Senate providing for $8,910,000 to be derived by transfer.

TITLE II

*Chapter I—Department of Agriculture*

Amendment No. 4: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate provision of $4,000,000 for "Soil Conservation Service, flood prevention" for emergency flood prevention measures.

*Chapter II—Department of Defense—Military*

Amendment No. 5: Appropriates $5,450,000 for "Reserve personnel, Marine Corps" instead of $6,400,000 as proposed by the Senate and $4,500,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 6: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment to provide for $500,000 for "Operation and maintenance, Marine Corps" to be derived by transfer.

Amendment No. 7: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment to provide $1,500,000 for "Operation and maintenance, Army National Guard" to be derived by transfer.

Amendment No. 8: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment to provide $2,000,000 for "Operation and maintenance, Air National Guard" to be derived by transfer.

Amendment No. 9: Strikes language proposed by the House.

*Chapter III—District of Columbia*

Amendment No. 10: Deletes Senate proposal to appropriate $18,736,000 in Federal funds for "Loans to the District of Columbia for capital outlay".

Amendment No. 11: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment extending the availability of funds under "Public safety" for the Department of Corrections until September 30, 1969.

Amendment No. 12: Deletes Senate proposal to appropriate $18,736,000 for "Capital outlay" for the District's share to initiate construction of the basic subway system.

*Chapter IV—Foreign operations*

Amendment No. 13: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which provides that the $2,700,000 for "Assistance to Refugees in the United States" shall be derived by transfer instead of by direct appropriation as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 14: Appropriates $160,000,000 for "Subscription to the International Development Association" as proposed by the Senate.

*Chapter V—Independent offices*

Amendment No. 15: Appropriates $500,000 for the Office of Emergency Preparedness for "Salaries and expenses, telecommunications" as proposed by the House instead of $777,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 16: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the amendment of the Senate to make $100,000 of the funds provided for the Federal Trade Commission available until September 30, 1969.

Amendment No. 17: Deletes language proposed by the Senate to authorize the National Science Foundation to purchase one aircraft.

Amendment No. 18: Appropriates $2,850,000 for the Selective Service System instead of $2,573,000 as proposed by the House and $3,139,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 19: Appropriates $276,600,000 for the Veterans Administration for "Compensation and pensions" as proposed by the Senate instead of $179,000,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 20: Appropriates $89,200,000 for the Veterans Administration for "Readjustment benefits" as proposed by the Senate instead of $14,200,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 21: Appropriates $53,800,000 for the Veterans Administration for "Medical care" as proposed by the Senate instead of $46,189,000 as proposed by the House.

Department of Housing and Urban Development

Amendments Nos. 22 and 23: Authorize an increase of $45,000,000 for annual contract authorization for homeownership assistance instead of $40,000,000 as proposed by the House and $50,000,000 as proposed by the Senate; and authorize $45,000,000 for rental housing assistance instead of $40,000,000 as proposed by the House and $50,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 24: Deletes item proposed by the Senate to appropriate an additional $1,000,000 for "Fair housing program."

*Chapter VI—Department of the Interior*

Amendment No. 25: Appropriates $2,781,000 for "Bureau of Indian Affairs, education and welfare services" as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 26: Appropriates $2,700,000 for "Bureau of Indian Affairs, resources management" as proposed by the Senate instead of $2,769,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 27: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment inserting language making $150,000 available until September 30, 1969.

Amendment No. 28: Deletes House language for a repayable advance to the land and water conservation fund in the amount of $19,000,000.

Amendment No. 29: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment appropriating $950,000 for "Office of Territories, administration of territories" as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 30: Appropriates $2,242,000 for "Geological Survey, surveys, investigations, and research" as proposed by the Senate instead of $2,092,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 31: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment appropriating $750,000 for "Bureau of Mines, health and safety", to remain available until September 30, 1969.

Amendment No. 32: Appropriates $10,000,000 for the "Helium Fund" as proposed by the Senate instead of $5,000,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 33: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment inserting language extending the availability of $250,000 of the total amount until September 30, 1969.

Amendment No. 34: Appropriates $400,000 for "Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, construction" as proposed by the Senate instead of $200,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 35: Appropriates $2,366,000 for "National Park Service, management and protection" as proposed by the Senate instead of $2,479,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 36: Appropriates $1,103,000 for "National Park Service, construction" as proposed by the Senate instead of $100,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 37: Appropriates $24,374,000 for "Forest Service, Forest protection and utilization" as proposed by the Senate instead of $25,028,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 38: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment inserting language which makes $460,000 available until September 30, 1969.

Amendment No. 39: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment inserting language making gifts, bequests, and devises

of money, and other property received prior to September 1, 1969, available for matching Federal contributions.

*Chapter VII—Department of Labor*

Amendment No. 40: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment appropriating $7,500,000 for "Manpower development and training activities, Manpower Administration," instead of $10,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Amendment No. 41: Deletes Senate proposal to appropriate $20,280,000 for "Higher educational activities, Office of Education."

Amendment No. 42: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment appropriating $3,920,000 for "Higher educational activities, Office of Education" instead of $11,161,000 as proposed by the House and language distributing the $20,280,000 proposed by the Senate in Amendment No. 41 and will provide that the appropriation shall be for annual interest grants authorized by section 306 of the Higher Educational Facilities Act, as amended.

Amendment No. 43: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which provides that funds appropriated for "Comprehensive health planning and services", Public Health Service, shall remain available until September 30, 1969.

Amendment No. 44: Appropriates $15,000,000 for "District of Columbia medical facilities", Public Health Service, as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 45: Appropriates an additional amount of $21,200,000 to be derived from social security trust funds for "Limitation on salaries and expenses", Social Security Administration.

*Chapter VIII—Legislative branch*

Amendment No. 46: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment appropriating $30,000 for the beneficiary of a deceased Senator, language relating to the clerk-hire of Senators, and $126,900 for Senate "Inquiries and investigations."

*Chapter IX—Public works*

Amendment No. 47: Inserts chapter number and heading.

Amendment No. 48: Appropriates $25,000,000 for "Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers—Civil, Flood control and coastal emergencies" as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 49: Inserts heading and appropriates $45,000,000 for "Atomic Energy Commission, Plant and capital equipment" as proposed by the Senate.

*Chapter X—Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary and related agencies*

Amendment No. 50: Changes chapter number.

Department of Justice

Amendment No. 51: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which makes $40,000 available until September 30, 1969.

Amendment No. 52: Appropriates $1,277,000 for "Salaries and expenses, general legal activities" as proposed by the Senate instead of $1,314,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 53: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which makes $101,000 available until September 30, 1969.

Amendment No. 54: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which makes $162,000 available until September 30, 1969.

Amendment No. 55: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which makes $737,000 available until September 30, 1969.

Department of Commerce

Amendment No. 56: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which increases the amount available for retirement pay of commissioned officers as provided in "Salaries and expenses, Environmental Science Services".

The Judiciary

Amendment No. 57: Appropriates $1,948,000 for "Salaries of judges" as proposed by the Senate instead of $1,975,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 58: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which makes $205,000 available until September 30, 1969.

Amendment No. 59: Inserts heading as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 60: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which appropriates $850,000 for "Fees and expenses of court-appointed counsel" for the fiscal year 1968.

Amendment No. 61: Appropriates $850,000 for "Fees and expenses of court-appointed counsel" for fiscal year 1969, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 62: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which makes $10,000 available until September 30, 1969.

*Chapter XI—Department of Transportation*

Amendment No. 63: Changes chapter number.

Amendment No. 64: Deletes proposal of the Senate to appropriate $2,000,000 to remain available until December 31, 1969, for "Office of the Secretary, salaries and expenses".

*Chapter XII—Treasury Department*

Amendment No. 65: Changes chapter number.

Amendment No. 66: Appropriates $470,000 for "U.S. Secret Service, salaries and expenses" as proposed by the Senate.

Executive Office of the President

Amendment No. 67: Appropriates $100,000 for "Council of Economic Advisers, salaries and expenses" as proposed by the Senate instead of $107,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 68: Appropriates $147,000 for "National Security Council, salaries and expenses" as proposed by the Senate instead of $200,000 as proposed by the House.

*Chapter XIII—Claims and Judgments*

Amendment No. 69: Changes chapter number.

Amendments Nos. 70 and 71: Appropriate $18,188,688 for claims and judgments as proposed by the Senate instead of $16,880,812 as proposed by the House.

TITLE III—INCREASED PAY COSTS

Amendment No. 72: Appropriates $2,699,602 for various Senate items.

Amendment No. 73: Appropriates $174,000 for "Senate office buildings" and $6,500 for "Senate garage" as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 74: Appropriates $2,114,000 for "General Accounting Office, salaries and expenses" as proposed by the Senate instead of $2,214,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 75: Appropriates $2,000,000 for "Consumer and Marketing Service, consumer protective, marketing, and regulatory programs" as proposed by the Senate instead of $2,300,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 76: Appropriates $265,000,000 for "Military personnel, Army", instead of $230,000,000 as proposed by the House and $300,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 77: Appropriates $170,000,000 for "Military personnel, Navy", instead of $160,000,000 as proposed by the House and $198,700,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 78: Appropriates $45,000,000 for "Military personnel, Marine Corps", as proposed by the House instead of $61,500,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 79: Appropriates $267,600,000 for "Military personnel, Air Force", as proposed by the Senate instead of $214,000,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 80: Appropriates $16,400,000 for "National Guard personnel, Army" as proposed by the Senate instead of $13,000,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 81: Deletes language proposed by the Senate providing for transfer of $3,600,000 to "Operation and maintenance, Defense agencies".

Amendment No. 82: Provides $1,100,000 for "Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers—Civil, General expenses" to be derived by transfer from the amount reserved under "Construction, general", as proposed by the Senate, instead of $1,000,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendments Nos. 83, 84, 85, and 86: Delete and insert certain language for "Indian health activities" regarding the transfer from reserves pursuant to section 201 of Public Law 90-364 for pay increase costs as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 87: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the amendment of the Senate to authorize release of $4,000 reserved pursuant to section 201 of P.L. 90-364 for the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 88: Appropriates $41,000 for "Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, salaries and expenses" as proposed by the Senate instead of $32,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 89: Appropriates $400,000 for "National Labor Relations Board, Salaries and expenses" as proposed by the Senate instead of $250,000 as proposed by the House.

TITLE IV—LIMITATION ON FISCAL YEAR 1970 BUDGET OUTLAYS

Amendment No. 90: Reported in technical disagreement. A motion will be offered to insert a conference substitute for both the House and Senate versions. The Senate struck the House version.

The conference substitute will impose an overall ceiling on expenditures and net lending (budget outlays) of the government during the fiscal year 1970. As agreed to by the conferees, the *initial* ceiling stated in the provision is $191,900,000,000—or $1,000,000,000 below the amount in the House bill and also $1,000,000,000 below the revised projection of 1970 budget outlays announced by the President on April 12 and summarized in the Review of the 1970 Budget released April 15, and appearing in the Congressional Record of April 16, at pages 9351-9354.

The conference agreement retains the House language that would operate continuously to adjust the ceiling, as appropriate,

to comport with the estimated budget outlay effect or specific congressional actions or inactions in appropriation bills or other bills having an impact on the April 15 budgetary proposals. The conferees have added language to this part of the provision to also make it clear that other actions by the Congress would operate to adjust the ceiling in like fashion. These budgetary and other actions would result in adjustments of the ceiling whether initiated by the President or by the Congress.

And language is included to provide that net reductions made through specific congressional actions or inactions in the various spending bills will count toward the aforementioned $1 billion expenditure reduction rather than being in addition to it.

The conference agreement makes two adjustments to the original House provision. One is the addition, as subsection (b), of a limited lump-sum exemption to the ceiling figure. This exemption would permit the President after notification in writing to the Congress stating his reasons therefor, to adjust the ceiling figure by an aggregate amount not exceeding $2,000,000,000 in respect to variations in estimates for items enumerated in subsection (b) upon his determination that expenditures and net lending (budget outlays) for the enumerated items will vary from the estimates on which the $192.9 billion April 15 executive budget projection is based. The enumerated items in all instances involve objects and programs for which the budget outlays arise out of appropriations or other authority, or relate to estimated receipts that operate to offset budget outlays, that *do not require current action by the Congress*—in other words, permanent appropriations or other spending authority contained in basic law, or actions or inactions that operate otherwise to determine budget outlays under the unified budget concept.

The other adjustment to the original House provision is the $1 billion reduction. The House bill made no reduction; it was directed primarily to securing *focus* on and ceiling *control* of all spending, not primarily to the expenditure *reduction*.

*Contrast of conference agreement with House and Senate versions*

The House version is explained in considerable detail beginning on page 118 of H. Report 91-252. The Senate Committee version was modified in some particulars on the floor, but the basic thrust and key features of the Senate version are explained on page 47 of S. Report 91-228. Briefly:

*The House Provision* was all-encompassing; it contained no exemptions. And it did not seek to make a blanket reduction in the projected budget outlay total.

The thrust of the House provision was to put the control of *total* spending in the hands of Congress, adjustable *only* by the Congress.

*The Senate provision,* unlike the House provision, did not put a ceiling on *total* budget outlays. The Senate provision exempted from the ceiling over half of projected expenditures and net lending—about $111.7 billion on the basis of currently estimated amounts. And the Senate provision would have imposed a reduction of at least $1,900,000,000 in the non-exempted areas of the budget, that is, against areas involving budget outlays of about $81.2 billion as projected in the April 15 review. It would, in turn, have fixed a firm statutory ceiling of $79.3 billion on budget outlays in the non-exempted areas. In the exempted items, budget outlays could rise as high as the requirements were determined to be. The President would have to make the necessary reductions to the extent the Congress, through its budgetary actions during the session, did not achieve the $1,900,000,000 figure.

The conference agreement would likewise require the President to make any reductions necessary to achieve the $1,000,000,000 cut to the extent Congress, through its budgetary actions during the session, did not do so.

Since the conference agreement sets a comprehensive ceiling which would be continuously adjustable based on congressional actions or inactions on budgetary proposals whether initiated by the President or by the Congress and whether or not inside or outside the April 15 budget review totals, there is no necessity to exempt any area of the budget that Congress normally acts upon each year. Approval of supplemental appropriations to meet existing unbudgeted requirements would be the basis for a corresponding adjustment in the ceiling on budget outlays.

But the situation is different where additional budget outlays—not contemplated in the April 15 budget review or found practicable within the $192.9 billion ceiling figure—arise in respect to *programs and items on which Congress does not act annually* to supply the appropriation or other outlay authority. These are mainly the so-called permanent authorizations that each year automatically stem from various basic laws and thus are not acted upon in the annual bills. It is for a limited number of these instances—instances involving generally large sums and where it is difficult to make accurate projections—that the conferees have made provision, in subsection (b), for the President, if he finds it necessary and so notifies Congress, to allow the increased expenditures above the related estimates on which the $191.9 billion April 15 budget was based. The conference agreement puts a dollar limit of $2,000,000,000 on how far the President can go in so adjusting the ceiling.

The items in respect to which the Presidential adjusting authority could operate if found necessary are:

On page 16 of the budget:

(1) items designated "Social security, Medicare, and other social insurance trust funds";

(2) the appropriation "National service life insurance (trust fund)" included in the items designated "Veterans pensions, compensation, and insurance";

(3) the item "Interest"; and

(4) the item "Farm price supports (Commodity Credit Corporation)".

Decline of receipts (credited in the budget against expenditures and net lending) derived from—

(1) sales of financial assets of programs administered by the Farmers Home Administration, Export-Import Bank, agencies of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Veterans Administration, and the Small Business Administration; and

(2) leases of lands on the Outer Continental Shelf.

Subsection (c) of the conference agreement retains the House provision in respect to periodic executive reports on the operation of the ceiling provision.

*Limitation on numbers of civilian employees*

Amendment No. 91: Reported in technical disagreement. The Managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the amendment of the Senate, repealing section 201 of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act which placed limitations on filling of vacancies in certain full-time permanent civilian positions in the government and on the number of temporary and part-time employees in certain government agencies.

In Section 201 itself, and in subsequent enactments in the last session, Congress exempted from the limitations and restrictions about one-third of the government's full-time permanent positions and about two-thirds of the government's temporary and part-time positions.

While Section 201 was adopted as part of an economizing measure, the conferees are agreed that its impact is, in some cases, contrary to efforts to economize. The weight of the evidence is clear: It has cost much more than it has saved, not only in cases where dollar losses through operation of the section can be identified and estimated, but also in many other less measurable instances through the introduction of imbalances and inefficiences into day-to-day administration.

It has, according to the evidence, resulted in costly overtime work.

It has, according to the evidence, resulted in a large loss of internal revenue collections to the Treasury.

It has, according to the evidence, resulted in inefficient utilization of personnel.

Particulars in these respects are cited in H. Reports 91-264 and 265, on the appropriation bills for the Departments of Treasury, Post Office, and Agriculture, and in S. Report 91-228 on this Second Supplemental Appropriation Bill.

The Committee on Appropriations, because of the costly and impractical consequences of operations under section 201, is embarked on a suspension plan for every agency as the appropriation bills are reported. The House has already suspended Section 201 with respect to the Departments of Treasury, Post Office, Agriculture. HUD, and many independent agencies during the fiscal year 1970. The motion to be offered would repeal the section altogether.

Congress will, of course, continue to control federal employment through the traditional appropriations process by providing or withholding appropriations for salaries.

*Availability of funds*

Amendment No. 92: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment in order to validate obligations incurred between July 1, 1969 and five days following approval of the Act.

GEORGE MAHON,
JAMIE L. WHITTEN,
JOHN J. ROONEY,
JOE L. EVINS,
WILLIAM H. NATCHER,
DANIEL J. FLOOD,
FRANK T. BOW,
CHARLES R. JONAS,
E. A. CEDERBERG,
GLENN R. DAVIS,
*Managers on the Part of the House.*

## APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON H.R. 11582, TREASURY AND POST OFFICE DEPARTMENTS, THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, AND CERTAIN INDEPENDENT AGENCIES APROPRIATIONS, 1970

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 11582) making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma? The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. STEED, PASSMAN, ADDABBO, COHELAN, MAHON, CONTE, ROBISON, EDWARDS of Alabama, and BOW.

## STATE OF WASHINGTON AND NATION WELCOME WITHDRAWN VIETNAM VETERANS

(Mr. PELLY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, today is a historical day for the State of Washington and for our Nation as the first contingent of our military forces arrives at McChord Air Force Base near Tacoma, Wash., from Vietnam. This is the first group in President Nixon's planned withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

This arrival at McChord tonight is a graphic demonstration of the President's concern and commitment to ending this terrible and tragic war, and it is the hope of all of us that the President's schedule for bringing our troops home cannot only continue but move ahead of plans.

Meanwhile, Mr. Speaker, city and State officials will conduct a welcoming ceremony in Seattle Thursday for these returning military men. I have been invited to attend this affair, but the press of legislative business keeps me here in Washington, D.C. Yet, I am sure I speak for all Members of the House when I say that our heartiest welcome goes to these men with our deepest hope that this war can be brought to a swift conclusion and that all our young men can be returned home.

## PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce may be permitted to sit during general debate today.

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

There was no objection.

## CHANGE OF LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. ALBERT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to advise the House that upon the request of our colleague the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. ASPINALL), the chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House Joint Resolution 247, relating to the administration of the national park system, and H.R. 471, to hold in trust certain lands for the Pueblo de Taos Indians in New Mexico, scheduled for consideration on Wednesday or the balance of the week, will not be called up this week.

## COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of H. Res. 470.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 470

*Resolved*, That for the remainder of the Ninety-first Congress, the Committee on Agriculture shall be composed of thirty-four members

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## ELECTION TO COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 471) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 471

*Resolved*, That John Melcher, of Montana, be, and he is hereby, elected to the standing committee of the House of Representatives on Agriculture.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## DR. JOHN H. KNOWLES

(Mr. HUNT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, for several weeks a controversy has been raging over a well-known doctor from Boston, John H. Knowles. I note that Dr. Knowles is now using the news media to further expound his beliefs. I do not doubt that Dr. Knowles is a good physician, but I do question his knowledge insofar as politics is concerned. He now makes an undignified attack upon President Nixon, and I am constrained at this time to say that I am now sure President Nixon was correct when he rejected Dr. Knowles, because Knowles looks like a fence sitter to me. He is even an expert on Vietnam now; in fact, he is an expert on everything. I suggest he join Mr. Nader and Lauren Bacall, because with the three of them together we will not need a Congress or a President—they would effectually run the Nation at their own whim without regard for ethics or virtue.

## AUTHORIZING APPROPRIATIONS FOR PROCUREMENT OF VESSELS, ETC., FOR THE COAST GUARD

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 4153) to authorize appropriations for procurement of vessels and aircraft and construction of shore and offshore establishments for the Coast Guard, with a Senate amendment thereto, and concur in the Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

Page 1, line 9, strike out "(13)" and insert "(1)".

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendment was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## STRENGTHENING THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SYSTEM—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 91-135)

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read and, without objection, referred to the Committee on Ways and Means and ordered to be printed:

*To the Congress of the United States:*

The best time to strengthen our unemployment insurance system is during a period of relatively full employment.

The Secretary of Labor is sending to the Congress today proposed legislation to extend unemployment insurance to 4,800,000 workers not now covered; to end the shortsighted restrictions that stand in the way of needed retraining efforts; and to add a Federal program automatically extending the duration of benefits in periods of high unemployment.

There are three principles to be considered as we move to make the unemployment insurance system responsive to our times.

*Unemployment insurance is an earned benefit.* When a man covered by unemployment insurance is working, the employer pays a tax on his wages to insure against the day when the employee may be between jobs. That insurance is like a mandatory fringe benefit; it is insurance bought in the employee's behalf, and the worker therefore is entitled to the benefits he receives when he is unemployed. Accordingly, there is no demeaning of human dignity, no feeling of being "on the dole," when the insured worker receives benefits due.

*Unemployment insurance is one of the foremost examples of creative Federal-State partnership.* Although the system was created by Federal law, most decisions about the nature of the program are left to the States, which administer the system with State employees. This makes the system far more flexible and attuned to local needs and special circumstances of local economies.

*Unemployment insurance is an economic stabilizer.* If, for example the economy were ever to slow and unemployment were to rise, this program automatically would act to sustain personal income. This would help prevent a downturn from gathering momentum resulting from declines in purchasing power. When employment is at a high level, and greater stimulation of consumer demand is unwanted, relatively little money flows into the economy from unemployment insurance.

With these principles in mind, I am making these recommendations for both Federal and State action:

1. We should act together to extend unemployment protection to more employees, including many highly vulnerable to layoffs who are not now covered.

2. The States should make certain that workers throughout the United States

receive enough money for a long enough period of time to sustain them while they seek new jobs.

3. We should end the restrictions imposed by almost half the States on payments to unemployed workers undergoing retraining and, instead, follow the lead of those States which encourage retraining.

4. We should better protect the investment made on behalf of the insured by seeing to it that the funds are paid only to those who should receive them.

5. We should increase the responsiveness of the system to major changes in national economic conditions.

6. We should strengthen the financing of the system which presently discriminates against the low-wage worker and the steady employer.

1. PROTECTING MORE EMPLOYEES

Over 57 million workers are protected by unemployment insurance. However, almost 17 million are not covered: more than half of these are employees of State and local governments. The last extension of coverage was enacted during the Eisenhower Administration, when 6 million additional workers were included; there is a clear social need today to cover as many more employees as we can.

*I propose that an additional 4.8 million workers be covered by unemployment insurance. These include:*

—1,600,000 workers in *small firms* with less than four employees;

—400,000 on large farms employing four or more workers in each of 20 weeks;

—200,000 in *agricultural processing* activities;

—1,800,000 in *non-profit organizations;*

—600,000 in *State hospitals* and *universities;*

—200,000 salesmen, delivery tradesmen, and others who are not currently defined as employees.

These 4,800,000 workers are in real need of protection against unemployment. Many of them are low-wage workers with little job security and no prospect of termination pay if they are laid off.

The present gaps in coverage work a disproportionate hardship on minority workers, since a higher percentage of the 4,800,000 are nonwhite, compared to the entire labor force.

To cushion the immediate impact of this extension on employers, I recommend that States be permitted to lower the tax rates on newly covered employers until such time as a record of employment experience can be compiled to determine what their true rate should be.

With the passage of this legislation, the majority of those remaining uncovered will be employees of State and local governments. I urge the States and localities to take action, in the light of their local circumstances, to include their own employees in unemployment insurance coverage.

2. MAKING BENEFITS ADEQUATE

The basic purpose of the Unemployment Insurance Program is to pay weekly benefits high enough to prevent a severe cut in a worker's standard of living when he is between jobs. The principle is generally accepted that it takes at least 50% of the worker's wage to meet this purpose.

Almost every State subscribes to this general principle, but benefit ceilings in their legislation have in fact made this principle largely ineffective, especially for the family breadwinner. At least two out of five claimants currently fail to get a benefit equal to one-half their wages.

In 1954, President Eisenhower recommended to States that they provide a maximum high enough to permit the great majority of covered workers to receive one-half their wages. This means that at least 80% of insured workers should be able to receive a benefit of one-half their wages if unemployed.

Men are most adversely affected by the limit on weekly benefits. In one large industrial State, for example, only 23% of the men receive benefits equal to as much as one-half their weekly wages.

If the program is to fulfill its role, it is essential that the benefit maximum be raised. A maximum of two-thirds of the average wage in the State would result in benefits of 50% in wages to at least 80% of insured workers.

Up to now, the responsibility for determining benefit amounts has been the responsibility of the States. There are advantages in States having that freedom. However, the overriding consideration is that the objective of adequate benefits be achieved. I call upon the States to act within the next two years to meet this goal, thereby averting the need for Federal action.

3. ENCOURAGING RETRAINING

During the present decade, many manpower programs were launched in the United States. We have seen how unemployed workers can be equipped with new skills and started on new careers. When the decade began, only three States permitted workers who enrolled in retraining programs to continue to receive benefit payments. All the rest disqualified them upon entry into training.

During the early 1960's, many States recognized the potential of training for employment rehabilitation, and by 1969 twenty-five States, plus Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia, had removed such restrictive requirements.

However, twenty-five States continue to discourage retraining by denying benefits to workers in such programs on the theory that they are not "available for work." On the contrary, the workers are trying to keep themselves available by learning new techniques and technologies, and government should certainly stop penalizing them for doing something that government, business, and labor all want to encourage.

*I propose a requirement that the remaining States permit workers to continue to receive benefits while enrolled in training programs designed to increase their employability.*

4. PROTECTING THE INSURANCE SYSTEM

We must also be sure that benefits are going only to those people the system is designed to protect. The funds must not be dissipated.

*Attachment to the Labor Force.* The unemployment insurance system is designed to protect workers whose attachment to the labor force is more than casual. A worker's attachment is measured by both his past employment history and his present situation. He must be ready, willing and able to work and trying to find work while he is claiming benefits; and he must have had at least a certain amount of employment in the recent past. Generally, from fourteen to twenty weeks of work is required, depending on the employment patterns of the State and the minimum duration of benefits.

A few States, however, measure past employment by a flat dollar amount. This discriminates against the low-wage worker, because it means he must work for a longer period to be eligible. Also, it permits other high wage workers to become eligible on the basis of very short seasonal work. *I recommend that a standard based on a minimum period of 15 weeks' employment be required as a condition of benefit eligibility, and that no flat dollar amount be permitted as the only yardstick.*

*Workers on Strike.* The unemployment tax we require employers to pay was never intended to supplement strike funds to be used against them. A worker who chooses to exercise his right to strike is not involuntarily unemployed.

In two States, workers on strike are paid unemployment insurance benefits after a certain period. This is not the purpose of the unemployment insurance system.

*I propose a requirement that this practice of paying unemployment insurance benefits to workers directly engaged in a strike be discontinued.*

5. IMPROVING RESPONSIVENESS TO ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Difficult times are far less likely to occur in nations that take the trouble to prepare for them. The presence of a strong, anti-recessionary arsenal will in itself help prevent the need for its ever being used.

In normal times, the duration of benefit payments may be adequate. Most State programs now provide around twenty-six weeks of benefits; for the great majority of claimants, this is enough to see them through to another job. However, if the economy were ever to falter, the number of persons exhausting benefits would grow rapidly.

In each of the last two periods of high unemployment, the President proposed, and the Congress enacted, legislation to extend the duration of benefits temporarily. However, while this process was taking place, many workers were without income, and the economy was exposed to sharp declines in personal income due to unemployment.

*I am proposing legislation that would automatically extend the length of time benefits are paid in all States when the national jobless rate of those covered by insurance equals or exceeds 4.5% for three consecutive months.* If periods of high unemployment were ever to occur, individuals would receive benefits for an additional period up to 13 weeks; this extension would end when the national unemployment rate of those in the system (currently 2.2%) fell back below 4.5%, and when the number exhausting

their benefits in a three-month period dropped below 1% of those covered. These additional payments would be financed out of that portion of the unemployment tax that is now retained by the Federal government.

6. STRENGTHENING AND REFORMING FINANCING

We must enable the Federal government to finance its share of the improvements proposed in this message, along with the costs of administering the Employment Security System. In addition, there will be a need to improve the ability of States to finance the higher benefit levels I am urging.

*I propose that the taxable wage base be raised over a five-year period to $6,000 and thereafter be reviewed periodically to make certain the adequacy of financing.*

In the majority of States, the taxable wage base for the Unemployment Insurance Tax is the first $3,000 of wages—exactly what it was three decades ago. In that same period, average wages in employment covered by the system have increased almost five-fold. The low tax base places obstacles in the way of hiring low-wage workers because a substantially higher proportion of their wage is taxed. In addition, the impact of the tax tends to encourage use of overtime rather than adding workers.

The higher base will have the desirable effect of allocating costs more equitably among employers. Particularly at the State level, overall benefit costs will represent a lower per cent of taxable wages, and allow rates to reflect employer experience more accurately.

*An Anchor to Windward.* Unemployment insurance was begun as an answer to the human need for sustenance of the unemployed workingman seeking another job. It was designed to reduce the element of economic panic in job-hunting.

But as we move now to extend that insurance and meet that need more fully, we discover—not quite by accident—the bonus of serendipity. Here is insurance purchased through a tax on the employers of America in behalf of their employees that can be a potent counter to a downturn in the business cycle. This proves that well-conceived social legislation can be a great boon to business and to all Americans affected by the state of the economy.

The success of this system can be a great example in the relationship between the States and the Federal government.

The Federal government brought this unemployment insurance system into being—but the States have rightly adopted it as their own. The Federal government has traditionally established minimum coverage—but many States have expanded that coverage to fit their own needs.

Now the Federal-State system of unemployment insurance should move to provide adequate benefits in accordance with the goal that has been set and with full recognition of the diversity of economic conditions among States. Such action is most important to protect the individual and to achieve the anti-recessionary potential of unemployment insurance.

The Federal and State actions recommended will help advance the economy of each State and in protecting the economy of the nation. In human terms, the recommended changes will better enable a worker to weather the adversity of unemployment and to find a suitable job.

*I urge that the Congress and the States enact the legislation proposed to carry out these improvements.*

RICHARD NIXON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *July 8, 1969.*

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## PROPOSALS TO EXPAND, IMPROVE, AND STRENGTHEN UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

(Mr. GERALD R. FORD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's proposals to expand, improve, and strengthen our unemployment insurance system clearly constitute one of the most important items of legislative business on the agenda of the 91st Congress.

It is vital that we extend unemployment insurance to an additional 4,800,000 workers as recommended by the President and that we provide for payment of benefits during worker retraining and for automatic extension of benefits during long periods of high unemployment.

I expect that these proposals by President Nixon will be relatively noncontroversial. The fight, if any, will come over the recommendation that States be given 2 years to meet the goal of paying unemployment benefits amounting to at least 50 percent of a worker's weekly wage.

In this connection, it should be remembered that the unemployment insurance system is a Federal-State program. Every attempt should therefore be made to improve the system with the full cooperation of and action on the part of the respective States.

I subscribe to the concept that unemployment benefits amounting to at least 50 percent of a worker's weekly pay should be paid in every State. In those States where this objective is not being met, injustice is visited upon the unemployed who are eligible for unemployment insurance benefits. Also, employers in that State are given a competitive advantage over employers in other States.

But it would be far better to achieve the 50-percent objective through Federal encouragement than through Federal bludgeoning. I therefore feel a grace period is in order.

Enactment of the other Nixon recommendations into law will greatly strengthen our unemployment insurance system and improve the health of the American economy.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's recommendations for the insurance system contain several proposals that are of particular value to our manpower efforts.

President Nixon has proposed that a man in an approved training program cannot be denied unemployment compensation because he is in training. The longstanding practice of penalizing unemployed workers who are trying to gain new skills defeats the purpose of our national programs of manpower development and training.

This proposal will increase substantially the capacity to provide an adequate program for the development of manpower skills. It will enable the idle worker to put his time to use in productive and profitable ways. The benefits which support the worker should also support his training. In half the States which are without this provision, a worker must forgo retraining or support of himself and his family must be provided outside the unemployment compensation program. This is no small part of the training costs. By supporting the unemployed worker in training instead of enforced idleness, unemployment insurance can go far to increase the Nation's manpower resources.

Of equal importance is the encouragement offered the worker to keep his skills current by learning new techniques and technologies during periods of unemployment.

We should surely stop penalizing unemployed workers for getting the training which business, government, and labor all want to encourage.

The President's recommendations also provide for the automatic extension of unemployment benefits when the national unemployment rate exceeds 4.5 percent for 3 consecutive months. This would be a useful antirecession weapon, and by its very existence could itself help prevent the need for its use.

Most States now provide about 26 weeks of benefits, which are usually adequate to see workers through ordinary job changes in ordinary times. Should the economy falter, however, the legislative process for extending benefits temporarily would take so much time as to leave large numbers of workers unprotected. It is vastly preferable to have the machinery set up in advance.

The final section of the President's proposal I would like to comment on is the recommendation that the States voluntarily establish unemployment benefit levels equal to one-half the normal weekly wage. The basic purpose of unemployment insurance is to prevent severe cuts in a worker's standard of living when he is between jobs. When benefits fall below 50 percent of the workers wage, the program, in effect, fails to serve its purpose.

The responsibility for determining benefit payments rests with the States. Advantages to this system include establishing benefit levels that are appropriate to the economy of the State. However, while the States have the freedom to set benefits, they also have the responsibility to set rates at realistic levels. President Nixon's call upon the States to act is entirely appropriate.

President Nixon's proposals to strengthen our unemployment insurance system, taken together, form a sound, responsible and constructive package that the Congress should act upon without undue delay.

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, there are many times when the leaders of our Government have to choose between conflict-

ing values or conflicting interests when they make public policy. They must decide, for example, whether to favor labor or management; whether to expand Government service or cut taxes; whether to apply scarce resources on behalf of this group or that one. In many cases, the decision to aid one interest will not help another interest, and the decisionmaking process is therefore a difficult and trying one.

Every now and then, however, a program comes along which is clearly in the interest of a wide variety of Americans. Once in awhile, a program emerges which gives a clear and discernible boost to the whole population, even as it gives special aid to some smaller group. Now and then there is a coincidence of interests among large segments of our society. On these occasions it is particularly important that the Government act promptly to maximize the total benefits which can be gained.

Such, I believe, is the case with our unemployment compensation programs, as the President's recent message persuasively argues. Designed to protect the minority of citizens who are periodically thrown out of work, the system also protects the whole of society by providing an important lever with which to stabilize the economy and to cushion it against sharp downturns. When men suddenly become unemployed, the insurance program can quickly put needed money back into the system before a recessionary cycle can set in. And similarly, as men go back to work, the flow of Government money is gradually lessened and inflationary pressures are less likely to mount. It is rather like a faucet which turns on by itself as water flows out of the basin and which slowly turns itself off as the level of the water once again rises.

The President's recent proposals will have the effect of strengthening this unemployment insurance system, both as a humane protection for the unemployed worker and his family and as a countercyclical economic instrument. The President proposes that payments be given to many people who are not now protected, that the size of the payment in many States be increased so that it approaches what has been long established as an acceptable level, that many States stop denying payments to those who are being retrained for new employment, and that payments be extended for a longer period of time, whenever total unemployment rises above a certain level.

All of these changes—and several others which the President lists—will provide greater security for American workers, particularly for those who need it most, those who work at low wage levels and who have little job security. In this respect, the President's program will enhance human dignity and advance social justice. At the same time, these recommendations will make the unemployment insurance program a more useful and more effective economic lever. The prosperity of the entire country will be better protected by a payment system which covers more people at higher rates for longer periods of time.

The unemployment insurance system was built decades ago to benefit both the individual and the society. The improvements which the President suggests will have a similar impact. As his message says:

> Well-conceived social legislation can be a great boon to business and to all Americans affected by the state of the economy.

The President's recommendations are well conceived, and the Congress and the States must now act so that we can all achieve the promised benefits.

## GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND REMARKS

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to extend their remarks immediately following the message from the President.

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

There was no objection.

## CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 98]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Anderson, Ill. | Dorn | O'Neal, Ga. |
| Andrews, N. Dak. | Dowdy | Passman |
| Aspinall | Eckhardt | Pepper |
| Baring | Green, Oreg. | Powell |
| Barrett | Green, Pa. | Purcell |
| Berry | Jarman | Rees |
| Boggs | Kirwan | Robison |
| Boland | Long, La. | Rooney, Pa. |
| Brasco | Lowenstein | Roybal |
| Brock | Lujan | St. Onge |
| Broyhill, N.C. | McDonald, Mich. | Sandman |
| Cabell | Mailliard | Scheuer |
| Cahill | Mann | Sisk |
| Carey | Minshall | Teague, Calif. |
| Celler | Mollohan | Teague, Tex. |
| Chamberlain | Monagan | Vander Jagt |
| Clark | Mosher | Watkins |
| Cleveland | Murphy, N.Y. | Watson |
| Collier | Nix | Wilson, Charles H. |
| Delaney | O'Hara | Wolff |
| Derwinski | O'Konski | |

The SPEAKER pro tempore. On this rollcall 370 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

## PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON RULES TO FILE PRIVILEGED REPORTS

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules may have until midnight tonight to file certain privileged reports.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

## WE MUST HAVE ONE STANDARD OF HEALTH CARE IN AMERICA: THE HIGHEST STANDARD

(Mr. FULTON of Tennessee asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, in this morning's Washington Post Dr. Robert O. Egeberg was quoted as saying at a July 7 news conference: "You cannot have one standard of health care for the Nation."

The story goes on to report Dr. Egeberg as saying that this "would be a reasonable goal 'probably 50 years from now' but presently it is 'unrealistic'."

Mr. Speaker these words, if they are not reported out of context, are extremely disturbing.

One standard of health care, the very highest standard, is not only a realistic goal for our citizens, but a must and within a far shorter time than half a century.

These words of Dr. Egeberg are even more disturbing because he is the man President Nixon has nominated to fill the Nation's highest governmental health position, Assistant Secretary for Health under Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Robert Finch.

These words hark back to the old laissez faire philosophy of medical economics that those who can afford it, and only those who can afford it, should receive the best health care available while others should receive health care in direct proportion to their ability to pay.

Congress has made it rather clear over the past 6 years that this philosophy no longer applies in this Nation. The programs which we have passed into law to promote and provide the best possible health care for all Americans are too numerable to relate here but I suggest that before Dr. Egeberg assumes his new duties he study them carefully.

Certainly we do not have one standard of health care in America but we can have, and that standard should be the very best. To admit we do not have the best while at the same time striving to achieve it is the job before us. To say that we "cannot have one standard" is to admit defeat, deny our national commitment, and defy the progress which we have marked to date.

## PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 11249, JOHN F. KENNEDY CENTER ACT AMENDMENTS

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 447 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 447

*Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 11249) to amend the John F. Kennedy Center Act to authorize additional funds for such Center. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Public Works, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such

amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, at the conclusion of which I will yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 447 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of H.R. 11249 to amend the John F. Kennedy Center Act to authorize additional funds for such Center.

H.R. 11249 would amend section 8 of the John F. Kennedy Center Act by increasing the authority for direct appropriations from $15,500,000 to $23 million, an increase of $7.5 million, provided, as in the basic act, that this increase is matched by an equal amount of money, securities, and other property from other sources. In addition, the bill amends section 9 of the act by authorizing an increase in the amount of bonds authorized to be issued to pay for the cost of the underground parking facilities by $5 million—from the original $15,400,000 to $20,400,000.

The original authorization of $15.5 million has been matched by an equivalent amount of gifts as required by present law. Approximately $5.5 million worth of additional gifts has also been received by the Trustees and may be applied toward matching the additional appropriations authorized by this legislation.

The overall construction of the Center is more than 50 percent complete. The exterior marble panels have been erected on the three exterior walls of the concert hall, completely enclosing the southernmost third of the building. The exterior marble has also been erected on the river side of the opera. It is planned to complete the exterior marble panels for the entire building by the fall of this year.

Concrete work has been completed in the concert hall area, in practically all of the garage area, and is well under way in the opera. A carpenters' strike commenced on the first day of May, and this stopped all further work of pouring concrete. About 30 percent of the total concrete remains to be put in place.

A large amount of masonry, plumbing, air conditioning, elevator, and electrical work has been accomplished. The concert hall, the hall of nations, the grand foyer, the river terrace, and the entrance plaza are all taking shape and their ultimate appearance, insofar as form is concerned, can be readily visualized.

Major work still to be contracted includes tile, terrazo, wood floors, interior glass, approaches, landscaping, interior painting, and the finishing of administrative and rehearsal spaces. A program for procurement of all furnishings, furniture, landscaping, and sound equipment will have to be initiated in the immediate future in order to be coordinated with the completion of the building.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 447 in order that H.R. 11249 may be considered.

I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, as stated by the gentleman from Massachusetts, House Resolution 447 does provide an open rule with 1 hour of debate for consideration of H.R. 11249, the John F. Kennedy Center authorization.

The purpose of the bill is to authorize additional Federal funding for the John F. Kennedy Center in the amount of $7,500,000 on the condition that this increase be matched by private sources. The bill also authorizes an increase in the amount of bonds to be issued to pay the cost of underground parking by $5,000,000 to a new total of $20,400,000.

Original cost estimates set construction costs of the Center at $46,400,000. Current estimates now total $66,400,000. Construction is now more than 50 percent complete.

The committee recommends passage of the bill but clearly states that it will not in the future consider another funding request.

The gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. SNYDER) and the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. ZION) oppose the legislation because of the fiscal condition of the country.

The gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SCHADEBERG) has filed additional minority views. He opposes the legislation and wants the bill returned to committee so that an alternative funding plan can be devised.

Letters supporting the bill are included in the report from the John F. Kennedy Center, the Smithsonian Institution, the Commission on Fine Arts, and the Bureau of the Budget.

Although the committee has stated that they are not going to come in and ask for additional money in the future, I remind the House that we cannot bind any future Congress, and it would not surprise me if the proponents of the Center come in later with a request for funds in order to complete the Center.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. GROSS).

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, here we are again.

To the new Members of this body, may I say "welcome" to what has become the regularly scheduled fleecing of the American taxpayer by the promoters of that white elephant on the banks of the Potomac, the Kennedy Cultural Center.

While leafing through the hearing on this year's sheep-shearing operation, I notice the gentleman from Texas (Mr. WRIGHT) reminded his committee colleagues that the House and the American people had been solemnly promised on a previous occasion that no more money from the U.S. Treasury would ever be sought for this boondoggle.

That promise, the gentleman reminded his colleagues, "is going to be read back to us when we go out on the floor with this bill."

I would not for the world disappoint the gentleman from Texas, but I am in a quandary as to just which promise he meant.

Was it the statement made in 1958 by our former colleague from Virginia, Mr. Smith, who told us, and I quote:

It does not cost the Government any money. They are going to have a magnificent structure here. The money is going to be raised by voluntary contribution and they will have a magnificent building here for the performing arts . . . and we get it free.

I am certain the gentleman from Texas (Mr. WRIGHT) remembers Mr. Smith's remarks because he jumped right in with this:

I certainly concur in what my colleague, the gentleman from Virginia, has said.

Was that the promise of which the gentleman was reminding his committee colleagues during their abbreviated hearing a few weeks ago on this bill?

Or was it the one made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. FULTON)? Here's the way he laid it out:

It has been said that this will not cost the Government money. No, it will not.

If that was not the promise to which the gentleman referred, perhaps he had reference to the exchange between Mr. Seely-Brown of Connecticut, a former Member of the House, and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. THOMPSON).

Mr. Seely-Brown asked this:

Mr. Speaker, I want to make two points. First, this is not going to cost the taxpayers a cent; is that correct?

The gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. THOMPSON) responded:

Not one cent; that is correct.

Then I got into the act.

Mr. GROSS. Make no mistake about it, this is a legislative blank check. I do not think any Member of the House would want to stake his reputation on the statement here and now that all the money for the construction of this $25 to $50 million Cultural Center is going to be raised from philanthropic sources.

To which the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. THOMPSON) replied:

I would stake my reputation on it, for the record.

I wonder, Mr. Speaker, if those were the statements to which the gentleman from Texas referred in the hearing. But just in case they are not, let us take another trip to the floor of the House, this time on August 5, 1963, where we find the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. JONES), a member of the committee, seeking legislation to extend the time allowed to raise voluntary contributions for the Center.

This is part of what he said then, and I quote:

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, this extension—this authorization—does not authorize the expenditure of one red penny.

This is unique legislation. The funds for this building are being raised by voluntary contribution.

I would like to point out once again that no additional Federal funds are involved in this legislation.

On January 8, 1964, the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. SCHWENGEL), also a member of the Public Works Committee, had this to say:

When the question of the National Cultural Center Commission was before this House and I took a strong position in its favor and, of course, in favor of the Center, it was made clear, as all of you will remember, that there would be no use of Federal funds for the project.

With me, Mr. Chairman, this is a point of honor.

And the gentlewoman from Illinois (Mrs. REID), speaking on March 17, 1964, concerning the extension of time in which to raise contributions for the Center, said this:

It was the fear of some of my colleagues that this was a forecast of eventual requests for Federal funds for this project, but I was able to allay such fears since I was led to believe at that time, in my capacity as a congressional member of the Board of Trustees, that there was no intention of ever asking for Federal funds.

If the Congress approves the appropriation of these initial Federal funds for this Center, will we be faced by continuous requests for more Federal money to take care of some unforeseen or unplanned emergency or expense in the future?

Mr. Speaker, I suggest that the foregoing statement entitles the gentlewoman from Illinois for favorable consideration as the Jeanne Dixon of Capitol Hill.

But the bogus promisers are still with us.

I seem to remember that one, Roger Stevens, who has presided over this monumental boondoggle, asserted some years ago that he would resign if he could not raise from private sources all the money necessary to build this pleasure palace.

If Members will turn to the hearing on this bill they will find the latest weasel-worded promise from Mr. Stevens in the following colloquy:

Mr CRAMER. Do you give the Committee complete and full and unequivocal assurance that you will not come back for any additional money for the construction of this facility?

Mr. STEVENS. Well, I think it is the duty of the Trustees to complete the building with the funds if this bill goes through that are available to us, sir.

Mr. CRAMER. I want to ask this question again. It is going to be asked us on the floor. If we cannot give this assurance, I do not think the bill has a Chinaman's chance. Can you give this Committee the assurance that you will not come back for any additional money for the construction of this facility?

Mr. STEVENS. As far as I am concerned, sir, whatever authority I have as Chairman of the Board, I will assure the Committee that we will not be back to seek any more money.

I submit that statement is meaningless. In the first place, Stevens could be gone tomorrow as Chairman of the Board, and in the second place the Board could easily vote to instruct him to go right on pilfering the treasury. The so-called assurance from Stevens is but one more of the utterly worthless assurances and promises that have been made both in and out of Congress in connection with this fiasco.

Mr. Speaker, the Federal debt is now at $365 billion and it will require the borrowing of an estimated $17.3 billion this year just to pay the interest on that debt.

Poverty, we are told, is still rampant. Hunger, we are told, is still widespread. The costly war in Vietnam goes on and on, and inflation goes up, up, and up. And here we are considering a measure to throw another $12½ million in this fiasco that started out to cost $30 million—at no expense to the taxpayers—and is going to top $66 million before the doors are ever opened.

In view of the financial situation that confronts the citizens of this country, and in view of the deception and broken promises that have marked this Treasury raiding, I submit that it takes an uncommon amount of gall for the Public Works Committee to even bring this proposal to the House floor. It ought to have been shelved in committee. Since it was not, the House ought to kill it here on the floor and thus serve notice that promises made in the promotion of legislation must be kept now and in the future.

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

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. HALL).

Mr. HALL. I appreciate the gentleman yielding.

I thought we might bring in one more "trip to the floor," later on in the same year, 1964, during the appropriation bill debate on this floor, when the esteemed chairman of that subcommittee (Mr. KIRWAN), said that, "they plan to collect about $20 million, and the Appropriations Committee gave them the full $15.5 million authorized." He then said, "We do not expect to report out any more."

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. STEPHENS. Would the gentleman please make it clear that the Mr. Stevens he is talking about is not me?

Mr. GROSS. I will be glad to. It is not the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. GROSS. Certainly I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WRIGHT. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

He used my name and quoted me accurately save for the fact that I did not characterize this bill as a boondoggle.

Mr. GROSS. I would not expect the gentleman, who has been a party to raiding the Treasury for this purpose, to call it a boondoggle.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I hope that this rule will be adopted. After the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. GROSS) has finished making his comment, I think that we ought to have a definite opportunity for the chairman of the subcommittee in charge of this bill to answer the objections and the doubts of the gentleman from Iowa.

I now yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield 7 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BOW).

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this rule and in opposition to the bill.

I would hope that if the rule should pass the bill would be recommitted. It seems to me a great deal more study must be done on the matter of the financing of this Center. There has been a great deal of consideration in the past.

I would like to make one thing crystal clear. As a member of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, under the original enactment of this law there was a provision that it should not be built until the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution certified that sufficient money was on hand to complete the building. Well, some few years ago we had a meeting of the Board of Regents, and the Trustees of this Center and their attorney and their accountants came in. They laid it right on the line to us that they had plenty of money to complete the building, and they urged the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution to so certify. And after looking over the books and records and giving the matter careful consideration the Director of the Regents of the Smithsonian did so certify.

So not only was I taken in originally on this legislation, but I was taken in as a Regent of the Smithsonian Institution, that there was enough money to build it, and the taxpayers were not going to be saddled with this great cost.

Mr. Speaker, I join with the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. GROSS) in taking a trip back to the floor, back some time ago, and we heard then—and we remember what Mr. Smith, our beloved former colleague from Virginia, had to say.

You will also remember a very fine gentleman whom we had here from California who is now deceased, Mr. Baldwin, who was a member of the committee, and Mr. Baldwin said:

The most remarkable thing about this bill which came before the Public Works Committee is the fact that this group of people who are interested in providing a National Capital Cultural Center are willing to actually assume the burden of raising the funds to finance it. That is quite a distinctive approach to those of us in Congress who have been working on many projects involving the construction of buildings. . . .

And our friend, Ken Keating, who was with us at that time, and who is now Ambassador to India, said:

It should be noted that the land to be occupied by this structure is not now being used for any significant purposes, that the center will not be subsidized by the Federal Government—

And I think we can go back over the road and find item after item, Mr. Speaker, and statement after statement, that this Center was not going to be financed by the Government, but then we came along and we gave them some money.

Let me point out to you, my colleagues, that we have already contributed to this nonsubsidized, no-Federal-funds program, and we are already in for $33 million—$33,075,000, to be specific—for the project. And when you pass this bill today, a few days after we approved continuation of the surtax, you are going to have $45,575,000 in this Center. And all of that after all the promises that we were not going to tax the people of this country for the Center.

I say to you, my friends, that I have been taken. I voted for it originally, and now I come to the wailing wall and admit the error of my ways. I hope others will not be too proud to admit the error of their ways, and will vote against this rule and vote to recommit.

But, Mr. Speaker, I want to make one other statement here that I rather hesitate to make, but I believe I should: There was a request on this particular

bill sent to the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution asking for the comments of the Smithsonian on this bill. We had a meeting of the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution some time around the 20th of May, and this matter came up. There was a discussion. We discussed the fact that we had already certified that there was enough money to build it. After some consideration the Regents of the Smithsonian decided we should do nothing; we would take no action at all on this bill. We rather felt that we had been taken in once, and we were not going to take any more action.

Much to my surprise, in this report I find here on the date of May 23, a few days after the meeting of the Regents—and the Regents are the controlling officers of the Smithsonian Institution—I find that S. Dillon Ripley, the Secretary, wrote a letter to the chairman of the committee and said this in part:

> It is our understanding that present estimates of cost and other justification in support of provisions of H.R. 11249 will be presented to the committee by the representatives of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and of the General Services Administration. In support of that justification, the Smithsonian Institution recommends favorable consideration of H.R. 11249.

Mr. Speaker, I say here unequivocally to you as a member of the Board of Regents, the Board of Regents never took any action supporting this legislation, but in fact made a decision not to support it, and I think this ought to be known by the Members here.

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

Mr. BOW. I yield to the gentleman briefly.

Mr. GRAY. The gentleman has made a very important statement. But he stated he voted to help create this Center. Is that an accurate statement?

Mr. BOW. That is right.

Mr. GRAY. The gentleman knows—if he has been along the beautiful banks of the Potomac River——

Mr. BOW. Oh—what that thing has done to the banks of the Potomac River with the overhanging marquee of that building out along the parkway where you are not safe to drive and where you have had to go one way for about a year now. It looks like we will have more. Oh, but it has done a beautiful job to the beautiful Potomac. But you go ahead—do you still like it? Tell me honestly, my dear friend from Illinois—do you still like that marquee sticking out over there?

Mr. GRAY. If the gentleman will listen as intently to my speech as I have to his, I am sure we can get along fine.

I want to ask the gentleman this. He admits he helped to create this Center. Would you like to see a national disgrace by an unfinished building on the banks of the Potomac. That is the real issue in this bill.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I do not yield further to the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me the one great national disgrace that might come about is if this Congress gives its word that the taxpayers will not be called upon to pay a dime and then time after time we go down to the well and we violate that word—that is the national disgrace—when the Congress does not keep its word to the American people.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from Illinois (Mrs. REID).

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, although I certainly do not profess to have the powers of Jeane Dixon, as the gentleman from Iowa suggested, I think I must have had a premonition as to just what would happen when I spoke on March 17, 1964.

On August 5, 1963, the House amended the original National Cultural Center Act to provide for an additional 3-year period in which funds could be raised through voluntary contributions for construction of such Center in Washington, D.C. It was the fear of some of my colleagues that this was a forecast of eventual requests for Federal funds for this project but I felt I was able to allay such fears since I was led to believe sincerely at that time, in my capacity as a congressional member of the Board of Trustees, that there was no intention of ever asking for Federal funds—that the original concept of having a cultural center built through voluntary contributions would remain in effect.

However, on January 8, 1964, we were asked to authorize direct appropriations of $15.5 million for construction of the Center as well as the issuance of $15.4 million in bonds to pay for the cost of underground parking facilities. At the same time the Center was renamed the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and it was made a memorial to our late President. I gave my full approval to renaming the Center and making it a memorial to the late President Kennedy. On the other hand, I stated unequivocally that I was opposed to the use of Federal funds for construction and expressed my strong feeling that the memorial would have much greater meaning and be more of a tribute to the late President Kennedy if it were built through voluntary, free-will contributions.

Today we are being asked to increase the direct appropriation to $23 million and the bond authorization to $20.4 million. Furthermore, there is no proof that this will be the last request for building funds or that yearly appropriations for the operation of the Center—once built—will not be requested.

The fact that a Center for the Performing Arts is vitally needed in our Nation's Capital for opera, ballet and other cultural activities is well known and I feel it is a fitting memorial to the late President Kennedy. However, I would strongly urge that this bill be sent back to the committee for further study of alternative means of financing other than through public tax subsidies. If this bill passes and the money is appropriated, about two-thirds of the present estimated cost will have been paid by the taxpayers.

It would certainly be a more fitting tribute to our late President if citizens paid for it through voluntary freewill contributions rather than having their tax money used for this purpose. The meaning would be so much greater. I realize that the building is already under construction and tax money has already been used so we cannot return entirely to the original concept of financing, but we could move in that direction by recommitting H.R. 11249. Also, why could it not be financed through the issuance of bonds which could be paid off through the charges for the performances? This is one other alternative which might be considered.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SCHADEBERG).

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the rule. I am opposed to the bill, but I am in support of the rule because I believe that this is a matter which should be fully discussed by the Members of the House.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

If any of the Members of the House were to go down the Mall and look at the Washington Monument, they would notice that at a height of 150 feet the color in the stones changes.

History repeats itself.

It was in 1855 the Congress of the United States set up a committee and authorized the building of the Washington Monument. The monument was built to a certain height, 555 feet, because of an argument in Congress, about appropriations. It was less than half built and remained that way for years. It was a disgrace to the Nation and the man whom it was to honor.

Then when they went to complete it, they could not get the same color of stone. So if you observe the Washington Monument at that point, you will notice there are two different types of stone used in its construction.

Here we are today with a building that is at least 50 percent completed.

Private funds are giving about $20 million. There is confusion in the bill between the fact of the 1958 act and the 1964 act.

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

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. I do not yield to the gentleman from Iowa. The gentleman is trying to foreclose free and open debate. He wants to defeat the rule. That is very unfair on your part, I say to the gentleman from Iowa. Why does not the gentleman allow the gentleman who is in charge of the committee to have the opportunity to take the time to present the bill? This has been planned by three or four Members on your side. Why do we not adopt the rule and go into an hour's open debate on the merits of the bill? Mr. Speaker, I hope the rule is adopted.

I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr ALBERT). The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. GROSS) there were—ayes 75, noes 47.

So the resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

RECESS

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Without objection the House will stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

There was no objection.

Accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 45 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT) at 1 o'clock and 51 minutes p.m.

## PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 11249, JOHN F. KENNEDY CENTER ACT AMENDMENTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair had announced that the vote on the resolution was: ayes 75, noes 47; so the resolution was agreed to, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 6508, CALIFORNIA DISASTER RELIEF ACT OF 1969

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, and in the absence of the gentleman from California (Mr. SISK), I call up House Resolution 463 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 463

*Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 6508) to provide assistance to the State of California for the reconstruction of areas damaged by recent storms, floods, landslides, and high waters. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the Chairman and ranking member of the Committee on Public Works, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Public Works now printed in the bill as an original bill for the purpose of amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of such consideration, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and any Member may demand a separate vote in the House on any amendment adopted in the Committee of the Whole to the bill or committee amendment in the nature of a substitute. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. SMITH), pending which I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 463 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of H.R. 6508 to provide assistance to the State of California for the reconstruction of areas damaged by recent storms, floods, landslides, and high waters. The resolution also provides that it shall be in order to consider the committee substitute as an original bill for the purpose of amendment.

During the past winter and spring, the State of California suffered storm damage estimated to be in the amount of $265,000,000 in physical damage and $100,000,000 in private damage. Most of the State was declared a disaster area by the President.

H.R. 6508 authorizes $30 million to be available to California from the date of enactment of the bill to June 30, 1970, for repair and reconstruction of permanent street, road, and highway facilities not on Federal aid systems which were destroyed or damaged by the storms. Fifty percent participation by the State is required.

In 1965, under the Pacific Northwest Disaster Act, the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture were authorized to reimburse timber sale contractors for reconstruction and restoration of roads under construction but not yet accepted by the Government as part of the national system of forest development roads and trails. Subsequently timber sale contracts were changed to recognize this problem. Basically this section of the bill would accomplish the same purpose by providing that the Federal Government would pay for repairing these timber roads under certain conditions:

First. If the timber sale was under 1 million board feet, the contractor would bear the cost of the damage if the additional construction work required amounted to less than $1,000. If it was more than $1,000 the Federal Government would bear the cost.

Second. If the timber sale was between 1 million and 3 million board feet, the figure would increase $1 per 1,000 board feet.

Third. If the timber sale was over 3 million board feet and damage over $3,000, the Federal Government would bear the cost.

Where it is determined that damage is so great, restoration is not practical under this cost-sharing arrangement, the Secretaries of Agriculture and the Interior are vested with discretionary authority to cancel a timber purchase contract.

Access to sources of timber supply from the national forests for the wood-using industries of the region has been disrupted or seriously impaired, thereby affecting regional economy. Therefore, the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to reduce from 30 days to 7 days the minimum time required to advertise the sale of national forest timber in the affected area.

The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to suspend the time limits established in certain public land laws where the entryman's ability to comply has been interfered with by the floods.

Language is repealed in the Public Works Appropriation Act for fiscal year 1967 which required that appropriations expended by the Bureau of Reclamation for disaster relief under Public Law 81-875, as administered by the Office of Emergency Preparedness, should be reimbursed in full by OEP to the Bureau of Reclamation. This repeal would be permanent.

Regarding Small Business Administration disaster loans for loss or damage not compensated for by insurance or otherwise, at the borrower's option, on that part of a loan in excess of $500, SBA would be required to cancel up to $1,800 of interest, principal, or both. SBA also is authorized to defer any or all interest or principal payments during the first 3 years of the disaster loan, regardless of the borrower's ability to pay.

The same benefits would apply to Farmers Home Administration disaster loans.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 463 in order that H.R. 6508 may be considered.

I now yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may use.

Mr. Speaker, this is the type of legislation where all of us have to be neighbors and help a State which is in trouble. We have these disasters every so often, in Alaska and other areas in the United States, and that is when we have to go to the help of our neighbors. I assume the State of Ohio, which just recently had a disaster there, may need help from us, and it may be we will have to help them. California is asking for your assistance in this matter.

Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the bill is to provide Federal assistance in several areas to meet the losses within the State of California caused by severe flooding in the early months of this year. During the months of January and February record floods occurred in the greater part of southern California. The estimated amount of storm damage at this time is approximately $365 million; this includes both damage to private property as well as public property such as levees, roads, and highways. More than 100 persons died as result of the flooding and most of the State's 58 counties have been declared disaster areas. The reported bill provides Federal assistance in several categories to meet the problems caused by the flooding.

Section 2 authorizes $30 million in Federal funding to be made available to the State for a period beginning with the enactment of this legislation and terminating on June 30, 1970. This money, to be used on a 50-percent matching basis with the State, is for the permanent repair and rebuilding of State roads and highway facilities that are not assisted under any current Federal highway aid program and which were destroyed or damaged as a result of the floods this past winter. The bill also provides assistance to reconstruct timber roads which are used to bring out timber cut for the commercial lumber market. This last provision is very similar to one contained in the 1965 Pacific Northwest Disaster Act and is included to assure a continued flow of lumber from the California forest areas. In areas where the sale of timber is less than 1 million board feet, the Government will assume

road repair costs over $1,000, the contractor all costs below that figure. In areas where the sale was between 1 and 3 million board feet, Federal assistance would increase $1 per 1,000 board foot. Where the timber sale is over 3 million board feet, the Federal Government will assume all costs above $3,000 and the contractor will assume all costs below that figure.

Finally, any borrower of more than $500 under a Small Business loan will receive a cancellation of his obligation of up to $1,800 of interest or principal or a combination thereof on any loan covering property damaged or destroyed in the floods. Additionally, SBA is authorized to defer any or all interest or principal payment during the first 3 years of a disaster loan made as a result of these storms and flooding without regard to the borrower's ability to meet his payments. All provisions of this section terminate on June 30, 1970.

There are no minority views expressed in the report.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly support this bill and urge adoption of the rule as well as passage of the bill.

I will say to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. YOUNG) that I do not have any requests for time, although I reserve the balance of my time.

(Mr. SISK (at the request of Mr. YOUNG) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I am confident that Members from the State of California representing metropolitan areas will adequately state the circumstances which necessitate the passage of this legislation from their standpoint. The losses suffered in southern California this past winter due to floods were sensational and well publicized.

Less dramatic, but nonetheless real, were the losses suffered in the San Joaquin Valley because the land is so flat in many places there is no place for the water to go and what drainage there is is on such a gentle scale that the water does not run off fast enough.

In one case in the city of Fresno, an adobe house literally melted to the ground because it became saturated after extensive rains and after standing a long period of time in ponds of rainwater that had no place to go. I might hasten to add, Mr. Speaker, that this was a house made of old-style adobe. The new adobe made these days in California has a hardener in it that prevents this kind of residential catastrophe from taking place.

In many other cases, runoff from the Sierra foothills backed up from the floor of the San Joaquin Valley into homes and business places in our cities.

Families on fixed or modest incomes and without sizeable financial reserves had no place to turn for help in meeting this financial crisis. They took scant comfort from the offers of the SBA to guarantee loans from commercial money lenders because the interest rates were too high for them to expect to pay off the loans during their lifetimes.

Farmers and owners of small businesses likewise found themselves with their backs against the wall and had no place to turn.

For the past 6 months, after the rains stopped, the Army Corps of Engineers has found it necessary to run large quantities of water out of some of its flood control dams in an effort to provide additional storage capacity to hold the water expected from the melting snow this spring.

These large flows have soaked the ground along side the water courses and literally turned thousands of acres of lands owned by small farmers in the San Joaquin Valley into a sponge. These seepage losses, coupled with actual flooding due to levee breaks and the like, will place our already hard-pressed small growers in an extremely difficult financial situation and the passage of this bill is essential to provide them and additional financial resource to enable them to stay in business. If this kind of relief is not provided, many of them will lose their farms and they will be bought out at ruinous prices by the large corporate operators who come under such scathing criticism in these chambers from time to time.

I urge passage of this legislation to show the people of California that the Nation cares about them, just as California has demonstrated its concern for flood victims in other States by its support of other flood disaster relief measures which have been passed by Congress in years gone by.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

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## JOHN F. KENNEDY CENTER ACT AMENDMENTS

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 11249) to amend the John F. Kennedy Center Act to authorize additional funds for such Center.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Illinois.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 11249, with Mr. YOUNG in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. GRAY) will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the gentleman from New York (Mr. GROVER) will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. GRAY).

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, first, I want to say how sorry I am that our distinguished friend from Ohio (Mr. BOW) was stricken, and I know with that great Ohio spirit that he will come back fighting. We all wish him well.

Mr. Chairman, your House Committee on Public Works brings to you today an authorization bill that will allow the completion of this beautiful facility to be known as the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, now 50 percent complete, on the banks of the Potomac here in our great Nation's Capital.

I first want to say that our committee deliberated long and hard before bringing out a piece of legislation that would require additional funding from the taxpayers during this period of tight fiscal policy. But I assure my friends of the Committee that if this building is to be completed, we must have this legislation. It is just that simple.

I would not impugn the integrity or motives of any Member of this body, but during my entire 15 years of service here in the House of Representatives I have never seen a bill more maligned than by the previous speakers, as to what this legislation would do if adopted.

Mr. Chairman, all of the previous speakers who spoke under the rule were talking about the Cultural Center Act of 1958. Many Members of the House will recall that after the late President Kennedy was killed in 1963 this House, by an overwhelming vote, changed the act in 1964 and passed a law stating that for every private dollar contributed to build this Center, we would have $1 of direct appropriations.

Mr. Chairman, up to date the Congress has appropriated $15.5 million to build this facility that is going to cost $66 million.

Listen to these figures if you will: $15.5 million has been appropriated by the Congress to date. During this period people who have been involved with this project like Mr. Stevens, people who have worked for 11 years without one dime of compensation, have amassed the sum of $24 million in private contributions. That is approximately $8 million more than we have appropriated in Congress.

Mr. Chairman, all this bill proposes to do is to authorize an appropriation of $7.5 million in order to match the funds which have been contributed from the private sector. What is so wrong with that? Would it not be great if all of the facilities which have been built around this country could have been matched on a 50-50 basis. We are spending $300 million in this city today on public buildings, all of which are financed 100 percent by the taxpayers of this country. These buildings include the new FBI Building the Department of Labor Building and various others all over this city and all are being constructed at 100 percent cost to the taxpayers.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we are in effect saying we are not willing to match dollar for dollar in order that we may have a place for your constituents and for my constituents to come and perform in the various arts, to listen to lectures and to view movies and to develop the talents of our people and to undertake to truly portray the beauty of America, things for which our boys in Vietnam are fighting.

That is what this Center is for. Too many people are saying "It is for the Kennedys." Too many people are saying

"This is a monument to the late and beloved President John F. Kennedy." It is. But I say it is more, Mr. Chairman. This structure is a $66 million structure to be used by the American people and by foreign visitors who will be coming here to display their talents. And we ought to be here today being proud of the great Center that is being built on the banks of the Potomac River. We ought to be here today approving a partnership arrangement where people are willing to dig into their pockets to the tune of $24 million already, spending their hard-earned money to provide a facility for all Americans.

What would a "yea" vote give us today? A "yea" vote is a $7.5 million authorization that will insure absolutely and finally the completion of this $66 million project.

Listen to me—$7.5 million. And out of this $66 million, $43 million will be non-Federal funds. Think of that—$43 million out of the total of $66 million will be non-Federal funds because every single dime of the $20.4 million going into the parking facilities will be repaid to the Federal Government. The $24 million in donations are going in and are being accrued to the benefit of all the people of this great country.

Now, why are we here with this bill? Mrs. Kennedy Onassis, Mrs. Eisenhower, Mrs. Johnson, and Mrs. Nixon are honorary chairmen of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. They support this bill. There are 41 outstanding Americans, including six Members of the House and the Senate, on the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts Board of Trustees.

They have voted to request this authorization because they say that they have gone as far as they can go without some help from the Congress.

Yes, I think the dollar sign is a little too large on the floor today in this debate. The dollar sign is a little too large today in considering the great benefits of this project.

My friend from Ohio a few minutes ago spoke of the monstrosity, the boondoggle, as referred to by my friend, the gentleman from Iowa, but I want you to take a look at this beautiful Center. This overhang that my friend from Ohio talks about is going to be a beautifully landscapped ledge over the top of the highway, and it will not preempt 1 inch of the Rock Creek Parkway, and will not impede traffic. It is going to be a beautiful facility, one in which all of us will be justly proud.

Yes, the dollar sign has been dictating, I am sure, many of the thoughts of those who may at this point be constrained to vote against this bill. But let me remind you of what the disastrous effect will be of a "no" vote on this legislation.

I hope all of you can see this. I hope all of you can see this actual photograph of the George Washington Monument. That facility was allowed to lay dormant for 26 long, hard, cold years. And many people, including schoolchildren, passed the hat to try to get enough money to finish that facility. It was only after Congress in 1879 decided to appropriate enough money to finish the George Washington Monument that it was completed.

Would you be proud to talk to the 20 million people that visit Washington every year about this facility, lying dormant like the Washington Monument did? Would you be proud if you could not see that monument standing there majestically, 555 feet high, knowing that it symbolizes the memory of the Father of our Country? Why, then, would you not be just as proud of this Center? Yes, a place where your constituents can come and display their great arts and their great talents.

If you vote no, then let me tell you what the consequences are.

We had testimony, my friends, from the General Services Administration that supervises this project, that it will cost $10 million more if this job is shut down, and these experts and these various crafts are dismissed from this project.

So how can you go home and say, "I voted against $7½ million to finish this project and I saved you money."

What will you say when you are confronted with the fact that the project is going to cost $10 million later on next month or next year to pick up the pieces, plus the $7½ million in this bill.

That is the choice today. We are not happy to be here with this bill. We are sorry to have to come back.

We are sorry that inflation has raised the costs. We are sorry that the jet traffic at National Airport has caused us to redesign this facility so that it will be soundproof.

We are sorry the costs have risen on this project. But with the project 50 percent done, we cannot stop now. We have to complete the project.

That is the only question you have to resolve here today.

Do you want to see the John F. Kennedy Center look like the Washington Monument did in 1879? Or do you want to see a beautiful facility that all of America and all of the world will be proud of here on the banks of the Potomac?

Mr. KYL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GRAY. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Chairman, there are three areas of financing here. I think we ought to have a little clarification.

First of all, there is the tax money, also the bonding, and there is the area of private contributions.

Can the gentleman give us exactly what is involved in each of the three areas?

Mr. GRAY. I will be delighted to.

The Congress appropriated through direct appropriations $15.5 million. We have authorized $15.4 million for parking facilities.

In bonding authority this bill would add an additional $5 million to that—making a total of $20,400,000—all of which will be repaid.

Mr. KYL. That is $15 million were appropriated?

Mr. GRAY. $15.5 million in direct appropriations.

Mr. KYL. And this would increase that?

Mr. GRAY. First, let us separate the facility, that is the Center itself from the parking garage. On the Center itself, we have appropriated $15.5 million in direct appropriations.

Private contributions have not only matched that with $15½ million but they have raised $8 million more.

This bill would authorize an additional $5 million for parking making a total of $20.4 million—every dime of which will be returned to the Treasury.

In private contributions, as I stated earlier, $24 million was raised which goes toward the cost of construction—but $20.4 million will be repaid.

I repeat, the total of direct appropriations will have been $23 million for a $66 million facility. I think that is a bargain in anybody's book.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, let me say that all of us are concerned, of course, about the high expenditures in Vietnam and elsewhere.

All of us are concerned about the need for better education and more public works. But I think when it comes to allowing our children to have a place to come and to work in concert and display their talents, then the question of money ought to take a back seat.

I am reminded of the story about an old man who was going into the sunset of his life—he was 85 years old and was writing a diary. In this diary he admitted very frankly that all during his life he had been interested in money—only in money. He stated that while going down life's pathway, he had been looking down at the ground and at things of monetary value but he forgot to look up to the real values of life.

He stated that during these years of his adulthood he had found many, many dollars looking down at the ground—he estimated about $5,000. He said, "I have found ballpoint pens, key chains, and other things of monetary value."

He said, "While I was looking down at the ground at things of monetary value, I failed to look up and see over 25,000 beautiful sunsets. I failed to look up and say hello to many friends I could have met while going down life's pathway. I failed to look up and see the change of the seasons, the beautiful multicolored leaves in the fall."

He went on to admit that after it was too late, he discovered he had missed the true values of life.

Do you not think that today we ought to be out here talking about why we are fighting in Vietnam—to preserve a free country so we can allow the talent of our country to come here and perform. We can have more people-to-people contact.

We can allow groups from your school to come and show foreign visitors why we are a talented, freedom-loving people in this country. Is that not far more important than the $7.5 million we are asking for today? Oh, I think it is.

If you realize why Mr. Eisenhower conceived the Center—and I want to make this very clear to my friends on the left side of the aisle—this is why Mr. Eisenhower conceived the Center in 1958. He dreamed that in this great country we should build a facility so that we could show the world why we live in America and why we are so proud of our talents

and our high educational standards and our culture. That is why we are here. It was started under a Republican President. It was continued under a Democratic President. The $7.5 million is in the Nixon administration budget. You do not have to go home and bow your head in shame.

Mrs. Nixon is on the Board of the Kennedy Center. She is an honorary chairman. You do not have to say, "I voted $7.5 million as a monument solely to John Kennedy." That is not the sole purpose of the Center at all. We gave the name of John F. Kennedy to the Center as a living memorial because he loved the arts. He loved what we are going to do in this facility.

I urge you to vote for this bill.

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SCHADEBERG).

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in opposition to H.R. 11249, a bill to amend the John F. Kennedy Act to authorize additional tax funds for this Center, and take this opportunity to inform the Members of the House that at the appropriate time I will offer a motion to recommit the bill to the Committee on Public Works in order to find an alternative means of financing the construction of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

As I pointed out in minority views in the committee report on H.R. 11249, my opposition is based on the following:

First, that the Center was originally authorized to be built with private funds on land dedicated to this use by the Federal Government;

Second, that on two occasions assurances have been offered before the committee that future Federal assistance would not be needed or required for the completion of the Center;

Third, that the trustees of the Center knew in the fall of 1966 that additional funds would not be sufficient for the completion of the building, but that they waited 2½ years after the fact to approach Congress for additional funds; and

Fourth, that the record of carelessness and general inefficiency in construction and planning of the building does not justify additional public tax moneys being donated for this private purpose.

I wish to read from the testimony; first, from page 44, at which point I entered into colloquy with Mr. Schmidt:

Mr. SCHADEBERG. I do not want my remarks to be construed as saying that I either doubted the integrity or ability of anyone that is here today, but it is a kind of difficult position for us to go to the taxpayer and have to meet a situation which is after the fact, and this is really what it is.

Mr. GRAY. Very good point.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. One more question: When did we originally know that the cost would increase? At what year or what time? Did we realize that we could not build the building that was contemplated for the $30 million or original price? When did we realize that?

Mr. SCHMIDT. In the fall of 1966.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Did this committee, Mr. Chairman, have any indication of that?

Mr. GRAY. None whatsoever.

Now let me read from page 29:

In the clarity of hindsight, it appears that it may have been wise to have deferred award of a construction contract until budget plans could be finalized and thoroughly coordinated. Standing against this is a stark fact that construction costs were then increasing at a rate of about 6 percent annually. This increase now approaches 12 percent annually, or 1 percent a month. The construction cost situation is such that loss of time has become the most expensive element in a construction project and is to be avoided if at all possible.

Yet they waited 2½ years while there was an increase in the construction cost on the basis of 1 percent a month before they came back to the committee to ask for additional funds.

I take this position against the bill heedless of the fact that it may be misconstrued as a vote against culture and the performing arts in the United States, as a vote against the only official Federal memorial to the late President within the District of Columbia, and as a vote against the original intent of the enabling legislation—to provide the Nation's Capital with an international showcase for the performing arts. Not to complete the Center for the Performing Arts and to allow construction to remain stagnant would in my view perpetuate eternally a mistake and would mar the memory of the late President John F. Kennedy.

It is my conviction that in view of fiscal restraints necessary in our economy and in view of the fact that there is nothing on record as to how the operation of the Center is to be financed, I cannot support the proposed authorization.

The following is my minority statement from the committee report on H.R. 11249:

ADDITIONAL MINORITY VIEWS OF HENRY C. SCHADEBERG, MEMBER OF CONGRESS ON H.R. 11249

In September 1958, the National Cultural Center Act was passed into law, thereby authorizing a National Cultural Center to be constructed "with funds raised by voluntary contributions" (sec. 3) on a site made available in the District of Columbia. No Federal funds were designated to be used in the construction of the Center.

During committee hearings on the legislation, there was much concern expressed about the Center's creation. The concern was not with the need for culture in the United States nor with the need for a Center to provide the Nation's Capital with the performing arts. At issue was whether the private funds would be forthcoming.

In response to queries of whether the Federal Government would ever be called upon to bail out the project, section 7 of the act was adopted. It provided that the act would cease to be effective if the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, under whose control the Center was vested, did not raise the sufficient funds within 5 years after the act's enactment. Mr. Ralph E. Becker, then chairman of the cultural development committee of the Washington Board of Trade, testified that a 5-year limitation was reasonable and that the money could be raised for the project within this time period.

In August of 1963, recognition that the original plans were not being met was evidenced by the passage of the National Cultural Center Amendment of 1963. In response to testimony that an extended period was necessary for the purpose of raising the necessary funds by voluntary contribution, the termination date was extended 3 years.

The National Cultural Center became, in 1964, the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts as a fitting memorial to the late President. With the passage of the enacting legislation, the estimated cost of the building was expanded and a total of $30,900,000 in direct appropriations, to be matched by equal private contributions, and revenue bonds, to finance the parking facilities, was authorized. The concept of the Center changed from a private Center to a public memorial.

Since Congress was matching private funds with this legislation (private matching was not required from the passage of the act, but from the beginning of private endowment), further concern about the total Federal involvement was expressed. Assurances were made that no more Federal funds would be required for the completion of the building.

Now, however, the Trustees are back again asking for more money and there is no proof that this will be the last request for building funds or that yearly appropriations for the operation of the Center will not be needed. The problem presented is similar to those recently experienced with the construction of other public buildings with Federal funds: That as a result of general inefficiency and lack of adequate planning, Congress is approached with requests for special appropriations so that the building can be finished.

The record and testimony on H.R. 11249 shows specific examples of carelessness and lack of foresight in the construction and planning of this building: A $2.7 million estimating inaccuracy in the amounts of structural steel; a $1.2 million increase in the cost factor for change orders; and the inclusion of gifts worth over $2 million in the private contribution account, adding to the total cost that Congress is now requested to meet.

H.R. 11249 requests an additional $12,500,000 in direct appropriations and borrowing authority. Only $1,900,000 need be raised by private contribution since past private efforts have raised $5,600,000 over the original $15,500,000 matching required by law. Instead of providing incentive to private contributions, the Federal Government is asked to give funds to meet efforts not required by law. If the funds requested are given to the Center, the total amount of Federal funds contributed to a building originally to be constructed from private funds will be $43,400,000, or about two-thirds of the presently estimated $66,200,000 required for completion of construction.

There are two reasons why this bill should not be passed by Congress. First, the record does not justify the American people giving their tax moneys to the Center in the form of a direct subsidy. In a nation where businesses earmark for cultural activities just one-half of 1 percent of the allowable 5 percent deduction, increased activity on the part of the Board should be required to finish the building. Secondly, public funds should not be used to construct a building for private use, that is performances for which there is a charge, for the benefit of those around Washington who can attend.

However, the present structure cannot be allowed to grace the banks of the Potomac in its present unfinished state. To allow construction to remain stagnant would be to perpetuate eternally a mistake, destroy the public's faith in our recognition of the need for the performing arts in our Nation's Capital, and mar the memory of the late President John F. Kennedy.

The Center is a national project for the benefit of the American people. It has been built as a commitment to culture and to the role of the performing arts and artists in the United States. Started under the Eisenhower administration, and supported by each successive administration, the Center will provide the needed facilities in this great city for the opera, ballet, and the other performing arts.

The Center must be finished. I do not object to the intent of the Kennedy Center,

but to the means by which the committee plans on giving financial assistance. I therefore suggest that the bill be recommitted so that the committee can undertake a study of alternative means of financing the building, other than with public tax subsidies.

HENRY C. SCHADEBERG.

I should like to remind the Members that it is a beautiful Center, and it will be, but it is necessary to convince the people in my district who are waiting for some help in matters of only a few thousand dollars for building a sewer system or for taking care of pollution in the lakes which are enjoyed by my people, that it is far more important that they be able to enjoy this Center if they are able to come to Washington, and if they ever get here, than it is to clean up their backyards from oozing sewage or to clean up the pollution in their lakes.

I believe the bill should be recommitted to the committee and other means should be found to finance the Center.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to our very distinguished chairman of the Committee on Public Works, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. FALLON).

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Chairman, I want to congratulate the chairman of the subcommittee and his counterpart on the other side of the aisle for conducting exhausting hearings and going thoroughly into the request which is before us today. I believe they have done a good job. I hope the House will vote in favor of the bill before us.

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 11249, a bill to amend the act which created the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts is needed and necessary legislation. It is needed and necessary because the record presented by witnesses who testified before the Committee on Public Works and who have the background and expertise and who have worked on this Center for a number of years indicate that the additional funding authorized by the legislation must be authorized at this time so that we may finish the job which the Congress authorized in 1964 after the untimely death of the late President Kennedy.

This legislation would do two things: first, increase to $23 million the Federal share for construction of the Center. This is an increase of $7.5 million, to be matched by a similar amount by the trustees of the Center; and second, the original bonding authority authorized by the basic law for the construction of the underground parking facilities is increased from $15.4 million to $20.4 million, an increase of $5 million. We have here, then, an overall increase in authorization of $12.5 million.

As I have stated, in 1964 we made a commitment that this Center would be the sole memorial to the late President Kennedy in Washington and a unique living one at that. It stands half finished now. I believe we must complete the job.

Let me say this as well: The committee report indicates quite clearly, and I concur wholeheartedly in that report, that this is the last legislation the committee will consider at this time for the construction and completion of the Center. I wish to make the record clear on this point.

I recommend favorable action on this legislation.

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. SNYDER).

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Chairman, traveling across America, one encounters many public memorials to our late President John F. Kennedy. We have bridges, roads, statues, and so on, commemorating the life and service of this man. As a matter of fact, the Department of the Army is spending another $257,800 for walkways and stairs for the Kennedy sites at Arlington National Cemetery right now.

It seems rather strange, does it not, that while we are asked to approve additional funds for completion of still another memorial to Mr. Kennedy, the memory of another American President, F. D. R., is enshrined here in the District of Columbia on a marble slab, the exact location of which is unknown to most. I wonder why that, as J. F. K.'s memory does not seem to lack remembrance, we are asked to further burden the already beleagured American taxpayer with the responsibility of paying more funds for a building which was to require no public funds in the first place.

When this building was originally proposed in 1958, Congress was assured that the taxpayers would carry none of the cost of it. In 1963, we were further assured that private sources were financing the edifice. In 1964, the place was renamed in honor of President Kennedy and $30,900,000 was required in direct appropriations with the understanding that private sources were to shoulder half the burden. Now, in 1969, we are asked to place on our constituents another $12.5 million in debt which would bring the public resposibility to $43.4 million—or nearly two-thirds of the cost.

This memorial is intended to be a monument to the memory of John Kennedy. In 1963, President Kennedy expressed his desire that the Center be paid for entirely out of private donations and moneys. He was aware, at that time, that this would be a meaningful expression of the heartfelt sentiments of people across the land. In a memorandum to the heads of the executive departments and agencies, he remarked:

To secure the necessary funds to build the center, which will be a $30 million structure of theater and concert halls, a nationwide fund-raising program was authorized through which the American people are given an opportunity to demonstrate their voluntary support for the creation of this type of national institution.

Surely, we should respect the wishes of the late President in this matter. If he wanted the original institution to be financed voluntarily, would it not be more appropriate for Congress to allow an outpouring of private sentiment to finance his memorial rather than requiring that each taxpayer finance it? Would it not truly be more meaningful for his memory?

In conclusion, it would seem that, given the wishes of the late President, we would be remiss in our duty to allow this bill to pass. Not only would it indicate a lack of respect for his wishes on the matter, but it would indicate a lack of respect for the wishes of all of those taxpaying Americans who will never ever use the building.

The House has just recently extended the 10-percent surtax—to fight inflation, it is reasoned. At a time when we are asking our constituents, the American taxpayers, to again tighten their belts to help the country curb inflation, is it not a monumental hypocrisy for us to spend their money this way? In light of the tight fiscal situation, I believe it would be arrogant and arbitrary on our part to further finance this ill-managed endeavor at increased cost to the taxpayers. I concur with my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Wisconsin, and recommend recommittal in order that alternative means of financing can be found—means other than the ill-advised increase in public tax subsidies.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the very distinguished gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. THOMPSON).

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I would like to express my wholehearted appreciation and admiration of the splendid work done by this subcommittee chaired by my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. GRAY). I cannot express anywhere near so articulately as he the need for and the beauty of this prospective Center.

Mr. Chairman, in his remarks earlier, the distinguished gentleman from Iowa quoted me in a debate of some years ago in which he said that I would stake my reputation, whatever it may have been at that moment, on the fact that we would not be asking for public funds for this facility. However, for the RECORD and for my friend's edification I might point out that in a very real sense that was totally out of context since the proposal before the House that day was the authorization of a National Cultural Center. I happened to have been the author of the first commission which was to establish a National Cultural Center and supported it and am also a cosponsor of this subsequent legislation in which we perfectly frankly and honestly shifted gears and involved the Federal Government and at the same time renamed the prospective building in honor of the late President Kennedy. There was no deception. There was no misunderstanding. The record is perfectly clear, and I commend the record of the subsequent enactment of the present facility to the attention of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, it is perfectly easy to stand and to point out the military expenditures and talk about the boys in Vietnam. The fact of the matter is, however, that the prospective cost of this is less than the track of a tank that does not work or the tail fin of an airplane that

will not be flying by the people who are so opposed to this on a dollar sign basis and who will not support it.

Mr. Chairman, I suggest that if they analyzed as critically the military and other expenditures as they have this, that they would vote for this with great and wonderful enthusiasm, because it is going to be a wonderful, enduring, and beautiful thing which our Nation needs.

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. WYLIE).

Mr. WYLIE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to H.R. 11249 which would amend the John F. Kennedy Center Act to authorize additional funds.

After the debates on the bill to extend the surtax last week as an anti-inflationary measure, I would hope that the urgent need to cut all nonessential spending would be indelibly impressed upon the minds of the Members of this body. I can think of many projects and programs of higher priority for which any available money could be better utilized.

What started under the Eisenhower administration as a National Cultural Center, financed by voluntary contributions, has snowballed into a multimillion-dollar burden on our taxpayers.

During the 88th Congress it was said that the Center could be built for a total of $46.4 million. To supplement the private donations Congress appropriated $15,500,000 and authorized an additional $15,400,000 in revenue bonds. Assurances were then given that no additional Federal funds would be required. Yet on March 31, of this year the Commissioner of Public Buildings informed the committee that the new estimated cost for completion called for an additional $7.5 million and as much as another $4 million may be needed.

How did this great discrepancy come about? One need only read the report accompanying this bill for the answer to the cost increases—lack of a lump-sum contract as is the usual GSA practice, errors on the part of GSA and the architect, inefficient sequencing of subcontracts, change of orders by the Trustees, labor problems, and gross underestimates on basic structural components, to mention a few.

Now the Trustees come to the public trough again and ask, after this sorry record, for additional funds. What provisions have been made for eliminating the errors plaguing the project? What assurances do we have that in the future additional funds will not be requested? If the future is anything like the past the situation is not encouraging.

All this bill does is ask for more money at a time when we can ill afford such extravagance. I like Congressman SCHADEBERG's suggestion that this be recommitted to the Committee on Public Works and another source of financing be developed, other than public taxes.

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. SCHERLE).

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Chairman, the American taxpayer is being asked to dip into his threadbare pocket and shell out another $12.5 million in direct grants and borrowing authority to bail out the fiscally destitute John F. Kennedy Center for Performing Arts in Washington, D.C.

The Center, as originally conceived, was to be financed entirely through private funds. Congress included a provision in the authorization that if private donations were not sufficient in a prescribed 5-year period, later changed to 8 years, then the project would be stopped. Additional time to raise the necessary funds has not been successful.

Six years ago, the Congress authorized public funds for direct grants and borrowing authority in the sum of $30.8 million, total cost.

Now the public is being asked, despite assurance in the original Federal gift that there would be no requests for additional Federal support, to provide an additional $12.5 million in tax dollars, bringing the taxpayers' share to $46.6 million in cash and credit plus seven acres of land. Thus, the Government share for this project would be about two-thirds of the total cost.

Not mentioned in the request for additional funds is that the Federal Government has already picked up the tab for $3.3 million in cash for land condemnation—including a plush nightclub and restaurant. In addition, the District of Columbia and the National Park Service donated land—the value of which has never been revealed.

It takes an inordinate amount of gall for culture fanciers to ask to be allowed to come once again to the public trough for more millions of dollars for their projects. The Congress is being told that the estimated cost of the Center has risen 50 percent in the last 5 years to $66.2 million. Reasons for the cost increase range from an architect's mistake of $2.7 million, carelessness, and lack of foresight in the construction and planning, and deviations from the original plans.

With the taxpayers of this country being asked to bear the 10-percent surtax for another year, the Congress has an obligation to cut nonessential expenditures for the present budget.

The long hike down the road back to fiscal solvency must begin with a single step of saving a few million dollars.

CULTURE CLASSES, NOT MASSES

Supporters of the Center have indicated that a prime reason for Federal financing is that the average American will be given the opportunity to participate in cultural activities.

The plans for the Center do not support that contention. The Washington, D.C., Post of June 18, 1964, quoted a top District of Columbia booking agent as saying that the opera house would not be able to furnish high quality entertainment at popular prices. For example, the Bolshoi Ballet, or a show with similar talent, would cost around $25,000 per performance; this works out in the 2,500-seat opera house to approximately $10 a seat just to pay for the performance—not including the extra expense of promotion and operations of the Center each night. Is $20–$30 a couple to attend one of these events a price that the "average American" will be able to pay?

The U.S. News & World Report in its January 22, 1968, issue, reports that a "private lounge off each hall for use of the founders and trustees" is being built in the Center. Can anyone tell me why it is necessary in a public building to build even one, much less three, private lounges for the founders and trustees?

The American taxpayer, under a proposal made by Mr. Roger Stevens, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, will not be allowed to just look around the Center without paying a fee. Mr. Stevens has been quoted as saying—U.S. News, January 22, 1968—that charging a fee just to visit the Center "could bring in a fantastic amount of money."

In addition, there is even reason to believe that the Center will be back to Congress to ask for yearly subsidies to operate the Center. All of this leaves Mr. and Mrs. Taxpayer financing a cultural palace that only the financially privileged can enjoy.

PARKING GARAGE

Now it is indicated that this $20.4 million bonding agreement Uncle Sam is asked to float, will be paid back from the revenue receipts of the 1,600 parking spaces.

Mr. MCEWEN. Are you saying now with this one-third increase in cost you will still be able to pay it out in 50 years?

Mr. STEVENS. At the time, the estimate I presented to the committee some 5 years ago called for a charge of $1 parking fee. It will be self-parking. And it is the opinion of the parking people today that if we charged $1.75, which is a great deal less than the normal prices, about 25% less than the prices around the city, that we would have, of course, considerable extra funds to meet the amortization requirement—interest and amortization.

This means that every parking space must generate $12,750 in order that the bonds be paid off. In order to achieve this, it would be necessary that every parking space net $1 each day for the next 34 years.

Newsweek magazine of March 10, 1969, reports that "To raise capital now, the Center plans to lease the garage concession for some $3.5 million—but that will deprive it of future operating revenue."

Could anyone tell me if this is true? How will it be possible to pay off the bonds if the garage revenue is siphoned off to capital expenditures?

ARCHITECT'S MISTAKE

On page 47 of the 1969 hearing on the Cultural Center, the following exchange took place:

Mr. CRAMER. Well now, who is responsible for not taking off from your initial design the true amount of the steel required?

Mr. SCHMIDT. We would hold the architect responsible.

Mr. CRAMER. All right. Who was the architect?

Mr. SCHMIDT. The architect is E. D. Stone.

Mr. CRAMER. E. D. Stone. Is he going to be held responsible or is he not for this $2.7 million, the misjudgment?

Mr. SCHMIDT. This is a matter that will have to be finally reviewed by counsel; and if there is a liability that can be supported, then he will be held.

This raises the question of what happens if the Center recovers the $2.7 million? Does it revert back to the U.S.

Treasurer or are they (the Center) free to spend it any way they want?

Mr. Chairman, what happens if no additional funds are given in this fiscal year?

By voting down this bill, the Nixon budget for this year will be reduced by $12.5 million.

Roger Stevens told Newsweek magazine on March 10, 1969, that with what money they—the Center—now have they can build until the middle of 1970, when 90 percent of the exterior will be completed. Thus, it is not essential that money be appropriated now for the Center. There are sufficient funds in the pipeline for the project to continue until the middle of 1970, when the next fiscal year starts.

In the meantime, a more concentrated effort to raise the funds from private sources, which was the original concept of the Center, could substantially reduce, if not eliminate, any need for additional Federal financing.

Members of the House were told recently, when the surtax was extended, that next year the fiscal climate of this country will be healthier.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from Iowa if the gentleman would like me to answer his questions.

First, let me say I am a little bit surprised that my friend, the gentleman from Iowa, would raise the question of the operation of the Center when he is not voting enough money to finish it. That is the first thing.

Mr. SCHERLE. I will say this. It is a national disgrace because it is not finished. The national disgrace is asking the taxpayers of America for additional money to finish this project. The design of the structure is a disgrace in itself. The overhang defacing the Potomac River resembles a waterfront warehouse.

Mr. GRAY. I am sure the gentleman is very sincere in raising these questions.

Let me point out to him that we have a very outstanding Board of Directors to run the Kennedy Center including six of his own colleagues here in the House and in the Senate. I am sure none of the things he has alluded to would be permitted once the Center is built.

The distinguished gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN) is on the Board of Directors. We have the very distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. WRIGHT) on the Board of Directors and four other very distinguished Congressmen.

Mr. SCHERLE. These are men I respect very highly. However, I also respect the fact that the taxpayers of America are now being taxed to death for additional funds and hope that this is finished so far as they are concerned.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MACDONALD).

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the bill, H.R. 11249.

I would like to congratulate the very able chairman for coming out with this bill and defending it so well here on the floor of the House in a way that it would seem to me that we should not have to defend a bill of this sort.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 11249 which would provide an additional $7.5 million in Federal contributions to the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, plus a $5 million increase in the Center's borrowing authority.

While it is a matter of regret that additional funds are needed for the Center, I would hasten to point out to my colleagues that cultural centers are no more immune to the impact of rising construction costs than are any other buildings being built during this period of inflation. It is also important to bear in mind that the additional funds called for in H.R. 11249 will be matched by private funds, as has been the case in the past.

Plans for a National Cultural Center here in the Nation's Capital were first drawn up over a decade ago, but it was not until 1964 that the bill to establish such a center was signed into law. The site was established and work was begun. Now the Center stands only partially completed and Congress has been asked to follow through on its commitment and authorize additional funds to allow the construction to be finished.

There is no question in my mind that the need for this Center which we in Congress recognized 5 years ago has grown even greater. There is a striking imbalance in this country between the support given the performing arts and humanities and that provided for other areas of our American culture. Other nations have made striking advances in the performing arts—advances, I might add, which have received broad and enthusiastic national support. Canada recently completed a similar national facility which was fully financed, incidentally, by the Canadian Government. It is interesting to note that the cost of the Canadian center also increased during the course of its construction, an increase which amounted to $20 million.

In the Washington area alone there are a number of extremely fine organizations which are in desperate need of the outstanding facilities which a National Cultural Center will offer. The National Symphony Orchestra, the Washington Ballet Company, the Civic Opera Company, the American Light Opera Company, and the Washington Opera Society are among those which readily come to mind. It is somewhat of an embarrassment, I believe, for this country with all its heritage and excellent cultural ties to have no artistic parallel to, for example, the Russian Bolshoi Ballet.

A completed National Cultural Center will go a long way toward redressing the imbalance which now exists. A half-finished Center accomplishes nothing. Even with the authorization for these additional Federal funds, it seems unlikely that the District's center can be ready for use before 1971. To extend that date any further, for reasons that are avoidable, would serve to make the final price tag even higher—and, I believe, makes no sense at all.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN).

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise to express my strong support for this bill.

As has been pointed out, I have served as a trustee of the Kennedy Center since 1967.

To correct some misapprehension that might have developed during the debate, I would like to point out that this Center is the only national monument to the late President John F. Kennedy. There is no other in the country. It may be and, of course, it is a fact that there are a great many streets and a great many buildings and operations named for the late President. But this is the only national monument. In my opinion, it would be a national disgrace if we should leave it unfinished.

As a Republican, I might also add that within the Center there is going to be an Eisenhower Theater which will be in memory of our late Republican President, Dwight Eisenhower.

During the period since I have served as a trustee, I have certainly been kept fully apprised, as have all of the other trustees, about the development of the critical funding situation which this bill is designed to cover.

I regret very much the necessity for appearing before this body today. But I feel there is no alternative but to seek additional Federal funds.

The suggestion has been made by the gentleman from Wisconsin and others that there must be other alternative methods of financing this Center. I might say, gentlemen, that we on the board of trustees have looked at this question closely and we can see no alternatives but to appeal for modest additional funds.

It is completely unrealistic to expect as much as may be necessary to come from private sources, desirable as that might seem on the surface.

We have already raised far more than had been expected and what would have been necessary—over $20 million has been raised from private sources.

I might point out that there is currently underway an active fundraising campaign under the chairmanship of Mr. Robert O. Anderson, of New Mexico, who is chairman of the committee and chairman of the board and chief executive officer of the Atlantic Richfield Oil Co.

This committee, and of course those of us on the board of trustees, will do our best to raise as much private money as possible.

But as a practical matter we cannot expect any realistic solution to this problem of finishing the structure unless we get appropriated funds.

I might point out the management of the Kennedy Center in my opinion should be praised for their handling of a complex enterprise.

First of all, and it has not been said here so far—not a cent of appropriated or borrowed money has gone to defray administrative or overhead costs. All of these expenses have been paid thus far out of investment income from private funds.

Needless to say, of course, the trustees themselves serve without compensation almost without exception and almost

without exception have devoted many hours and days to their trust.

As I just indicated, the trustees have raised just over $21 million so far in private funds and gifts. This is $5.6 million more than was estimated to be needed from private sources back in 1964. Among these gifts are many from foreign nations, including marble from Italy, stage curtain from Japan, chandeliers and electrical fixtures from Sweden, Eire, Norway, and Australia, bronze sculptures from Germany, and furniture from Denmark.

In addition, I might add that other gifts are pending from other foreign countries. In other words, in my opinion, at least, we have an obligation both to our friends abroad as well as to our constituents at home, including the schoolchildren who contributed their nickels and dimes to the Kennedy Center. We have a solemn obligation to see that this Center is completed and open. It would be a sad thing if this monumental enterprise should sit closed and desolate for lack of our affirmative and enthusiastic support.

Never again should any memorial to any President of the United States, regardless of party, suffer the indignity of remaining incomplete for any period of time such as occurred with respect to the Washington Monument.

Mr. Speaker, if this bill does not pass, we will not be able to complete the Kennedy Center. But the structure will be a monument to congressional indifference and parsimony, and we will have no pride in it.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the gentleman's yielding. I wish to point out that in the RECORD of July 7, the proceedings of the Senate, page 18438, there appears an article inserted in the RECORD by Mr. FULBRIGHT entitled "The Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts." He said, commenting on the final status of the funding of the Lincoln Center:

> During the 13-year campaign for capital funds, the sponsors raised $198 million from 11,474 individuals, foundations, corporations and governments.

Is there any reason to believe that if they can do it, we cannot raise the amount necessary for this Center by private subscriptions?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I am quite sure we cannot. I think the fact of the matter is we have been engaged in private fundraising efforts since the inception of this Center under President Eisenhower, and the fact is that we have raised just over $21 million. There is no major source of additional funds, and we have received substantial contributions already.

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. McCLORY. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN), who just spoke on this subject.

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to support this legislation to authorize additional funds for completion of the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. It is my understanding that this is the final request for public funds to complete the construction of this great monument to the Nation's interest in drama, music, the ballet, and other forms of the performing arts.

In my opinion, no application of funds has a more enduring value nor a more uplifting influence on the people of our Nation. In addition, I am cognizant that substantial private funds have been subscribed in the past and will be contributed in the future.

Mr. Chairman, my personal acquaintanceship with the Center's General Director, William McCormick Blair, Jr., encourages me to feel that the administration of the Kennedy Center is in capable hands. Ambassador Blair—who served earlier as our Ambassador to Denmark and to the Philippines—is a man with broad experience and sound judgment. He is in every sense a cultured American and one who can be relied upon to give conscientious attention to the affairs of the Kennedy Center which come under his jurisdiction.

Mr. Chairman, I am happy to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN), one of the Trustees of the Center, and to give my wholehearted support to the passage of this bill.

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Chairman, according to my figures, dividing the amount requested in this bill by 200 million, representing 200 million Americans, it indicates to me that this would be an assessment or a tax or burden on each of the 200 million Americans of a little over 3¾ cents.

Mr. Chairman, I share the chagrin, frustration—and the sincere frustration—of those who complain about this request for additional funds. I think in a way it is not a proper funding of a building. There has been some misjudgment or mismanagement in the funding. But, I might say, there is a matter of priorities here which we seem to overlook. Only last week I understand we ended some research by putting an animal into a small space shot and sending him around the globe for 31 days to check on weightlessness in space. I understand that the total project cost $92 million, and there will be more requests for that sort of space study. But we have only one President every 4 years, and we have had only some 34 Presidents in our history, and we have had only a small number of those who have been killed, who have lost their lives in the service of their country while serving it as President. This is the priority that is controlling here. Surely we have fiscal problems in our country today. But we have only one President at a time. We have not had too many in the history of this country who have given their lives on the job. John F. Kennedy did.

This is the only national memorial to a President who has given his life for us. I do not think it is too much to ask the American people for 3¾ cents per capita to honor his memory. I think that is the controlling factor here.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROVER. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Chairman, if this is the only monument, who owns that place called Cape Canaveral?

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

I yield to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. CRAMER), such time as he may require.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, I do not intend to take much time, but I did want to discuss a couple of matters relating to this bill. I supported the initial legislation. I support this legislation because it is the only alternative I see available. I certainly would not support it if I thought there was any other possible way of raising these funds, any possibility to doing it by public donations.

The distinguished chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. GRAY), and myself, have negotiated for months now—and I will ask the gentleman if this is not correct—with the trustees. They initially came to us with a proposal that the taxpayers of this Nation should pay the total balance of this project at an estimated $15 million. Neither Mr. GRAY nor myself would accede to such a deviation from the presently established policy of 50 percent Federal money and 50 percent private contributions, particularly when only $7.5 million is in the budget under the recommendation of both President Johnson and President Nixon, and that is the reduced budget of President Nixon.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAMER. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. GRAY. I thank the gentleman for yielding. I agree implicitly with the gentleman.

At the gentleman's suggestion, or I might say insistence to the Board, we would not bring out a bill which would require an expenditure of any more than what was in the President's budget, $7.5 million, so in effect we cut the request of the Board in half.

I agree with the gentleman, and I thank him for his assistance.

Mr. CRAMER. Let me say, on the question of whether or not there should be public funds involved, that issue was passed on by Congress in 1963, and a 50–50 matching was agreed on.

The question as to what the name of the Center should be was determined by a vote of the U.S. Congress in 1964.

That does not mean that I agree with the recent renaming of the District of Columbia stadium after the distinguished deceased Senator, the brother of the late President, by action of the executive branch of the Government without the concurrence of the U.S. Congress, nor does it mean that I agree with some other things that have been done, including the naming of Cape Canaveral in Florida, without the consent of the people of Florida, after Past President Kennedy,

when the name Cape Canaveral has such significance in Florida.

But this happens to be a building in existence, 50 percent completed, and it has to be finished. There is a precedent for doing it in this manner, on a 50–50 basis. This 50–50 matching is what we got the trustees to agree to at the present time, after lengthy negotiations.

No one is more concerned than I about the increased costs involved. In fact, I trust something will be done about that.

In the record of the hearings, on page 47, I specifically asked Mr. Schmidt, with the General Services Administration, what was going to be done about the underestimate on the amount of the steel, which in my opinion was an unconscionably low estimate, a one-third mistake. I asked what was going to be done with respect to investigating it and making certain that proper results were accomplished.

I was advised, as appears in the record, when I asked about it, the amount was $2.7 million, and Mr. Schmidt said that would have to be finally reviewed by counsel. He said:

If there is a liability there that can be supported, then he will be held.

Meaning the architect.

I stated:

I would strongly urge that the General Services Administration follow up to the fullest extent this question, to try to determine who is responsible for this $2.7 million mistake, because I think the taxpayers are going to demand it. And I do not think there is any reason why we should not meet it head on, find out who is responsible, assert whatever rights exist, and to see that they are fully and completely—the $2.7 million—if there is liability, to see the proper recourse.

So no one has closed his eyes to the problems involved in respect to this aspect of the legislation.

I would prefer not to have to vote for $7.5 million more. I know of no other course, and we have been into this matter at length for many months trying to resolve it in a proper manner.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAMER. I yield to the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I have read the testimony given by the witnesses before the committee. Quite frankly, I was amazed to find in the testimony the fact that the architect and mechanical engineer either singly or together had made this unconscionable error which has cost the taxpayers and private donors $2.7 million.

The architect was hired to prevent this. The others who were hired at a fee were hired professionally to prevent these kinds of mistakes.

I was delighted to see that the gentleman from Florida brought this error, this underestimate, before the committee in the interrogation of the witness. The inference is that the GSA and the Department of Justice are going to proceed legally to collect against the architect and the other parties involved, either to recapture what has been paid or to get an offset on what is still owed.

What I should like to know is, will the chairman of the subcommittee and will the gentleman from Florida pursue this to make sure that the Department of Justice or any other Federal agency proceed legally to collect what the Federal Government is owed for this mistake by the architect and the other parties involved?

Mr. CRAMER. I will say to the distinguished minority leader that my pursuit of this is a matter of record, the record I just read and I shall pursue it further.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman from Florida yield to me?

Mr. CRAMER. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. GRAY. I will say to my distinguished friend, the minority leader, that we will definitely look into the matter. The gentleman from Florida raised the question in the committee. We are also asking the General Accounting Office and the Department of Justice to look into the matter, and I assure you we will proceed diligently with it.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. By any standard that I know of, the U.S. Government or some agency of the Government has a legitimate claim for these mistakes. It would appear to me there is a cause of action in the courts.

Mr. GRAY. I think the gentleman is correct.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. And the Department of Justice, if that is the proper agency, ought to proceed immediately to collect $2.7 million, or use it as an offset for any fee yet unpaid.

Mr. GRAY. That will be done.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Florida has expired.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the very distinguished gentleman from Montana (Mr. OLSEN).

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 11249, legislation to provide further funding for the John F. Kennedy Center. Back in 1964 this Congress in its wisdom dedicated the then National Cultural Center, in which the late President Kennedy had been so vitally interested, in his name as a living memorial to him. At that particular time we determined that this Center should be built a rapidly as possible. In the ensuing period of years we have seen increases in the cost of all segments of the construction industry and this has affected the John F. Kennedy Center. This is the reason the legislation is before us today. The records indicate that there is a definite need for further funding to finish the construction of the Center. I firmly believe the Center should be built as rapidly as possible to provide the proper memorial to President Kennedy in the Nation's Capital and to place in the Capital of the free world a center for performing arts which is so badly needed for the further cultural development of the Washington area.

I listened with interest to the testimony on this legislation when it was heard by the Committee on Public Works. I believe that the position presented by the witnesses in support of this legislation was a strong one and one which we should follow. I therefore strongly support passage of this legislation at this particular time.

I thought it ought to be pointed out by way of contrast here that this Center is going to cost the American people, by private and taxpayer contributions, $66 million. The great critics of the entire show, the great critics, are the second-class mail media, the newspapers and magazines. Some of them are in praise of the project and some are not. In any event, the deficit in second-class mail to the U.S. Post Office is $267 million a year. I really do not think we can take to heart their criticism when they cause that kind of a deficit as compared to the investment we are talking about here of only $66 million.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to our very beloved Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. McCORMACK).

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, the real need for this bill, as we all know, is to enable the completion of the national memorial in the city of Washington in memory of our late beloved President John F. Kennedy. It is most pleasing to me to see the bipartisan support that is being given to this bill not only in the House but in the White House, where both President Johnson before the term of his office expired recommended the amount involved in this bill on the part of the Federal Government, and President Nixon also made the same recommendation.

This is a memorial to a President of the United States. I view every President not as a Democrat or Republican President but as a President elected either on the Democratic ticket or on the Republican ticket. However, to me—and I know my colleagues all have the same state of mind—once a man assumes the office in the White House, he is the President of the United States.

And, I think it is well that we honor the memory of the Presidents of our country. Perhaps, in the near future, some other memorial might come before the House in connection with some other one of our outstanding Presidents. And, if I am here, I will be supporting it and I know other Members if they are here will be supporting it.

The need for this is one that we all recognize. The justification is clear, and I am sure the great majority of the Members of the House recognize it. As I said, the pleasing thing to note is the bipartisan support in connection with the bill now pending before the House, bipartisan support evidenced by former President Lyndon B. Johnson and now by President Richard Nixon.

So, Mr. Chairman, I urge the passage of the bill. It will be a fitting memorial for all time to the memory of one whom we knew, one who took the journey of life with us and whose life was unfortunately terminated in the performance of his duties. It is fitting for a memorial to all Presidents, but it is particularly fitting for one whose life was taken under the tragic circumstances as we all know the life of John Kennedy was taken.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the distinguished Speaker yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I am happy to

yield to the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I want to say to the distinguished Speaker and to the Members that I intend to vote for this legislation, as I have in the past. I do not want my comments of a few minutes ago to be misunderstood. I still believe that there is a liability on the part of the Architect and others. On the other hand, I do agree with the need and the necessity for this legislation and I intend to support it.

Mr. McCORMACK. I do not think there is any justification for anyone misunderstanding the comments made a few minutes ago by the distinguished minority leader. His comment was constructive and, certainly, everyone drew the inference that the gentleman from Michigan supports the bill now pending before the House and the statement which he has just made, removes any doubt in that respect.

So. Mr. Chairman, here we have a bill to the memory of a late President whose life was unfortunately taken under tragic circumstances with his life still ahead of him. A memorial to exist for all time is a part of the national history of our country. I repeat that I am greatly pleased that the message will go out over the country that this bill is supported in a bipartisan manner and could very well relate to any one of our Presidents.

Mr. GRAY. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts for his very kind remarks.

Mr. Chairman, I yield the balance of the time on this side to a most valued member of the Committee on Public Works and a most valued member of the Board of the Cultural Center, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. WRIGHT).

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, all of us, even with the very best of intentions, are subject at times to error. On occasion we make miscalculations despite our best efforts. This has happened with respect to the cost of this Center as it has similarly happened with respect to most construction costs throughout the United States.

Earlier, in the debate on the rule, several gentlemen on the other side of the aisle pointed out that at one time we had believed that this might be constructed wholly from public subscriptions without any Federal funds. Then in 1963 and in 1964 the Congress decided to expand the Center, to make it our memorial to the late President Kennedy, and to match privately subscribed funds dollar for dollar with Federal funds. We believed at that time honestly that the Center thus could be completed for $15.5 million of Federal contribution. We were in error.

It should not be necessary to remind my colleagues that all of us are subject to error. The distinguished Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare only last week was reminded in the newspapers that he on one occasion had said that, if a certain man were not appointed to a certain post, he would resign. Nobody wants to hold the Secretary to that. It was an honest error, an honest miscalculation of what might happen.

The distinguished President of the United States, Mr. Nixon, in the course of the campaign last November said that he did not believe it would be necessary to extend the surtax. I credit him with an honest analysis of the situation, and an honest miscalculation, and I credit him with the honesty and the frankness and the courage to come back to us and to say that he had been mistaken, and to ask us to give him an extension of the surtax.

As one Member on this side, I thought this was a responsible thing to do, and I voted for it.

Now we are asking the Members to do what is a responsible thing to do. The Congress made a commitment that we would provide one-half Federal funds. We would match dollar for dollar what was raised from the private sector. The private sector has raised $24 million, $8 million more than the Congress has appropriated. So to appropriate this $7.5 million that this bill requests would in one sense be simply a fulfillment of the promise that we made in 1964.

Just how much is $7.5 million, really? As the gentleman from New York pointed out, it is a little less than 4 cents per citizen. Now, you cannot get very much mileage or much satisfaction out of beating your breast and saying that we have had a great big economy vote when you boast that you voted against that.

Talking about the question of values, I believe it is important to know not only the cost of something, but also the value of something. The Nation spends $4 billion every year on dog food. During the time that we have been trying to raise the money to complete this Center, our country has expended some $500 billion on the implements of terror and destruction. We have done that because we believed it necessary to defend the values and the standards of the United States.

But now, if it is worthwhile to expend $500 billion during this period to defend in a military way the freedom and the standards of the United States, is it not worth raising $7.5 million, or 4 cents apiece, to build something that stands for the best in American life; something that facilitates and permits free expression for which we have always stood as a Nation; something that epitomizes and symbolizes the cultural and spiritual standards of our country?

The question really is: Do we want to appropriate $7.5 million that is necessary to complete this structure, and have it as something of which the Congress and the Nation can be proud? Do we want this, or do we want an uncompleted structure, standing half done as a monument to congressional indifference?

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in enthusiastic support of H.R. 11249, which authorizes additional funds for the completion of the John F. Kennedy Center. I heartily support the report of the Committee on Public Works and I fervently hope the House acts favorably on it.

A center for the arts is a particularly appropriate memorial for the late President. The Congress recognized this when, in 1964, it changed the National Cutural Center to the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. It is significant to note that this Center is the only memorial in the Nation's Capital to President Kennedy. And today it stands only partially completed, in dire need of an additional $20 million so that it can be completed.

As well as serving as a tribute to an American President whose interest in and concern for art were well known, the Center will also provide badly needed professional symphony and opera facilities for the entire Washington area. That these are needed in the Nation's Capital is obvious; that a great world city should be without them is unthinkable.

Yet the Center stands only partially completed today. Unfortunately, adverse conditions have increased its cost far beyond what we authorized in 1964. So our choice at this time is a very practical one. We may either authorize more money for the Center, or we may fail to do so and see it remain as it is, a half-covered skeleton.

This is, of course, a Hobson's choice, and our only alternative is to approve this bill. The committee estimates that if we fail to do so it would increase the cost of completion at the rate of 12 percent a year. But I heartily endorse Chairman FALLON's statement that his committee will consider no further monetary aid for this Center. We cannot go on forever spending the taxpayer's money only to be told when one authorization is exhausted that another is needed.

So I believe this bill is necessary to insure the completion of this vital Center for the performing arts. With this supplemental appropriation we can build a cultural edifice unrivaled in the world, and a living memorial that John F. Kennedy would have appreciated.

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Chairman, H.R. 11249 is legislation which has my full and complete support. I recall in 1964 when we passed the initial legislation dedicating the National Cultural Center to the memory of the late President John F. Kennedy and renamed it the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts we determined this would be the sole memorial to the President in Washington and would carry out one of the basic interests in his life to provide the proper cultural center for the performing arts in the Nation's Capital. During the period of 1964 to the present the Kennedy Center along with every other type of construction in the United States has run into unforeseen difficulties due to a number of reasons which are fully and carefully discussed in the report and are basically because of the escalation in the cost of construction throughout the country. For this reason this bill is before us today to increase the authorization for the construction of the Kennedy Center by some $12.5 million Federal funding. The sum of $7.5 million of basic construction will be matched by private money and there is an additional $5 million increase for the bonding authority contained in the original legislation to construct the underground garage and its facilities.

I submit that this is a reasonable increase when we consider all the facts involved between 1964 and 1969. I submit we have an obligation today to fulfill our basic commitment this Congress made in 1964. I submit there is a need not only for a cultural center in the Na-

tion's Capital but a proper memorial to our late President John F. Kennedy and that this legislation which will complete the construction of the Center will carry out that basic problem.

For this reason I urge support and passage of this legislation.

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Chairman, at a time when we are considering our responsibilities to the arts, I would call to the attention of the House a Christian Science Monitor story on how the West German Government provides leadership in this field.

In one season alone, its theaters received public subsidies equaling $95 million and American operatic artists must go to Germany to find audiences for their talent. I urge passage of this bill and include the article in connection with these remarks:

BIG SUBSIDIES, BOLD DESIGN, RICH OPERA

(By Ann M. Ellis)

BONN.—A West German parliamentary deputy stood up recently in the Bundestag and asked indignantly why German opera houses hired so many foreign singers.

The answer, though the deputy may not have realized it, was all to the credit of West Germany's flourishing musical life.

So many opera houses dot the cities of this land that there are not enough German singers to meet the demand. Counting the buildings belonging to the states, cities, and privately owned theaters—and not including touring companies—the number of West German stages which present vocal performances totals well over 150.

Not surprisingly, dozens of young and hopeful American singers are attracted to Germany to launch their careers.

"Most Americans coming to sing in a German opera house start out with an 'Anfänger Vertrag'—a 'beginner's contract,'" explained Conrad Immel, one of two Texans currently singing with the Theater der Stadt in Bonn. "This means that although it is a two-year contract, the house can fire you, or you can decide to leave at the end of one year."

SCHOLARSHIP WINNER

"Fortunately," he added, "mine was a 'Fach Vertag,' which specified my voice range and was a firm commitment for two years."

Mr. Immel, a baritone, was a scholarship winner in the 1966 Metropolitan Opera National Council Auditions, receiving the Mrs. Ogden Phipps Award of $2,000. (This was the last such audition to be held on the stage of the old Metropolitan Opera House in New York before it was torn down.) He holds a bachelor's degree in mathematics, bachelor of music degree in voice, and master of music degree from the University of Texas at Austin. He was a Fulbright scholar in Vienna 1964–65, studying at the Wiener Akademie.

"Two years generally, I think, is long enough to make the cultural adjustment to living in Europe, to learn German, and to understand the often very different artistic procedures and standards here," Mr. Immel continued. "If a singer stays longer than a year or two, he has the opportunity to get a full grounding—which is what coming to Europe is all about."

Since joining the Bonn Municipal Opera in August, 1966, Mr. Immel has sung 90 performances of major roles, including the Count in "Marriage of Figaro," Wolfram in "Tannhäuser," Germont in "La Traviata," Lord Henry Ashton in "Lucia di Lammermoor," Dr. Malatesta in "Don Pasquale," and Lord Nottingham in "Roberto Devereux."

"This is more than I could possibly have hoped for in the same length of time at home," said the Texan. "Six really good roles that I'm delighted to have done."

It was not merely a question of having learned the roles, Mr. Immel stressed. "The great thing is to have had the opportunity to sing them on stage. Then, when your big chance comes, you are professionally ready."

Dr. Richard Mönnig, who after World War II became head of West Germany's far-flung Inter Nationes program—created to spread German culture abroad—reminisced about the first exchange which he helped arrange in the late 1920's, between the Juilliard School of Music in New York City and the Berlin Academy. The fellowship grants were for $1,000 and were awarded to Charles Kullman and Susanne Fisher.

Within his first four weeks at the academy, Kullman had a rare opportunity. He was chosen at the last moment to replace the regular singer in the role of Pinkerton in "Madama Butterfly" at the Berlin State Opera. His success was immediately acclaimed in the press. He became a member of the State Opera Company in Berlin and later sang in Vienna, at La Scala, and the Metropolitan.

Susanne Fisher's rise was not so meteoric. But she, too, became a member of the State Opera in Berlin and went on to further success.

Widespread operatic activity explains the lively demand for singers, and public subsidies explain why West Germany can support so many opera houses. In one season alone its theaters receive grants from public funds amounting to 380 million deutsche marks ($95 million).

In "Meet Germany," published by the Atlantik-Brücke press of Hamburg, the matter of subsidy is put most graphically.

EVERY SEAT FILLED

"Traditionally the theater and opera [in Germany] are not private enterprises," wrote Hans Schwab-Felisch, "but are subsidized by the federal states or the cities. In this way an imaginary 10-mark bill [$2.50] lies evening for evening on every theater seat. The sum varies but on the average works out at this rate. The entrance fee paid by the audience, either at the box-office or by subscription, is therefore no real fee."

Rising from the ruins of World War II, West Germany had a unique opportunity to experiment with new material and design concepts in theater construction.

A leading example is the new Bonn Municipal Opera House, built in 1966 on the west bank of the Rhine. Architects Klaus Gessler and Wilfried Beck-Erlang took into consideration fresh theories of acoustics, developed in part by Dr. Fritz Winckel, professor of acoustics at Berlin Technical University.

Disappointment with the first halls built in the postwar years, explained Dr. Winckel, "led to study of acoustical conditions prevailing in famous buildings of past epochs." This study proved that concert halls of the period 1869–88 possesed the best acoustic properties.

These buildings were of the neoclassic style, including elements such as pillars, caryatids, caisson ceiling, and plaster moldings, which gave a diffusing effect to sound.

"On the average these halls possessed the resonance time of two seconds," wrote Dr. Winckel, "which is nowadays regarded as the optimum for a symphony concert. The architectural style of the postwar period has subjected itself increasingly to the principles of acoustics."

Construction elements included box seats which resemble drawers pulled out of a chest, asymmetrically shaped ground plans, and the maximum breaking up of walls which reflect sound.

"The most interesting ceiling," declared Dr. Winckel, "is the kind which is drawn down a little toward the stage in order to attain an energetically advantageous direction of sound."

Ample use of wood paneling in postwar German opera houses reflects the conviction of musicians that wood lends warmth to music. Wood paneling, according to experts, suppresses the deep notes, allowing the sound to become clearer and lighter.

PUBLIC RESPONSE SECONDARY

Generous tax subsidies give enviable freedom to Ottowerner Meyer, head stage designer at Bonn, who plans the sets and costumes for most of the pieces—opera, ballet, and drama—played in the municipal theater.

Audience reaction is not the first concern of Mr. Meyer, who also designs sets for Essen, Vienna, Munich, Zurich, and Florence. "Public reception," he declared, "is secondary to the artistic worth of the production."

First he reads the piece and discusses it with the director and conductor. Then Mr. Meyer researches the historical background of the opera or play and translates this impressionistically into modern images.

Demonstrably the Bonn operagoer likes what his tax money buys. More than 90 percent of all seats in the Theater der Stadt Bonn are filled by season subscriptions. The performing artists, whether from Germany or abroad, are therefore assured of continuously full houses and the steady demand for their services generated by this lively operatic environment.

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Chairman while I join in support of H.R. 11249 for an additional $12,500,000 in direct appropriations and borrowing authority for the completion of the John F. Kennedy Center, I am not at all satisfied with the way construction of this project has been handled.

It is apparent that carelessness and a lack of foresight in the planning and the construction of the Center have escalated the cost and resulted in a large measure of waste. It appears that the architect, right from the outset, miscalculated the cost.

We have experienced a $2.7 million estimating error in the amounts of the structural steel and a $1.2 million increase in the cost factor for change orders. In addition, there has been the inclusion of gifts worth over $2 million in the private contribution account, adding to the total cost that Congress is now required to meet.

In view of some of the disturbing circumstances, I strongly recommend that the Committee on Public Works present all relevant information to the Department of Justice for possible recovery proceedings. I believe a conclusive determination should be made as to whether any moneys are recoverable from the parties who have been responsible for the errors and miscalculations that are largely responsible for the increased cost of this project.

The waste of taxpayers' money is always a matter of deep concern. But what is the alternative in this instance? I do not believe that the rejection of this bill is the answer to the problem. The overall construction of the Kennedy Center is more than 50 percent complete. The present structure cannot be allowed to grace the banks of the Potomac in its unfinished state.

To allow construction to remain stagnant would be to perpetuate a mistake, destroy the public's faith in our recogni-

tion of the need for the performing arts in our Nation's Capital and tarnish a well-deserved memorial for the late John F. Kennedy.

The private sector and nations of the free world have made generous contributions to the Kennedy Center. It must be completed if we are to uphold the intent and dignity of its purpose. Anything other than that, would be disgraceful.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Chairman, I want to express my strong support for this legislation to increase the Government's contribution toward construction of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. The bill seeks a $7.5-million increase, raising the Government's share of construction costs from $15.5 to $23 million. The need for this increase—admittedly, a dramatic one—is clear and pressing.

The Center, this Nation's principal memorial to the late President Kennedy, cannot be completed without the supplemental spending authority sought in the bill now before us. Delay in this project—completing only a part of the Center, for example, and putting off the rest until later—would be an affront to the memory of President Kennedy and would deny the Center's facilities to the hundreds of thousands of Americans who are expected to take advantage of them. Still another reason—this one more practical in nature—can be cited against delay. Construction costs are skyrocketing, moving upward at a rate of about 12 percent a year. Expert witnesses have informed the Committee on Public Works that a significant lag in construction of the Center would cause a startling $10 million increase in its cost.

The reasons for the present increase in the Center's cost are legion. Between January 1964, when the Congress accepted an estimate of $46.4 million, and January 1969, the cost of building construction soared by almost 30 percent. Indeed, up to $14 million of the $15.8 million increase in the Center's cost can be charged to this inflationary trend. Another reason is the careful control of the timing of subcontract awards to avoid overcommitment of funds. Still another is underestimation of the cost of structural steel and concrete form work. Other reasons—wholly unpredictable ones—can be cited. A longshoremen's strike, for example, delayed shipments of marble from Italy.

The Kennedy Center—meant as a tribute to the late President as a major new contribution to the cultural life of the country he loved—cannot be finished unless we pass this legislation.

Again, I urge its passage.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, I most earnestly hope the House will very quickly and overwhelmingly approve this bill before us, H.R. 11249, designed to insure the completion of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, which is still under construction here.

As the membership recalls, this project was approved on a dollar-for-dollar matching basis. Up to the present time over $24 million have been contributed to its construction from private contributions, which is approximately $8 million more than the Congress has so far appropriated.

The very able chairman of the Subcommittee on Buildings and Grounds and other distinguished members of the House Public Works Committee have very clearly explained that additional funds are required because the estimates were made 11 years ago and most of the increased costs are due to inflation and the fact that construction contracts could not be all awarded at the same time, because of the uncertainty of the amount of funds that would be privately donated.

We are today assured that all the cost figures have been projected, and that no more appropriations will be requested from the Congress. If any additional funds are required, they must, in the future, be solely solicited from private sources.

Mr. Chairman, the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts is 50 percent completed. Independent authorities have testified that if any construction delay is experienced now, it will substantially increase actual completion costs in the future, to the approximate extent of $10 million.

Mr. Chairman, back in September of 1958, President Eisenhower signed into law the measure authorizing the construction of a national cultural center in this Nation's Capital. As you know, the sudden and tragic death of President Kennedy moved the Congress to reconsider the status of the Center and approve it as the principal memorial to President Kennedy. The project is undoubtedly in the great national interest and it will be a permanent inspiration for all Americans and for visitors from every part of the globe to perseveringly strive to improve the quality of life for all mankind. For this reason and in this spirit, I urge the House to resoundingly adopt this measure.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 11249, a bill to amend the John F. Kennedy Center Act to authorize additional funds for such Center.

The Kennedy Center is more than a living memorial to the late President; it is a tangible symbol that the American people and their Government recognize that things of the spirit are as important to the future of mankind as material improvements and technological advances. It constitutes further recognition of the arts at the national level.

The fact is that this Nation is not doing enough for the arts, for the music, dance, theater, visual and spoken arts that invigorate us as a people and sustain men as individuals, and that will give identity to our time in the history of mankind.

I wish that it had been possible to complete the Kennedy Center at its original cost but construction estimates of 11 years ago unfortunately bear little resemblance to today's costs. Over $24 million in private contributions have been collected for the Center's construction. We must complete this building and without more expensive delay.

We are all concerned about trimming unnecessary Federal spending—but I consider the $12½ million in this bill necessary—and would respectfully suggest to those who are not disposed to that point of view that a review of the budgets of some of the other departments of this Government would reveal sums well in excess of that amount in appropriations and loan authority that could be eliminated without danger to our country or its important programs.

I urge bipartisan support of this bill.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to add my support for H.R. 11249, authorizing appropriation for the John F. Kennedy Memorial Center an additional $7.5 million, to be matched by an equal sum of non-Government contributions, and increasing the Center's bonding authority by $5 million.

The increase in costs for this fitting memorial to our late President is another of the unfortunate results of the inflationary spiral we have met since estimates first were submitted to the Congress on construction costs.

There is little disagreement on the need for the Center nor on the contribution which it will make to the cultural well-being of our Nation's Capital. It is most unfortunate that its costs have increased. But it is as urgent today that we persevere in its development as it was when we first authorized the Center. I strongly urge approval of the needed extra funds.

Under permission to revise and extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the Evening Star of May 31, 1969, at this point in the RECORD:

CULTURE COSTS

There was no reason for anyone to suppose that the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts would be more immune than any other structure to the severe impact of rising construction costs. Accordingly, there is no occasion for surprise that the cultural center's trustees have returned to Congress for further financial help to complete this half-finished edifice on the Potomac.

At a House subcommittee hearing this week, the GSA's public buildings commissioner listed a variety of factors responsible for an increase of about $20 million above the original cost estimates. And the subcommittee members quite rightly demanded the full details, for it is certain that they, in turn, will be called upon by other members of the House for a complete explanation.

But it will not be difficult to demonstrate that the great bulk of the $20-million escalation in the cost estimates made five years ago is attributable to the inflationary spiral which has struck all elements of the construction industry.

The new legislation seeks a $7.5 million addition in the federal contribution to the center, plus $5 million more in loans—the $7.5 million to be matched by increased funds raised from private sources. Congress should approve the requests, of course, for the same fundamental reason that it supported the project in the first place: The cultural center is needed in the Nation's Capital to serve legitimate national purposes.

Next week, a similar national facility is scheduled to open in Ottawa, which is being fully financed, incidentally, by the Canadian government. By coincidence, the cost of the Ottawa center also has increased by about $20 million during the course of its construction. It seems unlikely, at best, that Washington's center can be ready for use before 1971. To extend that date any further, for reasons that are avoidable, would serve to

make the ultimate price tag even higher—and make no sense at all.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, my vote to recommit the bill requesting additional funds for the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts should not be interpreted as opposition to the arts, to the Center, or to a memorial to President Kennedy. I have long supported educational and cultural programs. It should be remembered that I was the primary sponsor of the bill to create the National Foundation of the Arts and Humanities.

I do not oppose the Kennedy Center. To the contrary, I am strongly in favor of it. However, I am greatly concerned about the inefficiency which has surrounded the construction of the Center. The cost of the project has greatly exceeded its cost estimates and its available funds. This increase in costs is greatly due to poor estimates of building costs and in a failure to consider rising costs of construction. Improper timing of subcontracting has resulted in additional costs. Failure to consider the Center's nearness to National Airport has also added to the Center's costs. Many of these mistakes could, and should, have been avoided.

These inefficiencies are not unique to the John F. Kennedy Center; rather, they permeate innumerable federally funded projects. To interpret my vote properly, one should view it as a protest of the habit we have of rewarding inefficiency, and not as a protest of either the concept of a center for the arts or the creation of such a center.

The CHAIRMAN. All time having expired, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 11249

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That (a) section 8 of the John F. Kennedy Center Act (Public Laws 85–874, 88–260) is amended by striking out "$15,500,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$23,000,000".

(b) Section 9 of the John F. Kennedy Center Act is amended by striking out "$15,400,000" each of the two places it appears and inserting in lieu thereof in each such place "$20,400,000".

Mr. GRAY (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the bill be dispensed with, and that it be printed in the RECORD and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the necessary number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I take this time to ascertain from some Member if the $5 million provided in this bill is not an obligation upon the taxpayers of this country? We have heard almost nothing from the sponsors about the $5 million that will be authorized along with the $7.5 million.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, would the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, I would be delighted to answer the question posed by the distinguished Member from Iowa.

The $5 million is in the same category as the $15.4 million, which is to complete the parking facility. The board of trustees will set rates sufficient to amortize the cost of all the $5 million to which the gentleman refers, and it will be repaid to the Treasury.

Mr. GROSS. It is the mere hope of the gentleman that they will get that kind of revenue from the parking facility. I believe it was my colleague, the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. SCHERLE) who said earlier that the cost of the 1,600 parking spaces will be some $12,700 each. When does the gentleman think that $20,400,000 will be amortized, and the taxpayers get their money back, if ever?

Mr. GRAY. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. GROSS. Yes, I yield further to the gentleman.

Mr. GRAY. I am sure the gentleman has been here longer than I have been, but just since my arrival on the scene I have seen a 300 percent growth rate in Washington.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman means a 300 percent growth in crime?

Mr. GRAY. In the Washington, D.C., area the population has climbed by 300 percent in 15 years, and the tourism population has grown from——

Mr. GROSS. I suspect that the take from the Federal Government to support the city of Washington has increased by about that much over the years.

Mr. GRAY. Will the gentleman yield, because I want to make my point.

Mr. GROSS. Do not take all of my 5 minutes, if you do not mind, because I have another question or two that I would like to ask.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, I want to answer the question of the distinguished gentleman from Iowa.

During this 15-year period, we have had a shortage of over 20,000 parking spaces in the District of Columbia. But I am sure that this garage that will accommodate less than 2,500 cars, will be used, if not by people going to the Center, certainly would provide parking facilities for the different private and Government agencies in the area, so I am sure they will get enough money refunded to amortize the bonds.

Mr. GROSS. I am sure the tourists—your constituents and mine, that you talked about so much a little while ago, are not going to park down there in Foggy Bottom at the rate of $2.50 or $3 per day and walk from there to the Capitol or the Smithsonian Institution. Or are the spaces going to be occupied by the crowd down at the State Department who have that kind of money to spend on parking?

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GRAY. The parking fees will be commensurate and not cheaper than those charged at public parking garages in Washington, and all of them are filled, if the gentleman has tried to get into any of them.

Mr. GROSS. I hope the gentleman's assurances are better than the assurances and promises we have been getting all through the years as to what the Federal Government would be called on to spend on this white elephant. Apparently, we are now spending or will be if this bill is passed, 50 percent or more of the $66 million cost of the thing—and which was not going to cost the taxpayers 1 red cent according to members on the Committee on Public Works and other Members of the House.

Let me ask the gentleman this question. Is Mrs. Aristotle Onassis a member of the board of trustees?

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GRAY. She is one of the honorary chairmen. We have Mrs. Eisenhower and Mrs. Nixon and Mrs. Onassis and Mrs. Johnson. They all are honorary chairmen. But she is not of the actual operating board of the Center.

Mr. GROSS. Would Aristotle miss $12½ million? Would he miss this money—or would the combination of Mrs. Onassis and Aristotle miss $12½ million for this, one of the so-called loveliest buildings in the world?

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GRAY. I understand he broke his arm falling off his wallet.

But the point is, I will say to my friend, this is not being built for the Kennedys. This is being built for the American people. That is the part I tried to point out during the debate and we got off the target here. Mr. Eisenhower first conceived of this. This is not something that was conceived by the Democratic Party. Mr. Eisenhower conceived of this Center in 1958 and it is for the American people and it fills a great void and a great need. I really think it is a little unfair to say that the Kennedy family or anyone else ought to subsidize the Center.

Mr. GROSS. I do not think President Eisenhower ever conceived that the Federal Government was going to pay for this monstrosity down there on pollution ridden Potomac River.

I am surprised, really I am surprised that Onassis cannot spend a little of his money on this thing and relieve the taxpayers of this country. Incidentally, I never heard so many regrets and sorrow in connection with bringing a bill to the floor of the House.

I had a letter this morning from the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. GRAY) expressing regret that he had to bring this bill to the floor of the House.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

(Mr. GROSS asked and was given permission to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. GROSS. I have never heard so many regrets on the part of the gentleman, sorrow that he has to inflict this punishment on the Members of the House, and through them the taxpayers of this country.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman from Iowa yield?

Mr. GROSS. Of course, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. GRAY. We are regretful to bring

this bill out, but we have no alternative. If we do not pass this legislation, we will have a half-completed monstrosity instead of a beautiful facility.

Mr. GROSS. What about the chairman of the board of trustees who said that if he could not raise the necessary money from philanthropic sources around the country, he would resign? Is the gentleman from Illinois a member of the board of trustees?

Mr. GRAY. No, I am not.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN) is. I would like to ask him if anybody has asked the chairman for his resignation?

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. GRAY. Let me point out that that statement was made during the interim period between 1958, when the Cultural Center Act was passed, and the passage of the John F. Kennedy Center Act in 1964. The size, the scope of the project, the cost of the project, and many things have changed since Mr. Stevens made that statement.

Mr. GROSS. You bet your life, a lot of other things have changed. We have run up a $365 billion debt. They tell us that hunger is rampant in the land, that inflation and the cost of living is skyrocketing. Yes, a lot of things have changed. But you have no compunction whatever about coming in here today and asking the taxpayers of this country to foot a bill of $12.5 million more for a total of $33 million for this white elephant.

Why do you not leave the taxpayers of the Nation alone in deals of this kind? That was your promise. If the interested parties cannot raise the money, let it sit there half finished.

What would be wrong with that? Then you would be carrying out your promise to the American people: that it would not cost them 1 red cent. I do not care how thick or thin you slice it that is the basis on which this boondoggle got started. That was the foot in the door, the camel's nose under the tent. You did not live up to your promises.

I am sure you regret coming in here today to ask the taxpayers to put up another $12.5 million; $12.5 million may not mean much to the taxpayers of Fort Worth, Tex., or Cairo, Ill., or Perry County, Ill. I do not know. But $12.5 million is a pretty good piece of change where I come from.

I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri is recognized.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, we have heard quite a bit about so-called white elephants and inferences about the Rayburn Building and Griffith Stadium excessive costs, but I would like to put this in a little different context.

Mr. Chairman, in recent weeks we have witnessed repeated attacks on defense spending, and a veritable chorus of voices has been raised in repetition of the late President Eisenhower's warning about the "conjunction of an immense Military Establishment and a large arms industry" in America—what General Ike called the military-industrial complex. Of course, this sentence or two in Ike's farewell address was only a small part of his message and I feel many have distorted the real thrust of President Eisenhower's farewell message; namely, that America must be prepared against those nations that would detroy its freedom.

During all of this time that we have been hearing about gigantic cost "overruns" and deliberate underestimating of new weapons projects, a new and insidious complex has been operating in our midst with no word of warning or apprehension utttered by a single soul in this country. It would appear that only cost overruns in the Pentagon on new sophisticated weapons systems for the defense of the Nation were suspect. On the other hand, routine architectural and construction projects go scot-free.

Only today have we Members of the House who are not members of the Public Works Committee learned of the dangerous new "cultural-industrial complex," which has been hard at work sliping extremely costly projects through Congress.

The stock-in-trade of the cultural-industrial complex is first to win congressional authorization by asserting a project will be privately financed, then to obtain public funds by pledging private funds on a matching basis, and finally to extract more taxpayer moneys by pleading escalation of costs due to inflation and other reasons.

Today I congratulate the Committee on Public Works for unmercifully laying bare the maneuverings of the cultural-industrial complex as regards the National Cultural Center, first authorized in September 1958 when Dwight D. Eisenhower was in the White House, as has been stated, and subsequently renamed the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in memory of the late President Kennedy.

The Committee on Public Works today is asking the House to increase the authority for direct appropriations for the National Cultural Center from $15.5 million to $23 million—an increase of nearly 50 percent. That, incidentally, is an increase which compares favorably—or unfavorably, depending on your point of view—with the military cost overruns we have been hearing so much about lately. Perhaps the cultural-industrial complex simply hates to see the military-industrial complex grab all the gravy. Anyway, we all know that if you are No. 2 you "try harder!"

We hear repeated criticism of the Defense Department because some contracts are not awarded on the basis of competitive bidding. We hear charges of sloppy and wasteful procurement and oversight.

What about the Kennedy Center? This project is being built on a cost-plus-fixed-fee contract.

Zeroing in on the horrendous increase in the cost of the Kennedy Center, Public Works Committee sleuths fail to blame the cultural-industrial complex.

They say some of the increase is due to "error on the part of the General Services Administration and on the part of the architect," some to project changes, some due to strikes and "other acts beyond anyone's control"—I presume that would be acts of God—and some due to "the meteoric rise in construction costs."

Well, what has brought all these about?

The committee says that the cost rise due to inflation is "estimated conservatively" at about $9 million. I do not see how anyone can say there is anything conservative about this project.

With apologies to the military-industrial complex, we note that about $15.8 million of the cost increase is attributed to "underestimating." Whose fault is that? Certainly, as has been well pointed out, the architect figures in all this. And we will just have to blame the cultural-industrial complex, whoever they are.

I would just like to make one more and final point. I shudder to think what the escalation in construction costs will amount to if the surtax is not extended. And yet many of the gentlemen who are pleading and "bleeding" for additional funds for the Kennedy Center today are among those who fought the surtax extension a few days ago and thus invited an escalation of the inflation which plagues not only the Kennedy Center project but steals from every wage earner in America.

In case you have not decided from my comments, I am against this extension as a promised against—further raid on the taxpayers.

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

Mr. HALL. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. GUBSER. I should like to congratulate the gentleman for performing a great service today in pointing out the dual standard which is applied to the military-industrial complex and the cultural-industrial complex.

I should like to also ask the gentleman to speculate with me as to how many Members who voted against the extension of the surtax just a week ago last Monday will be supporting this proposal today?

Mr. HALL. I believe the Members of the DSG are all culturally inclined by both assumption and self-styling, and I believe that will answer the gentleman's question. I know of my distinguished colleague on the Committee on Armed Services delving into research and subsequent defense of our needed I–D complex and compliment him on his contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. HALL was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALL. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. WIDNALL. The gentleman will remember I have been very much interested in the cultural center over a period of years. I should like to start out by commending the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. THOMPSON) who had an original interest in trying to do a job for the cultural center.

This has extended through the years,

but I fear that on the House floor I must deplore what takes place in the House committees, and what takes place in the Congress. The project has been developed without, really, any analysis by the Congress as to expenditures, or as to location, and as to what is being done as we plan for the future.

I regretted very much when, 24 hours after the assassination, this became an appropriation process and it was swung into something where one could not vote against it because of the fact that a President dearly beloved by countless millions of our people was being used by those in the cultural center in order to swing appropriations out of the public funds.

We were promised that it was not going to cost more than $45 million, as I recall it. Then, the parking was separated from the rest of the building. It was originally part and parcel of the same operation. We were told that there was no problem as far as jet airplane noise was concerned. This was all being taken care of. It was all understood. You will find this all in the record, as well as the fact that access was easing and there were no problems in connection with it. The plea was made by me, among others, to take the parking to downtown Washington and separate it so that the Center could liven up downtown Washington and provide parking on a 24-hour basis. There it could pay for itself and we would not have to have the most expensive parking in the world built.

No one said anything today about the fact that they would be coming in here shortly with a request for $5 million for a subway extension if and when we get the subway built. Evidently people will not be able to take their cars down there to park and be able to go anywhere from there sensibly. You cannot walk sensibly from the place at all. I just feel that we have had a plea made by people for years who are afraid to acknowledge that they have been wrong, and afraid to acknowledge that these programs have been announced and promoted without real substantiation of the facts.

Mr. HALL. I thank the gentleman for his contribution. His position is well known. I join with him in the fear that if we move all of these cars down there, the whole shebang will fall into the polluted Potomac.

Mr. Chairman, I repeat, I am against the bill.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the necessary number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to take this opportunity to remind the Members of the House that I intend to offer a motion to recommit which will be a straight motion to recommit the bill to the committee.

I believe the issue is not one as to whether we will honor or dishonor a beloved President who was assassinated during his term of office. This merely clouds the issue. It is not the issue at all. The issue is one as to the means by which we will finance the Center. I just do not buy the idea personally that we have only two alternatives in doing this; namely, one, to soak the taxpayer for the additional millions necessary to complete it, or else to leave the Center unfinished. I am confident that we have the talent and the ability to be able to finance it by other means. I think the committee should look into the matter more thoroughly.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last three words.

Mr. Chairman, I have not had an opportunity to read the record. But I have listened to the debate, and I would like to have the chairman of the committee give us a little more information than has been given so far about the efforts that have been made to raise these funds from subscriptions. I am moved to ask this because I read in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for today a statement by a Member of the other body quoting an article from the New York Times of July 2, 1969, in which it is stated that the committee formed to raise funds to build the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts in New York City has raised $184 million from individuals, foundations, corporations, and government. I will ask my friend from New York about this, because I am sure he knows something about the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts. I assume it is a center similar to the one we are discussing here today.

I am wondering whether the committee accepted the word of someone that a real effort was made to raise this money or whether the record will show that a really serious effort was made and to what extent and nature of those efforts.

I have a lot of difficulty understanding how a committee in New York—and I do not know from what part of the country the committee came—could raise $184 million in subscriptions to build the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts and yet we cannot raise throughout this entire country the necessary remaining funds from private sources to complete this Center.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, as I indicated when I spoke a few moments ago, I spoke as a trustee. I have no doubt that more could have been done to raise this money from private funds. But I might say that as a practical matter it is far more difficult to get substantial funds from a city like Washington as it is in New York because there just simply is not that money available in Washington on a private basis. Granted that this is a national effort, but there is not the interest in Cleveland or San Francisco, for example, to contribute substantial funds to a cultural center in Washington as there would be to contribute substantial funds in their home cities.

Mr. JONAS. May I remind the gentleman that it has repeatedly been said during the debate that this Center is being built for our constituents who come to Washington to use, constituents from 50 States of the Union. We see the sum of $184 million raised from 11,474 people for the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, and Congress is being told that $7,500,000 cannot be raised likewise for this center. I do not see any reason why people in California, North Carolina, Texas and in all the other States of the Union would not contribute if this matter were presented to them in the right way.

What I am trying to do is have the record show what effort has been made to raise this money in the 50 States of the Union.

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

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

Mr. WRIGHT. I would like to say to the gentleman from North Carolina that a very definite effort has been made on the part of some very dedicated people, including Mr. Stevens and members of his staff, most of whom serve without pay, who have gone throughout the country and have raised as I earlier mentioned some $24 million which is $8 million more than the Congress has appropriated for the construction of the Center. They do not believe it is going to be possible to raise the total amount by private funding. They have been working at it now for 10 years. They have done a good job and they deserve our thanks rather than our condemnation.

Mr. JONAS. I am not condemning anyone. I am asking for information. Is the gentleman from Texas telling the committee that the record will show that a diligent effort has been made over a period of 10 years and it has been impossible to raise this money?

Mr. WRIGHT. I am saying to the gentleman that the sum of $24 million has been raised and that is by far more than has been appropriated. The original arrangement was that we would match the contributions dollar for dollar, but we did not recognize what the total cost would be. But during the 26 years that the Washington Monument remained half completed, sticking like a sword in the sky, during all that time efforts were being made to extend it and complete it and those efforts were unsuccessful until the Congress came in finally with the needed funds.

Mr. JONAS. I do not understand how 11,000 people were willing to put up $184 million in New York for the Lincoln Center and we are now being told that it is impossible to raise $7,500,000 additional from private sources and that public funds will be required to complete the Kennedy Center in the Nation's Capital.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, this has been a good debate and I do not intend to belabor the point. However, there are two matters that I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues that have not been discussed. One of these matters is that just last week in Ottawa, Canada, a country of 20 million people, they dedicated a cultural center almost precisely this size and almost precisely the same amount of cost. They did this in Canada, a country of only 20 million people through 100-percent Government appropriations and not a dime of private contribution. Are we now saying that the largest and most powerful nation in the world cannot afford an appropriation of

$7.5 million to complete a center for over 200 million people?

The gentleman from California (Mr. JOHNSON) was there last week and attended the dedication, and saw the first performance, and said it was a very stirring feeling, and that the Canadians took great pride in the fact that they had built this facility and they were going to enjoy it.

Second, Mr. Chairman, I want to point out just some of the Members who are on the Board of Trustees—just some of them—listen to this list, and see if they should not be trusted in this matter:

We have Mr. Allen, the Commissioner of Education; the very distinguished Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mr. Finch; Senator FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas; George B. Hartzog, Jr., Director of the National Park Service; Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY from Massachusetts.

We have the very distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. WRIGHT), and the very distinguished gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN). We have Mr. George Meany, the president of the AFL-CIO, Dr. L. Quincy Mumford, Librarian of Congress, S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

Roger L. Stevens has devoted 11 years without 1 cent of remuneration in raising $24 million. If you think it is easy to go out and raise $24 million for any cause, then try it sometime.

We have the very distinguished General Counsel, Mr. Ralph E. Becker, Mrs. Richard M. Nixon, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, and Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower, and they have worked hard to build this structure, and these gentlemen and these ladies have come here and said that it is a must, if we are to complete this center. And for me and for the Subcommittee of Public Buildings and Culture, and the full Committee on Public Works, I am willing to trust the operation of this Center in such illustrious hands as I have enumerated here. And as far as an economy vote is concerned, the General Services Administration has testified that if we dismiss all of the skilled people who are working on this job, that it will cost $10 million more to pick up the pieces a year from now, or 2 years or 3 years from now, plus a 12-percent rise in construction costs.

So you cannot vote "no" and go home and say "I saved the taxpayers $7.5 million" because it will cost $10 million plus the $7.5 million if we come back with subsequent legislation.

So I urge the House to take pride in what the subcommittee is doing here, like Canada has done, and vote for this bill.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, it appears to me that the gentleman from Illinois fails to make the real point, and that is regardless of the merits or demerits of what we are doing here this afternoon—Members had better begin asking themselves the question of where we are going to get the money and whether we can have it both ways. As I look at the record which I hold in my hand, as compared with the vote of last year on the surtax, it would appear that many have turned from a responsible vote to one of no responsibility, yet they are always willing to appropriate untold sums but they are never willing to face up to the issue of raising the taxes to meet expenditures. We should realize we must raise the money to cover spending, or some time somewhere along the line we must learn that we cannot have it both ways.

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I was home last week, and one of my constituents was talking to me, and said it was certainly amazing how many votes did change on both sides of the aisle on the surtax question. And the fellow who was talking to me, he said he thought it depended on whose pig was in the parlor. I think his choice of language was most unfortunate, at least in one of the cases, and probably both.

But as far as responsibility goes, I think we in this body, whether we voted for or against the surtax now or last year, are seeking honestly to meet our responsibilities. I would not question anyone on that point. We have a nation that is spending, if our information is correct, $2.5 billion a month in Vietnam, and we are talking about $7.5 million in the same breath.

I wonder how we can do that seriously, to say we can make the one expenditure on the one hand, and you cannot make the other expenditure on behalf of the culture of this country.

Canada has been mentioned. The Christian Science Monitor, which many of the Members read, carried an article last week stating that the West German nation spent $93 million on grand opera, and described the people from the United States who go over there to find a place to perform, and to find an audience, because none is available to them at home.

I certainly hope that we can find our way to spare this small amount, percentagewise, in behalf of the culture and the arts of this country.

Let us pass this bill.

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, would the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUNGATE. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUNGATE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. JACOBS. In connection with the gentleman's statement concerning the cost of the Vietnam war of $2½ billion and the per month military contract overruns that have been mentioned, they are counted, not in the millions or thousands of dollars, but in thousands of times a million dollars.

I just wonder how many people believe perhaps that fine quotation should be changed so that it would read: "Billions for defense waste, but not 1 cent for what we are supposed to be defending."

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose, and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. YOUNG, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11249) to amend the John F. Kennedy Center Act to authorize additional funds for such Center, pursuant to House Resolution 447, he reported the bill back to the House.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT OFFERED BY MR. SCHADEBERG

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. SCHADEBERG. I am, Mr. Speaker, in its present form.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. SCHADEBERG moves to recommit the bill, H.R. 11249, to the Committee on Public Works.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 162, nays 217, not voting 53, as follows:

[Roll No. 99]

YEAS—162

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Abbitt | Corbett | Hammer-schmidt |
| Abernethy | Cowger | Hansen, Idaho |
| Alexander | Cunningham | Harsha |
| Andrews, Ala. | Daniel, Va. | Hastings |
| Ashbrook | Davis, Ga. | Hébert |
| Beall, Md. | Davis, Wis. | Henderson |
| Belcher | Dellenback | Hogan |
| Bell, Calif. | Denney | Hosmer |
| Betts | Dennis | Hull |
| Bevill | Devine | Hunt |
| Blackburn | Dickinson | Hutchinson |
| Blanton | Downing | Ichord |
| Bray | Duncan | Jacobs |
| Brinkley | Edwards, Ala. | Johnson, Pa. |
| Brown, Mich. | Erlenborn | Jonas |
| Broyhill, N.C. | Esch | Jones, N.C. |
| Buchanan | Eshleman | Jones, Tenn. |
| Burke, Fla. | Fish | Kazen |
| Burleson, Tex. | Fisher | King |
| Burlison, Mo. | Flowers | Kleppe |
| Bush | Flynt | Kuykendall |
| Byrnes, Wis. | Foreman | Kyl |
| Cabell | Fountain | Landgrebe |
| Camp | Frey | Landrum |
| Carter | Fuqua | Langen |
| Casey | Gettys | Latta |
| Cederberg | Goodling | Lennon |
| Chappell | Griffin | Lipscomb |
| Clancy | Gross | Lloyd |
| Clawson, Del | Gubser | Lukens |
| Collins | Hagan | McClure |
| Colmer | Haley | McEwen |
| Conable | Hall | |

McMillan
Marsh
Martin
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Mizell
Montgomery
Myers
Nelsen
Nichols
Obey
Passman
Pettis
Poage
Poff
Price, Tex.
Quillen
Randall
Rarick
Robison
Roth
Roudebush
Ruth
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Scott
Sebelius
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith, Calif.
Snyder
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Tex.
Utt
Vander Jagt
Waggonner
Wampler
Watson
Weicker
Whalley
Whitehurst
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Wold
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—217

Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Calif.
Anderson, Tenn.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashley
Ayres
Bennett
Biaggi
Biester
Bingham
Blatnik
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brooks
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, Va.
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Caffery
Chisholm
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Clay
Cohelan
Conte
Conyers
Corman
Coughlin
Cramer
Culver
Daddario
Daniels, N.J.
Dawson
de la Garza
Dent
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Calif.
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Evans, Colo.
Fallon
Farbstein
Feighan
Findley
Flood
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Galifianakis
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gaydos
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Griffiths
Grover
Gude
Halpern
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Harvey
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Horton
Howard
Hungate
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Jones, Ala.
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kee
Keith
Kluczynski
Koch
Kyros
Leggett
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McClory
McCloskey
McCulloch
McDade
McFall
McKneally
Macdonald, Mass.
MacGregor
Madden
Mahon
Mathias
Matsunaga
Mayne
Meeds
Melcher
Mikva
Miller, Calif.
Mills
Minish
Mink
Mize
Mollohan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morse
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Natcher
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara
Olsen
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Podell
Preyer, N.C.
Price, Ill.
Pryor, Ark.
Pucinski
Quie
Railsback
Rees
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reuss
Rhodes
Riegle
Rivers
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Ruppe
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Sandman
Scheuer
Schwengel
Shipley
Sikes
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Stokes
Stratton
Sullivan
Symington
Taft
Teague, Calif.
Thompson, Ga.
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Watts
Whalen
White
Williams
Winn
Wright
Yates
Yatron
Young
Zablocki

NOT VOTING—53

Anderson, Ill.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Aspinall
Baring
Barrett
Berry
Boggs
Bow
Brasco
Brock
Cahill
Carey
Celler
Chamberlain
Cleveland
Collier
Delaney
Derwinski
Dorn
Dowdy
Dulski
Dwyer
Evins, Tenn.
Fascell
Goldwater
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Heckler, Mass.
Jarman
Kirwan
Long, La.
Lowenstein
Lujan
McDonald, Mich.
Mailliard
Mann
May
Minshall
Monagan
Morton
Mosher
Murphy, N.Y.
O'Konski
O'Neal, Ga.
Pollock
Powell
Purcell
Reid, Ill.
Rooney, Pa.
Roybal
Sisk
Watkins
Wolff

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Dowdy for, with Mrs. Heckler of Massachusetts against.

Mr. Collier for, with Mr. Carey against.

Mr. Berry for, with Mr. Wolff against.

Mr. Bow for, with Mr. Delaney against.

Mr. Goldwater for, with Mr. Brasco against.

Mr. Lujan for, with Mr. Boggs against.

Mrs. Reid of Illinois for, with Mr. Celler against.

Mr. Long of Louisiana for, with Mr. Barrett against.

Mr. Baring for, with Mr. Green of Pennsylvania against.

Mr. O'Neal of Georgia for, with Mr. Murphy of New York against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Monagan with Mr. Anderson of Illinois.

Mr. Roybal with Mr. Chamberlain.

Mr. Rooney of Pennsylvania with Mailliard.

Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Andrews of North Dakota.

Mr. Dorn with Mr. Pollock.

Mr. Dulski with Mr. Morton.

Mr. Lowenstein with Mr. O'Konski.

Mr. Kirwan with Mr. Cahill.

Mr. Jarman with Mr. McDonald of Michigan.

Mr. Fascell with Mr. Minshall.

Mr. Sisk with Mr. Mosher.

Mr. Aspinall with Mrs. May.

Mrs. Green of Oregon with Mrs. Dwyer.

Mr. Purcell with Mr. Brock.

Mr. Mann with Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. Cleveland with Mr. Watkins.

Mr. SHIPLEY changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. BRAY changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. MATHIAS changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. BURKE of Florida changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 211, nays 162, not voting 59, as follows:

[Roll No. 100]

YEAS—211

Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Calif.
Anderson, Tenn.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashley
Ayres
Bennett
Biaggi
Biester
Bingham
Blatnik
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brooks
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, Va.
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Chisholm
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Cohelan
Conte
Conyers
Corman
Coughlin
Cramer
Culver
Daddario
Daniels, N.J.
Dawson
de la Garza
Dent
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Calif.
Eilberg
Esch
Evans, Colo.
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Findley
Flood
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Galifianakis
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gaydos
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Griffiths
Grover
Halpern
Hamilton
Hanley
Hansen, Wash.
Harvey
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Hungate
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Jones, Ala.
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kee
Keith
Kluczynski
Koch
Kyros
Leggett
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McClory
McCloskey
McDade
McEwen
McFall
McKneally
Macdonald, Mass.
MacGregor
Madden
Mahon
Mathias
Matsunaga
Meeds
Melcher
Mikva
Miller, Calif.
Mills
Minish
Mink
Mize
Mollohan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morse
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
Nix
O'Hara
Olsen
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Preyer, N.C.
Price, Ill.
Pryor, Ark.
Quie
Railsback
Rees
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reuss
Rhodes
Riegle
Rivers
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Ruppe
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Sandman
Scheuer
Schwengel
Shipley
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Stokes
Stratton
Symington
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Watts
Whalen
White
Williams
Wright
Yates
Yatron
Young
Zablocki

NAYS—162

Abbitt
Abernethy
Alexander
Andrews, Ala.
Ashbrook
Beall, Md.
Belcher
Bell, Calif.
Betts
Bevill
Blackburn
Blanton
Bray
Brinkley
Brown, Mich.
Broyhill, N.C.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burleson, Tex.
Burlison, Mo.
Bush
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Caffery
Camp
Carter
Casey
Cederberg
Chappell
Clancy
Clawson, Del
Collins
Colmer
Conable
Corbett
Cowger
Cunningham
Daniel, Va.
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Dellenback
Denney
Dennis
Devine
Dickinson
Downing
Duncan
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Erlenborn
Eshleman
Fish
Fisher
Flowers
Flynt
Foreman
Fountain
Frey
Fuqua
Gettys
Goodling
Griffin
Gross
Gubser
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Hammer-schmidt
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Harsha
Hastings
Hébert
Henderson
Hogan
Horton
Hosmer
Hull
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, N.C.
Jones, Tenn.
Kazen
King
Kleppe
Kuykendall
Kyl
Landgrebe
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Lukens
McClure
McCulloch
McMillan
Marsh
Martin
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Mizell
Montgomery
Myers
Nichols
Obey
Passman
Pettis
Poage
Poff
Pollock
Price, Tex.
Quillen
Randall
Rarick
Roth
Roudebush
Ruth
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Scott
Sebelius
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith, Calif.
Snyder
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Talcott
Taylor
Thompson, Ga.
Utt

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Vander Jagt | Whitten | Wold |
| Waggonner | Widnall | Wyatt |
| Wampler | Wiggins | Wydler |
| Watson | Wilson, Bob | Wylie |
| Weicker | Wilson, Charles H. | Wyman |
| Whalley | Winn | Zion |
| Whitehurst | | Zwach |

NOT VOTING—59

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Anderson, Ill. | Dowdy | Monagan |
| Andrews, N. Dak. | Dwyer | Morton |
| Aspinall | Evins, Tenn. | Mosher |
| Baring | Frelinghuysen | Murphy, N.Y. |
| Barrett | Goldwater | O'Konski |
| Berry | Green, Oreg. | O'Neal, Ga. |
| Boggs | Green, Pa. | Podell |
| Bow | Gude | Powell |
| Brasco | Heckler, Mass. | Pucinski |
| Brock | Jarman | Purcell |
| Cahill | Kirwan | Reid, Ill. |
| Carey | Long, La. | Rooney, Pa. |
| Celler | Lowenstein | Roybal |
| Chamberlain | Lujan | Sikes |
| Clay | McDonald, Mich. | Sisk |
| Cleveland | Mailliard | Sullivan |
| Collier | Mann | Taft |
| Delaney | May | Watkins |
| Derwinski | Mayne | Wolff |
| Dorn | Minshall | |

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mrs. Heckler of Massachusetts for, with Mr. Dowdy against.

Mr. Wolff for, with Mr. Collier against.

Mr. Delaney for, with Mr. Berry against.

Mr. Brasco for, with Mr. Bow against.

Mr. Boggs for, with Mr. Goldwater against.

Mr. Barrett for, with Mr. Lujan against.

Mr. Green of Pennsylvania for, with Mrs. Reid of Illinois against.

Mr. Monagan for, with Mr. Long of Louisiana against.

Mr. Frelinghuysen for, with Mr. O'Neal of Georgia against.

Mr. Celler for, with Mr. Baring against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Murphy of New York with Mr. Anderson of Illinois.

Mr. Rooney of Pennsylvania with Mr. Morton.

Mr. Roybal with Mr. Taft.

Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Brock.

Mr. Aspinall with Mr. Mosher.

Mr. Kirwan with Mr. Cahill.

Mrs. Sullivan with Mrs. Dwyer.

Mr. Podell with Mr. Gude.

Mr. Pucinski with Mr. Andrews of North Dakota.

Mr. Sikes with Mr. Minshall.

Mr. Sisk with Mrs. May.

Mr. Chamberlain with Mr. Watkins.

Mr. Purcell with Mr. Cleveland.

Mrs. Green of Oregon with Mr. McDonald of Michigan.

Mr. Dorn with Mr. Mailliard.

Mr. Carey with Mr. O'Konski.

Mr. Mann with Mayne.

Mr. Jarman with Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. Lowenstein with Mr. Clay.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

## TOO MUCH—BUT SO TRUE

(Mr. MOSS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, Art Hoppe of San Francisco has been admired for years because of his satirical expertise, but, as has often been said, many a truth is spoken in jest.

I submit for the benefit of my colleagues one of the most recent columns by Mr. Hoppe which appeared in yesterday's Star and is entitled, "Too Much Truth in Advertising."

TOO MUCH TRUTH IN ADVERTISING

(By Arthur Hoppe)

Scene: The Creativity Department of Jung & Rubicon. Brash young Concepts Director Claireville Klang is outlining a new advertising campaign for the agency's top executives.

Klang: Let me say, gentlemen, that this is the toughest challenge I've ever faced. As you know, the surgeon general wants us to include a stiff warning in all our cigarette advertising. Now if he gets his way with Congress. . . .

Jung (testily): We all know the threat, Klang. What solutions have you boys in Creativity come up with?

Klang: Just wait till you see this new television commercial, sir.

(He dims the lights and turns on a projector. On the screen, a beautiful young girl, glowing with health, smiles seductively at a beautiful young man, glowing with health. He whips out a package of Balmoral cigarettes. "Have a Balmoral, my dear," he says seductively, "which may cause death from cancer, coronary occlusion, chronic bronchitis, pulmonary emphysema and other diseases.")

Klang (brightly): There, that should please the surgeon general.

Rubicon (frowning blackly): It doesn't, Klang, please me.

Klang (hastily): I knew it wouldn't, sir. What you want is something more subtle. Just wait till you see this.

(On the screen, a gaunt man in a bathing suit, seen in profile, inhales a Balmoral luxuriously and then turns to the camera to reveal a long scar on his emaciated chest. "I'd rather die," he gasps, "than switch.")

Jung (with a shudder): That's the ugliest thing I ever saw. And why the scar?

Klang: Lung removal. That way, I think the warning's specific enough to get the surgeon general's approval.

Rubicon (angrily): Well, it sure as hell doesn't get mine. He'd rather die than switch, would he?

Klang: You're right as usual, sir. Now what if he said instead, "It's not how long you make it, it's just how long you last."

Jung (pounding his fist): Good Lord, Klang. This is a $10 million account! You've got to think positively.

Klang: I'm glad you said that, sir. Some of the boys thought I was overdoing positive thinking on this next one, but I said Mr. Jung would love it. Just watch.

(On the screen, a quiet country graveyard comes into view. The camera pans slowly over row upon row of tombstones. "Come," says a gentle voice, "to Balmoral country. Balmorals are for those who are tired of the jangled pace of modern living. So light up a Balmoral—for the rest of your life.")

Rubicon: What are you, Klang, some kind of nut?

Klang (desperately): Wait, you haven't seen the one with the guy in a hospital bed being cared for by pretty nurses. "If you liked chronic bronchitis," he says happily "you'll love coronary occlusion." And . . .

Jung: By God, Klang, get one thing and get it straight:

We can't sell death and disease to the American public.

Klang (surprised): But why not, sir? After all, we've been doing it for years.

## CONGRESSIONAL CAFETERIA AND RESTAURANT WORKERS

(Mr. JACOBS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, the food workers of Capitol Hill applaud the Speaker's sympathy with their cause of achieving labor-management justice for their wages, retirement and working conditions.

Some of their grievances are so conspicuously meritorious as to require not only immediate but retroactive redress.

While awaiting permanent legislation to protect these workers, it would be a simple act of justice to direct the Capitol Architect immediately and retroactively to effectuate redress of the following grievances:

CAPITOL HILL EMPLOYEE'S ASSOCIATION

This is a statement of the demands of the Capitol Hill Employee's Association (Congressional cafeteria and restaurant workers).

We demand that:

1. Wage arrangement that provides a year round income comparable to restaurant and cafeteria workers in private industry. Wages shall be set so that cafeteria workers income is not penalized during sessions when Congress is not in session.

2. Wage coverage under Federal Consolidated Wage Scale (Nov., 1968).

3. All full time employees shall be privileged to making a 40-hour week in five days (Monday thru Friday).

a. All Cafeteria and restaurant workers employed on/or before January 1, 1969, shall be classified as full time employees.

b. All full time employees shall be paid time-and-one half for all work over forty hours—and for all Saturday work. They shall be paid double-time for all Sunday work.

4. Part-time employees shall not be privileged to work at anytime or in any capacity so long as there is any full-time employee who has not earned his forty hours and desires to work.

5. Part-time employees shall not be allowed to work Saturday and Sunday if there is one or more full-time employee who has not made his 40 hours in the period Monday thru Friday.

6. Congressional Parties held during regular works hours shall be served by part-time employees. No full time employee shall be taken off his regular job to work a party.

a. Full-time employees shall have priority in serving all parties on off days and after regular working hours. (Hours worked serving parties on off days and after regular hours shall not be included as part of a full-time employee's 40 hours.

b. All Congressional cafeteria workers shall be full-time. Employees for parties shall be hired by the day with preference to Congressional cafeteria workers. Pay shall be commensurate with pay in private industry.

7. Every specific job performed shall have a title and a job description and pay scale.

8. Each employee shall be hired into a specific job position and shall be paid the appropriate rate for his particular position.

9. All promotions shall be made in accordance with "time in service" or the Merit Promotion Plan. This shall include all positions that come under the Architect of the Capitol.

10. That all forms of penalties for legitimate days missed from work (especially Monday) cease immediately. Annual leave should be honored.

11. That a Board of Grievances be immediately established to be composed of not more or less than two-thirds members of the cafeteria service. (None shall be from the supervisory or managerial level.)

12. That all cafeteria employees with six months in-service be given free job advancement training if vacancy occurs.

13. That employees shall be notified of any emergency telephone call within 10 minutes after call. Calls to be made by employees should be kept at a minimum and only on an emergency basis unless during lunch or break time.

## TRIBUTE TO THE LATE HONORABLE TOM MBOYA, FORMER KENYAN MINISTER FOR PLANNING AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

(Mr. DIGGS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Subcommittee on African Affairs and someone who has long been acquainted with not only the political development of Africa but also with most of its leaders, including the late Mr. Mboya, I feel it my humble and painful duty to pay tribute to the memory of that gentleman who was one of the most illustrious sons Africa has produced.

Members of the House may be interested to know that the late Tom Mboya began his political career in those turbulent days of Kenya's struggle for independence during the early fifties when he became the General Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour in 1953. The late Tom Mboya was then only 22; an age which even by what we know of Africa's statesmen may still be regarded as "tender". Considering, therefore, that the K.F.L. in spite of many difficulties, became the chief instrument for Kenya's independence movement, it can be said without question that its head, Tom Mboya, indeed possessed and displayed highly remarkable qualities of leadership. Truly, the success of that struggle and the achievements of the Republic of Kenya since independence are all a pointer to the wisdom and devotion of the country's political leadership; an achievement to which Tom Bboya's contribution is immeasurable.

Today, the Republic of Kenya grieves over the tragic death of one of her ablest sons. Africa mourns the loss of one of her leading political figures and patriots of all time. The United States of America regrets the departure of a good friend. I am sure Members of the House would recall the late Mr. Mboya as one of the most articulate spokesmen of Africa ever heard in this country. He impressed many Americans with his wisdom and wit. By his understanding of America without compromising his own stand on African questions and interests, he endeared himself to many without forfeiting the confidence of his compatriots and other Africans. Tom Mboya, like all men living or dead, has had his admirers and detractors. I am however confident that by what he was able to accomplish in life, the overwhelming verdict of those who came to know him would be that, his was a life of devotion to the cause of African freedom and advancement and, above all, one of loyal service for the welfare of the people of Kenya.

As the grief-stricken people of Kenya mourn the death of their fallen countryman, those that are opposed to African political independence and development might be tempted to attribute this tragedy to all sorts of obnoxious factors. Lest such men be complacent in their erroneous and self-deceptive thinking, it might be well to remind them that our own performance at home in the treatment of our political opponents and leaders of our society, especially in the recent past, leaves much to be desired. It should be wise therefore to withhold our biased judgment on the present misfortune in Kenya until the facts are known. And even where some of us feel the urge to make what in our own minds may seem to be intelligent guesses, one would hope that we may have the courage to move away from the usual unsophisticated views so often expressed on African problems.

Mr. Speaker, the untimely death of Tom Mboya is a tragic loss for Kenya, for Africa, and for all the friends of that gentleman and the country he loved and toiled for. With this in mind, I would like to express the hope that Members of this august House would join me in extending our sincerest condolences to the bereaved family of the late Tom Mboya, to President Jomo Kenyata, the Government, and people of Kenya.

## NO FREE SAMPLES OF PORNOGRAPHIC MATERIAL

(Mr. HUNGATE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, the following recent Washington Post article deals with a serious problem of our times:

LOS ANGELES, June 28.—Marvin Miller had one unbreakable rule for the 50 employes who print and ship pornographic books at his factory—no free samples.

Even Miller's 16-year-old son, in the mail room sending out books and magazines with pictures that make the Playboy style of nudity look like kid stuff, can't carry home any of the 500 titles.

Miller doesn't want gifts or free-lance sales by his employes cutting into his $10 million annual volume as one of the Nation's major producers of erotic material which he advertises as pornographic but denies is obscene legally.

"I'm in the business primarily to make money," said the graying and bearded Miller at his desk before a map of his marketplace, the United States.

Pornography is big business in America. It's made millionaires of Miller and others. And it's made monumental problems for parents and public officials.

An Associated Press investigation disclosed:

About 200 companies in the country produce pornographic books, magazines and films. Their works flood, uninvited, into millions of American mailboxes and through a chain of distributors, onto the shelves of bookstores across the country.

Total sales of pornographic material are staggering. Estimates range upward from $500 million a year, dwarfing the likes of the huge Government Printing Office ($17 million annual sales). Miller says his hottest item, an amply illustrated handbook on intercourse, sold 500,000 copies in a year—or roughly equal to first-year sales of William Manchester's "Death of a President," 1967's best seller.

Postal authorities are swamped with complaints—167,792 in 1968 alone—from people who received lurid advertising. President Nixon has demanded a law to keep offensive sex ads out of the mails, and 187 bills are pending in Congress to control the tidal wave of pornography.

Since 1957, when the Supreme Court decided the case of Roth vs. U.S., meeting the legal definition of obscenity has been as difficult as holding a greased pig. The Roth decision said that, to be obscene, the dominant appeal of material must be to prurient interest in sex, must affront community standards and must be utterly without redeeming social value.

In the dozen years since that decision, a flood of pornographic mail has inundated American mailboxes.

New court decisions generally have reinforced Roth. Almost any printed material with a story line, no matter how thin, is redeeming to a book of pictures otherwise obscene. And the community standard is being met, the courts have held, so long as others are selling material as explicit and lurid as what you've got to offer.

The latest decision, in a Georgia case, overturned laws forbidding possession of material admitted to be obscene.

". . . The mere private possession of obscene matter cannot constitutionally be made a crime," said the court. "If the first amendment means anything, it means that a state has no business telling a man, sitting alone in his own house, what books he may read or what films he may watch."

Miller has cashed in on the court rulings. He reprinted the most recent decision as the cover page on his latest catalogue of sex publications. It not only helps sales, but, he says, it reinforces "my moralistic point of view: that the establishment shouldn't control the thoughts nor the ways in which people wish to enjoy themselves."

Sales have been good. By his own accounting, Miller went into business three years ago with $25,000. Now, he says, his annual profit is several hundred thousand dollars and his net worth more than a million dollars. Evidence indicates his figures may be conservative. For example, his initial investment in the top-selling sexual manual was $2000, including $1000 to the couple who posed for the photos. His sales so far: $2.5 million or a thousand times his initial investment.

But other business costs run dear. Miller, 40, says he's been arrested 30 times in two years. Last December he was convicted on three counts of mailing obscene matter and sentenced to five years in prison. He's free on bail while he appeals.

In Los Angeles alone, Miller is fighting 54 counts of selling obscene books. He says his legal expenses last year topped $200,000.

Police say that of the more than 200 companies in the erotic sex trade 75 per cent of them are in Los Angeles and suburbs.

Mr. Speaker, in an effort to deal with this serious problem, I have today addressed the following letter to the learned and distinguished chairman of the House Judiciary Committee:

JULY 8, 1969.

Hon. EMANUEL CELLER,
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Along with other Members of Congress, I have been receiving an avalanche of what might best be described as "dirty pictures" and suggestive brochures which had been mailed to my constituents. I believe one can support freedom of the press and freedom of the mails without supporting the unrestricted right to mail unsolicited material of an at least suggestive and at worst pornographic and obscene nature into homes of parents with teenage and younger children.

Since the legal definition of pornography, obscenity, and prurient interest is unavoidably involved in the enactment of appropri-

ate legislation and a valid investigation, I urge you to designate an appropriate Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee for this purpose.

The volume of unsolicited mail of this character is so heavy that legislative action is imperative. I would hope that prompt and effective moves by the Judiciary Committee would forestall hasty and ill-considered legislation being placed before the House.

As a beginning step in the study of the distribution of such salacious material, I would suggest calling before the Committee the officers and executives of those companies engaged in the unsolicited distribution of this questionable literature into the homes where there are minors. It would be most interesting to hear them explain their reasons for forwarding such unrequested material and to hear their story as to how this serves any useful social purpose and explain, if possible, their position as to why this is art, and not pure pornography.

Your courteous consideration of this request is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM L. HUNGATE.

This field is a legal labyrinth and no effective legislation can be produced in this area unless thorough study is given both to the rights of adult citizens under the Constitution to read and examine, at least privately, any printed matter they choose without causing harm to others; while at the same time the right to use the Government mail to send anyone material which is both unsolicited and offensive to the recipient must be a right of some size smaller than that contemplated in Magna Carta.

To analogize tort law, the blind and willful mailing of unsolicited materials may be akin to wanton negligence which renders the actor responsible and liable because of his reckless disregard of the rights and interests of others.

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## ADDITIONAL U.S. DISTRICT JUDGES FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(Mr. ROGERS of Florida asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I noted with mixed emotions the passage by the other body recently of S. 952, a bill to provide for the appointment of additional U.S. district judges.

This act, as passed by the other body, provides for 70 new U.S. district judgeships—67 permanent and three temporary—for 45 of the 93 Federal district courts. My own State of Florida, which is the fastest growing State in the Nation, would receive two additional judges for the middle district and three for the southern district.

The new judgeships authorized by the act are in part those recommended by the Judicial Conference of the United States at its September 1968 meeting, and I commend the Committee on the Judiciary of the other body for acting on this most necessary legislation.

During fiscal year 1968, civil and criminal cases combined totaled 102,163 in the U.S. district courts. During the first 6 months of fiscal year 1969, for which figures are available, civil and criminal filings have increased four times over the number for the same period in fiscal 1968.

Criminal filings during the first 6 months of the past fiscal year, 1969, have increased dramatically. The composition of new criminal case filings reflects changes in five specific categories: a 100-percent increase in selective service cases; a 63-percent increase in immigration violations; a 43.4-percent increase in burglary cases; 31.9-percent increase in narcotics violations and 20.4-percent increase in assault cases.

These figures point to the need to improve our judicial machinery in order that the administration of justice, and in particular the concept of a speedy trial, can be realized. One step in this direction is the authorization of additional judges.

The situation here in the District of Columbia is even more acute, indeed, the situation here is critical.

As of June 1, 1969, there were 1,601 criminal cases awaiting action in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. Of these, 221 were bench warrant cases, meaning that the defendants could not be found; 25 involved defendants undergoing psychiatric examination at St. Elizabeths; 251 cases were awaiting sentencing; and 1,104 were triable cases.

It is discouraging to note that the median time interval in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia from filing to disposition of criminal defendants has increased from 3.6 months in fiscal year 1963 to 9.5 months in fiscal year 1968.

The situation is no better in the Court of General Sessions for the District of Columbia.

At the present time there are approximately 1,500 criminal jury cases pending before that court and approximately 3,500 civil jury cases. With respect to the civil cases, the more complex ones are sometimes never tried at all because the more simple ones consume all the time.

Even more shocking is the fact that as the backlog continues to increase, the incidence of crime continues to increase at even a faster pace.

The latest statistics released by the Washington Metropolitan Police Department for May 1969, show crime has increased 12.2 percent over May 1968.

Specifically, homicide was up 37.5 percent; rape up 66.7 percent; robbery up 23.7 percent; aggravated assault up 36.1 percent; and larceny up 64.3 percent.

Thus far in 1969, there has been an increase in the incidence of crime in every major category over the same period of 1968, and there is no indication that the trend is abating.

Mr. Speaker, I am concerned about the action taken by the other body in passing S. 952 because in light of the above figures for the District of Columbia, the other body deleted authorization for six additional judgeships for the District of Columbia.

The justification for deleting the authorization for judgeships for the District of Columbia was that the Committee on the Judiciary of the other body wanted to wait until proposals for reorganization of the courts of the District of Columbia have been completed and reviewed.

Mr. Speaker, it has been more than 5 months since the President, in his message to the Congress on January 31, announced that legislation to restructure the court system of the District of Columbia was being prepared by the Department of Justice.

In a statement presented to the Senate Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery on April 16, Deputy Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst stated:

As you—

The subcommittee—

may know, the Department of Justice strongly favors establishment in the District of Columbia of an integrated local court system that will have jurisdiction over all genuinely local matters: civil, criminal and juvenile. We are now developing and will shortly submit to Congress legislation for implementing that goal.

Almost 3 months have passed since that statement and no such legislation has been submitted.

I am not convinced that we can, or should wait for some plan to reorganize the jurisdiction of the courts to authorize additional judges for the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia.

In January of this year, I introduced H.R. 4304 to provide 10 additional judges for the district court, and in February of this year, I introduced H.R. 6034 to expand the jurisdiction of the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions under title 22 of the District of Columbia Code.

Even if some or all of the present jurisdiction now vested solely in the district court is transferred to the court of general sessions, we will still need additional judges for the district court, and we will need additional judges for the court of general sessions.

The Ellison committee recently recommended transferring approximately one-third of the criminal caseload of the district court and a portion of the civil caseload to the local courts of the District of Columbia. This may alleviate some of the burden, but it would be error to assume that a transfer of one-third of the criminal caseload would result in a transfer of one-third of the work of the district court for the more serious felonies understandably require more time of the judges and court personnel.

It has also been suggested that the court of general sessions could easily utilize the facilities of the old pension office building, just across the street from the present general sessions building, and that some 14 additional courtrooms could be created there. I would support such an approach, and would hope that the necessary authorization for additional judges for the court of general sessions would be forthcoming.

Mr. Speaker, the seriousness of the court situation in the District of Columbia impedes the prompt administration of justice, and society and the accused both suffer. I am hopeful that the House Judiciary Committee will act soon to hold hearings on legislation now pending to correct the situation and that constructive changes will be realized.

## HONORING FORMER PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

(Mr. POLLOCK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, there are few men who effectively create peace where there has only been adversity and suspicion. Only a handful of military leaders ever reach the top of their profession in such a way that they are honored by all as "one of the greatest of all time". And, only two Americans with such a record have gone on to become President of the United States. They are George Washington, "the father of our country", and Dwight Eisenhower, the man this country loved so deeply, his nickname became a household word.

I introduced two bills yesterday that would put "Ike" Eisenhower either on the quarter, or on the "silver" dollar. This honor has been given only the handful of great American presidents the people have taken to their hearts: Washington, Lincoln, Roosevelt and Kennedy. The recent precedent of the Roosevelt dime and the Kennedy half dollar make the proposal of an Eisenhower coin extremely appropriate.

The first of the two bills I offered yesterday would place a likeness of General Eisenhower on the quarter. This is the most logical coin for this tribute. The quarter now bears a likeness of George Washington, whose bust is also on the nickel. Because the Washington quarter has been issued and in circulation for 37 years, no special legislation is necessary to have the design changed.

I must admit, however, it is the second bill I place before you that really fires my imagination. It would require the minting of an Eisenhower dollar coin. This would be the largest U.S. coin issued and in circulation. That is a fitting tribute for the man who became not just famous, but loved; not just remembered, but remembered without controversy; and not just a general, but a general who brought peace.

When "Ike" died, we did not merely "note" his passing; the Nation paused to pay full honor. It was the ultimate tribute of ordinary and great people alike, stretched in a line 3 days long, from the Capitol rotunda, to the plains, to Abilene, Kans. I urge that this Congress put the likeness of this deeply loved soldier-statesman in the hands of the people that paid that tribute.

## AMERICAN AIRLINES MAKES GREAT PROGRESS IN OKLAHOMA

(Mr. BELCHER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of Congress the exciting strides being made in the aviation industry in Oklahoma.

Specifically, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the news announced last week by American Airlines in my home city of Tulsa.

Our great city has been the home of American's major overhaul facility since 1946. Ten years ago the maintenance and engineering center became the jet base for American as this great airline introduced jet aircraft to the American public with their transcontinental nonstop service. For Tulsa and the great State of Oklahoma this has been a decision of great merit and to the benefit of all its fine citizens.

Recently American Airlines conducted a survey to determine if they should continue to maintain this facility in Tulsa. I am proud to say their research proved to be one of jubilation for the State and city as the survey proved that the availability of skilled labor, the proximity of facilities for higher education, and the overall standards of living could not be better anywhere else in these great United States.

Last week American Airlines dedicated an extension to their maintenance and engineering facility in Tulsa, valued at over $13 million. At the same time they announced a second expansion program worth over $40 million, which will begin immediately. When this expansion program is completed, the value of this huge complex will be over $100 million.

American has just completed a huge superhangar which will house existing aircraft as well as the next generation of aircraft; specifically, the Boeing 747 and the McDonnell-Douglas DC–10. Under the expansion program just announced American will add to its Tulsa facility another gigantic hangar, expanded engine overhaul shops and the newest in design, an engine test cell for the huge engines for tomorrow's aircraft. When I say newest in design, American has provided details which will emphasize sound suppression for quiet operation for this engine test facility which will be capable of accommodating engines up to 100,000 pounds thrust.

Today American Airlines is Tulsa's largest employer with over 5,800 Oklahomans presently on the payroll which exceeds $58 million annually. By 1973 American has projected that it will employ over 8,000 Oklahomans and that their annual payroll will be over $93 million.

As an Oklahoman and as a Tulsan, we are proud that American Airlines is part of our city, and we are likewise proud of the work accomplished by the great Governor of Oklahoma, Dewey F. Bartlett, who through his industrial development program worked hand in hand with officials at American Airlines in planning the expansion development announced last week.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I thank you for this opportunity to bring forth to Members of Congress this announcement of the great involvement by American Airlines in our wonderful State of Oklahoma.

## NIXON ADMINISTRATION'S DESEGREGATION DECISION A BITTER DISAPPOINMENT TO AMERICANS INTERESTED IN EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW

(Mr. STOKES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, the Nixon administration's announcement that all desegregation deadlines for southern school districts would be lifted, and that primary responsibility for enforcement of desegregation would be shifted from HEW to the Justice Deparment, came as an immense and bitter disappointment to all Americans sincerely interested in equal justice under law. For despite the administration's later "clarifications" and yesterday's long-delayed actions against a handful of southern districts, it seems obvious that this decision marks an explicit break with the previous administration's efforts to at last relegate this matter to the history books.

The removal of the compliance deadlines is in itself a disgrace. Fifteen years after Brown against Board of Education became the law of the land, 80 percent of the Negro children in the 11 Southern States still attend segregated schools, 369 school districts in the Southern and border States are currently under court order to integrate; and almost 700 are still "in the process of" complying. Obviously, foot-dragging of those proportions needs little encouragement. And the decision to shift responsibility for desegregation enforcement to the Justice Department only compounds the error. Now lengthy litigation before often-unsympathetic southern judges will be the only remedy against a recalcitrant district. Now the burden of proof in such cases will always lie with the Federal Government, not with the district. And now the primary standard for compliance will be the vague "all deliberate speed" criterion of Brown rather than the tougher legislative history and guidelines surrounding title VI of the 1964 civil rights bill. Anyone who would doubt the importance of these factors need only read this morning's papers. The first judge has reneged on an HEW plan and ordered renegotiation.

We are told, Mr. Speaker, that there should be no doubt that the Nixon administration is unequivocally committed to ending racial discrimination in schools. But their speech is hardly reassuring in light of their actions. It is even less reassuring when we hear Senator THURMOND describe the anouncement as "an improvement"—because we all know what an improvement is to Senator THURMOND. Nor is it reassuring to hear Senator COOK of Kentucky warn that this could bring about "a new blacklash" which could undo all progress to date.

Most of us had hoped, Mr. Speaker, that the long nights of the Orval Faubus', Ross Barnetts', and George Wallaces' were over, and that a brighter day was beginning to dawn for the school systems of the South. Those hopes, however, now appear to be only hopes. If this is true, there will be two losers. The first will, of course, be the children of the South of both races who will continue to be educated in an atmosphere of bigotry and mistrust. The second will be the President of the United States who perpetuated a system in which children are educated in an atmosphere of bigotry and mistrust.

## MARONITES IN THE UNITED STATES

(Mr. FEIGHAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to attend the banquet on July 6 in Cleveland which closed the 3-day convention of the National Association of Maronites. More than 1,000 in attendance heard inspiring messages from His Eminence John Cardinal Dearden, archbishop of Detroit, and His Excellency the Most Reverend Francis M. Zayek, Maronite Apostolic Exarch in the United States. The program also included a message from Msgr. Joseph Feghali, pastor of St. Maron's Church in Cleveland, and a history of the Maronites, both of which I insert at this point in the RECORD:

MESSAGE OF MSGR. JOSEPH FEGHALI

"For where two or three are gathered together for my sake, There am I in the midst of them." (St. Matthew 18:20)

Dearly beloved spiritual leaders, brothers and friends in Christ:

Those were the words of our Lord in discussing the power of united prayer. I recall them here with a feeling of thankfulness and gratitude, for this year has indeed been a memorable one for our church. On the occasion of St. Maron's Feast Day, which we had dedicated as a "Day of Prayer for World Peace," we were honored by the presence of the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Luigi Raimondi, who, as our presiding guest of honor, inspired us all by his eloquent plea for peace in this troubled world.

We are again greatly honored today, by the presence of His Eminence John Cardinal Dearden, a prince of the Church, one close to the Holy Father, and President of the Conference of Bishops of the United States. He has graciously accepted our invitation to be with us on this day, thus affording Maronites from all across the nation, gathered here to attend their national convention, the privilege of listening to this dynamic leader and greatly admired churchman.

His Eminence's presence here today has a special significance for us, because this is his first official visit to his own city, as a Cardinal, and also because we all know how greatly he is loved and respected by our own Exarch, the Most Reverend Francis M. Zayek.

The Maronites of Cleveland are grateful also for the solicitude and kindness extended to us by His Excellency the Most Reverend Bishop Clarence G. Issenmann and by all the Bishops of Cleveland who preceded him. We are indeed grateful for their many expressions of love and protection extended to us throughout the existence of our parish. They guided us through many trying years, and our thoughts and prayers will always be those of Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the graces and blessings bestowed on our people. We look forward to preserving the heritage of the faith of our fathers.

We are truly grateful to you, Your Eminence, and to His Excellency Bishop Clarence G. Issenmann, His Excellency Bishop William Cosgrove, His Excellency the Most Reverend Emil J. Mihalik, Eparch of Parma, and to our own beloved Bishop Francis M. Zayek, who join with us today in our prayers for unity. It is persons like yourselves, representing the highest ideals of humanity, who give reason to our quest for unity and the promise of its fulfillment.

To these great religious leaders, to the civic authorities who are with us today, to the relatives and many friends of His Eminence, and to our Maronites and friends who have come from all over the United States to be with us on this occasion, we humbly say thank you in behalf of our most dedicated Maronites of this Parish. May our Lord bless and reward you for all your acts of love and charity towards your fellow man.

Sincerely yours in Christ,

MSGR. JOSEPH FEGHALI.

HISTORY OF THE MARONITES

The first Maronites were direct descendants of the people who had received the Faith from the Apostle, Peter. They originated as an ecclesiastical grouping of Christians who assembled around the hermit monk Maron about the year 400 A.D. on the mountain slopes of Cyr, near Antioch, Syria. Born in the late fourth century, he became a priest and then a hermit, retiring to a mountain of Taurus near Antioch above the banks of the Orontes River. Maron's life was one of piety and dedication to the simple life of prayer and meditation; his holiness attracted many persons to join him and to convert others to Christianity through the spreading of the Gospel. He converted an old pagan temple along the Orontes river into a monastery; here, many disciples gathered around him and followed his rule. Some became monks and hermits themselves, while others spread the teachings of Christ, as missionaries, through Central and North Syria. Much of the details of the life of St. Maron have been lost, but it is known that he performed many miracles of healing, as attested by his historian, Theodoret, the Bishop of Cyr. After Maron's death in the year 410 A.D., his disciples saved his remains and in spite of strong persecution, his tomb became a place of religious pilgrimage. St. John Maron, the first patriarch of the Maronite people, was a monk of the monastery of St. Maron, who was elected by the religious community to secure the Apostolic succession to the See of Antioch. Accordingly, the Maronite Patriarchate was initiated by the election of John Maron in 686 A.D. and has continued, since his death in 707 A.D., to the present time. A total of 70 Patriarchs to the present successor, Paul Peter Cardinal Meouchi, Patriarch of Antioch and the Entire East. Late in the seventh century, due to religious persecution and heresy, the Maronite monks became obliged to seek refuge in Lebanon, where St. Maron's relics were transferred to the Patriarchal residence in Kafarhai. In the year 1130, they were removed to Foligno, Italy, and placed in the Cathedral there.

The Maronites have, over the centuries, preserved the teachings of the Catholic Church intact, without any blemish, schism or heretical branch. Many have died for their faith. Popes have repeatedly praised their loyalty to the Holy See.

The Maronite liturgy is one of the oldest of the Catholic Church, and the only Rite known by the name of its leader. The liturgy, itself, is known as the Syriac liturgy of Antioch, ascribed to St. James the Less, Apostle and first Bishop of Jerusalem. The liturgical language used in the Maronite Mass is the Syriac-Aramaic, that spoken by Christ.

Today, the Maronite population numbers nearly two million and has spread the world over. Here in the United States there are an estimated 250,000 faithful.

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## MEMBERS OF CONGRESS JOIN CONGRESSMAN HORTON IN SPONSORING FEDERAL CHARTER BILL FOR POP WARNER JUNIOR FOOTBALL

(Mr. HORTON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, last fall it was my privilege to attend a football game played by well-trained, pre-high-school youngsters from two different States. The boys' spirit and good sportsmanship revealed the high quality of the program they were participating in. Perhaps most unusual and noteworthy was the ceremony that was held in the school gym after the game.

Members of both the winning and losing teams were given trophies for participation, and each team tried to outcheer the other—demonstrating the true sense of sportsmanship that was built into this program. In talking with some of the youngsters after the game, I was pleased to learn that the privilege of participation in this junior football program was given only to those boys who met minimum scholastic standards. There was little question in my mind that the motivation of these boys for good schoolwork was in no small way tied to their enthusiasm for the football league.

The game I am referring to is just one of thousands of "Pop" Warner Junior League football games that are played each year across America.

It gives me great pleasure today to take the floor of Congress to recognize the achievements of this fine organization.

When the actions and attitudes of many of today's youth are questioned, an organization which does more than its share to build character and citizenship in over 600,000 American boys deserves special recognition.

A great number of our colleagues, in fact 118, are joining me today in sponsoring a bill which would grant a Federal charter to Pop Warner Little Scholars, Inc., the corporate body of "Pop" Warner Junior League football.

The following Members of Congress, many of whom have active "Pop" Warner Leagues in their home districts, are sponsoring this legislation with me today:

JOSEPH P. ADDABBO, WALTER S. BARING, WILLIAM A. BARRETT, ALPHONZO BELL, MARIO BIAGGI, BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN, W. E. BROCK, GEORGE E. BROWN, JR., JAMES T. BROYHILL, JAMES A. BURKE.

DANIEL E. BUTTON, FRANK M. CLARK, DON H. CLAUSEN, JAMES C. CLEVELAND, BARBER B. CONABLE, JR., SILVIO O. CONTE, JAMES C. CORMAN, LAWRENCE R. COUGHLIN, WILLIAM L. DAWSON, JOHN DELLENBACK.

EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, HAROLD D. DONOHUE, JOHN J. DUNCAN, DON EDWARDS, LEONARD FARBSTEIN, DANTE B. FASCELL, PAUL FINDLEY, O. C. FISHER, JOHN J. FLYNT, JR., PETER FRELINGHUYSEN.

LOUIS FREY, JR., SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL, JAMES G. FULTON, CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER, JOSEPH M. GAYDOS, ROBERT N. GIAIMO, GEORGE A. GOODLING, CHARLES S. GUBSER, JAMES M. HANLEY.

AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS, HENRY HELSTOSKI, JAMES J. HOWARD, JOHN E. HUNT, ALBERT W. JOHNSON, HAROLD T. JOHNSON, JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI, DAN KUYKENDALL, GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB, CLARENCE D. LONG.

JOHN J. MCFALL, MARTIN B. MCKNEALLY, RAY J. MADDEN, WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, JAMES R. MANN, SPARK M. MATSUNAGA, THOMAS J. MESKILL, ABNER J. MIKVA, JOSEPH G. MINISH, PATSY T. MINK.

ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN, JOHN S. MONAGAN, WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD, THOMAS E. MORGAN, F. BRADFORD MORSE, JOHN E.

MOSS, JOHN M. MURPHY, WILLIAM T. MURPHY, ROBERT N. C. NIX, THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR., RICHARD L. OTTINGER.

EDWARD J. PATTEN, CLAUDE PEPPER, JERRY L. PETTIS, ALEXANDER PIRNIE, OGDEN R. REID, PETER W. RODINO, JR., FERNAND J. ST GERMAIN, CHARLES W. SANDMAN, JR., B. F. SISK.

H. ALLEN SMITH, SAM STEIGER, SAMUEL S. STRATTON, OLIN E. TEAGUE, FLETCHER THOMPSON, FRANK THOMPSON, JR., ROBERT O. TIERNAN, JOHN V. TUNNEY, LIONEL VAN DEERLIN, GUY VANDER JAGT.

JEROME R. WALDIE, ALBERT W. WATSON, J. IRVING WHALLEY, G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST, WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, LESTER L. WOLFF, WENDELL WYATT.

J. GLENN BEALL, JR., WILLIAM T. CAHILL, DOMINICK V. DANIELS, SAMUEL L. DEVINE, CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR., FLORENCE P. DWYER, HAMILTON FISH, JR., EDWARD A. GARMATZ, GILBERT GUDE, SEYMOUR HALPERN, ROBERT L. LEGGETT, ROBERT C. MCEWEN, BILL NICHOLS, THOMAS M. PELLY, HOWARD W. POLLOCK, THOMAS M. REES, WILLIAM V. ROTH, ROBERT T. STAFFORD, J. WILLIAM STANTON, CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR., and LOUIS C. WYMAN.

For over 40 years, this organization has been fostering among our young men the precepts of good citizenship enunciated and demonstrated by the great Carlisle coach "Pop" Warner. The guiding principle of this great organization is improved sportsmanship, team play, physical fitness, and scholastic achievement. These attributes of good citizenship are continually fostered among the young men who participated in little league football by their dedicated adult coaches and sponsors. The leadership and the services of this organization are felt in every State of our Nation, in Mexico, and in Canada. Over 600,000 of our pre-high-school boys participate in team-play football under the rules and regulations advocated by "Pop" Warner Little Scholars.

This program was initiated in Philadelphia through the efforts of Joseph J. Tomlin, an outstanding lineman during his years at Swarthmore College and an alumnus of Harvard Law School. Tomlin sought, through "Pop" Warner football, to expose boys of the ages of 7 to 14 to the game of safety-first football, emphasizing its quality-building character through sportsmanship, team play, physical fitness, and scholastic achievement. These purposes were achieved through a system which obtained proper coaching and officiating. The welfare of the boys is safeguarded through the insistence on the use of high-quality, safety-first protective equipment.

To emphasize the goals of his program, Tomlin adopted the name of the late great collegiate football coach, Glen Scobie "Pop" Warner. Born on a farm in western New York, Warner played varsity football at Cornell and went on to coach the Indians in Carlisle, Pa. When that school closed in 1914, he went to the University of Pittsburgh, then to Stanford, and finally to Temple University. In his years of coaching, he provided a continuing inspiration for all who worked under him, and today his name remains a symbol of what the "Pop" Warner Junior League football program is attempting to achieve.

Under the "Pop" Warner program, youthful grid opponents are matched by strict adherence to maximum and minimum age and weight requirements.

The league splits its membership into five age and weight classifications: Pee wee, junior midget, midget, junior bantams, and bantam. These divisions include all of the boys of pre-high-school age with prime consideration given to the safety of every child and equality of competition. Through the efforts of the "Pop" Warner organization, group accident insurance is available to all teams for a very low premium.

Satisfactory schoolwork is not only encouraged, but is a prerequisite to team participation.

Organizationally, States are divided into regions, and each region has a vice president of the parent organization, and each state has a commissioner who is the coordinator of the leagues in his State. Intercity and interregional championship games are encouraged. Each year, an all-American team is selected on the basis of scholarship, leadership, team play, and football excellence. To be selected for the all-American squad is an honor which stimulates players, teachers, and parents to adhere to the goals of the organization. The all-American team annually goes on a pilgrimage, visiting such attractions as the Olympics in Mexico City, the world fairs, Hawaii, and most usually the squad enjoys a visit to our Capital City.

"Pop" Warner Junior League football has operated for many years under the nonprofit corporate status of a single State, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, where the program was founded in Philadelphia in 1929. The board of trustees is composed of outstanding citizens dedicated to the ideals fostered by "Pop" Warner. The individual members of the board contribute generously of their own finance and raise additional funds through soliciting support from others. Joe Tomlin, the founder of the organization, is the president and continues to be the catalyst, which insures the smooth operation of the organization. The assurance of a Federal charter will greatly broaden the scope with the "Pop" Warner organization and give protection to the "Pop" Warner name and insignia, to the young men participating in the program, and to those others who give their dedicated services. A Federal charter would help this nonprofit organization insure that its stringent safety rules equipment requirements, scholastic standards and good sportsmanship is observed by all programs using the "Pop" Warner name. This organization is infinitely worthy of this honor. It is truly national in character, having recognized state organizations in over thirty-six states and serving the needs of youth of all States. Its prime purpose, like that of the Boy Scouts of America, the Little League Baseball, Inc., is the fostering of leadership and good citizenship, motives which have no peers.

Having had personal contact with this organization and an opportunity to see the magnificent job which it has done and is doing in aiding boys of all ages, I feel deeply honored to be able to introduce this bill as a fitting tribute to the men and boys who have made this great organization possible. Mr. Speaker, I urge you and each of my colleagues to lend your full support to this bill, so that a congressional charter may be granted to the "Pop" Warner Little Scholars during the 91st Congress.

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## THE NEED IS FOR QUALITY EDUCATION

(Mr. RARICK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Nation's press carried headlines screaming, "Farmer Disagrees With Nixon," on school guidelines.

The former head of the radical Congress of Racial Equality must have overruled the President of the United States. Today we see the announcement that funds for schools in the South were withheld and more lawsuits filed to appease criticism from extremists.

It is a strange paradox that while the administration talks of war on crime, Farmer is permitted to use HEW to encourage violence from inside the Government. And Federal judges have ruled that in the South freedom for a child or parent to select a school of their choice is illegal. This has made a unified war on our school system.

The present assault forsakes any pretense of interest in education. At most it is a surrender to the mindless emotional clamor of revolutionaries.

It is time for the President, the Justice Department, HEW, and the Federal judges to start thinking of quality education for our children and forget about using our youngsters as political pawns—a threat to education itself.

I include several newsclippings following my remarks:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 7, 1969]

SCHOOL GUIDELINES A LEGAL QUESTION

(By David Lawrence)

The American people are not being told the whole truth about the controversy over school "guidelines."

Both the National Education Association and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have issued statements denouncing as a "weakness" the latest declaration by the Nixon administration about its plans to be more flexible in fixing exact dates when "segregation" in the public schools must be ended.

But the fact is that the new statement modifies in only a procedural way the policies of the Johnson administration. There is still a flagrant violation of federal law in trying to force schools to "integrate" artificially. Congress in 1964 and in 1968 passed laws specifying exactly what cannot be done to overcome "racial imbalance."

The "guidelines," for instance, issued by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare under the Johnson administration were, in one respect, a violation of law. For the Civil Rights Act of 1964 stipulates clearly that any "regulations" could become effective only if approved by the President of the United States. While Mr. Johnson assented to most of the "regulations," he never formally approved as a "regulation" all the

"guidelines" which the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, on its own initiative, adopted in an effort to correct "racial imbalance" in public schools. These included the assignment of quotas of children to schools by race and busing them from one school to another or from one school district to another.

Also a 1968 provision which is in an appropriations bill for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare declares:

"No part of the funds contained in this act may be used to force busing of students, abolishment of any school, or to force any student attending any elementary or secondary school to attend a particular school against the choice of his or her parents or parent in order to overcome racial imbalance.

"No part of the funds contained in this act shall be used to force busing of students, the abolishment of any school or the attendance of students at a particular school in order to overcome racial imbalance as a condition precedent to obtaining federal funds otherwise available to any state, school district, or school."

Still in effect is a section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which limits the jurisdiction of the courts. It says:

" 'Desegregation' shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance. . . .

"Nothing herein shall empower any official or court of the United States to issue any order seeking to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another or one school district to another in order to achieve such racial balance."

There is, moreover, nothing in the statutes which permits the assignment of teachers by a quota system based on color. Yet the "guidelines"—which now are being put into effect by the Nixon administration in a slightly different way than under the preceding administration—cover methods of assigning certain quotas of teachers as well as students in public schools and contain threats to withhold public funds if there is noncompliance by certain fixed dates.

The only real change made by the Nixon administration in its announcement last week is the adoption of a plan which concentrates the task of enforcement of the "guidelines" in the Department of Justice. Coincidentally, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is given the problem of negotiation and conciliation and the making of arrangements for the use of public funds so as to accomplish the desired objectives. This is necessary in cases where school districts must reconstruct or add buildings to accommodate larger numbers of students in particular schools in which attendance has been increased due to the effort to achieve "racial balance."

Today America is witnessing an example of deliberate circumvention of law in order to achieve what is deemed a desirable objective. The Nixon administration, however, at least has appeared to recognize that this is a legal question and has decided to seek more help from the courts in dealing with enforced integration or "racial discrimination."

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[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 8, 1969]

SCHOOLS IN SOUTH LOSE AID—UNITED STATES PENALIZES THREE DISTRICTS FOR SEGREGATION

(By Peter Milius)

The Nixon Administration yesterday ordered Federal fund cutoffs in three Southern school districts and took two other districts to court in a concerted effort to counter criticism that it had softened its stand on school desegregation.

At the same time it was learned that a Federal district judge in Louisiana, partly on the strength of the Administration's controversial policy statement last Thursday, denounced as too strong desegregation plans drawn up by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for 37 school districts in that state.

RENEGOTIATION ORDERED

HEW had drawn up the proposals to replace freedom-of-choice plans in the 37 districts.

Calling the plans "outrageous" and declaring that the policy statement gives "us considerable more elbow room," Judge Ben C. Dawkins Jr. ordered HEW to renegotiate with the 37 school boards.

The Administration said on Thursday that it would no longer hold the South to the old "arbitrary" 1969 and 1970 desegregation deadlines, but would grant delays only where there were "bona fide educational and administrative problems."

Southerners and civil rights groups alike interpreted the statement as a retreat, and civil rights spokesmen bitterly assailed it. Administration officials, and HEW in particular, have since tried to dispel that interpretation.

SEVERAL MOVES MADE

Yesterday, the Administration moved on several fronts at once:

HEW Secretary Robert H. Finch ordered fund cutoffs in Wayne County, Ga., Flagler County, Fla., and Orangeburg County School District No. 4, S.C. All three orders had been on his desk unsigned for some time.

The Justice Department filed suit against Barnwell County School District No. 45, S.C., which had its Federal funds cut off earlier this year and still did not desegregate. The suit seeks to bring the district into compliance by court order, a step that would permit restoration of the funds.

The Justice Department also filed suit to bring about desegregation in an Illinois school district, Madison County No. 12. It was the first such suit the Nixon Administration has filed in the North.

Finally, HEW announced that it has issued a citation against Austin, Tex., whose school board refused two weeks ago to adopt a full-fledged desegregation plan and went back to freedom-of-choice.

A citation is the first step in the complicated process that can lead to a fund cutoff. There were reports two weeks ago that the Austin board voted against the desegregation plan partly in anticipation of a new, softer Administration policy.

Critics of the Administration's Thursday statement said it would bring a new wave of Southern pressure and appeals for more time, pressure and appeals HEW and other Federal civil rights officials might not be able to withstand.

Judge Dawkins' remarks late last week in Shreveport were cited as an early example.

He called the Administration statement "a sort of new breath of fresh air to replace the virtually intolerable situation for all of us prior to the new policy."

If HEW and the 37 Louisiana districts cannot reach agreement after renegotiation each will submit its proposals to Dawkins. Once he rules, either side can appeal. He had previously upheld freedom-of-choice in the 37 districts.

PROPOSAL BY HEW

HEW's position was that freedom-of-choice was not producing desegregation. It proposed that 36 of the 37 districts desegregate completely this September, and that the other district do so by September, 1970, with substantial steps in the interim.

Dawkins' remarks were not the only indication that the South read the Thursday statement as Administration willingness to allow delays.

According to HEW officials, one of the 37 Louisiana districts, Evangeline Parish, had tentatively agreed last Thursday to most of the desegregation plan HEW had proposed.

On Saturday, the Evangeline school board abruptly and unanimously reversed itself and went back to freedom-of-choice.

Yesterday, however, Nat Manuel, Evangeline school superintendent, said the Nixon statement had nothing to do with the vote of the board.

QUERIES ON TIMING

Meanwhile, HEW regional officials in Atlanta said at least five school districts telephoned them yesterday, asking if the Nixon statement meant they would have more time. All were told no.

Secretary Finch and Leon E. Panetta, director of HEW's Office for Civil Rights, will send a letter to all Southern school superintendents later this week, reaffirming their position that the statement gives most Southern districts no greater leeway than they had before.

Panetta has insisted that fewer than ten districts will get more time.

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[From the Baton Rouge (La.) State-Times, June 27, 1969]

NEGROES OPPOSED TO HEW MIX PLAN

GONZALES.—Negro parents who don't want their school closed cheered and applauded last night as three members of the Ascension Parish School Board were chided for not doing enough to prevent a Department of Health, Education and Welfare desegregation plan from going into effect.

About 200 Negroes gathered at Marchand Elementary School in Hillaryville to hear school board members Shelby Robert, L. W. Duplessis and Leo Lambert explain why the elementary school must be closed.

The boardmen said HEW representatives rejected their help in drawing up a plan, but the board has until July 9 to submit one if it so chooses.

Lambert said the HEW plan reportedly calls for closing the Negro Marchand and Carver schools and a Negro school in Prairieville. He said the HEW plan involved busing 194 Marchand students 10 miles to St. Amant.

Several members of the audience claimed the school board seems to approve the HEW plan because it would avoid having 10–15 whites in the area attend the Marchand school.

In answer to one woman's complaint that discrimination against Negroes would be great in St. Amant, Lambert said the school would be 81 per cent white.

The board members repeatedly dodged questions on what kind of plan the board might draw up and submit to U.S. Dist. Judge E. Gordon West in accordance with a directive from the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals that freedom of choice plans are no longer acceptable and that 37 state school boards must find other desegregation plans to enact.

After an hour and 45 minutes of discussion, the group asked the three board members and a reporter to leave so the audience members could "draw up a plan of action."

Various spokesmen said they would be in contact with HEW officials about the matter and would be ready to meet with Judge West, Gov. McKeithen and others rather than be silent as their school was closed.

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## MAYOR CHARLES EVERS

(Mr. RYAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged yesterday to attend the inauguration of Charles Evers as mayor of Fayette, Miss.—an event of great historic significance.

The importance of the election of

Mayor Evers for the political evolution of the South is readily apparent. For it was in Mississippi that Negroes were subjected to the most blatant discriminatory exclusion from the political process. It was in Mississippi that Medgar Evers, the civil rights leader and the brother of Charles, was murdered in 1963 by an assassin. It was also in Mississippi that three young civil rights workers, James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, who were involved in voter registration activity, were brutally murdered in June of 1964.

While the qualifications and leadership abilities possessed by Charles Evers would make him a strong political candidate anywhere in the country, his election in Mississippi would not have been possible without the strides made under the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Prior to the enactment of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, only 28,500 Negroes, or 6.7 percent of the total nonwhite voting age population, were registered to vote in Mississippi. By contrast, 525,000 whites, or 69.9 percent of the white voting age population, were registered.

By 1967, 263,754 Negro citizens were registered to vote, or 59.8 percent of the total number of eligible nonwhites. Statistics from "Political Participation," a report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1968. This in itself is impressive proof of the impact of the Voting Rights Act. However, the fact that 91.5 percent of the white voting age population was registered by 1967 indicates how much remains to be done before there is full integration in the political life of Mississippi.

The contrast between the atmosphere which prevailed yesterday at the inaugural ceremonies in Fayette and the climate of fear and intimidation of 5 years ago is a dramatic indication of the progress which has been made under the Voting Rights Act. In 1964, I witnessed widespread discrimination against Negroes attempting to register to vote in Mississippi. In county after county local officials used discriminatory devices and tests to obstruct and prevent Negroes from registering. In addition, of course, threatened and actual reprisals—both economic and physical—were commonplace.

In view of this history of intimidation and violence, including the assassination of his own brother, Mayor Evers' commitment to insuring political justice for all citizens of Mississippi, white and black alike, should stir the conscience of white America to eliminate remaining racial barriers to full equality.

In his inaugural speech Mayor Evers expressed the hopes of all who believe in political equality when he said:

> I hope that the black and white people of Mississippi will understand that we've only done what God would want us to do—take part in our public affairs. . . . Some day, somehow, we are all going to be free and all men will be able to live on this earth without hating people and without discriminating against people. . . .

If that hope is to become a reality, the protections embodied in the Voting Rights Act of 1965, must be extended until political equality is a fact throughout the Nation. The guarantees of that act must not be permitted to lapse.

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## TRIBUTE TO THE LATE CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM H. BATES

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. CONTE) is recognized for 60 minutes.

(Mr. CONTE asked and was given permission to include extraneous material at the conclusion of his remarks.)

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the subject of my special order, and to include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, we are setting aside this portion of our day to mourn the passing of one of our finest colleagues, Representative WILLIAM H. BATES, and to eulogize his memory. We honor and mourn a man who was not only a friend cherished by so many of us, but also an example of a dedicated public servant worthy to be followed by anyone in political life.

Congressman BATES devoted his entire life to the service of his country—as a naval officer, and then, upon the untimely death of his father, as a Member of this body. His conduct throughout this career was that of a gentleman and a devout Christian. He was successful and, indeed, powerful, but so restrained was his use of his position and so warming his geniality that he remained throughout his 11 terms one of the best-loved Members of this House.

We have already heard testimonials on this floor to the acute sense of loss that BILL BATES' passing has caused us. Our own words always seem inadequate to express such personal emotions, and on these occasions we turn for aid to the poets. We feel of BILL BATES as with Shakespeare's Henry the Fifth: The earth, that bears thee dead, bears not alive so stout a gentleman.

Few in this House can fill the lonesome place left by the death of Congressman BATES. As the ranking Republican on the House Armed Services Committee, he was among the most expert and competent Members of the House on military affairs and was universally acknowledged as our best-informed man on the Navy. He was a champion of the nuclear Navy, the main bulwark of national security during several trying years, and tended to this concern as second ranking minority House Member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. But Congressman BATES prepared for war in order to secure the peace. He was also deeply concerned with the peaceful development and use of atomic energy.

Congressman BATES had gathered much of his personal expertise from success in his chosen career, service in the Navy. In his 10 years in the service, he rose from apprentice seaman to the rank of lieutenant commander. One of his shipmates, now a distinguished Congressman from Texas, has recalled the impression he made on his fellow sailors:

> He had that brightness, that bounce, and and that happiness about him which immediately brought respect and appreciation and popularity both from the officers and the men.

This promising career was sadly interrupted in 1949, when his father, Congressman George J. Bates, died in an airplane crash here in Washington. The son decided to carry the standard of his father, and won a special election to the House in February 1950. Sacrificing the naval career he loved, he entered the complex and ambiguous world of politics, a world filled with temptation and lacking the simple standard of military honor by which he had previously lived. It was in the honorable and successful comportment of his new duties that Congressman BATES earned the enduring respect and affection of the Members of this House. A distinguished former Representative, the Honorable Dewey Short, spoke with deep admiration at BILL BATES' funeral of those years, watching him "sprout and grow and develop and expand—grasping the significance of the many conflicts—international as well as national and local problems that confront our people in these troublesome times."

It was after these years of growth that many of us came to know Mr. BATES as a model of the integrity and geniality essential to public service. We all looked forward to many more years of work in his cheering and brightening company. Losing him was a double blow, once to lose his warm and cherished friendship, but again, and more severe, to lose the contribution he would have made to the public good by his powers and potential.

His eulogist, Dewey Short, describes the example Congressman BATES set for his colleagues:

> BILL BATES was a man of unimpeachable integrity, of indefatigable energy, of a noble but not a consuming ambition.

But as personal friends, we found in him a model for personal conduct as well. He was kind and gentle, yet firm with high moral ideals deeply rooted in his religious convictions. It was this memory, of BILL BATES as personal friend, which remains with me today, the memory of a man who could be called the epitome of the Christian gentleman, the warm family man, the true and gentle friend.

The graveside eulogy follows:

EULOGY MASS FOR WILLIAM HENRY BATES

(Eulogy Given at Funeral Mass at St. James Church, Salem, Mass., by Former Congressman Dewey Short of Missouri, One-Time Chairman of House Armed Services Committee Who Served on That Committee With Both WILLIAM BATES and his Father George Joseph Bates)

O, WORLD

"O world, thou chooseth not the better part
It is not wisdom to be only wise,
And on the inward vision close the eyes;
But it is wisdom to believe the heart.

"Columbus found the world, and had no chart
Save one that faith deciphered in the skies;
To trust the soul's invincible surmise
Was all his science and his only art.

"Our knowledge is a torch of smoky pine
That lights the pathway but one step ahead
Across a void of mystery and dread.

"Bid, then, the tender light of faith to shine
By which alone the mortal heart is led
Unto the thinking of the thought divine."
—SANTAYANA.

Life begins and ends in mystery. But life is deeper than logic, for the heart has reason and reason knows not how. The sum of our finite mind has difficulty understanding why any man with the high qualities of statesmanship, with the personal character, and with the noble service of WILLIAM HENRY BATES, should be snatched from our midst at the age of 52. He had gone a long way in those 52 years and there were many years ahead filled with rich promise, in our own minds and estimation. But the good Lord's ways are not always our ways nor His thoughts our thoughts, and He works miraculously, His wonders to perform.

And when we think the great teacher—the greatest man who ever walked the earth—was nailed to a cross at the age of 33, we are made to realize that it is not how long a man lives but how much he lives that really counts. Theodore Roosevelt once said, "I would rather wear out than to rust out," and though every man wants to live as long as he can, and there is nothing in this life we cling to so tenaciously as life itself, I doubt if many of us would want to have the dubious reputation of Methuselah—just for being remembered because of our old age.

When one stops to think that George Joseph Bates, the father of the son we mourn today, who without too many advantages and after serving in the state Legislature and as mayor of this historic city, and who for seven terms was elected to the Congress of the United States and then tragically killed in an airplane crash over the nation's capital at the age of 59, and then when we think of this worthy son of an illustrious father who was elected for ten terms to the Congress of the United States after nearly ten years of honorable and distinguished service in the United States Navy, after serving so faithfully and well his God and his country, both in time of war and time of peace, we realize that, after all, God in his appointed time, and who knows much better than we know what is right and when to call his beloved home, was wise—difficult as it is for us to understand and sorrowful as it is to give up those whom we love.

Too many men in history have lived too long for their fame. But George Joseph Bates and his son William Henry Bates went out at the pinnacle of their careers, after the magnificent contributions that they made in their chosen fields. They were returned to Washington to represent Salem, this old historic city, and this great Congressional District, as well as the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and indeed the entire nation, because the votes of George and Bill Bates affected the 400,000 people in my District in southwest Missouri on great national issues as much as it affected you. But the fact that year after year and term after term father and son were returned by the great constituency of this congressional district is a more beautiful tribute and speaks more eloquently to the high esteem, great respect, the air of confidence and the fond affection in which they were held than any words that I might utter here this morning.

It was interesting to have been associated and to have worked with these two men day in and day out on the Committee on Armed Services in the Congress and to see this young man giving up his commission as a Lieutenant Commander in the Navy that he loved so much to come to Washington and then to watch him sprout and grow and develop and expand and grasp the significance of the many conflicts—international as well as national and local problems—that confront our people in these troublesome times.

Bill Bates loved people and they loved him. George was a diamond in the rough—stalwart, strong, sturdy and durable as the granite of New England. Conscientious, hard-driving, absolutely honest, his son Bill was more than a chip off the old block. He had inherited his father's rugged physique and dynamic energy, but he was a polished stone because of the tenderness and kindness and sympathetic understanding of his dear mother. What a combination rubbed off in this young man who entered the Congress and who because of his personal worth and individual efforts rose to become ranking member on the powerful Committee on Armed Services.

Bill Bates was a man of unimpeachable integrity, of indefatigable energy, of a noble but not a consuming ambition, but with a burning desire to help others. Never did he envy those who had more than he possessed, but he was always trying to help those who were less fortunate. He was kind and gentle, yet firm with high moral ideals deeply rooted in his religious convictions. And morality that is not rooted deeply and sincerely, this conviction is a pretty anemic and weak morality that cannot stand up against the temptations that confront a man in public life.

It wasn't merely because of his knowledge—and he had knowledge. He gained from all of it new spirit, more at Brown and then Harvard, but neither Brown nor Harvard could ever rob him of his vast, vast knowledge in spirit and inherited shrewdness.

Bill Bates had gumption—he could stand up for a cause whether it was popular or unpopular. He would rather be right in the long run. And so, after ten years of service in his country's armed forces during and following the war, and after nearly 20 years of service in the Congress of the United States where, because of his rugged honesty, his noble ideals, his accommodating spirit, his willingness and eagerness to help others in all matters, he won for himself an everlasting and imperishable place in the hearts of his colleagues, as attested to by the beautiful tributes paid to him by members of both parties on the floor of the House on Monday of this week.

Bill Bates was young and vigorous and full of idealism and full of the love of his Maker. He wore a smile that would never wear off. How I enjoyed at the end of long and tedious and controversial hearings, sometimes bitter and acrimonious debate, how I enjoyed in basking in the sunshine of his smile. He was so congenial, so convivial, so jovial, so joyous, so full of life! He loved the old, the young, the black and the white, the rich and the poor. That is the reason they all loved him because never in my life did I hear Bill Bates say anything mean about anybody. He wasn't small and petty or selfish, envious or jealous, and that is the reason why I suppose I have never heard anybody say anything mean or really derogatory about Bill Bates.

He voted as he talked; he talked as he voted. He lived as he believed; he believed as he lived. So finally, my brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report hang on these things.

Bill Bates thought on those things and he did those things, chiefly because he was brought up in a Christian home with close ties with father and mother and brothers and sisters. He had good judgment and balanced sense—wisdom and good judgment are even more valuable and necessary than knowledge. He showed that good judgment when he married a fine Christian young lady from my state of Missouri. To you, Jean, and to his lovely daughter Susan, who was the apple of his eye and always brought devotion, with dedication he served both of you and proudly loved you as he did his Dad and his Mother and his brothers and his sisters. Ah, you Naval Officers had it easy to train Bill Bates because he was taught some discipline at home from the cradle up. It was because he had a disciplined mind and a disciplined life, a pure heart, a clean mind and willing hands that he learned to control himself as well as to know himself. He learned to obey orders as well as to give commands.

God knows we need more men like William Henry Bates.

When I came to Salem on two different occasions years ago—a quarter of a century now—to speak for George Bates, and later in another campaign over at Haverhill, and then when I returned after he was tragically killed in Washington in 1950 to speak at the dedication of the little memorial you have here for him, I know how you people loved both father and son as they both loved you.

Last Sunday morning at seven o'clock, with his eyes closed and drawing his last few breaths on this earth, with his devoted and helpful wife sitting at his side holding his hand—at seven o'clock Sunday morning our national emblem, the American flag, was raised at Bethesda Naval Hospital, the band struck up our national anthem, The Star Spangled Banner, Bill Bates opened his eyes widely and looked heavenward.

Would to God that many of the youth of America could have witnessed that scene. God help you and me and all our progeny to learn something from this life that has been spent in the service of his God, of his country, and of his fellow men. When Bill Bates opened his eyes as the flag was raised and the anthem played, I am sure that a still small voice whispered in his ear—"Well done, thou good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

God bless, comfort and keep the mother, wife, daughter, brothers and sisters and all the members of his noble family in the hollow of His hand. God help you and me as Americans to go forth and defend the principles for which he stood.

EDITORIAL TRIBUTES

Newspapers serving Representative BATES' congressional district editorially honored his memory and service. The following are typical of these tributes:

[From the Salem (Mass.) Evening News, June 23, 1969]

WE ARE ALL SAD

One of nature's deadliest diseases ended the life Sunday of U.S. Rep. William H. Bates of Salem at the age of 52.

We are all sad.

Rep. Bates, as the worthy son of a great Salem mayor and congressman himself, the late George J. Bates, was a credit to his family, his city, his congressional district and the nation he loved so much.

"Bill" Bates was an affable, warm human being who sat at the right hand of power in the nation's capital for a score of years but never lost the common touch.

It is one thing in life to have been given the opportunity for success and it is still another to be able to grasp it and expand on it.

This was what Bill Bates was able to do.

His parents, both of humble origin, raised an astounding family. Bill was educated at 2 Ivy League schools, Brown and Harvard, and this intellectual foundation held him in good stead in his government career.

Few persons in the Sixth Congressional District were fully aware of the prestige of their congressman.

As the ranking Republican member of the House Armed Services Committee and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Rep. Bates made decisions on billions of dollars annually.

Through 20 years in Congress following a budding career as a Naval officer, Rep. Bates developed a rare expertise on military and defense matters and was constantly consulted by the White House during both Democratic and Republican administrations.

At 52, Bill Bates was much too young to die.

On behalf of the half-million residents in the Sixth Congressional District which he served so well, The Salem Evening News extends its sympathy to Rep. Bates' widow, daughter and mother and other members of the family.

A man and a public servant of his quality is rare indeed.

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[From Daily Evening Item, Lynn, Mass., June 22, 1969]

REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM H. BATES

The entire North Shore was shocked by news yesterday morning of the death of U.S. Rep. William H. Bates of Salem, who represented the 6th Massachusetts District. It was a matter of common knowledge that he was seriously ill, but the general public was unaware that he was so close to death in view of the hopeful announcements that came from his office from time to time.

"Bill" Bates was no run-of-the-mill Congressman. He brought to his duties a fine intelligence, a deep interest in broad national and international issues as well as an abiding concern for the everyday needs of his constituents.

As the ranking Republican member of the House Armed Services Committee and second ranking minority member of the Joint Commission on Atomic Energy, he was on the "inside" of some of the most far-reaching congressional decisions of our times. A competent and convincing speaker, he could debate global issues with skill and certitude either in committee or on the floor of the House, but he was equally adept in helping a constituent to get citizenship papers or to contact a son in Vietnam.

Rep. Bates was always "on top" of issues of direct importance to the 6th District. For years he had worked in close cooperation with Rep. James A. Burke (D-Milton) seeking import controls to keep the shoe industry alive in this area. He fought for the fishing industry in Gloucester and for the hat industry in Amesbury.

His position on the Armed Services Committee gave him an excellent opportunity to see that Lynn industries, such as GE, got their share of federal defense contracts.

In 1960 he took to the hustings to campaign for his lifelong friend, Henry Cabot Lodge, in the latter's quest for the vice presidency of the United States.

The Item has always taken pride in the fact that it suggested editorially soon after the death of Bill's father, Rep. George J. Bates, in a plane crash in Washington, that his son run to succeed him. The suggestion met with instant popular response and for 19 years he has represented the district without a break and without serious challenge.

The federal government has lost a distinguished servant in his death. The Item's condolences go out to his bereaved family and his dedicated associates in his Washington, Salem and Lynn offices.

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[From the Haverhill (Mass.) Gazette, June 23, 1969]

CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM H. BATES

One of the last legislative acts of the late Cong. William H. Bates was his leadership on a petition to the President to help the shoe industry. Like most of his work in Congress, it was designed to help his constituents.

We regret the death of Congressman Bates because of the many personal qualities which kept him in the House of Representatives through some of the busiest and most transitional years in the country's history.

Though he was deeply involved in national issues, through his service on the Armed Forces and Atomic Energy Committees, he maintained a close personal touch with his constituents. He, and through him his staff members, always had the time and the manner to let each individual feel a small problem got the same attention as a national issue.

In his political philosophy, Bates was a conservative in most accepted senses of the word. He was a believer in a strong national defense, and in his almost 20 years in Congress advanced to the position of the ranking Republican on the Armed Services Committee. He did not go along with much of the liberal legislation of recent years, holding to a policy of fiscal soundness in regard to government spending.

Some of his policies led others of differing views to conduct campaigns in which they were directly opposite to his philosophies, but the voting record indicates the Congressman reflected his district faithfully, for he gained re-election with ease.

It became evident in recent years the combination of his personality and philosophy was an appealing one to the voters of the Sixth Congressional District, and the chances were good he could have continued in Congress for many years.

Cancer, however, struck him down. It attacked a man of tremendous energy and radiant good health and brought death within a few months of diagnosis, despite the skilled efforts of some of the nation's best medical teams.

The district must eventually turn to the choice of a successor, since the law provides for filling vacancies in the House through elections. His term had a year and a half to go. We must hope, however, that those who seek this office will at least allow a decent interval before they begin open campaigning.

There is little doubt the loss of Bates will be felt in his district. He had gained both stature and power through his seniority, and he was able to use some of that strength to help both the district and the individuals within it.

Congressman Bates was, in our estimation, both kind and personable. We had never heard him speak an unkind word of any person, politically or otherwise, but we had heard many examples of the lengths to which he had gone to help persons of every degree of social and economic standing.

His visits to this office reminded us that he had acquired a loyal personal following in Greater Haverhill, making close friends here in addition to those who were affiliated with him due to political beliefs.

Shoe workers here, most of them Democrats, cast their votes for Congressman Bates because they were aware he had worked long and hard in their interests. In recent years and months, he had done much to try to stem the flood of imports which have been responsible for the loss of shoe jobs in Haverhill and other parts of the district.

We can honor William H. Bates as a man who was firm in his principles and in his devotion to those who put him in Congress and kept him there. He proved to be a worthy successor to his father, the late Cong. George J. Bates.

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[From Gloucester (Mass.) Daily Times, June 23, 1969]

BILL BATES: HE WORKED FOR US

Bill Bates was a Congressman who could deliver.

He delivered the best of his ability and knowledge in military affairs for the nation, through his ranking seat on the House Armed Services Committee.

He delivered for Massachusetts and New England, through his watchfulness of regional affairs ranging from military spending to imports of leather goods and fish.

He delivered, too, for the "folks at home," helping secure contracts for defense-related industries in the Sixth District, and almost always having time to seek relief for an aggrieved veteran or widow or workaday citizen.

To say that a man "delivered" suggests he approached his work primarily as a politican. Bill Bates was a politician of necessity, for that is the way a man enters Congress and that is the way he gets things done once there.

But Bill Bates always seemed to be above politics when necessary. He approached his representation of 30-odd Northeastern Massachusetts cities and towns with devotion found in men who regard their jobs as careers. He shunned political intrigue and based his campaigns for re-election on service rendered. He felt the voters could make up their minds on this evidence alone, and they always did—in his favor.

While Bill Bates was regarded in his home city as a Salem-boy-made-good, he did not forget the scope of his responsibility. He took pride when speaking in Gloucester some years back in the fact "the first speech I made in Washington was on Gloucester fish."

Gloucester usually got good response from Bates. He worked to keep tariffs and import quotas favorable wherever Cape Ann desires could be fit into the interests of national policy. He was the prime mover in locating Bureau of Commercial Fisheries offices here. This BCF irradiator on Emerson Ave. was known warmly among his fellow members on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy as the "Bates Irradiator."

And he saw the pitfalls of Gloucester's being a one-industry town. "Try to attract new industry," he told Rotarians here in 1956. "The important thing for the city is to get a balanced portfolio. As a one-industry community it (Gloucester) presents the most serious economic problems of any community in my district." Later Bates went to work to get Gloucester included in an officially designated Economically Depressed Area, a move which opened the way to receipt of federal funds for industrial development studies and the water filtration plants now under construction.

Philosophically, Bill Bates was a conservative—perhaps the most conservative of New England's Congressmen. This position did not always coincide with the views of his constituents—but it did not seem to matter on Election Days. His 20 years in Congress made him the second-ranking Republican and won for him a stature which last year had him rumored to be a candidate for Secretary of Defense under President Nixon. This was a sincere form of flattery.

Jockeying will soon begin among men and women of politics to fill the vacancy caused Sunday morning by Bill Bates' death. It will take a rare individual, though, to fill that seat the way he did.

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[From the Daily News, Newburyport, Mass., June 24, 1969]

A MAN ABOVE POLITICS

Bill Bates was a Congressman who could deliver.

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industries in the Sixth District, and almost always having time to seek relief for an aggrieved veteran or widow or workaday citizen.

To say that a man "delivered" suggests he approached his work primarily as a politician. Bill Bates was a politician of necessity, for that is the way a man enters Congress and that is the way he gets things done once there.

But Bill Bates always seemed to be above politics when necessary. He approached his representation of 30-odd Northeastern Massachusetts cities and towns with devotion found in men who regard their jobs as careers. He shunned political intrigue and based his campaigns for re-election on service rendered. He felt the voters could make up their minds on this evidence alone, and they always did—in his favor.

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[From Lawrence (Mass.) Eagle-Tribune, June 27, 1969]

TRAGIC END OF AN ERA

Sometime in the coming months a special election will be held in the Sixth Congressional District to elect a successor to William H. Bates. When the second session of the present Congress convenes next January, for the first time in 32 years another than a Bates probably will represent this district.

George J. Bates, at the time mayor of Salem, was elected to Congress in 1937 to succeed the late A. Piatt Andrew. George served with distinction until Nov. 1, 1949 when he was killed in a plane crash in Washington as he was returning to duty after a weekend at home.

At that time his son William was a lieutenant commander in the Navy. He was, Sixth District Republicans thought, the logical man to succeed his father in Congress. Sixth District voters agreed. He won a special election and was reelected each two years thereafter, the last time in 1968.

His death from cancer at the age of 52 ended nearly 33 years of service in Congress for the Sixth District by George and William Bates.

It was distinguished service. It was effective personal service to constituents and notable patriotic service to the country.

As the senior Republican member of the Armed Services Committee, Bill was an influential authority on national defense. As the second ranking House member of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, he won the admiration of Adm. Rickover for his knowledge of atomic warfare.

He drew, said former Sen. Saltonstall, the utmost respect and affection from members of both parties. He was, said Ambassador Lodge, a public servant in the finest tradition, blessed with a warm and winning personality and motivated by his high sense of patriotism.

His death at an age when he and his thousands of friends and supporters reasonably could expect many more years of admirable public service tragically ended for the Sixth District an illustrious era of representation in Congress.

[From the Boston Herald-Traveler, June 24, 1969]

WILLIAM H. BATES

The death of U.S. Rep. William H. Bates of Salem is a profound loss for the Sixth Congressional District and indeed for the Commonwealth. Congressman Bates typified, as did his father before him, staunch loyalty to his constituents, abiding concern for their economic security and for the military security of the United States.

As a Navy officer and later as an officer in the Naval Reserve, Rep. Bates knew intimately the challenges of the nuclear era and combined his knowledge with his experience and position as the ranking Republican member of the House Armed Services Committee to champion a nuclear Navy. This expertise served him well also as the second ranking member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Tributes from both Republican and Democratic leaders testify to the esteem and affection in which Rep. William H. Bates was held, whether in Essex County or in the halls of Congress. But perhaps the finest tribute to Congressman Bates' life of public service was paid by the people he served best, the people of the Sixth Congressional District, who affirmed their confidence in his leadership by electing him to Congress for eleven terms.

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[From the Boston Globe, June 26, 1969]

HE SERVED THE DISTRICT WELL

The late Congressman William H. Bates of Salem represented his Sixth Congressional District well throughout his 19 years in Washington. It could not have been easy for him to attempt following in the footsteps of his father, George J. Bates, himself a congressman and Salem's mayor for many years, who had been killed in a plane crash in 1949. But Bill Bates did.

He was not a "Tuesday-to-Thursday" congressman like some, but worked hard at the job and did his homework. He was a conservative on some issues, and a supporter of the anti-ballistic missile system and of most military spending. But he was always fair, and anxious to hear both sides in a controversy. And he was decent and most likeable. Massachusetts and particularly the Sixth District will miss him.

DEATH AND FUNERAL RECORDED IN NEWSPAPERS

The passing and funeral of Congressman BATES were recorded in many columns of newspapers serving his district in Massachusetts. Illustrative of this coverage, along with appropriate pictures, were these excerpts from articles in his hometown paper, the Salem Evening News, June 23 to 27:

[From the Salem (Mass.) Evening News, June 23, 1969]

NORTH SHORE MOURNS REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM H. BATES

SALEM.—Military Funeral services will be held Thursday for U.S. Rep. William H. Bates, a Republican who represented the heavily-Democratic Sixth Massachusetts District in Congress for nearly 20 years after succeeding his father.

There was no immediate word whether President Nixon or Vice President Agnew will attend the funeral, or whether Cardinal Cushing will say the Mass.

Bates, 52, died of stomach cancer Sunday at 8 a.m. in Bethesda Naval Hospital, Maryland.

The congressman had been undergoing treatment of the ailment since mid-March.

A former Navy officer who championed the nuclear Navy and development of peaceful uses of atomic energy, Bates had served in the House of Representatives since Feb. 15, 1950, when he was elected to succeed his father, Rep. George J. Bates.

George Bates was elected to Congress when Rep. A. Piatt Andrew of Gloucester died in 1937.

The elder Bates was among 55 people killed in a collision of a commercial airliner and a military plane over Washington on Nov. 1, 1949. He was returning from Salem to Washington when the crash occurred.

It was the third time that tragedy had struck the Bates family in less than 30 years. The congressman's brother-in-law, Navy officer James Ginty, was killed during World War II in the South Pacific.

William Henry Bates was born in Salem on April 26, 1917.

He attended St. James parochial school and was president of his graduating class at Salem High School in 1935.

After a year at Worcester Academy, he entered Brown University, graduating in 1940 with a B.A. in economics and political science.

Later, he obtained a master of arts degree from Harvard University while serving in the Navy.

He worked as a clerk for the FBI in Washington before enlisting in the Navy as an apprentice seaman in 1941.

Rising to an officer's rank, he participated in Naval assaults on Iwo Jima and Okinawa and was stationed on Japanese mainland after the war.

Rep. Bates held the rank of captain in the Naval Reserve at the time of his death.

An excellent athlete in high school and college, Bates was an end on the Salem High team that traveled to California in 1933 to play Urban Academy.

In later years, the congressman kept in shape by playing golf. He was one of Washington's better golfers and a constant fairways companion of Vice President Richard M. Nixon during the Eisenhower administration.

Rep. Bates entered the Naval Medical Center on Monday March 3, to undergo exploratory surgery for an undisclosed ailment.

The surgery took place on March 19.

It was disclosed on April 2 that Bates was suffering from abdominal lymphoma, a cancerous tumor of the lymphatic system, a network of glands and ducts that regulates fluids between the tissues and the blood system.

For several weeks following the discovery of his condition, the congressman underwent daily radiation treatments.

The treatments had continued on a regular basis until his death.

Bates' wife, the former Pearle Jean Dreyer, was at his bedside when he died. The Bates have one daughter, Susan, 20, a commercial artist in Boston.

The congressman's mother, Mrs. George J. (Nora) Bates, lives at 11 Buffum St., Salem.

Bates leaves 3 brothers and 3 sisters.

His brothers are Raymond H. of Marblehead, George J. Jr. of Salem and Francis of Peabody.

The sisters are Mrs. Mary Courtland Sawtelle, of East Greenwich, R.I.; Mrs. James (Katherine) Ginty of Salem and Mrs. Edmund (Caroline) Stanton, of Marblehead.

William Bates was serving his 11th term in the House. Since being elected to fill his father's vacancy, Bates had been reelected by impressive margins each time he ran.

He was constantly unopposed for the Republican nomination and 3 times had no Democratic opposition in congressional elections.

In November 1968 he won his 11th term by swamping the Democratic nominee, Miss Deirdre Henderson. Bates polled 136,947 votes to Miss Henderson's 70,296 and swept every community in the district.

At the time of his death, Rep. Bates was the senior Republican on the House Armed Services Committee and the second ranking

House minority member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

For the past 4 years he had been a member of the United States delegation to the NATO Parliamentarians Conference. He was assigned to the conference's Military Committee.

His knowledge of atomic warfare was praised by Adm. Hyman Rickover, a chief advocate of the submarine Navy.

Among the highlights of Bates' congressional career were his successful efforts to block the merger of the First and Third Naval Districts and tariff legislation to protect the shoe, hat and fishing industries from foreign competition.

THE SERVICES

Services for Rep. William H. Bates will begin today, with a memorial prayer service at 7:30 p.m. at the Joseph Gawler's Sons Funeral Home in Washington, D.C. Visiting hours will be from 2 to 9 p.m.

The body will be flown to Salem Tuesday, where it will lie in state in Hamilton Hall, 9 Chestnut St., Tuesday from 7 to 9 p.m. and Wednesday from 2 to 5 and 7 to 9 p.m.

A full military funeral will be held Thursday at 11 a.m., at St. James Church on Federal Street.

Burial will be in the family lot at St. Mary's Cemetery.

HE STOOD UP AND TOOK SIDES

(By Howard Iverson)

William H. Bates was a fighter for all of his 52 years. Whether it was his country, his district or his lifelong hometown of Salem, Bill Bates stood up and took sides and did what he felt had to be done.

He was a staunch supporter of the war in Vietnam and the controversial ABM defense system, but he also called for the South Vietnamese to play a larger part in the defense of their country and insisted that our military programs—both offensive and defensive—be closely studied and re-evaluated annually in line with the changing world situation.

Bates embarked on an around-the-world mission in 1967 with lengthy stops in Saigon and many battlefields of Vietnam and American bases in South Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, Okinawa and other points.

Upon his return, Bates said: "There is no reason to believe that the future military struggle in Vietnam will be easy or of short duration."

The following year, at a meeting of First Coast Guard District officers at the Hawthorne Motor Hotel, the congressman said:

"While every effort should be made to seek an honorable solution to this conflict, it is quite clear that there must be a greater contribution on the part of South Vietnam to preserve that nation's freedom than had heretofore been the case."

And as much as he supported the military policies of the country, he fought just as hard for the abolution of the present draft system on the grounds that:

"I'm old fashioned enough to believe that many people came to this country to get away from the concept of compulsory military service."

Bates strongly backed the President's proposed ABM defense system.

On March 15, Bates said, "I believe that the President is entirely appropriate with respect to the security of the nation and I concur in his reasoning in reaching that decision.

"Deployment of modified anti-ballistic missiles to protect our retaliatory Minute Man installation will serve as a deterrent to any enemy who might consider launching an attack," he said.

"It is good that President Nixon has called for continuing review of the ABM program in the light of changing conditions which may arise.

"I think that people on both sides of the ABM issue during the past year have contributed greatly to the goal all of us so intently desire—the security of our country and the establishment of peace."

Inflation and increased government spending were 2 of his favorite targets.

And he had nothing but scorn for politicians who preached economy while opening wide the government purse strings.

"Ironically," said Bates in a 1966 speech, "many of the politicians who are shouting the loudest about the high cost of food and other consumer goods are the very ones who—by their spending policies—have contributed most to the condition in which we now find ourselves . . . and they fail to place the major blame where it belongs.

"Rather than crying for investigation, these politicians should be seeking to put the brakes on government spending for all but the most essential public services."

He fought for income tax relief for persons paying college tuitions and related expenses, introducing 2 bills designed to give such relief—one through a tax deduction process and the other through a tax credit formula.

In 1967, Rep. Bates voted against $1.7 million in planning funds for the Dickey-Lincoln hydroelectric plant in northern Maine, contending that the atomic generating plants now in operation had exceeded expectation in efficiency, affording New England customers lower electric rates.

He attempted to help the New England fishing industry, Gloucester in particular, but often criticized the industry for its failure to help itself.

"There is no reason why we cannot join together in protection of our resources," Bates said at a luncheon of the National Fisheries Institute in Boston last October.

The congressman stressed pollution control, fishing conservation, international agreements in respect to fishing grounds, stronger agreements on quality control, continuation and improvement of programs involving loans and grants for fishing vessels with a united effort to see that fishermen alone do not pay the cost of protecting the shipyards.

"The future of the fishing industry," Bates said, "lies with a common sense of direction."

The congressman backed several bills to encourage teachers to further their education, including income tax deductions for certain advanced education expenses.

"The better trained our teachers," said Bates, "the better trained our children."

He also led a vigorous battle to curb shoe imports.

"The alarming, steady increase of shoe imports, plus a downward swing in shoe exports, is threatening the future employment security of American workers through reduced production and sales of domestic shoes, while at the same time aggravating our balance-of-payments problems."

Following reports of the malfunctioning of M-16 rifles in Vietnam, Rep. Bates advocated a special study to investigate the M-16 program.

Bates joined 45 House colleagues earlier this year in introducing legislation to eliminate the controversial mandatory oil import control program, an import quota system which played a major part in boosting domestic oil prices.

This legislation, which is presently pending before Congress, would phase out the quota system over 10 years. The quota program, said Bates, "presently restricts the amount of foreign oil entering the country and is costing the American consumer an estimated $4 billion a year in the form of inflated prices for heating oil, gasoline and other petroleum products."

Bates repeatedly introduced legislation to establish certain maritime regions to be used as marine sanctuary areas, including the Georges Bank and other off shore waters.

"The coastal regions have become a 'new frontier' for American industry and technology," Bates said. "We should designate specific areas of the nation's offshore marine environments for sport and commercial fishing, recreation, scenic beauty and scientific values."

He noted that industry and mining activities have threatened the natural environments around the country and especially in New England.

He fought against the proposed shutdown (in 1972) of the Portsmouth, N.H., Naval shipyard.

Only last month, Bates joined a drive to assist hard-pressed shoe and leather firms by negotiating with competing nations for a voluntary cutback in their shoe exports.

Last week, as the result of a letter from Rep. Bates to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, the congressman was credited as being largely responsible for the continuation of the food irradiation program of the Atomic Energy Commission.

The House authorized the restoration of funds to the program which had been eliminated in the 1969 budget. The money permitted the continuance of work being carried out by the AEC's Marine Products Irradiator at Gloucester.

[From the Salem (Mass.) Evening News, June 24, 1969]

PRESIDENT'S JET FLIES REPRESENTATIVE BATES' BODY HOME

SALEM.—Flags in the nation's capital flew at half-staff Monday as the Senate and the House of Representatives paid final tribute to one of Congress' most active and popular members, 6th District Rep. William H. Bates.

Hundreds of people in government and private life visited Gawler's Funeral Home in Washington to pay their respects to the Salem congressman.

Among the visitors at the funeral home were Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, a lifelong friend of the Bates family; House Minority Leader Gerald Ford, House Speaker John McCormack, Sec. of the Navy John Chaffe, Under Secretary of State Elliot Richardson, Mrs. John A. Volpe, George Lodge and all members of the Massachusetts congressional delegation.

A 30-minute memorial prayer service was held Monday at the funeral home. Several congressional leaders, a number of North Shore residents and members of the Bates family attended.

The Rev. William Begley officiated at the memorial service. It was the Rev. Begley who married Bill and Pearle Jean Dreyer in 1943 when Bill was a young Navy officer and Jean was the secretary of a Missouri congressman.

President Nixon has assigned his personal plane—Air Force 1—to fly Rep. Bates' body to Hanscom Air Force Base in Bedford.

The congressman and the president were personal friends for years.

[From the Salem (Mass.) Evening News, June 25, 1969]

MCCORMACK APPOINTS 57 HOUSE MEMBERS TO ATTEND BATES RITES

WASHINGTON.—Speaker John W. McCormack of the House of Representatives has appointed a 57-member delegation to join him in attending the funeral of Rep. William H. Bates at St. James Church Thursday.

The delegation includes the 11 congressmen from Massachusetts, all members of the House Armed Services Committee of which Rep. Bates was the ranking Republican member; House members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and the House leadership of both parties.

Massachusetts delegation:

Republicans—Silvio O. Conte, Pittsfield; F. Bradford Morse, Lowell; Margaret M. Heckler, Wellesley, and Hastings S. Keith, West Bridgewater.

Democrats—Edward P. Boland, Springfield; Philip J. Philbin, Clinton; Harold D. Donohue, Worcester; Torbert H. Macdonald, Cambridge; Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., Malden; James A. Burke, Milton, and Speaker McCormack, Dorchester.

Armed Services Committee:

L. Mendel Rivers, D-S.C., chairman; F. Edward Hébert, D-La.; Melvin Price, D-Ill.; O. C. Fisher, D-Tex.; Charles E. Bennett, D-Fla.; James A. Byrne, D-Pa.; Samuel S. Stratton, D-N.Y.; Otis J. Pike, D-N.Y.

Also, Richard N. Ichord, D-Mo.; Lucien N. Nedzi, D-Mich.; Alton Lennon, D-N.C.; William J. Randall, D-Mo.; G. Elliott Hagan, D-Ga.; Robert L. Leggett, D.-Calif.; Floyd V. Hicks, D-Wash.; Speedy O. Long, D-La.; Richard White, D-Tex.; Bill Nichols, D-Ala.; Jack Brinkley, D-Ga.; Robert H. Mollohan, D-W. Va.; W. C. Daniel, D-Va.

Also, Leslie C. Arends, R-Ill.; Alvin E. O'Konski, R-Wis.; William G. Bray, R-Ind.; Bob Wilson, R-Calif.; Charles S. Gubser, R-Calif.; Alexander Pirnie, R-N.Y.; Durward G. Hall, R-Mo.; Donald D. Clancy, R-Ohio; Robert T. Stafford, R-Vt.; Carleton J. King, R-N.Y.; William L. Dickinson, R-Ala.; Charles W. Whelan Jr., R-Ohio; Ed Foreman, R-N. Mex.; John E. Hunt, R-N.J., and G. William Whitehurst, R-Va.

House members of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee:

Chet Holifield, D-Calif.; Melvin Price, D-N. Mex.; Wayne N. Aspinall, D-Colo.; John D. Young, D-Tex.; Ed Edmondson, D-Okla.; Craig Hosmer, D-Calif.; John Anderson, R-Ill., and William M. McCulloch, R-Ohio.

House leadership:

Speaker McCormack, Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., and Minority Whip Arends.

The 2 Massachusetts senators, Edward W. Brooke and Edward M. Kennedy, have been delegated to represent the Senate at the funeral.

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[From the Salem (Mass.) Evening News, June 27, 1969]

"NOT HOW LONG HE LIVED BUT HOW HE LIVED"

(By Roland A. Corneau)

SALEM.—U.S. Rep. William H. Bates was laid to rest next to his congressman father Thursday.

Federal, state and local dignitaries joined an estimated 2500 persons from the 6th Congressional District in paying final tribute for his service on Capitol Hill for nearly 20 years.

John A. Volpe, former Massachusetts governor and present U.S. transportation secretary, was the official representative of President Nixon. Volpe presented the flag to the congressman's wife at the cemetery.

Full military honors were conferred at St. James Church and St. Mary's cemetery.

Former congressman Dewey Short of Missouri, a personal friend of the Bates family, delivered a 20-minute eulogy paralleling the lives of U.S. Rep. George J. Bates and his congressman son William, who served in the U.S. House of Representatives for a combined total of more than 3 decades.

"George Bates was a diamond in the rough, as sturdy as the old granite of New England.

"His son was more than a chip off the old block. He was a polished stone because of the tenderness and understanding of his mother," Short said.

"He was only 52 when the Good Lord took him from us.

"But, it is not how long a man lives, but how he lives it that counts," Short said.

"He was aware of the problems that confronted people in these troubled times. He had a burning desire to help others. He was gentle, but firm, with the highest ideals, and he won for himself an everlasting and imperishable place in the hearts of his colleagues," he said.

"One stops to think about the father, elected for 7 terms and then killed in a plane crash at the age of 59. And, the son of an illustrious father, elected 10 times after serving in the Navy for 10 years. Both served in war and peace.

"The fact that they were returned to office year after year is in itself a greater tribute than a eulogy," Short said.

"We must realize that God took him at his appointed time. He should know what is right and when to take. But, it is very hard for us to understand.

"Too many in history have lived too long. Bill Bates was taken from us at the pinnacle of his career in service to his country," Short said.

The Missouri congressman told of his associations with father and son on the Armed Services Committee. He said he was especially impressed to see young Bates give up his commission as a lieutenant commander in the Navy to carry on the work of his father.

"Bill Bates grasped the significance of complex international, national and local problems. He was young, vigorous, full of ideals. Bill Bates had gumption—gumption to stand up on an issue—popular or unpopular—if he thought he was right. It was his rugged honesty, noble ideas, willingness and eagerness to help others that made for him an imperishable place in the hearts of the people," Short said.

"He voted as he talked . . . he talked as he voted. He believed as he lived . . . he lived as he believed," he said.

"He wore a smile that would never wear off. He was so congenial, so joyful, so full of life. He liked old and young, black and white, rich and poor.

"Never did I hear Bill Bates say anything bad about anybody," Short said.

"I know you people loved both father and son as they loved you.

"On this day of mourning, all we can say is well done, Bill Bates," Short concluded.

It was 11 a.m. when the hearse carrying the casket of Rep. Bates lulled in front of the old gothic church, amid drum roll and music by the First Naval District band.

More than 1000 had gathered in front of the church. During the eulogy, those unable to get seats in the main church, listened in the downstairs chapel via a public address system hook-up.

The body-bearers, enlisted men representing all branches of the service, slowly removed the flag-draped casket from the hearse and began their slow march up 10 short steps through the church portico, depositing the congressman on the church truck.

The casket was flanked by the military pall bearers; Rear Adm. William B. Ellis, commander of 1st Coast Guard District; Maj. Gen. Joseph J. Cody of the Air Force; Brig. Gen. Felix J. Gerace of the Army; Brig. Gen. John H. Cushman of Ft. Devens and Adj. Gen. Joseph Ambrose of Massachusetts.

Members of the congressional delegation, state and local officials were already seated to the left of the altar. The family was seated to the right.

The church was filled to capacity. All rose as Wilfred A. Pelletier, for 25 years administrative assistant to both father and son, sang "God Bless America."

The Requiem High Concelebrated Mass was celebrated by the Rev. Patrick C. Curtin, pastor of St. James Church; Msgr. John Mullarkey of St. Pius Church, Lynn, and the Rev. George Huntress, St. Margaret's Church, Brockton.

His Excellency, Bishop Jeremiah F. Minihan, representing Cardinal Cushing, presided over the funeral services.

Following the gospel, Msgr. Mullarkey left the prie dieux and delivered a short eulogy.

"Although we mourn Bill Bates we know he is safe from suffering, the trials of life and is with God," the monsignor said.

He recalled the graveside services for the congressman's father and said, "I could see the tears in his eyes and his lips moving in prayer. He nodded his head, and I knew here was a man making a tremendous decision.

"I think that was when the pledge to carry the torch which was taken so abruptly from his father," he said.

Msgr. Mullarkey emphasized that "affluence and power were not part of his heritage.

"His home was the center of his family. His respect and esteem for his church was part of his daily living.

"He was endowed by God with great and natural gifts."

He described Rep. Bates and his father as "humble men of unknown integrity."

Many joined the Bates family in receiving Holy Communion. During the Mass, the Mission Church Boys' Choir and seminarians from Cardinal O'Connell Seminary rendered hymns.

Prior to the final prayers at the foot of the altar, members of the congressional delegation, headed by Sec. Volpe, House Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, L. Mendel Rivers, D-S.C., chairman of the Armed Services Committee, and U.S. Senators Edward M. Kennedy and Edward W. Brooke, formed an honor lane at the church steps.

The casket was carried down the steps and placed into the hearse. The Navy band played "Nearer My God To Thee." Members of the Bates family filled more than 25 limousines for the ride to the cemetery. The cortege was headed by 5 marching platoons made up of the services.

As the cortege approached the entrance of St. Mary's Cemetery, the sound of Howitzer guns boomed in the distance. The guns were fired 17 times—the last round expended as the hearse approached the grave site.

Graveside services were conducted by Navy Chaplain, Capt. Richard A. Cahill.

A 17-gun salute was then accorded Rep. Bates. Taps were sounded.

The body-bearers then folded the flag into a triangular shape. Sec. Volpe presented it to the congressman's widow.

The Navy band played "Anchors Away."

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HIS WIFE, MOTHER, DAUGHTER—COURAGEOUS

(By Betty Munro)

SALEM.—There were many people on narrow Cambridge Street, at the side entrance of Hamilton Hall Thursday morning, but not a sound was audible, on the small tree-lined street.

There were 3 funeral limousines and 2 tots, sitting on a step, wide-eyed by the splendor of the occasion.

It was a silence of sorrow . . . and respect.

It was time for the cortege to move from Hamilton Hall to St. James Church.

Veiled in black and courageously holding up under the crushing blow of their loss were the Bates women . . . Mrs. Jean Bates, the widow; Mrs. George Bates, his mother, and Susan, his daughter.

For the elder Mrs. Bates, it was a time of double sorrow. The husband silence was ominous throughout St. James Church, where the elder Mrs. Bates had seen her son serve as an altar boy and receive the sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation.

She had also attended the funeral there in 1949 of her husband, the late Rep. George Bates.

Both father and son had died tragically. Bill Bates at the height of his career at age 52. His father's life was snuffed out while serving in the House of Representatives as the result of an airline tragedy.

Celebrant at both funerals was His Excellency, Jeremiah F. Minihan, auxiliary bishop of Boston.

The engulfing sadness of the eulogy delivered by an old friend of both Bill Bates and his father, former congressman Dewey Short of Missouri, must have recalled poignant memories to the gallant women as they listened intently, their eyes rimmed with tears, as he extolled both men.

Tears were evident throughout the congregation as Msgr. John E. Mullarkey related the honesty and goodness of the Bates men.

A corner of the Bates family lot in St. Mary's Cemetery seemed a shaded place in mid-day sun of the bright June day.

A large maple tree and a few evergreens provided a backdrop and shade for a galaxy of floral tributes beside the gravesite . . . among them a large basket containing coral gladioli and bronze chrysanthemums from President and Mrs. Nixon and a wreath of orchids from the House of Representatives.

Again, the muffled tattoo and the strains of "Onward Christian Soldiers" by the Navy band, followed by representatives of all branches of the armed services. The cortege wended its way down the path to the family lot in St. Mary's Cemetery.

As the hearse arrived at the plot on the grassy slope, the 9 pallbearers gently lifted the copper casket and Bill Bates to his final resting place.

As Capt. Richard A. Cahill, a Navy chaplain, recited commital prayers, a touching scene was portrayed. Mrs. George Bates, weary but courageous, was seated during the last portion of the long ordeal on the hot June day, while the younger Bates women, heads held high and shoulders erect, stood at almost rigid attention.

The folded flag was presented to the widow by Secretary of Transportation John Volpe, who had been delegated by President Nixon as his representative at the services.

As the flag was placed on her outstretched arms, Mrs. Bates was embraced by the cabinet member.

"Nearer My God To Thee," taps, the boom of the army howitzers and a return farewell volley by a contingent of Marines on a nearby hill was Salem's farewell to William H. Bates.

There have been many leaders in the past 3 decades who have attained success and greatness because of the loyalty, devotion and strength of their wives. . . . The Bates men were no exception.

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THEY SAID FAREWELL

(By Howard Iverson)

It was 10:25 on the morning of a beautiful summer day. At the Oliver School on Broad Street children were getting ready to go home for vacation.

The children knew they were going home early Thursday because someone had died. He was in the government . . . in Washington. They thought he was a senator, or something.

Half a block away, at Hamilton Hall, a hearse was waiting to take William Henry Bates, a United States congressman for 19 years, to St. James Church for his funeral.

Two hundred people stood outside Hamilton Hall. They were from the neighborhood, mostly. They came in pink shorts and green mini-skirts, printed house dresses and sandals with broken straps, chinos and yellow tee shirts.

Hamilton Hall is usually the place for dances and debutantes. It is a crystal and mahogany reminder of an era that is past. Except for the restorations which dot the area, streets like Chestnut and Broad and Cambridge and Flint belong today to the people who stood silently outside of Hamilton Hall Thursday waiting for the casket to come out.

These were the people who had sent Bill Bates to Washington for 10 terms. Most of them didn't know him very well. But they had a cousin who had gone to the Naval Academy because Rep. Bates had recommended him, or an uncle who had been unable to get treated at the veterans' hospital until the congressman made a phone call.

This is called service. All the talk about foreign policy and balance of payments and even ABM systems is for the record and the newspapers. What pays off on election day is something called service.

Bill Bates was there when his people needed him for a little favor. He tried to help. That's what the people standing in front of Hamilton Hall remembered about him Thursday.

The world where William H. Bates, representative of the 6th Massachusetts District in Congress, spent most of the last 20 years of his life was mirrored at St. James Church.

John Volpe, who had been governor and worked hard to get Richard Nixon elected, was at the church as an emissary of the President.

The congressional delegation was one of the largest ever assigned to attend a funeral of one of its House members. Assigned is a formal and misleading word. It is used on expense accounts and in ledger books. These people came to Salem Thursday to pay final respects to an old friend. Many would have gladly paid their own way.

George Bates and his son William had served in Congress with Dewey Short. Thursday, the former representative from Missouri stood at the lectern in St. James Church and eulogized George Bates' son.

He is a spellbinder, this old man from Missouri. "I enjoyed basking in the sunshine of his smile," he said of his old friend Bill Bates.

"He loved everyone . . . He had a burning desire to help others . . .

He stood for a course, whether popular or unpopular . . . He was born a chip off the old block—a polished stone."

There was more. Dewey Short talked for 20 minutes. There weren't many dry eyes in St. James Church when he finished.

The Navy band played "Faith of Our Fathers" as the body-bearers, 10 young men representing all branches of the Armed Services, came slowly out of the church with the casket.

Old friends of the congressman lined the stone steps of the church as Bill Bates' casket moved slowly by to the hearse.

Mendel Rivers, with his craggy face and flowing white hair—a near caricature of a Southern politician—stood next to House Minority Leader Gerry Ford.

There was Chip Boland, Torby MacDonald and Tip O'Neill, familiar names in Massachusetts politics and close friends of Bill Bates.

A woman was in the line, Rep. Margaret Heckler of Brookline. Bob Stafford of Vermont, Speedy Long of Louisiana, Ed Edmondson of Oklahoma, Leslie Arends of Illinois, Ed Foreman of New Mexico, Chet Holifield of California—a cross section of the country's government.

Gov. Sargent, Admiral Hyman Rickover, former Senator Saltonstall, Senator Ed Brooke stood and watched the casket come out of the church.

And Ted Kennedy. You have some of the great names of the government standing in front of St. James Church, but the people who lined the sidewalks and lawns near the old brick building on Fedral Street spent most of their time looking at Ted Kennedy. There was admiration and respect and wonder and even some hate on their faces.

It's like this wherever he goes. Only the faces change. The scene is forever duplicated, including the part where the police moved in to restrain someone who does not like Kennedys.

And it happened again Thursday. A man in a yellow jersey shouted derisive statements at the senator and tried to get near him as Kennedy entered the church for the funeral. The man was questioned by police and released.

In this country, a man cannot be arrested for what he thinks. The man in the yellow jersey stayed in front of the church and waited for the senator to come out.

Ted Kennedy stood in line with the other government dignitaries while Bill Bates' casket was carried down the steps to the hearse. The intense blue eyes of the man in the yellow jersey never left his face.

It was hot in the summer sun at St. Mary's Cemetery, but the wind through the maple trees shaded and cooled the plot of land where Bill Bates would be buried beside his father.

A Marine firing squad stood at parade rest in the sun on a hill overlooking the burial site as the funeral cortege came over the hill from Margin Street and wended its way down into the cemetery.

The simple graveside service was conducted by Navy Chaplain Richard A. Cahill. When it was over, the firing squad squeezed off 3 shots and taps floated down from the hill.

The American flag draped over Bill Bates' casket had once flown over the Capitol. It was folded neatly by the color guard and given to John Volpe, who represented the President.

Volpe turned, walked over to Jean Bates, the widow. He put the flag in her hands and kissed her on the cheek.

It was 1:40 in the afternoon when the people at St. Mary's Cemetery started walking up the hill toward Margin Street. They had said goodbye. Bill Bates was left to rest beside his father.

National, State, and local leaders eulogized "BILL" BATES. Prominent among these tributes, and representative of the many, were the following:

President Richard M. Nixon sent a telegram to Jean Bates, the Congressman's widow, which read in part:

For the 20 years I have known Bill since he first came to the House, he has been a trusted colleague and a good and loyal friend.

His work over the 20 years has earned him the gratitude and respect of the men with whom he worked, and the way he went about this work earned him their admiration and friendship.

The nation owes him a special debt for his leadership on the Armed Services Committee.

Pat joins me in extending our deepest sympathy.

Defense Secretary Melvin Laird:

The nation has suffered an irreparable loss, and Congress has lost one of its most distinguished leaders. The people of his district have lost a champion.

Both as a member of Congress and as secretary of defense I looked to Bill Bates' wise counsel on all matters affecting national security. I mourn his passing.

John A. Volpe, Secretary of Transportation and former Governor:

Like all Massachusetts residents who had known and worked with Bill Bates, I shall thoroughly miss him. He was an outstanding congressman, and since I have come to Washington I have had the great pleasure of working with him even more closely than before.

Mrs. Volpe and I express to his family our deepest sorrow.

Elliot Richardson, Under Secretary of State:

Bill Bates' death is a sad personal loss. He was an energetic congressman and a member of a rare breed in political life, a thoroughly nice person.

Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, former U.S. Senator from Massachusetts:

The death of Congressman Bates in the very prime of life is a shocking and grievous loss to the people of his district, of the State and of the Nation. I have lost a warm and cherished friend.

He was a public servant in the finest tradition—that of his distinguished father.

He was good and he was sagacious.

He never spared himself in the performance of his duty and his decisions were motivated by his high sense of patriotism.

He was gifted with a warm and winning personality which had won him friends in every corner of the United States as I learned when he and I traveled together in the 1960 campaign.

My deepest sympathy goes out to his family. May they derive comfort from the pride which they surely feel in his life, so rich in service and friendship.

Former U.S. Senator Leverett Saltonstall, Republican, of Massachusetts:

Bill Bates was a long-time friend of mine. We worked together on the Armed Services Committee. He was always well-informed and had very clear opinions on what to do.

I remember clearly when he came in to see me in his Navy uniform. He wanted advice on whether to run for his father's seat. I urged him to do so.

He became one of the members who drew the utmost respect and affection from members of both parties. I have personally lost a dear friend and my deepest sympathy goes to his family.

Governor Francis W. Sargent, Massachusetts:

Rep. Bates' death was a great loss to the Massachusetts people he so ably represented and, indeed, to the nation.

A man who could combine the national interest with the human concerns of the people of his district is a rare man. William Bates did that in such a fashion that we will not soon forget.

Mrs. Sargent joins me in sympathy extended to his family.

State Auditor Thaddeus Buczko, Massachusetts:

William H. Bates never made an enemy, because he credited his opponents with the same earnestness and the same faith which he put into every cause he advocated. When the issue was decided he bore no malice toward anyone who contended against his views, but he greeted them with the same cheery smile as before and went on to his next endeavor.

Bill Bates was one of the most conscientious men I ever new, and was imbued with as fine a Christian spirit as ever actuated a human soul. He was able, energetic and courageous. He served his country faithfully in time of war; he served his people just as faithfully in Congress during the subsequent years of relative peace.

No matter how great the obstacles placed in his path, his great resourcefulness always enabled him to overcome them. His radiant smile and cheery disposition was the reflection of a great soul and this splendid attitude did much to lighten the arduous task which every one of us have to face in our daily life.

I like to think of Bill Bates, the man. Of sterling character and of unimpeachable integrity, he was the object of respect and admiration of everyone whose privilege it was to know him. He was capable, efficient, unselfish to the extreme. He gave his all in military and public service to his country and fellow men. Massachusetts and the nation deeply mourn his passing for we have lost a faithful and capable public servant.

Mayor Francis X. Collins, of Salem, Mass.:

The passing of Cong. William H. Bates is a terrible loss to me and the community. Like his father before him he served the city, the state and the nation in admirable manner. His loss will be deeply felt.

I extend my condolences and those of his native city to his family and to his mother.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to my colleague from Michigan, the distinguished minority leader, Mr. GERALD R. FORD.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman from Massachusetts yielding so that I can again express my deep personal feelings on the passing of BILL BATES.

Mr. Speaker, every Member of the House of Representatives was left poorer by the death of Representative WILLIAM H. BATES because BILL BATES' presence in this Chamber enriched the lives of all of us.

I feel the loss most keenly. BILL was a close personal friend. We both first entered the House in the 81st Congress. We worked together. Our families had many ties. It was a warm and wonderful relationship.

BILL BATES was a friend to every man. Wherever he might be standing, his grin lit up the place. He was always cheerful, even in the face of the dreadful disease which took his life. He had a big hello for everyone. People liked to be with him. He had a wonderful sense of humor.

This was the personality of BILL BATES. This is the side he turned toward the world.

BILL BATES had a serious side as well. He was a diligent student of government and a faithful servant of the people. He gave his all for his congressional district—all of his attention and all of his energies. He served his people well. They knew it and they loved him for it.

BILL BATES also was a patriot in an age when being patriotic is looked upon by many as old fashioned and kind of corny.

BILL BATES did not find patriotism anything to be ashamed of because his patriotism was 100-percent genuine. To put it simply, he truly loved his country.

And so it was that BILL BATES rendered splendid service as senior Republican on the House Armed Services Committee and second ranking minority House member on the Joint Atomic Energy Committee.

BILL BATES compiled an enviable record during his 19 years as a Member of this House. That record was part of a family tradition because his father, George Bates, had preceded BILL in the House before George's tragic death in an airplane accident.

Perhaps most important, BILL BATES loved this House, and all of the Members of this House loved him.

For BILL BATES, there can be no more appropriate eulogy.

My family, especially my wife Betty, and myself, extend to BILL's family our deepest condolence. Jean Bates and the daughter, Susan, have our sympathy in this time of sorrow.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois, the minority whip, Mr. ARENDS.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, that BILL BATES is no longer with us is to me almost beyond belief. Perhaps it is because I do not want to believe. While I recognize the reality of death that comes to all men, I find it difficult to acknowledge to myself that it has come to one who has meant so much to me in so many ways.

He was my closest friend for whom I had the deepest affection—an affection beyond measure. We sat next to each other on the Armed Services Committee. He was my assistant regional whip. We worked together as delegates to the NATO conferences. We frequently played golf together. Our families had a mutuality of interests and sought each other's company. Our ideas and our ideals were similar. We shared confidences. We shared our problems, seeking the benefit of each other's advice. We shared our sorrows, and we shared our joys.

This is the friend I have lost. He was more than a friend, more like a brother. I do not know how to express it. He was a part of me, now departed, not possible to be restored.

No finer man ever served in the Congress. No finer friend could any man have. He was a true nobleman—the noblest of the noble: In character, in personality, and in intellect. He was a dedicated family man and a dedicated legislator. He was, in the fullest sense, a true patriot—dedicated to the service of God and dedicated to the service of country.

I have been richly blessed to have had such a close association with BILL BATES. This is now denied me. But there remains with me a mental treasury of memories.

BILL gave so much and had so much to contribute it becomes difficult to understand why, in the prime of life, he was taken from us. But it is not for us to reason why. In our faith will be found the understanding we seek in our sorrow. "Our Father who art in Heaven . . . Thy will be done, on earth as it is in Heaven."

Of our beloved friend and colleague it can be truly said: "Well done My true and faithful servant."

My wife Betty and I extend our heartfelt sympathy to his devoted wife, Jean, to their daughter, Susan, and the Bates family. I am sure they know that we and countless others share their loss and share their sorrow.

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

Mr. CONTE. I yield to the distinguished Speaker.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, our late friend BILL BATES has been taken from our midst in the prime of his life, a Member of extraordinary ability and profound patriotism and one who was possessed of a striking and impressive personality.

When BILL BATES came to the House as his father's successor, I little thought that one day I would have the painful task of eulogizing the son, just as I had eulogized the father, the late George J. Bates, who was tragically killed in an unfortunate aircraft collision over National Airport in 1949. And, I might say that I served in the House of Representatives in Massachusetts with George Bates, the late father of our dear departed colleague BILL BATES. Father and son shared many praiseworthy qualities, and I enjoyed the warmest friendship with both of them. Now they are both gone, and I feel the grief of so many other bereaved friends of their fine family.

BILL was born in Salem on April 26, 1917, and attended Salem's public schools and Worcester Academy. He was a devoted student, graduating from Brown University and the Harvard University Business School. He served in the Navy during World War II, participating heroically in the assault on Iwo Jima. At the time of his death he was a captain in his country's Naval Reserve.

In peace and in war he served our country with outstanding ability and great courage. He brought his unequivocal dedication to the naval service with him to Congress in 1950, and, in time, he became the ranking Republican member of the House Armed Services Committee, which position he occupied at the time of his death. There he helped to make clear the case for a modernized, nuclear Navy, a Navy second to none in the world. At the time of his death he was working upon its modernization. He also served with fervent dedication as the second ranking Republican member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

After winning the special election that brought him to this House which his father had served so long and so well, BILL BATES won every succeeding election. I know the makeup of his district and it might well be said that it was a "BATES district," both father and son. He did so because his constituents recognized a leader when they saw one; they knew a loyal and staunch patriot when they were in his presence; they comprehended fully the quality of the representation they were being accorded by this great American.

There are thousands upon thousands of residents of the Sixth Congressional District of Massachusetts who were proud of BILL BATES and his record of service to his country. They mourn with us a grievous loss to the House of Representatives and to the country in whose interests he gave his all.

In these hours of their deep bereavement, I know that his widow, his daughter, his mother, and his brothers and sisters, will find consolation in the knowledge that his colleagues treasured their friendship with him and, with the citizens of his district and of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts whom he represented with such distinction, will never forget him.

BILL BATES is not with us now physically, but he is with us in spirit, for he was not only an outstanding legislator, he was a great American.

Mrs. McCormack and I extend to Mrs. Bates, the widow, and to her loved ones, our deep sympathy in their great loss and sorrow.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I now yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. KEITH).

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, on the day following Congressman BILL BATES' untimely death a number of us spoke extemporaneously before the House, expressing to the best of our abilities our feelings at that tragic time. I was one of those.

Now more than 2 weeks have passed since we first heard the sad news of BILL's passing, and we have all had time to reflect on the loss of this unusual man.

Yet, somehow the words and phrases come no more easily now than they did then, when the shock was still fresh in our minds. For the loss of BILL BATES is not something that can be easily translated into spoken English.

BILL BATES meant so much to so many of us that it is hard to know where to begin in reflecting on his qualities as a man and a public servant.

He was a good friend—always ready to lend assistance, always concerned about the welfare of others, always dealing with his colleagues in a cheery, personable manner.

He was a good Congressman for his district. In his 19 years in Congress he did much that his district—and indeed the whole New England region—can be thankful for. His aid to the shoe industry, to the fishing industry, and to the educational institutions in the area will be of lasting effect, and long remembered.

He was, as well, a good Congressman for the Nation. In his role as ranking Republican on the Armed Services Committee, BILL BATES put his mark on much of the defense legislation that has kept this country free. His advocacy of a strong, modern, Defense Establishment was well known, and his was one of the strongest voices raised in favor of using nuclear energy in the Navy. He was a leading proponent of the peaceful use of atomic energy as well, and the marine products development irradiator in Gloucester stands as a monument to his efforts in this field.

Beyond the public, BILL BATES, there was another side—the family man. I was privileged to know BILL's family, and if there is any consolation one can offer at a time like this, let me say that their loss is ours and the Nation's as well.

BILL was, as our colleague SILVIO CONTE has so aptly put it, a Christian gentleman. In this era of public relations images, BILL stood out as a man who was what he appeared to be—a hard-working, friendly, thoughtful, conscientious man who was devoted to his family, his friends, his district, and his country.

All of these things were what made up BILL BATES. Yet I think that last phrase—a Christian gentleman—contains the essence of the man. There are all too few of this type of man, and it is a cause for special sorrow when one of them departs from our midst.

BILL BATES will be remembered for his service to the Nation, to his district, and to his fellow Congressmen. But most of all he will be remembered for the extraordinarily fine man that he was. And no one could ask a greater memorial than that.

Mr. Speaker, in addition to these personal remarks, I would like to have inserted in the RECORD an expression of sorrow and loss that comes from a newspaper.

The tributes to Congressman BILL BATES have been numerous, from many sources. Perhaps one of the most unusual appeared in a full-page advertisement in the Lynn, Mass., Daily Evening Item and Lynn Sunday Post. It also was published in the G.E. News in Lynn. With a pensive picture of BILL at his desk, and signed by "the Men and Women of General Electric," the message read as follows:

AN IRREPLACEABLE FRIEND

America this week mourns the loss of a United States Congressman who championed its nuclear Navy and peaceful uses of atomic energy.

At General Electric in Lynn, it is a more personal tragedy that we should so suddenly and regretfully lose our Congressman.

Were we to try to list the important qualities we seek in those who represent us in Government—honesty, dedication, concern—we would be hard put to find a person who had them in more abundance than Bill Bates.

He cared about the people in his district—the doors of his Salem and Lynn offices opened daily to those who needed a friend in government. Many General Electric men and women knew this, and because they knew it, they worked hard every two years to re-elect him.

He was also concerned about people's jobs, maintaining continuing contact with businesses such as General Electric to learn how they would be affected by actions in Washington. He was both the local Congressman and the ranking Republican on the House Armed Services Committee when he spent many hours at the plant, observing production of jet engines and turbines, asking questions that would add to an already deep reservoir of knowledge about the country's defense capabilities.

His constituents knew what Bill Bates was doing and where he stood. In April of 1964, 1966 and 1968 he came to the General Electric plant to answer employees' questions about what was taking place in Washington. We will miss him.

Congressman William H. Bates was an irreplaceable friend and Representative. We join his family, many friends, and his country in mourning his tragically premature death.

THE MEN AND WOMEN OF GENERAL ELECTRIC.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. HOLIFIELD).

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, Congressman BILL BATES was a friend as well as a colleague on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. He brought to the committee experience, understanding, judgment and wisdom, mixed with a good portion of Irish humor.

Over the past decade of his membership on the Joint Committee he was a dynamic force in supporing the development of both the peaceful and military atom.

Because I was advised that his doctor preferred that members not visit him in theh ospital. I wrote BILL an occasional letter. His answer to my last letter indicated his courage and his strong desire to, as he said:

Resume my duties as well as those pleasant associations which have become so important to me in my daily life.

This strong desire to serve his constituents and once again to associate with his friends pointed up two important goals in his life.

Further on in his letter he mentioned the discomfiture caused by his treatments, which incidentally were based on

devices and methods related to the peaceful uses of atomic energy. He went on to say:

You may be sure that after dealing with this problem, some of those there on the Hill will seem infinitesimal by comparison.

As I read those last words of his letter to me I am once again impresed with the conclusion he had reached through personal suffering and meditation. It helps me to recognize once again the importance of realizing that, burdened as the Members of Congress are and faced as we are with frustrations and irritations, nevertheless these are relatively unimportant when compared with the purpose and continuation of life itself.

We will miss BILL BATES on our committee. We will miss him as a colleague in the House.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PRICE), may be included in the RECORD following my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness in my heart that I speak of the tragic loss we have all suffered when BILL BATES passed away. Our friendship, which spanned 30 years and different political parties, was a deep one. We served together before World War II as staff assistants in the House; later we worked closely together on the Armed Services and Joint Atomic Energy Committees.

Throughout his long service to the Congress, to the people of Massachusetts—and to the people of the United States—BILL BATES displayed those qualities of leadership and competence which ultimately brought him to a position of great responsibility in the House. His steady and responsible contributions to the Armed Services Committee and his aggressive fight for a nuclear Navy in the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy will long be remembered. His judgment on all matters affecting national security in these two committees was outstanding. But perhaps most important to me, as I look back over the years, I will always remember him as a man who had a heart of gold.

The tributes being paid today are but a small reflection of the great good he did before his life was suddently cut short. I know that I am a better man for having known BILL BATES.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MORSE).

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, this Nation has lost a courageous leader. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has lost a distinguished son. This House has lost one of its most effective Members. I, like you, have lost a cherished friend.

The Sixth District of Massachusetts was ably represented by BILL BATES for almost 20 years, as it had been represented by his distinguished father for 14 years before his tragic death. Representing the district which adjoined his, serving as a member of the delegation which he led, I came to know BILL well. He was my teacher and my guide. We shared common problems of our States, and a common love for our country.

BILL gave of himself in every endeavor—as a naval officer, as ranking Republican member of the Armed Services Committee where his steady hand and mature judgment contributed so enormously to the Nation's security over the years, as an informed, conscientious member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy on which he served with characteristic distinction, as the effective representative of the people he was privileged to serve here in the House for whom he worked so tirelessly, and in every other activity he undertook.

But most of all, he gave of his friendship. Everyone of us was enriched by his kindness, his warmth, his friendliness, his humor, and his integrity. BILL BATES will be missed in every capacity in which he served, but it is the deep sorrow of losing a true and loyal friend that is hardest to bear.

It is to pay tribute to BILL BATES as a courageous and effective legislator and a good and valued friend that I stand here today confined as I am by the limits of language in expressing my respect for him. I have never known a more honest, a more decent man than BILL BATES. I have never known a finer Christian. I have never known a greater American.

But in memory of BILL BATES, my friend, I cannot find the words to use. I can but bow my head out of love and sadness, and by the depth of silence let my grief be echoed.

Mrs. Morse and I extend to BILL's brave and gracious wife, Jean, to his beloved daughter, Susan, to his revered mother, to the brothers and sisters to whom BILL was so devoted, our deepest sympathy.

Mr. Speaker, John Lindsay, the distinguished mayor of New York, was among those privileged to serve with BILL here in the House. When BILL died, John wrote to me to ask that I extend his sympathy to his family and his friends in the House. I include Mayor Lindsay's letter at this point in the RECORD:

JUNE 24, 1969.

Hon. BRADFORD F. MORSE,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR BRAD: I am deeply shocked by Bill Bates' death. He was a most superb person and Congressman who leaves a lasting impression on the House and the institution as a whole. He brought to public life a quality of character, excellence and professionalism, and decency as a person.

Bill's untimely death is a loss to his district, his state and the nation.

I hope you will extend my most profound sympathies, especially to his family, his friends and fellow colleagues of the Massachusetts delegation.

Sincerely,

JOHN V. LINDSAY,
*Mayor.*

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. O'NEILL).

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, There are many ways that a man can contribute to the world in which he lives. He can give of his intelligence, his talent, his ingenuity, his energy, his time. These are laudable, valuable contributions: and every one was made by BILL BATES.

But the thing BILL gave that I will remember longest, and miss most, is not one of these. It is something relatively few men give, and so is more highly prized where it is found. This is goodness.

BILL BATES was a good man. He truly cared about others. His work on behalf of his constituents was never just a job to him; it was the visible result of his personal concern for their problems.

And just as constituents have problems, their Representatives have problems trying to serve them.

There is often a tendency to become wrapped up in these, to concentrate on them to the exclusion of other concerns. This was never true of BILL BATES.

He would always notice the preoccupation of a colleague, always ask the reason, always help when he could. And when he could not give anything more concrete, he gave a sympathetic, an encouraging, or most often a humorous word. That word alone often helped more than anything else, because it showed that he cared enough about your burden to want to share it; and knowing this, you felt stronger in dealing with it.

BILL had the basic love and concern for his fellows that truly is goodness. His presence was a daily reminder of the value of a kind heart and a warm word.

It has been said that what is good is that which inspires one to be good. For this, above other fine qualities—and they were many—BILL was loved by his friends and colleagues. For this, he will be sorely missed. For this, the world will be the poorer without him.

BILL was struck down in the prime of life. But he had already established a record of outstanding service to his country. BILL BATES attended Brown University and Harvard Business School, he served in the Navy during World War II and intended to make a career. When his father was tragically killed in an airplane crash, he rose above his personal grief to take up the job that had been left unfinished; on February 14, 1950, he was elected to fill his father's seat as the Representative of the Sixth District of Massachusetts.

During his years of service in the House, BILL was an exemplary Member. He was always knowledgeable and well informed about the issues. He had a fine power of analysis, and great foresight, he made his decisions calmly, deliberately, and never on a mere partisan basis. This was evidenced by the fact that he was consistently returned to the House by a district having a large Democratic element, although he himself was a Republican.

As ranking Republican member of the Armed Services Committee, BILL was wholeheartedly dedicated to the national defense. He was an expert in military matters, especially naval matters. His integrity, his honesty, his calmness, and his courage made him an invaluable, highly respected and admired voice in these matters. It is a great tragedy that in these times of turmoil, of heated de-

bate, this clear and calming voice will be lost.

To the committee on which he served so faithfully—the Armed Services Committee and the Joint Atomic Energy Committee; to his friends and colleagues in the Congress; to his district; to the Nation as a whole, the tragic loss of BILL BATES is incalculable.

We admired him; we respected him; we loved him; and we mourn him.

Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point an article from the Newburyport, Mass., Daily News of June 24, 1969, which was also published in the Beverly, Gloucester, and Peabody Times:

BILL BATES, A GOOD MAN

(By Bill Plante)

It is a tough thing to take when a good man dies, and it is even worse when the good man is an elected official.

That's what Bill Bates was, a good man who served us as Congressman for almost 20 years.

It is always easy to fault an elected official, and we did not always agree with Bill Bates. But that was neither here nor there as far as our evaluation of him was concerned.

Bill Bates was more than an honest man. He was a decent man who was honestly concerned for his country and the people of his district. It was a matter of no small pride to him that he was the senior ranking Republican on the Armed Services Committee. He had left the Navy to take on the responsibilities which his father had handled so well, after the fatal crash in the Potomac River which ended his dad's life. And his Navy experience gave him a considerable orientation in the direction of this nation's defensive needs.

Last Talk—My last conversation with Bill Bates concerned the ABM debate. We had taken editorial issue with the administration concerning the ABM, and had urged the congressman to use his influence against its installation.

Bill Bates called me from Washington after reading our editorial to explain his concern. As usual, he was factual, patient, and friendly. He knew his position was politically unpopular.

"But I've got to do what I believe is best for my country," he said.

There was no flag-waving about it, no self-righteousness. He made the statement as a matter of common fact, just as though everyone could and would say such a thing.

There was another part of that conversation which sent a chill along my spine.

I had asked him the usual "How have you been?" as a courtesy.

"I've been taking some tests at the hospital," he said. "I've got to go back in for some more. Some of the tests seem to be okay, but some appear to say something is wrong."

As things turned out, it was the latter that were right.

The conversation was my last with Bill Bates.

We had a number of them over 19 years, some of which concerned unemployment problems in our district and what he was doing about them. Some included politics, of course, a topic which he left pretty much alone until election time, but about which he could become the tiger if opposition appeared imminent.

Some involved harbor improvements at Newburyport, in which I have been particularly interested. And here, his presence on the Armed Services Committee was a decided factor in getting immediate corrective action from the Corps of Engineers whenever the public safety became a matter for urgency.

Served So Well—But I was only one, and my home community was only one. Bill Bates was considered unbeatable simply because he served his district so well. His strength extended through both parties and solidly through the independents. Liberals might fault him in some areas, but they had to be impressed with his attention to his district's needs.

There have been more colorful Congressmen in the past 20 years. There have been those who have made the national spotlight on "big" issues. Bill Bates was not of this type. His style and his purpose were directed to service, solid, if unspectacular service to his country and to his constituents. He was one Congressman who did not put himself and his ambitions above either.

And that is why it is tough to lose him.

Mr. CONTE. I thank the gentleman.

I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. PIRNIE).

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, the untimely death of our colleague, WILLIAM H. BATES of Massachusetts, plunged this House into grief that is deep and universal. The ability and integrity of this man commanded genuine respect, while his winning smile and cheerful personality made life the happier for those around him.

BILL succeeded his dad as Representative of the Sixth District, following an air crash which brought to an end a distinguished career. His election was a tribute to the Bates name and a vote of confidence in a dashing, forceful Navy officer. It had been a difficult decision for this officer to make. He loved the Navy and had demonstrated great capability in the service. However, his choice proved a wise one. Not only was he elected to fill the vacancy, but 10 times thereafter in a district not particularly favorable to his party.

Serving with BILL on the Armed Services Committee offered me an excellent opportunity to see this man in action. I admired his knowledge, his tact, and enthusiastic dedication. Arriving as he did to the position of ranking member, he proved a forceful, competent leader. It was a pleasure to be associated with him in these tasks because of his fairness and objectivity. His excellent mind and intensive background contributed much to the efficiency and the morale of the services and thus, to the security of our Nation.

Yes, BILL was a man of integrity, a man of action, and a man of compassion. His like is sorely needed and his loss is monumental. We express to his beloved wife, Jean, and his daughter, Susan, and the entire family, our profound sympathy, confident that treasured memories of their devoted and distinguished husband and dad will remain a source of inspiration and comfort throughout their lives.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the death of our colleague, BILL BATES, came as a keen shock to all who knew him.

His death is a tragic example of the fierceness and voraciousness of cancer. Just a few short months ago, he was the picture of health—robust, cheerful, active. Yet, today, he is no longer with us in life.

Mr. Speaker, if there ever was a finer human being than BILL BATES, I did not know him. Intellectually, morally, physically, socially—in every way—he, indeed, was the perfect gentleman.

He came by all of these attributes naturally—nurtured by a splendid family and educational background. He was, indeed, a "chip off the old block." One need but look at his uniform success in public life to understand that he was imbued with the spirit and dedication of his great father, the Honorable George Bates, whose seat he took in this House.

He, more than a lot of us, understood the temper and tide of the times, but he was never panicked by them. He did his work in this body, for his country, his State, and his district, better than most of us. And always, he found time to mingle with the people he represented and to identify himself with them. He was never a partisan in matters that affected his area. I suspect that the best proof of this is that he was continuously returned to represent a district, that, if not Democratic in makeup, is assuredly marginal politically.

Our Nation has lost a strong leader at a time that it can ill afford it. Our State of Massachusetts will miss him and his own district will remember him for what he was and what he did. I have lost a good and solid friend.

To his devoted wife, Jean, and to his daughter, Susan, to his mother and to his entire family I extend my sympathy in their hour of sorrow.

Mr. Speaker, one of the most able and perceptive newspaper reporters on the Washington scene is Donald Larrabee. As the Lynn, Mass., Item's Washington correspondent, Don Larrabee had many occasions to talk to and observe BILL BATE'S ability—his personality and character. Mr. Larrabee's tribute to our beloved colleague was printed in the Lynn, Mass., Item of June 23, 1969.

I include this fine tribute to be inserted in the RECORD:

CONGRESSMAN BATES' HALLMARK: HIS QUIET DEVOTION

(By Donald R. Larrabee)

WASHINGTON.—If William H. Bates had any vice, it was that he devoted himself almost completely to his job as a congressman.

He didn't smoke or drink or socialize in the usual Washington sense. He attended to his committee chores. He served his district and its economic interests.

He attended to his committee chores. He served his district and its economic interests. He did his homework and injected common sense and uncommon judgment into some of the most important military decisions of the past two decades. He did all of this in a plodding, unobstrusive way—without issuing sensational or provocative charges or ever getting a headline in the Washington papers.

Bill Bates would have been chairman of the House Armed Services Committee if the Republicans had controlled congress. But he was one of the least known names and personalities in Washington, except perhaps within the inner circle of the Pentagon. Bates could keep a secret and his head was full of them. He was in the very select group of congressmen who are given the most confidential facts of our military posture. For years, he has had complete intelligence briefings on a weekly basis and has enjoyed the confidence of four Presidents.

This reporter learned, quite by accident one day, that Bates was a rather regular golfing companion of President Eisenhower at the Burning Tree Club in nearby Maryland. The congressman never divulged the President's score, much less any of the other bits of gossip to which he was privy.

In floor debate on military bills, he defended his committee's actions and the members came to respect his word. His voice never rose in anger and he spoke only when he had a contribution to make. Behind the scenes, he battled for the industries and the institutions that meant something to Massachusetts and New England—in terms of jobs, if not prestige.

Like his father before him, he fought a determined battle at every session against imports of footwear and fishery products which were harming old-line companies in Haverhill, Amesbury, Lynn and Gloucester. He was working this year with Rep. James Burke (D-Mass.) to place a massive petition before President Nixon seeking a negotiated agreement to curtail shoes imports.

He was also working quietly to save the big nuclear submarine repair yard at Portsmouth, N.H., which was ordered closed in 1974 by the Johnson administration. Hundreds of workers from his nearby Massachusetts district are employed at the yard.

Bates, with Rep. Philip Philbin (D-Mass.), ranking Democrat on the Armed Services Committee, had much to do with bringing the Army's Quartermaser Research Laboratory to Natick, and retaining the Boston Naval Shipyard.

Bates who also sat on the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, was a leader in the field of peaceful uses of the atom, particularly in the area of food preservations by means of radiation. He was an annual delegate to Internation Atomic Conferences and had visited every American military outpost in the world.

There are no major laws that bear his name but many that bear his imprint. Democrats in Congress from Massachusetts respected him so much that they would have secretly worked against any serious Democratic challenger from the North Shore district.

There were many who urged him to seek higher office a few years back. The governorship was frequently dangled before him. But Bates confided to this writer that he was doing an immensely satisfying job as a congressman and one where he felt he could make a greater contribution to the Commonwealth and his country.

Early this year he entered Bethesda Naval Hospital for a checkup. No one knew that this man with a happy face had a stomach that hurt.

Bill Bates was a citizen soldier who died, without any fanfare in the service of his country.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my colleague from Texas (Mr. FISHER).

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I fully share the admiration that has been expressed here concerning the late and lamented BILL BATES. He was undoubtedly one of the most delightful, most affable, and most talented men I have known during my tenure in this body. I believe I am safe in saying that because he operated on such a high level BILL BATES was one man about whom no one ever cast a disparaging remark.

It was my privilege to know him well. I served with him on the Armed Services Committee. On occasions I traveled with him. I never saw him when he was not smiling and cheerful. BILL was a man of strong convictions, which he often asserted with courage, candor, and firmness. On our committee he was a tower of strength. He was one of the most learned men on matters relating to the military I have known. In that respect he compares with our present chairman, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. RIVERS), and the immediate past chairman, the great and incomparable Carl Vinson, and also the former distinguished chairman, Dewey Short, who made eloquent tribute to his departed friend at the funeral services.

Mr. Speaker, BILL BATES was a truly great American. In statesmanship he was preeminent. He was a perfect gentleman, a man of immense ability, a fighter for sound principles, a compassionate individual, a man of honor and integrity, and a dedicated legislator. The Nation desperately needs more men of the caliber of our departed friend.

To Mrs. Bates and other members of the family I extend my deepest sympathy in their bereavement.

(Mr. WHITE, at the request of Mr. FISHER, was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, I am a new member of the Armed Services Committee, and of a different party than was WILLIAM BATES, and therefore knew him only casually. This casualness gave me the opportunity to evaluate objectively, though superficially, the man WILLIAM BATES.

On three frames of evidence can I judge him, my own experience, and how two different groups regarded him. Personally, on the occasions of my two encounters with him he treated me with politeness and friendliness. I was struck by his joviality, his self-confidence, and command.

It is said that a Congressman has two constituencies, one in his own district, and the other his colleagues in Congress. Each day he builds or destroys his reputation with each constituency.

With each eulogy today it is apparent how well BILL BATES built his reputation in the Congress. As an objective witness of his colleagues' reaction to him, in word and deed, I confirm that which has been said of him today.

I was honored to be a member of the funeral party from Congress. Since there were so many dignitaries, including a large number of Congressmen attending the funeral in the historic town of Salem, I would expect there to be many curiosity seekers lining the route of the funeral march, and perhaps there were some. But I was very impressed with the solemnity of and respect of the relatively large numbers of people lining the streets. These were not curiosity seekers. For the most part they were parents with their children, businessmen, and other townspeople. Pictures of Congressman BATES bordered in black were taped to shop windows and windows of homes. Mothers stood quietly on the roadways and told their small children to hush, and no one moved.

As a witness to these most respectful and impressive services, and with the evidence of each individual face I studied along the funeral path, I can conclude only that this man I casually knew was indeed a fine man, a patriot, a human being of much substance, a true product of a solid community that has its roots in the beginnings of our great country.

(Mr. LENNON, at the request of Mr. FISHER, was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. LENNON. Mr. Speaker, the death of our colleague, BILL BATES, was a keen personal loss. In close association with him as members of the Committee on Armed Services, I came to regard him as a genuine friend. The secret of friendship, as a great essayist so aptly stated, is trust. I had implicit confidence and trust in BILL. He was a gentleman in every sense.

BILL BATES was a man of wisdom and great loyalty. I admired and respected his effectiveness, his tolerance, and his fairness. He served our committee, his constituency, and our Nation faithfully and diligently. I am deeply grateful for his contribution and his warm friendship.

To Mrs. Bates and the family, I extend my sincere personal sympathy.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. WYMAN).

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to participate in this tribute to the finest Congressman I have ever known.

I speak more as a personal friend of our dear departed colleague, BILL BATES than as a Member and his colleague in this body. My association with BILL BATES goes beyond membership in this great House, where he was very kind and very good to me when I first came here as a junior Member, as he was to so many in this House on both sides of the aisle.

BILL always had a friendly hand for all Members in need, and yet he had the courage, the fighting will, the determination to face gut challenges, as the gentlemen who have spoken so highly of him here today have repeatedly indicated.

Mr. Speaker, when I was out at Bethesda Naval Hospital with blood poisoning over Memorial Day, BILL came to my room from his room on the same floor of the hospital. I had intravenous penicillin and I could not get out of bed. Yet BILL walked from his room over to mine and sat down and attempted, if you can believe it, to console me when my heart and soul was in torment for him. He did say, sort of wistfully, "At least, LOU, you are going to be leaving here sometime."

I knew that BILL BATES was an important person when I first came to the Congress. I knew that he was powerful as the senior ranking member on the Republican side of the Committee on Armed Services at a time when perhaps no committee is as powerful as the Committee on Armed Services in the affairs of a country at war. But you would never know that he was powerful from BILL. BILL always had a smile, he always had humility, and he always had reverence. His concern for our military men and their welfare and for the security of this country against its foreign enemies exceeded or at least equaled that of any other Member of this body. Yet he did not carry it like a kleig light on his suit.

Mr. Speaker, there are two other simple facts I would like to mention about BILL BATES. I played golf with him, too, on many occasions as did the distinguished Member from Illinois (Mr. ARENDS). One of those occasions was late last fall when on a golf course that had a par 72, BILL BATES, who left us because

of the scourge of cancer just a few days ago, scored a 73. I was tremendously impressed. He was an excellent golfer and a fine competitor.

Mr. Speaker, one of the most tragic things about his death is that just 2 years ago he, and his lovely wife Jean bought a camp at Lake Winnipesaukee in New Hampshire in my district. In Indian language "Winnipesaukee" means the "Smile of the Great Spirit." BILL's cabin was on northern shores of that lake. It had blueberries and sandy beaches, and BILL took an interest in and had enthusiasm for this camp. I went up there to visit him. He was very happy there and spoke of the years ahead when he could retire and spend more time there. It is awful that a man so deserving should have been denied this.

For no reason, Mr. Speaker, BILL has been called and has left us. Our sympathies and our heartfelt sorrow go out to his beautiful and courageous wife Jean and his pretty daughter Sue and the members of his family. Perhaps the best way to look at his tragic passing is to believe that God has more important work elsewhere for such a fine man. There was no other reason to take him away from us.

So, as BILL is now in the happy hunting grounds, we mourn his loss and we are grateful for the years of friendship and association with him that enriched our lives. We think of him as carrying on as dear in the love of there as in the love of here. We think of him still the same—I say he is not dead. He is just away.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my colleague from Missouri (Mr. HUNGATE).

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I was not of the same party nor of the same State as BILL BATES, and I did not serve on the same committee with him, but one event occurred in debate that was unforgettable to me. There was an important measure relating to national defense up on the floor. I was detained, as some of us are at times, with constituents and phone calls. I came to the floor and BILL BATES came to the floor and I asked some questions that were not really friendly. As you know how capable and aggressive and able BILL was, he answered my questions thoroughly and completely and, as a matter of fact, when he got through I wished that I had never thought of them. That was not unusual in debate, but what occurred next was. In about 15 or 20 minutes BILL BATES came by and said that he was revising and extending his remarks and he wondered if I wanted to revise mine, and he would revise his in such a way that there was no unnecessary unfavorable light placed on any Member. This is the sort of dimension which this man had, vigorous and aggressive, working for the best interests of our country, but concerned also that he not embarass any other Member unnecessarily.

Mr. Speaker, BILL BATES was a big man any way you looked at him.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CONTE. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest privileges given those of us who attempt to serve our Nation and our constituents in this body is the opportunity to know the men and women who share this responsibility we have. I consider the opportunity to have known BILL BATES and to have served with him in the U.S. Congress as one of the high privileges I have enjoyed.

Knowledgeable in the intricate business of Government and the awesome responsibility of seeing to the specialized needs of our Nation's defense, BILL served his nation and all its people well. The men, women, and children who are my constituents in Ohio may never have known BILL BATES, but they benefited as Americans from his leadership in defense matters without sharing the privilege of knowing him.

The people of his Massachusetts district, of course, knew BILL personally and could take joy from that just as they could take pride in his service to his nation and satisfaction in his work for them and their district. More than that, his constituency is to be honored for recognizing his abilities and his leadership and returning him to Congress again and again.

Capable Congressman and able leader, patriot and politician, all these and more. BILL BATES was a strong family man, a real gentleman, and a friendly and cordial human. As a fellow congressional brat, I understand the affection he had for this body and all its Members. It was as warm and sincere as was his love for his Massachusetts district which he fit like a glove and for his family which he worshipped.

To his family, his constituency, and to all of us, I extend sympathy. We are richer for having known BILL and poorer for having lost him.

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

Mr. CONTE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, BILL BATES was one of the finest Members of this House I have had the pleasure of knowing and serving with. His untimely death takes from this Chamber a man who was intensely and profoundly knowledgeable in many of the most important issues of the day, especially those related to national defense and the uses of atomic energy. We shall be the weaker here on this floor because the penetrating and discerning mind, and the commonsense, down-to-earth good judgment of BILL BATES are gone.

But equally, we have been deprived of one of the most friendly, most genuinely joyous and exuberant Members of this House, a man whose friendliness and warming smile were really unique among his colleagues, and whose qualities of character and patience helped to lubricate the sometimes ponderous and frequently sticky wheels of legislative achievements in a most successful way.

For the 11 years I have been privileged to serve in this body I was proud to be a friend of BILL BATES. We served together in the Naval Reserve unit that functioned for a time here on this Hill, and our group had no more regular or dedicated member than the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Though BILL had given up a very promising naval career to come to the Congress 19 years ago, he never lost his interest in and his devotion to the Navy, which he continued to serve until his death as a Reserve officer.

In addition, I had the privilege of working with BILL through all these years on the Armed Services Committee. When I came to Congress in 1959 BILL was one of the more junior members on the Republican side of the aisle. But he was also one of the committee's most knowledgeable and discerning questioners. We who were freshmen members soon came to recognize that BILL BATES was among the most effective members of the whole committee—and one of the least partisan. As a result he accomplished much for those aspects of defense in which he had a special interest.

In the past 4 years, as the committee's ranking minority member, BILL BATES also proved to be a real leader, and a real stalwart for a solid, sensible national defense. He fought for a rehabilitated and revitalized Navy, to meet the twin threats of growing American obsolescence and growing Soviet naval expansion. He fought for increased submarine strength and for increased capability against Soviet submarines.

And as a member of the special Hardy subcommittee investigating our worldwide defense commitments during 1967 and 1968, BILL BATES made a unique contribution. He was a pillar of strength, a pillar of good sense, a man who could always be counted on to cut swiftly, sometimes even bluntly, through cant and evasion to get to the heart of any matter under discussion.

Our committee will miss his decisiveness, his wry humor, and his tremendous capacity for hard work as we face the increasingly more difficult problems ahead of us this year.

Nothing was perhaps more characteristic of BILL BATES' attitude toward life than the manner of his leaving it. Though he apparently had some intimation of his final illness, when the committee reconvened early this year, BILL never uttered a complaint, never dropped his familiar smile, never imposed his own worries on his friends and colleagues. As a result, even when he entered Bethesda Naval Hospital we could not really believe that he was ill. He was just too vital a person; it was just to unbelievable to think of BILL BATES as being sick or incapacitated in any way, most certainly he would soon be back among us again, cheering us up, bringing his own warmth and enthusiasm to grace our meetings, and the notes we got from BILL from his hospital room continued to reflect that same jovial, optimistic spirit.

Even though we eventually learned the nature of his illness, we could just not bring ourselves to believe that BILL BATES would not somehow overcome it all, and soon be back among us again. The news of his final passing came literally as an unexpected shock to all of us. Perhaps it should not have, but it did. Not BILL BATES. Anybody but BILL BATES.

Mr. Speaker, BILL BATES is gone now from these Halls and all of us are the poorer for having lost him. But we are grateful for having had the opportunity, if only for a season, of basking in the sunshine of his smile and his personality, and we will always be the better for it. We pause to salute our friend here today, Mr. Speaker, and we shall do our level best to carry on for him the work which he advanced so brilliantly, to build a stronger and a safer and a more prosperous America for all of us.

The stately ships sail on
To their haven under the hill,
But, oh for the touch of a vanished hand,
And the sound of a voice that is still.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. WIDNALL).

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, my heart is full when I rise to speak about our long-time friend and colleague BILL BATES. First I have always found myself particularly inadequate in having the ability to say the right thing at a time when one really is emotionally involved. I respected and admired BILL BATES very much. We came to Congress at about the same time—I happened to precede him by 2 weeks—in February of 1950. With our colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. JOHN SAYLOR, BILL and I were the three that called ourselves "The Illegitimates," because we came in in between elections. We were not picked up in any class of the Congress, or anything like that. We were never invited to special briefings where we heard the inside story from the administration, or from those who were in power in the agencies, and we did not have the opportunity sometimes to socialize with Members of our own group, because we had come in at the wrong time, in between elections.

I found soon after I was here that BILL BATES was building himself a reputation as one of the finest Members in Congress. I also found that he had gone to the same alma mater that I had—Brown University, where he had been a very outstanding representative in athletics, a man with fine abilities all the way through, and with a good academic record when he graduated from the university. He left behind him at the university a very healthy heritage. He was a fine example there, as he was throughout his life.

Wherever he came in contact with others, BILL was human, understanding, and outgoing. I know when we moved from one office building to another, and we left BILL at that point, who had been officed down the corridor, that the people on my staff hated to move because they were going to miss his early morning greeting as he came down the hall and said "Hello, hello," in a way that was warm and appreciated by all.

He always had a smile. He was always one who gave a buoying effect to the life of others, and we loved to have him around.

BILL made great contributions in the House, with his work on the committee, with his devotion to the service that he was in, and let us not forget his devotion to his family. That was always first with him. He never neglected his family because of politics.

Always, through year after year, he built and commanded the respect of his colleagues in the House because they knew they could depend on him. He was one who believed in the best for America, and the best for the country.

And he would press his point to the full, although sometimes it might not be the popular viewpoint.

He has a fine family. He was a good man. He was a great father. He just had a friendly way about him that won friendship. He never lost friends—he gained friends. Year by year he built his constituency which was not just a place in Massachusetts but the world in which he moved.

BILL is one whose example can be taken by all of us in the Congress. If when we have to pass on we could have the same type of record he had, I am sure we could go with pride in our hearts that we have been responsible for a job well done.

To Jean and the family, Marjorie and I wish to extend our sincerest sympathy. BILL was a good man, a fine man, and a great American.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. LEGGETT).

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker the House of Representatives and this Nation are better places because of the outstanding service of our and my friend, BILL BATES of Massachusetts. His death last week created a vacancy in the hearts of my House Armed Services Committee on which he served that will not be replaced.

BILL was a great American though a member of the other great national party than myself. Partisanship was never a bar to true friendship for him. BILL had a lucid intellect in committee—concerned primarily with national security—he was not a rubberstamp to Pentagon demands; his concern was that defense funds not be wasted.

BILL's concern when I first met him 7 years ago was for the Navy that he loved and, particularly, the health of the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard. As long as BILL was in Congress nobody ever seriously questioned that this remarkable naval shipyard would ever be scrapped. As a tribute to our colleague and because the decision was wrong I think that the best thing and prudent action that his House Armed Services Committee should do would be to formally set aside in legislation the Secretary of Defense order of November 1965 fixing an unrealistic limited life on this great naval shipyard.

To BILL's wife and daughter I want to extend sympathy from the Democratic side and to assure you that in the mind of this Congress your husband and father made a continuing significant contribution to his country.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my colleague, the gentleman from New York (Mr. PIKE).

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, there are very few Americans alive today of whom it can be said honestly that the Nation as a whole would miss them. It can be said honestly that the Nation will indeed miss BILL BATES.

From his vantage point as ranking Republican on the House Armed Services Committee, BILL saw the Nation's problems with foresight, insight, and perspective. He not only understood the weakness of the Nation, he understood its strengths, too, and moved quietly and competently to correct its weaknesses and preserve its strengths.

He would undoubtedly have enjoyed being chairman of the committee, and he would have made a good one, too, but the fates decreed that he should be the leader of the minority, and he fulfilled that role with honor and judgment and wisdom. He could usually contribute a warm laugh to a tense situation and a kind word to a person with whom he disagreed. He brought a balance and a stability to the deliberations of the committee and of the Congress. We can ill afford to lose these attributes, and the committee, the Congress and the Nation are all poorer places for his passing.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the words of the gentleman from Washington (Mr. HICKS) may be included at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleagues in tribute to WILLIAM H. BATES.

Although he had been here many years, although he had earned considerably more influence in the affairs of the Congress than most of us can hope ever to have, although he was one of the busiest men on Capitol Hill—he still had time for a freshman Congressman, and he took that time to make this one feel at home.

When I first arrived in 1965, I sat directly in front of Mr. BATES in the seating arrangement of the Committee on Armed Services. He was in the upper row and I was in the lower, and as you well know it is a long, long way between those rows as we measure distances here. Still, BILL BATES bridged that distance most generously. We talked frequently and at some length during lulls in our hearings, and I came to know and appreciate his vast knowledge and generous nature. And the better I got to know him, the more I respected him. His great knowledge of the affairs of the committee and of the Congress, he shared willingly and without once revealing any impatience that he no doubt often felt.

I was not the exception, of course. He was as kind and patient with all with whom he came in contact. He was busy, and he never truly had time; but he made time for those who needed help. I suppose, looking back, that I imposed on him too much. But he never let me feel that I was imposing.

You know, Mr. Speaker, in this place of power and pressures, you can hear just about anything you are willing to listen to, about anybody. Under that circumstance, I consider it remarkable to the point of being phenomenal that never once did a single unkind word come to my attention concerning BILL BATES, despite his length of service and prestigious position on the committee and in the Congress.

I found BILL BATES to be a strong and wise and generous and patient man; a gentleman, and an extremely effective Member of Congress.

I miss him, and the Congress misses him. We all are the worse for his passing.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. DICKINSON).

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, nothing could have saddened me more than the news of the untimely death of our friend and colleague, Representative WILLIAM H. BATES of the Sixth Congressional District of Massachusetts. The House of Representatives, the State of Massachusetts, and the entire Nation have lost a dedicated public servant—one to whom most of us in this Chamber have looked for advice and consultation at one time or another.

BILL BATES, ranking Republican on the House Armed Services Committee, was one of the hardest working and most dedicated Members of the House. His service to the people of his district for 19 years stands as a goal toward which all Members of the House should work. He was one of the most knowledgeable men in the field of military affairs in the Nation and perhaps knew more about the Navy than any other Member of the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, BILL BATES was my friend, and his passing leaves a void in this Chamber that will not be filled for many years. His effervescent personality, his constant smile, and his friendly nature will be sorely missed by all of us. To his widow, his daughter, and all other members of his family, I express my deepest sympathy for their loss.

It was through BILL BATES that I got on the Armed Services Committee. It was principally through his influence that I got my subcommittee assignments. I felt very close to BILL, and in retrospect I cannot think of him in my mind's eye that I do not see him smiling. If he had a trademark, it was with his chest stuck out and a big smile on his face. He was a big man in every respect, but a gentle person. He will be sorely missed because here, indeed, was a man touched with greatness. Few, if any, will ever know what he really meant to this country and to its security by virtue of the position he held in this Congress and on his committee.

I am very pleased and honored to be able to join with my colleagues in tribute to this great American today. Every man and every woman in this country lost a friend with the passing of BILL even if they did not know him. And those that did know him will always miss him.

Mr. CONTE. I thank my colleague.

I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman from Massachusetts yielding to me. I would not want this day go by without joining in this tribute to our beloved colleague, BILL BATES. It was my privilege to serve with him, for several terms as a member of our Armed Services Committee. BILL was the distinguished son of a distinguished father. He succeeded his father, George Bates, in the Congress in 1950. At the time of his election he had already distinguished himself in the naval service for more than 9 years, because in order to come to Congress he had to resign his commission as lieutenant commander in the U.S. Navy.

The regard or esteem which fellow Members have for a colleague is in itself not only a mark of his success in Congress but a good measuring rod of the man himself. To say BILL was respected, admired, and held in high esteem is an understatement. He was genuinely beloved by all of his associates, on both sides of the aisle.

The previous speaker made reference to his good disposition and to the fact that he always carried a smile. I would go even further to say that his good disposition was contagious. He had a way, regardless of how one might feel, to make his colleagues feel better by just enjoying a brief visit with him. I distinctly recall that in the old days, before the Rayburn Building, as we would pass walking through the tunnel, he would frequently say to a colleague with a serious or worried expression on his face, "Oh, come now, it isn't that bad. This isn't the end of the world. Come on, cheer up. Things are not really as bad as they sometimes seem."

Time and time when I was in company with a family of visiting constitutents, I have passed BILL in the hall or in an elevator or on the subway cars. He would always take the time to praise his fellow Congressman in the presence of his constituents and to tell them how lucky they were to be represented by such a good man. I realize this may be a commonplace practice, but he made his remarks seem so genuine and so sincere that I had the feeling my people believed what he was saying was really true.

He was a real hard worker on our Armed Services Committee. He was a man who was knowledgeable because he did his homework. He was so well informed that, when we would have a witness before the committee, he would frequently correct the testimony of the witness, for factual errors. Many times he would go so far as to say, "You testified differently last year. That is not what you told us last year. You had a different story last year. Now why do you tell us something else this year?"

It was amazing the knowledge he possessed of the Armed Forces. No Member was better informed on all branches of the service than BILL BATES.

It has been our sad duty to attend the memorial services for several of our departed colleagues over the past several years. Yet I have never seen a greater tribute to any Member than the outpouring in Salem, Mass. There was an expression of sincere sorrow on the faces of those thousands of people who lined the streets on June 26 in the beautiful city of Salem. Among that great outpouring was the Governor of his State, his two U. S. Senators, a member of the President's Cabinet, the entire Massachusetts delegation, and about 20 members from the Joint Atomic Energy Committee and the Armed Services Committee. Present were the great, the near great, and his fellow townsmen—but they all exhibited their grief, knowing they were poorer because of the loss of a valued friend.

On several occasions BILL would say, "You know, I have something in common with you, Bill, because my good wife came from Missouri. You know, most of you Missourians are pretty good folks." I am sure the sympathy of all of us goes out to the gracious Mrs. Bates and to the lovely daughter who was the apple of his eye. May the Good Lord bless and comfort them in their sorrow.

Mr. CONTE. I thank the gentleman from Missouri.

I yield to the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman for giving me an opportunity to pay my humble respects to a great American, BILL BATES.

I guess no one in this House or this Congress worked closer with this great American than did I. I was one of those favored with the great and priceless privilege of journeying to New England, the great, sturdy part of America from which this magnificent American came.

We have seen those countless thousands of Americans come out to pay homage and tribute to their native son. They came from all over New England. As the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. BOLAND), has said, the church, the streets, the itinerary to the cemetery were lined by people from every walk of life, grief stricken, and humble in their homage to this man. This was a sight I shall never forget.

It was fitting, at the birthplace of our Navy, for one of its heroes. He reposes in his beloved and native soil.

Mr. Speaker, all of us who have been here a number of years have served with some of the giants of the past who have trod our halls. My memory harkens back to people like Dewey Short and Frank Fellows on the Republican side, and others like Carl Vinson, Sam Rayburn, and the late Bob Doughton.

BILL BATES ranks with them all. He ranks with them all.

He was busy in his everlasting patriotism, to busy in his unlimited devotion to his country, in his indefatigable energy in behalf of the security of America. He was quite busy.

As the poet said, he was too busy to realize:

But such a tide as moving seems asleep,
Too full for sound and foam,
When that which drew from out the boundless deep
Turns again home.

That was BILL BATES. I am reminded of another giant of the past, the late Clif Woodrum, who used to remark about the vintage or the class or the group with whom we serve, like a college fraternity or a college group with whom we go either to college or to a university. He used to cite a poem I should like to share with you. It goes something like this:

Where is now that happy party
I remember years ago—
Dancing around friendly fireside
Cheered by its ruddy glow—
Or in Summer's balmy evening
In the fields upon the hay
They are all dispersed and wandered—
Far away.
Some have gone from us forever
Longer here they might not stay—
But they have found a fairer region—
Far away.

BILL BATES is one of them. Oh, yes, in God's inexorable plan his place will be fulfilled, but, Mr. Speaker, not in your time.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleagues from Massachusetts in expressing my sorrow at the death of WILLIAM H. BATES.

It was my privilege to serve with BILL BATES on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Through our work on the committee, we came to be close friends. Those of us who served with him on the joint committee respected him for his diligence and thoughtfulness in approaching the complex matters under the committee's jurisdiction.

Indeed, BILL BATES was highly respected by all who knew him. The people of the Sixth District of Massachusetts have shown their respect for him by electing him to this body in the 81st Congress and subsequently to every Congress to the present one. I respected him and admired him not only because of his work on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, but also for his compassion, sense of justice, warmth, and his dedication to serving America.

The Joint Committee, and the whole House, will miss BILL. The State of Massachusetts will miss him, and the Republican Party will miss him. I will miss him as a dear friend and esteemed colleague. Mrs. Anderson joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to this family. They are in our prayers during this time of sorrow.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is with a saddened spirit that I rise today to pay tribute to an old and dear friend and colleague, WILLIAM H. BATES. I was deeply grieved to learn of his untimely death.

Having attended St. James parochial school in Salem, Worcester Academy, Brown University, and Harvard Business School, BILL entered the Navy. BILL served until the tragic death of his father left vacant the congressional seat for the Sixth District of Massachusetts. In 1950 he was elected to that seat and remained in Congress since that time.

During these 11 terms in Congress he rose to be the ranking Republican member of the House Armed Services Committee and second ranking minority member of the Joint Commission on Atomic Energy. For the past 4 years, he served as a member of the U.S. delegation to the NATO parliamentarians conference and was a member of the conference's military committee.

A deeply religious man, BILL carried into his daily life the principles of Christianity, especially the commandment to "Love one another." For BILL BATES did love his fellow man. His entire life was a model of service and untiring efforts to improve the lives of those he served. Until the very end he fought for those less fortunate. His example will remain a source of inspiration.

His loyalty, sincerity of purpose, high ideals, and personal warmth made him a devoted friend and called forth friendship in return. I know few men who commanded as much respect, admiration, and love from all he met. This fine man was rare indeed. I shall always cherish the memory of his friendship.

My sympathy and my prayers are with Mrs. Bates and the family during this difficult time.

BILL BATES WAS MR. SERVICE

Only once during his last trying 3 months did BILL BATES talk with a newspaperman. It was James A. Shea, editor of the Salem Evening News, serving the Congressman's home city. On the day following the large and impressive funeral services, Jim Shea recalled that occasion at the Bethesda Naval Medical Center. It was as follows:

[From the Salem (Mass.) Evening News, June 27, 1969]

THE MILLION DOLLAR SMILE . . . THE FIRM HANDSHAKE . . . THE FIGHTING SPIRIT

(By Jim Shea)

SALEM.—"I'm giving this thing a real good fight, Jim."

When U.S. Rep. William H. Bates clutched my hand and uttered these words less than 2 months ago in his hospital room at the Bethesda Naval Center in Maryland, I had to bite my lip.

"Bill" Bates knew he had cancer and he did everything he could to beat it but it just wasn't to be.

The nation's best medical brains tended to the needs of the Salem congressman but the disease apparently was in such an advanced state when it was discovered that there was no chance to reverse the spread of the cancer.

When Bates was told by his physicians that he was suffering from lymphoma, his first question to the doctors was "what can we do about it?"

During the approximate 3-month period since that diagnosis, the congressman underwent a testing period of X-ray treatments which drained him physically and emotionally.

Strong physically, a low-handicap golfer and a former star football player, Bates played the book of life close to the vest with moderate habits.

But he was still struck down at the peak of his career.

How can you figure it?

When I dropped in on him that day at Bethesda for a 10-minute stay, I got a firm handshake, the familiar million-dollar Bates smile, and the query, "How's all the boys at The News?"

With then just 2-months to live, Bill Bates was still making that extra effort at friendliness. It is a remarkable trait which so few of us can generate in good times and bad.

When all is said and done about Rep. Bates, the lasting memories will probably not come from the substantial legislative record which he established but rather through the niceties he extended to the people back home.

All of us have had a touch of it.

It might have been a move by him to get a relative home from the service because of a family emergency, or some help on a disability pension or a question about Social Security benefits.

Remember all those pictures of Rep. Bates posing on the steps of the Capitol with high school groups, families, clubs, football teams?

You think this was easy day after day. Sure, they were voters and future voters but many congressmen in districts not nearly as safe as Bates' just won't take the time to be nice.

My family got a touch of that Bates hospitality a couple of summers back and my 5 children still talk of "how nice Mr. Bates was." He gave them all a fountain pen, bought them a soft drink in the House dining room and gave them a full tour of the Capitol.

It might seem cornball to some but isn't, after all, service the name of the game in Congress?

Bill Bates was Mr. Service in this regard and without being gushy about it, I hate to see him dead at the zenith of a great career.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the tragic passing of Congressman WILLIAM H. BATES, a native son of Massachusetts of whom we will always be proud, was one of the greatest Congressmen ever to serve in this body.

In a few short weeks, this great public servant and fine human being, whom we all loved, was called to his Maker, leaving us stunned, inarticulate, and unbelieving.

To those of us who knew him well, BILL BATES seemed almost indestructible. He was young, vigorous, vibrant, and in perfect health.

He was a trained athlete, who had engaged in big time college athletics as an outstanding football star and other college sports.

He was an expert champion golfer, who could, and did, play with the best golfers on Capitol Hill, national champions though some of them were, and more than held his own.

When he told me one day in the committee that he was not feeling well, I dismissed it as a mere temporary indisposition, because he was so strong, so active, so dynamic and in the full bloom of health, physical, and mental vigor that I could not conceive of his being seriously ill.

Yet in a short time, before he had yet reached the prime of his powers, he was called to that land from whose bourne no traveler ever returns, leaving us incredulous, and bowed in deepest grief for the loss of such a dear one and such a great one, whom we esteemed, cherished, and loved beyond measure.

BILL BATES had a tremendously brilliant career. From school and college days, he was most successful, outstanding in everything he undertook, in every facet of his life.

Athlete, scholar, war veteran, Congressman, he was in turn honored by his schoolmates, his shipmates, his colleagues, and his fellow citizens and friends by the legion in innumerable ways.

He was esteemed, lauded and loved by all who knew him.

Strong in loyalties and convictions, firm in his commitments to his country, his duties and his friends, a red-blooded, two-fisted, God-fearing American, a devoted husband, a loving father, son, and brother, he was outgoing, warmhearted, generous, and true in all his relationships in his public commitments, strong as the granite in his native New England hills, and in his compassion and love of his fellowman and his friends as gentle as a summer zephyr.

BILL BATES' sparkling, magnetic personality drew people around him like a magnet, and his beaming smile, congenial manner and kindness, understanding and willingness to help others, won for him, not only deep respect, but the sincere affection of everyone.

Few, if any, Members of this House have ever commanded the universal respect for his ability, his high standards, nobility of purpose, generosity and wholeheartedness of impulse and spirit

and his sense of dedication than our late, lamented, wonderful friend, BILL BATES.

Among many magnificent attributes which he possessed was his profound religious faith which dominated his life. In all his relationships, official and personal, in and out of this Chamber, in thought, deed and action, he lived and exemplified the very finest traditions of this body, his home State and the American creed of freedom, equality, and justice for all.

There could never be another BILL BATES. Our great Armed Services Committee, of which he was ranking minority member, and the House will never be the same witout him, because he brought to our deliberations a brilliance of capacity, responsibility, ideas and ideals, knowledge, experience, expertise, and calm balance that truly made him invaluable to the committee, the House, and to the country.

His many memorable contributions to the House, the Congress, the country, our great State and to the people could never possibly be excelled.

He has made a record here that will long stand out as a gleaming light of inspiration.

It would not be possible to replace a man of such total dedication, sincerity, industry, ability, unyielding purpose and work to give to his most vital, important duties the last full measure of his talents, energy, and devotion.

All of us join in mourning this noble man, comrade, and friend. We join his sadly bereaved family, his devoted wife, lovely daughter, wonderful mother, sisters and brothers in their great sorrow. We humbly offer our prayers, our condolences, our consolations, and our unmeasured sympathy for their truly irreparable loss, which we so poignantly and sorrowfully share.

The example of BILL BATES' peerless service will be indelibly inscribed in the annals of this House, and our Armed Services Committee, for all to honor and strive to emulate, and for the whole Nation to admire and appreciate.

We shall miss our beloved friend and colleague, BILL BATES.

We shall never forget him. His spirit will remain with us.

God love him.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include some newspaper articles concerning Congressman BATES:

[From the Boston (Mass.) Herald-Traveler, June 23, 1969]

LODGE, SARGENT LEAD TRIBUTES

Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge yesterday called the death of U.S. Rep. William H. Bates (R-Salem) "a shocking and grievous" loss.

"I have lost a warm and cherished friend," he said of the man who had worked diligently in his behalf in the 1960 presidential election.

Lodge said Bates was "a public servant in the finest tradition, that of his distinguished father. He was good and sagacious. He never spared himself in the performance of his duty, and his decisions were motivated by his high sense of patriotism.

"My deepest sympathy goes out to his family."

Gov. Francis W. Sargent termed Bates' death a "loss to the Massachusetts people he so ably represented, and indeed to the nation.

"A man who could combine the national interest with the human concerns of the people of his district is a rare man," he said. "William Bates did that in such a fashion that we will not soon forget.

"Mrs. Sargent joins me in sympathy extended to his family."

U.S. Rep. Hastings Keith (R-West Bridgewater) said, "Bill Bates was a congressman whose purpose and accomplishments were utterly and completely in the public interest.

"He was admired, respected and loved by his constituents and colleagues in government.

"As the senior representative on the Armed Services Committee, it was to him that we looked for advice and counsel as to the military programs of our nation. We are going to certainly miss him in this regard in these trying times."

U.S. Rep. James A. Burke (D-Milton), said, "I am grieved by the sad and untimely passing of my friend, Congressman William H. Bates.

"Bill was a man of the best character and highest motives. His loyalty, sincerity of purpose and concern for others made him a devoted friend and dedicated public official.

"Bill was a deeply religious man and a man who inspired others by his consideration and kindness . . . We will miss him. I shall always cherish his friendship."

Miss Carolyn Standley of Beverly, one of the prime movers for Bates' campaigns, said he was "one of the greatest persons I have ever known.

"His success was that he simply liked people and wanted to help them. This is what made him such a great man."

Rep. David E. Harriston (D-Gloucester) chairman of the Democratic State Committee:

"Today the Commonwealth mourns the great loss of U.S. Congressman William S. Bates of the Sixth District.

"Rep. Bates' final struggle of courage was only the last for his great cause. He was the possessor of an outstanding record in defense of his country in wartime and the holder of an outstanding record in the U.S. Congress.

"No person, no request was ever too small for his prompt attention. Democrats as well as Republicans in the Commonwealth mourn his loss."

State Sen. William L. Saltonstall (R-Manchester) said in a telegram to Mrs. Bates, "Since I first met Bill Bates, I have respected him as a man and for the work he has done for his country.

"Bill had the courage when the going was tough, the character to do whatever was necessary, the compassion to care for his people as individuals, and wherever he went, he made friends who loved him. He will be sorely missed by all who knew him. We have lost an honored friend."

Rep. F. Bradford Morse (R-Lowell) said:

"I have never known a more honest, a more decent man than Bill Bates. I have never known a more courageous, respected, and effective legislator than Bill Bates. I have never known a finer American than Bill Bates.

The people of Massachusetts, the people of the United States have suffered an enormous loss, for Bill Bates made his state, his city, indeed the world better places."

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REPRESENTATIVE BATES SUCCUMBS TO CANCER

(By Theresa McMasters)

WASHINGTON.—U.S. Rep. William Henry Bates, 52, of the Massachusetts Sixth District, a former Navy officer who championed the nuclear navy and development of peaceful uses of atomic energy, died yesterday of stomach cancer.

Death came at 8 a.m., in the Bethesda Navy Medical center. By coincidence, the Navy Band at the time was playing "The Star Spangled Banner" for regular morning colors beneath his hospital window.

For the past three months the congressman had been undergoing treatment for abdominal lymphoma, with several brief stays in the hospital. But he had planned to play yesterday in the golf tournament for members of the Burning Tree Country Club.

His condition weakened at the hospital Saturday night. His wife, the former Pearle Jean Dreyer, was with him when he died. He also leaves a daughter, Susan, a Boston commercial artist, his mother, Mrs. George J. Bates of Salem, Mass., three brothers and three sisters.

Bates was a Navy veteran of World War II and was on active duty in the Navy, as a lieutenant commander supply officer stationed in Philadelphia, when he first ran for Congress to succeed his father, a former Salem mayor and later sixth district congressman.

His father, Rep. George J. Bates and 54 others were killed in a collision over Washington Nov. 1, 1949, of a commercial airliner and a military plane flown by a Bolivian air officer.

As a naval officer, Lt. Comdr. Bates was barred from campaigning. Friends took over for him in campaigning in the historic northeastern district where the term "gerrymander" was coined in 1814 after a redistricting by Gov. Elbridge Gerry.

After his election Feb. 15, 1950, Bates resigned from the Navy. At his death, he was serving his 11th term, having been re-elected to every term since. He also was a captain in the Naval Reserve.

Rep. Bates was the ranking Republican member of the House Armed Services Committee and second ranking minority member of the Joint Commission on Atomic Energy.

For the past four years he had served as member of the United States delegation to the NATO Parliamentarians Conference. He was a member of the conference's military committee.

The Massachusetts congressman was a leading advocate of import controls to keep alive the New England shoe industry. Last week he and a Massachusetts colleague, Rep. James A. Burke (D-Milton) submitted to President Nixon a petition signed by 302 House members asking for negotiations of tariff rates affecting import of shoes.

He was engaged at the same time in a battle to obtain a reversal of the edict that Portsmouth, N.H., Navy Yard be shut down by 1974. He was a defender of the proposed Anti-Ballistic Missile system.

Although he never made a public speech before his election to Congress, he became recognized as a competent and versatile speaker on the floor and a persuasive debater in committee.

A tall, rugged man who had played football in high school and college, the congressman was an enthusiastic supporter of the Boston Red Sox and the Washington Senators.

Bates was born in Salem April 26, 1917. His Salem home was at 35 Warren St., and in Washington he lived at 1701 Holly St.

He had attended St. James parochial school in Salem and was president of his Salem High School graduating class in 1935. After a year at Worcester Academy, he entered Brown University, graduating in 1940 with a B.A. degree in economics and political science.

He also had a master of arts degree from the Harvard Business School, obtained in 1947 while he was serving in the Navy.

After graduating from Brown, he worked for a time as a clerk for the FBI in Washington, before enlisting in the Navy as an apprentice seaman in 1941.

In World War II he participated in the assaults on Iwo Jima and Okinawa.

Flags on the Capitol were lowered to half staff in tribute to Bates as soon as his death became known there. The House will hold

only a brief session in tribute today, then adjourn.

Speaker John W. McCormack will appoint an official delegation to attend the funeral in Salem. A requiem high mass in scheduled for 11 a.m., Thursday in St. James Church there. Burial will follow in the Bates family lot in St. Mary's Cemetery.

A memorial prayer service will be held in Washington at Joseph Gawler's Sons Funeral Home at 7:30 tonight.

The congressman's three brothers are Raymond, of Marblehead, Mass., George Jr., of Salem and Francis, of Peabody, Mass. The three sisters are Mrs. Mary Sawtelle of East Greenwich, R.I., Mrs. Katharine Ginty of Salem and Mrs. Caroline Stanton of Marblehead.

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[From the Boston (Mass.) Globe, June 23, 1969]

THE SON FOLLOWED HIS FATHER—IN LIFE AND IN DEATH

For the second time in two decades the people of Essex County today were mourning the death of their congressman.

George Bates, representative of the 6th Congressional District, was killed Nov. 1, 1949, when a plane he was on crashed in Washington.

Yesterday, his son, William H. Bates, who had served in Congress since his father's death, died in Bethesda Naval Hospital, a victim of cancer.

George Bates, a former mayor of Salem, was 58 when he died.

William Bates, a Navy officer at the time his father was killed, was only 52.

It was a cold, Autumn morning in Salem the day the town received the news that George Bates had been killed in an early-morning plane crash just outside Washington. He was returning from a weekend in his home town.

Bill Bates also died during the early morning hours and many of the family's friends in Salem first learned of his death when it was announced at Masses in Catholic churches throughout the city.

Many knew that Bill, who first entered Congress at the age of 32, was sick. Despite this, however, the news that he had died—at 8 a.m.—came as a shock.

George and William Bates were not the type of congressmen who made across-the-nation headlines.

They were the type who served the "little man."

Whenever anyone entered the Bates' office on the second floor of Salem's Post Office he seldom found a city or town official there. More likely, he would find a long-time aide, William Heffernan, talking to a little Polish lady from Derby st. in Salem who was worried over her Social Security check.

Another Bates' aide, Carolyn Standley, who coordinated the activities of his Lynn office, might be seen helping a Greek immigrant get his citizenship papers. Or she might be working feverishly on the telephone hoping she could unite a Saugus mother with her son in Vietnam.

It was service of this type which made Bill Bates a favorite candidate among Republicans and Democrats alike. He had some challenges for his position, but he always won by a decisive margin.

Some of his voting records on national issues would be brought under attack during each campaign. But the people of the 6th District were apparently more interested in the fact Bates had been working to help the shoe industry in Haverhill, the hat factories in Amesbury or the fishermen of Gloucester.

It was his various pieces of tariff legislation and his harbor projects that most people in the Sixth District watched. And they applauded him each time his name appeared on the ballot.

Thus, it was easy to understand today in Essex County why a lot of "little people" were sad.

These were the people Bill Bates would welcome at his annual Chowder Party in Hamilton each year.

These were the people who had enjoyed exchanging pleasantries and smiles with his pretty wife, Jean, and their lovely daughter, Susan.

These were the people who cheered Bill Bates when he marched in the Fiesta parades at Gloucester and Homecoming Day parades in Newburyport.

These were also the people who loved George and William Bates and for over three decades "Kept Bates in Congress."

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REPRESENTATIVE BATES OF SALEM DIES OF CANCER AT 52: REPUBLICAN SERVED ESSEX COUNTY IN CONGRESS SINCE 1950

(By John C. Burke)

WASHINGTON.—U.S. Rep. William Henry Bates of Salem, a World War II Navy officer who entered the House of Representatives in 1950 to fill his father's seat, died yesterday morning at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland. The 52-year-old Republican congressman was a victim of cancer.

A member of the House Armed Services Committee and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Rep. Bates was a strong advocate in Congress for a nuclear Navy developed under the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

His father, George J. Bates, died in 1949 in a Washington plane crash. Both Bates served the 6th Massachusetts District, which consists basically of Essex County, for a total of 33 years.

Services will be held in Washington today.

Washington visiting hours will be 2 to 9 p.m. with a memorial prayer service at 7:30 p.m. at Joseph Gawler's Sons Funeral Home, 5130 Wisconsin Ave.

The body will be flown to Salem tomorrow, where visiting hours will be from 7–9 p.m. tomorrow and 2–5 and 7–9 Wednesday at Hamilton Hall.

A Requiem Mass is scheduled for 11 a.m. Thursday at St. James Church, Federal st., Salem. Burial will be in the Bates' family lot at St. Mary's Cemetery, Salem.

The House will hold only a brief session today in tribute, then adjourn. Speaker John McCormack will appoint an official delegation to the funeral.

It was not immediately known whether President Nixon would attend, but he did send a message of sympathy to Mrs. Bates soon after learning of the congressman's death. They were good friends.

Although it has not been confirmed it appeared relatively certain last night that Vice President Spiro Agnew will be among those attending the services in Salem Thursday.

Bates had been undergoing X-ray treatment at the Naval Hospital since mid-March. He died quietly at about 8 a.m. His wife, Jean, was at his side. The Bates have one daughter, Susan, 20. She is a Boston commercial artist.

At the time the congressman died a Navy band outside the hospital was playing the National Anthem for regular morning colors.

It was the third time tragedy had struck the Bates' family in less than 30 years. The congressman's brother-in-law, Navy officer James Ginty, was killed during World War II in the South Pacific near the Solomon Islands.

His mother, Mrs. Nora Bates, still lives in Salem. The congressman also leaves three brothers and three sisters, all of whom live in Massachusetts.

His three brothers are George J. of Salem, Raymond H. of Marblehead and Francis of Peabody. The three sisters are Mrs. Mary Courtland Sawtelle of East Greenwich, R.I., Mrs. James Ginty of Salem and Mrs. Edmund Stanton of Marblehead.

The congressman's death leaves the House political lineup at 244 Democrats and 188 Republicans with three vacancies.

He was one of 12 representatives from Massachusetts.

Bates advocated sending sufficient manpower and equipment to Vietnam to meet the requests of U.S. military leaders. His last trip to the war zone was early last year. He reported seeing no easy solution to the war, although he did urge South Vietnam to take a larger part in the fighting.

Bates however, was opposed to the draft because: "I'm old-fashioned enough to believe that many people came to this country to get away from the concept of compulsory military service."

His knowledge of atomic warfare gained admiration from atomic submarine advocate Adm. Hyman Rickover.

Bates introduced legislation to block the merger of the First and Third Naval Districts and also led a movement to have one of the nation's largest nuclear carriers named for John F. Kennedy.

Bates also had another plus in Congress—he was generally regarded as one of the best golfers in the House.

Bates was the senior Republican member of the Armed Services Committee and the second-ranking House member on the Joint Atomic Energy Commission. In his own district, Bates had concentrated for years on tariff legislation to protect the shoe, hat and fishing industries from foreign competition.

It was successful policy. He was re-elected ten times with little trouble each term.

Bates' father was elected to Congress when Rep. A. Piatt Andrews of Gloucester died in 1937.

William Bates resigned as a Navy Lt Cmdr to enter Congress in 1950 after his father had been killed on Nov. 1, 1949, returning to Washington by plane from Salem. He was elected in a special election Feb. 14, 1950.

As a Navy officer he had participated in the naval assaults on Iwo Jima and was also stationed on the Japanese mainland. He held the rank of captain in the Naval Reserve at the time of his death. He had entered the Navy as a seaman.

Bates was born in Salem Apr. 26, 1917. He attended elementary and high school at Salem. He later earned bachelor degrees in economics and political science at Brown University and a master's degree at the Harvard School of Business Administration. He was a top football player in high school and college.

William Bates and Pearle Jean Dreyer were married in Festus, Mo., in 1948. They have lived in either Salem or Washington since then.

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STATE LEADERS PRAISE "TRUE SERVANT"

Former Sen. Leverett Saltonstall led Massachusetts leaders in mourning the death yesterday of U.S. Rep. William H. Bates.

"Bill Bates was a long time friend of mine," Saltonstall said. "We worked together on the Armed Services Committee. He was always well-informed and had very clear opinions on what to do.

"I remember clearly when he came in to see me in his Navy uniform. He wanted advice on whether to run for his father's seat. I urged him to do so.

"He became one of the members who drew the utmost respect and affection from members of both parties. I have personally lost a dear friend and my deepest sympathy goes to his family."

U.S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge said: "The death of Congressman Bates at the very prime of life is a shocking and grievous loss to the people of the district, of the state and of the nation. I have lost a warm and cherished friend.

"He was a public servant in the finest tradition—that of his distinguished father. He was good and he was sagacious. He never spared himself in the performance of his

duties and his decisions were motivated by his high sense of patriotism.

"He was gifted with a warm and winning personality which had won him friends in every corner of the United States, as I learned when he and I traveled together in the 1960 campaign.

"My deepest sympathy goes out to his family. May they derive comfort from the pride which they surely feel in his life, so rich in service and friendship."

Republican State Chairman Josiah Spaulding said: "For my part, for my district, but mostly for myself, I express very deep sadness upon the passing of Bill Bates.

"Bill was a man for all seasons and a wise counsel and real friend to thousands who touched his life. He was kind, decent, calm, and strong—a wonderful man who leaves a far poorer world.

"To Jean and the entire family goes all our love and great appreciation for their willingness to share Bill with us for so many years. Bill is an example to us all—a true patriot, a true public servant."

Democratic State Chairman David E. Harrison said: "Not only do we, his constituents, feel the void of his passing today, but likewise the Congress and the nation itself shall be deprived of strength and character the wisdom, courage, which this fine gentleman personified."

Gov. Sargent said the death of Rep. Bates was "a loss to the Massachusetts people he so ably represented, and indeed to the nation.

"A man who could combine the national interest with the human concerns of the people of his district is a rare man. William Bates did that in such a fashion that we will not soon forget."

U.S. Rep. James A. Burke (D-Milton) said: "Bill Bates was a man of the best character and highest motives. His loyalty, sincerity of purpose and concern for others made him a devoted friend and dedicated public official.

"Bill was a deeply religious man, and a man who inspired others by his consideration and kindness to his fellow men."

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the death of our beloved friend and colleague, WILLIAM H. BATES, of Massachusetts, will leave a void in this Chamber that will be hard to fill, for "BILL" brought exemplification of honor and a feeling of well-being to all who had the privilege of serving with him.

BILL BATES was a proud family man, a hard worker for the Sixth District of Massachusetts, and a dedicated public servant of the Nation.

BILL spent more than half of his life in service to his Nation, including 9 years with the U.S. Navy where he rose from the ranks and attained the rank of lieutenant commander. He resigned from the Navy in 1950 when he was elected to the 81st Congress, and was returned to the House of Representatives in each succeeding election until his untimely death. He served as ranking member of our Committee on Armed Services. He shared his prehospital personal experiences with me, and both professionally and personally I grieve at his loss.

It was my pleasure to serve with BILL on the Committee on Armed Services and I found him to be an able and understanding member, who was respected by those with whom he served. He was a robust and dynamic leader and lead the minority on a committee that knows no partisanship in the Nation's common area of defense.

BILL BATES will be missed by all, and especially those of us who served intimately with him, and were privileged to represent this body at BILL's final services I join with my colleagues in extending sympathy to his wonderful family.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the Congress, the Nation, and the State of Massachusetts have lost one of its distinguished men, and I have lost a great friend.

WILLIAM H. BATES, a member of the congressional class of 1950, a respected member of the leadership of the Republican delegation in Congress, and one of the country's authorities on atomic, naval, and military affairs, was one of those men with whom his colleagues had constant rapport. His knowledge and quiet counsel were of particular value to me.

Of the same party, with overlapping interests, we often "crossed swords" over issues which came before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. But always, BILL BATES knew the essence of compromise, fairness, and openmindedness. Our disagreements led to understanding, and I like to think, this led to better legislation for the country.

BILL BATES' knowledge and insight into military affairs will be sorely missed at a time when the country needs such wise counsel on the future course of national security policy. Few Members of Congress have enjoyed the respect and admiration that we held for our friend and colleague, BILL BATES. He earned and deserved it.

With other Members of the House of Representatives, I mourn the loss of our friend from Massachusetts, and extend my deepest sympathy to his family.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the House has suffered a great loss in the passing of the much respected and esteemed gentleman from Massachusetts, WILLIAM HENRY BATES. While we served on different sides of the aisle, my affection and admiration for BILL BATES were deep, and I join with my colleagues today in extending my heartfelt sympathy to his family at this time of great sadness and personal loss.

For nearly two decades BILL BATES was my good friend and colleague in the House. His fine and meaningful contributions to the accomplishments of the Congress in those years were many and sound, and his wise counsel was widely sought by his colleagues. His outstanding ability, integrity, and dedication to duty inspired those who served with him and made him an honored Member of the House, as well as the warm and steadfast friend of all who were privileged to know him.

BILL BATES was a courageous and effective Representative of the Sixth Congressional District of Massachusetts and of the American Nation. His interests were many and varied, but it was in the field of national defense that we particularly relied upon him, and as the ranking minority member of the distinguished House Armed Services Committee he worked diligently in strengthening the forces of defense which have so well protected the security and sovereignty of our Nation. His first-hand experience as an officer in the U.S. Navy for almost a decade gave him great insight into defense matters and made him a constructive and knowledgeable contributor to all legislation affecting the military.

We will, indeed, miss BILL BATES, and his splendid service and warm friendship will long keep him in the memory of those Members and associates who had the opportunity to know him, to work with him, and to witness his untiring efforts on behalf of the people and the Nation he loved.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, WILLIAM HENRY BATES of Massachusetts was one of the most dedicated and able Congressmen to serve our Nation in many years.

Representative BATES died last month at the age of 52, in the midst of an energetic and successful career as legislator and guardian of the public interest. His services will be greatly missed.

I am saddened by his death. And yet I am both thankful and proud to have been accorded the rare privilege of serving in this legislative body with so fine a man. His example will be a perpetual reminder to those of us who must try to carry on the task he so rigidly set for himself—the task of safeguarding democracy in a dangerous and often perplexing age.

BILL had served in Congress for almost 20 years, having succeeded his father who was killed in a Washington plane crash. He was widely known for his advocacy of a modernized nuclear Navy and for his defense of the Central Intelligence Agency in a time when outspoken patriotism was not always fashionable.

The devoted patriotism of WILLIAM BATES was never for a moment in question. He served in the Navy for 9 years, resigning his commission as a lieutenant commander to run for Congress. He was a ranking Republican member of the House Armed Services Committee and never stinted in his vigilance on behalf of what he termed "the survival of freedom."

At this time of bereavement, I hope that those closest to him will take comfort in the knowledge that both his colleagues and his constituents considered him a man of unique distinction and outstanding attainment. He will not be forgotten.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleagues in honoring the memory of a great Congressman and a great person, WILLIAM H. BATES, of Massachusetts.

BILL BATES had many outstanding characteristics but one that stood out to me from the very beginning to the last of my personal contacts with him, was his unfailing interest and his unreserved willingness to help others. Innumerable times I have consulted with him on the background of legislation or other matters in the Congress, and uniformly, he gave unstintingly of his assistance and of his wise counsel. I know that this was not unique to me, but was offered equally to all who knew him, both in the Congress and out, and that it was done without presumption or expectation of any reward other than the satisfaction that it must surely have given to him.

This unique attribute, when coupled with his experience, intelligence, and

judgment, made him a true friend and valued adviser. He will be deeply missed.

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, on June 22, we, in the House of Representatives, suffered the loss of one of our finest and most beloved colleagues in the untimely passing of the Honorable WILLIAM H. BATES, of Massachusetts.

BILL BATES, over a period of 19 years, served his country and his constituents in the Sixth Congressional District of Massachusetts with outstanding loyalty and dedication and was indeed a worthy successor to his distinguished father. Even though death has cut short an even more promising future, BILL BATES had already achieved many fruitful years as a splendid naval officer and an effective Member of the House of Representatives. In his capacity as the ranking minority member of the House Armed Services Committee, he was recognized as one of the most knowledgeable Members in the Congress in the particularly complicated field of national defense and certainly the security and welfare of our country could not have been in better hands. His fairmindedness and objective approach to the most challenging problems never failed to impress his colleagues and served to enhance their respect and admiration for him.

BILL BATES was a man of sound judgment, patience, and perseverance. His compassionate understanding of people and problems, his delightful sense of humor and inherent kindness endeared him to all with whom he came in contact. I shall always consider it a privilege and a pleasure to have served with him and to have known him as a good friend.

He was a great American whose influence will endure for many generations to come because the efforts and accomplishments of such men as BILL BATES cannot be quickly forgotten.

Mr. Speaker, my heartfelt sympathy is with BILL's family and it is my prayer that they are comforted by an abundance of Divine assistance during these sad and difficult days.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, in the death of our colleague, Representative WILLIAM H. BATES, our Nation has lost a patriot. He was a man of quiet good sense and of remarkably broad understanding.

Many will note that he was the ranking minority member of the Armed Services Committee, but it was in his other committee role that he was best known to me. He was the second ranking Republican on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and I found that this New England man was thoroughly conversant with the atomic energy installations in my midwestern district.

He did not hesitate to base his decisions upon the best interests of the Nation which he served so well, both as a naval officer and as a Representative of the people.

He was, I repeat, a patriot.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply saddened by the death of our dear friend and colleague, BILL BATES.

BILL BATES, vibrant, active, cheerful, a gentleman in every sense of the word, came to this House a short time after his father, Representative George Bates, died tragically in an airline crash here in Washington. In his 19 years in this body, BILL BATES displayed dedication, compassion and a willingness to work, and gained the everlasting respect of his constituents in Massachusetts and his colleagues in the House. Through his diligence, he rose to a prestigious position on both the Armed Services Committee and Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, but he never abused the privileges of his position and power.

It is indeed tragic that BILL BATES died in the prime of his life, but it is even more tragic that he died when his attributes were needed by this Congress and this Nation more than ever before. His ability to think and act rationally will be missed at a time when the military services have come under constant, sometimes irrational, attack. His tolerance for the other point of view will be missed at a time when such tolerance is all too rare. His efforts on behalf of his district, State, and Nation will be missed by all who knew him.

Theodore Roosevelt once said:

> The first requisite of a good citizen in this Republic of ours is that he shall be able and willing to pull his own weight.

With this in mind, I mourn the loss of a great citizen and extend my deepest sympathy to his family.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to sum up in a few words the many contributions to Congress and to the country made by Congressman BILL BATES. He had an all-too-brief lifetime—and our Nation will feel the loss of his leadership and strong hand in Congress in the years to come. He loved life, and his life was with his family and working with the people of his district. He saw success, achievement and occasionally heartbreak.

He came to Congress following the tragic death of his father in an air crash.

In his youth he was an athlete—an excellent football player—as well as a scholar. He served as a naval officer, and the sea was his first career. He brought to the Congress the strength and will of an athlete, the dedication of a naval officer and devotion to the cause of freedom and justice born of his New England ancestry. Above all, the one fundamental thing I am sure he would want to be remembered for was his love of his country. In a time when patriotism is looked on as old-fashioned BILL BATES was proud of his devotion to our Nation.

He held prominent positions in two of the most powerful and respected committees in Congress—the House Armed Services Committee and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy where I was privileged to work side by side with him. He brought to these crucial assignments his broad judgment, understanding, dedication and good humor. In a day when tradition, morality and patriotism are being questioned by those who would turn their back on what has made this country great, BILL BATES stood tall as a man who believed in God, country, and the freedom of mankind. He accomplished much and we will miss him very much.

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, I did not have the privilege of knowing Congressman BATES as long as most of my colleagues in the House. But his name and outstanding reputation were known to me even before I was elected to Congress. BILL BATES' service to his party, State, and Nation is hard to equal. There is no way to replace BILL BATES. I join in honoring the memory of this great gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, 18 years of public service has brought me many friends—none that I cherish more than my association with WILLIAM H. BATES. While it was not my privilege to serve with him on any committee, I did have the great benefit of sharing the distinction of appearing with him on a panel at the last Republican convention. Our many personal, social, and official associations before and after that time all have left recollections of a very dedicated, sincere, and most knowledgeable person.

I can recall the many times that I sought the advice and counsel as a new Member of Congress on subjects where he was recognized as an expert. In all instances his advice and help was not only reliable and beneficial, but was provided with a very generous and dedicated attitude.

WILLIAM BATES had a quality of character that was admired and desired by everyone who had the privilege of being exposed to his willingness to serve the best interests of his country and people. I know that my life has been enriched greatly by my association with him. His service in the Navy and in the Congress has brought like and lasting benefits to all of our citizenry. There are few men or women who are fortunate enough to be gifted with an attitude and understanding that found the acceptance of so many folks as was the history of his life.

There is no combination of words or phrases within my limited range that can properly describe or identify an adequate tribute to the great contributions that he made by the well-directed use of his many talents. The history of our country as well as the history of many other nations throughout the world will carry lasting benefits to all of mankind.

It seems inadequate to merely extend words of sympathy to his wife, family and relatives, but I am sure that their experience and life with him has been of such quality that it makes up for the inadequacy of these expressions. Mrs. Langen joins me in extending to each of them our most sincere and deepest sympathy with the hope that the future will hold for them a very generous portion of the many comforts and satisfactions that WILLIAM BATES so generously provided to each of us.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, WILLIAM H. BATES, of Massachusetts, imbued us with his spirit during his long and distinguished service in the U.S. House of Representatives. This spirit of BILL BATES was apparent in his work on the floor of the House of Representatives and in his social and personal relationships with those of us who were privileged to know him. The joy and inspiration, the encouragement and confidence which he aroused in each of us are part of the spirit of BILL BATES which

transcends mortal life and is unaffected by his earthly demise.

The affection and esteem in which Congressman BATES was held by his constituents in the Sixth District of Massachusetts is borne out by his consecutive reelections to the Congress since 1950. His leadership included a position as the ranking Republican member of the House Armed Services Committee.

Congressman BATES' stand on the issues was always supported by his thorough knowledge of the subject to which he addressed himself and an underlying determination to do and to say what was best for his country.

BILL BATES expressed more than friendship for his colleagues and others with whom he enjoyed an intimate relationship. His feelings could better be expressed by the words "affection" and "loyalty," qualities which characterized his personal contacts.

It is understandable that many warm and heartfelt expressions would be voiced at this time and that BILL BATES should be remembered with the utmost respect and genuine love.

In this final tribute to the memory of Congressman BILL BATES, I wish also to convey to his widow and daughter my deepest sympathy.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise on this sad occasion to join my colleagues in the House of Representatives in paying tribute to my dear friend and late colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM H. BATES.

He was one of the finest gentlemen it has been my privilege to know since serving in the House of Representatives.

He was an outstanding American, a dedicated and fine legislator. His contributions to this body, especially through his distinguished service on the House Armed Services Committee will live on as a lasting memorial.

Although his passing cannot be questioned, it is with deep sorrow that one so young, with such a fine character and way of life should be taken from us.

Mrs. Smith joins me in expressing our deepest sympathy to his wife and family. We hope they will find comfort in knowing that he left behind him an example of American statesmanship at its best.

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, I deeply regret the untimely passing of our colleague, Congressman WILLIAM H. BATES, of Massachusetts.

BILL BATES was cut down in midpassage at a time when he seemed to have two decades of legislative service still ahead of him.

I knew BILL BATES as a decent, well-reasoned individual with whom I could discuss the most critical matters of military affairs on a face-to-face, man-to-man basis. He was understanding of the other fellow's point of view and was one of those solid men of judgment and restraint who make the legislative process work.

I will miss him, not only in the deliberations of the House Armed Services Committee, not only in the Halls of this Chamber, but as a man and a friend.

I extend my sympathy to his wife and family.

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is with a saddened heart that I join my colleagues today to honor the memory of my good friend and colleague, Congressman WILLIAM H. BATES, of Massachusetts.

It has been my privilege to serve with BILL BATES in Congress for over 16 years, and he will be sorely missed in the Halls of Congress. Massachusetts and the United States has suffered a great loss because this fine man was taken from our midst at such an early age.

BILL BATES was the ranking Republican member of the Armed Services Committee, on which I also serve. He will be long remembered for his untiring efforts and interest in the work of this committee.

A man of integrity and conviction, he served his country in war, as a lieutenant commander in the Navy, and in peace, as a Congressman, with devotion and faithfulness.

I extend my heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Bates and his family. It is may earnest prayer the Good Lord will have mercy on his soul and grant him eternal rest.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, this body and the Nation have suffered a great loss, with the passing of Congressman WILLIAM H. BATES, of Massachusetts. In a time when we so desperately need men of strength and wisdom to insure the continued development and very survival of this Nation, BILL BATES was truly a giant—a great American in every sense.

We can fill the chair left empty by this extraordinary man, but we cannot replace him. We can fill his seat on the House Armed Services Committee and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, but can we replace the dedication, reason, knowledge, proficiency, and enthusiasm that BILL BATES brought to his work? Mr. Speaker, we cannot fill such great shoes.

During his 19 years in Congress, BILL BATES worked tirelessly to build this Nation's defenses, knowing well that a strong America is the greatest guarantee of world peace. Although his plans for a career in the U.S. Navy were changed when his father, also a Member of this body, was killed in a tragic airplane accident, Congressman BILL BATES continued to work for the improvement and strengthening of America's modern Navy.

The security and welfare of our Nation was of primary concern to this great patriot, and to that end he diligently gave of his time and energies. He approached these matters with dedication and without partisanship, and for that, he was respected and admired by Members on both sides of the aisle.

We in Congress shall especially miss the warmth and good humor of BILL BATES. He was my friend, and I shall greatly miss the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. Andrews joins me in extending our deepest personal sympathy to his wife, Jean, and his daughter, Susan.

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join in this special tribute to our colleague the Honorable WILLIAM H. BATES, whose untimely death has caused a great loss to the people of Massachusetts and to our Nation.

Congressman BATES served his country as a legislator for the past 19 years and as the ranking minority member of the House Armed Services Committee he commanded the respect of every Member.

Beyond his outstanding record of public service, BILL BATES was a good friend and welcome colleague.

I extend my personal sympathy to his wife and daughter and in the knowledge that his full life will be a source of consolation to his family.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, all of us were deeply saddened by the passing of our good friend and colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM H. BATES, of Massachusetts.

BILL BATES was, like his father before him, a fine Congressman, a dedicated American and highly competent in the performance of his duties. He held responsible positions on two important committees of this House of Representatives, having been the No. 1 Republican member of the House Armed Services Committee and the No. 2 ranking minority House member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

BILL BATES was unique in that his vast talents were blended with a very pleasing personality. Cooperation was his hallmark. He always reflected a good disposition in his work with his colleagues. He had a ready smile and a quick and friendly hello whenever and wherever you met him.

The congressional district BILL BATES represented in the House of Representatives was, indeed, fortunate in having him as its Congressman. He served his district diligently and faithfully. As he was a great credit to his congressional district, so too did he make a superb contribution to his country, working on legislation that had precise relationship to the security of the United States.

BILL BATES was a big man, not only physically but mentally and spiritually as well. We in this chamber have lost a great friend, and the Nation a competent legislator. While we express our deep sorrow that he was called to his reward at an early age, we can also console ourselves that we were, indeed, privileged to have him sufficiently long to perform outstanding service.

My sincere sympathy to his family.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, it is with a deep feeling of personal loss that I rise to speak on the passing of my good friend and colleague, BILL BATES. I know that I speak for all of us in the House when I say that BILL will be sorely missed by all his many friends and colleagues.

It is indeed difficult to find adequate words of tribute to BILL BATES, for his life was, in itself, a tribute to those rare qualities of personal character and professional achievement to which we all aspire, but which few ever attain.

I can say without reservation that I have lost a close personal friend and colleague, and one of the greatest public servants that I have had the privilege of serving with in the House of Representatives. And, certainly, the people of the Sixth District of Massachusetts have lost

a dedicated and articulate spokesman, and an outstanding Representative.

BILL came to the Congress after an outstanding military record. He participated in the assaults on Iwo Jima, Okinawa, and the Japanese mainland, and at the time of his passing held the rank of captain in the U.S. Naval Reserve, and always maintained his interest in the military. He rose, over the years, to become the ranking Republican on the Armed Services Committee and worked hard and long to help the services develop career patterns and incentives.

As one of the Congress more articulate spokesmen on military affairs, he served as a member of the U.S. delegation to the NATO Parliamentarians Conference, from 1965 to 1968.

BILL also served on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and even though he was one of the prime movers of our now famous and powerful nuclear Navy, he was a primary leader in the pursuit of the peaceful uses of the atom.

BILL was elected to the Congress from his hometown of Salem following the death of his father, Representative George J. Bates. Until the time of his passing, he had served the people of his Sixth District and the State of Massachusetts for almost 20 years, and was tireless in his efforts to bolster New England's economy.

The name WILLIAM H. BATES will always mean dedication, loyalty, love of fellowman, perseverance, and statesmanship and like his beloved State of Massachusetts, his "strong heritage" will stand forever as a prime example of man's search for and service to a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

BILL BATES was, and will always remain, a very close friend. I admired him tremendously. He was a big man—mentally, physically and spiritually. In many ways, he reminded me of the much revered redwood trees from our California redwood country; straight and tall with an elegance and grandeur that only God could have created.

BILL BATES will always stand tall in this "forest of giants" here on Capitol Hill—the Congress, the Nation and the Congressman from California's First District will miss him very much. But, I am thankful for the memories this great man has left with all of us who were privileged to know and serve with him. His family, his district and his State have every right to be proud of his extraordinary service to the country he loved, lived and died for.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I was much saddened by the death of my good friend and colleague, WILLIAM H. BATES, a man who has been a distinguished Member of this House for 19 years and a close friend to me for 7.

BILL'S cheerful encouragement and quiet intelligence was a great boost to me as a freshman Congressman, and in the years since, his stature as a man and as an American increased steadily in my eyes.

BILL BATES as a man and as a representative of the people was guided constantly by a deep-rooted love and faith in God. His sense of what was right and decent, his fairmindedness, and his unquestionable honesty earned him the respect of the people of his Sixth District of Massachusetts on a nonpartisan basis and brought him back to the Congress year after year with a vote majority that proved his standing in the hearts of his people.

BILL represented his district fairly and well, with a deep compassion for the problems of his people. But BILL also considered himself a representative of all the people of America and, in his position as the ranking minority member of the House Armed Services Committee, he worked toward a lasting worldwide peace for all citizens.

The bright personality and outlook that BILL BATES brought to the floor of this House will be sorely missed. His knowledge in so many areas and his devotion to the search for more knowledge will be missed. For countless reasons, BILL BATES will never be forgotten.

Mrs. Quillen joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to his lovely wife and daughter and to other members of his family.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, I would like to identify myself with the fine tributes that have already been paid to our late colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM H. BATES, of Massachusetts.

His native State has lost a distinguished son and dedicated servant. The Congress has lost one of its most effective legislators and our country has lost a distinguished leader.

It was my privilege to serve with Representative BATES on the House Armed Services Committee. As the ranking minority member of this powerful committee, I know how competent and diligent he was in his work and the contributions he made to the defense of our country and for a better military service. We all looked to BILL BATES for leadership and advice. He was imminently fair in his dealings with his colleagues. No one can take his place.

Mr. Speaker, BILL BATES will be sorely missed by the House of Representatives and by all of us who knew him. To his lovely widow and to all the members of his family, I extend my deepest sympathy in their hour of bereavement.

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep sorrow that I mourn the passing of my friend and colleague, WILLIAM H. BATES, of Salem, Mass.

BILL BATES and I shared many common interests, such as in maintaining the strength of our Navy, in which we both served, and in assisting New England's shoe industry. I am proud to have been associated with him. This was a man, as Senator EDWARD KENNEDY has stated, "in the great tradition of Congressmen who are servants not only of their districts but of the Nation as well."

We will remember BILL BATES for the ability and dedication which he brought to his work. Subsequent to his election to Congress in 1950 as successor to George J. Bates, his father, he established a reputation as an informed and respected advocate for the use of nuclear energy, both for our fleet and for civilian purposes. Time has shown the wisdom of these programs, and of BILL BATES' foresight.

Above all, however, we will remember BILL BATES as a man courageous in his illness, and compassionate in his outlook. As one of his former campaign workers stated:

> His success was that he simply liked people and wanted to help them.

In his lifetime, which has ended all too early, WILLIAM BATES helped many, many people; not only in Massachusetts and New England but, through his concern for national problems, across our country.

Maine's shoe workers, shipyard workers, and many other residents join me in expressing our grief upon WILLIAM BATES' death, for we shall surely miss him. We extend our deepest sympathy to his fine family, in this time of sadness.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to find words with which to express my sorrow and shock over the passing of one of our most distinguished colleagues, the Honorable WILLIAM H. BATES.

In the 14 years I have been a Member of the House of Representatives it has been my privilege to enjoy the friendship of many fine and honorable ladies and gentlemen. BILL BATES was among the finest and most honorable of them all. His untimely death in the prime years of his life was a shock to all of us and a loss not only to the Sixth District of Massachusetts, which he served long and well, but to the House of Representatives and the entire Nation.

To borrow the words of our colleague, the Honorable EDWARD P. BOLAND, of Massachusetts:

> If there ever was a finer human being than Bill Bates, I did not know him. Intellectually, morally, physically, socially—in every way—he, indeed, was the perfect gentleman.

We all felt this way about BILL BATES. His loss is deeply regretted and mourned by all who had the privilege of knowing him.

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of WILLIAM H. BATES who was one of the most beloved Members of the House of Representatives.

During the years that I served with him in the Congress, I was always impressed by his capable and effective manner of getting things done for his district and for our Nation. He was a quiet, sincere, and dedicated American. Without creating a great stir and fanfare, he accomplished much and was an example for all of us. I can recall seeking BILL BATES' expert advice and counsel on many occasions, especially in matters of national security, and it was alway offered in a most gracious and helpful manner. As the No. 1 Republican member of the House Armed Services Committee and the second ranking minority member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, his expertise and up-to-date information were unquestioned. The loss of a man of such integrity, knowledge, and honor is deeply regretted and mourned by each of us, and we will continually miss his presence here in the House.

All of us who knew and admired BILL BATES are experiencing somewhat the

same sense of tragedy. But the real loss has been suffered by the American people to whom he devoted his life and energy. America can ill afford to lose men of his caliber.

It has been a privilege to know BILL BATES, to work with him, and to have served with him in the House of Representatives. I know that everyone who has known him feels richer by reason of that experience.

To his wife, Jean, their daughter, Susan, and other members of his family, I extend my own deep and sincere sympathy in their great loss and would remind them in the words so beautifully translated from the Sanskrit by Sir Edwin Arnold:

Never the spirit was born; the spirit shall cease to be never;
Never was time when it was not; End and Beginning are dreams!
Birthless and deathless and changeless remaineth the spirit for ever;
Death hath not touched it at all, dead though the house of it seems.
Nay, but as one who layeth his worn-out robes away,
And taking new ones, sayeth, "These will I wear today!"
So putteth by the spirit Lightly its robe of flesh,
And passeth to inherit A residence afresh.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, with the final departure of Congressman WILLIAM H. BATES, of Massachusetts, the United States and the State of Massachusetts has lost a most able, considerate, and effective public servant. The Federal House of Representatives, where he served so long and so ably, has lost one of its better Members.

It was my pleasure to come to Congress just before the tragic death of Congressman BATES' father and it has been my high privilege and personal pleasure to be associated with Congressman BATES since he took his father's place with us. My closest service in Congress with him was as a fellow member on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy where his services and the benefit of his knowledge and wisdom were always apparent and helpful.

As one endeavors to express his thoughts in a well-deserved eulogy of a colleague for whom he had the highest regard and most sincere affection, one finds it difficult to find the correct words for such an occasion. I know of no one with whom I have been associated during the last 20 years, for whom I would rather use the most meaningful words of appreciation in trying to evaluate the happy and professional relationship which I had with BILL, as he was affectionately known to all of us. He possessed the attributes for great and noble service and he used them effectively. He possessed the attributes for sincere friendship and he was not miserly in the use of these attributes as he gained friends wide and far among those who wish to be so numbered. He was gentle with people and yet he was firm in his conviction. He was a splendid advocate even in opposition and yet he was always understanding of the position of others.

His love for his follow man was always apparent and there was nothing about him that would cause anyone to consider that he was desirous of being anything more than just an understanding human being among other humans. All of these attributes combined with a graciousness which is possessed by all too few made him a favorite among his fellows.

He shall be sorely missed as we labor in the days ahead, but the world is a better place because he worked with us for a while.

We join with his legion of friends in paying our tribute and offering to the members of his family our most sincere sympathy.

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is with profound sorrow and regret that I rise in tribute to my late colleague, WILLIAM H. BATES of Massachusetts.

I knew BILL as the respected ranking member of the Armed Services Committee and as a personal friend. In both capacities his loss is a heavy blow.

BILL's expert knowledge of military matters and his dedication to the Nation's defense made him an effective leader among his colleagues. At the same time the warmth of his personality and his willingness to stop and help any of his colleagues made BILL one of the most popular Congressmen on the Hill.

Mr. Speaker, the passing of BILL BATES will leave a void in our ranks. Mrs. Brotzman and I extend our heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Bates and the members of the family.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, it is with a heavy heart indeed that I join my colleagues in paying tribute to the Honorable WILLIAM H. BATES of Massachusetts. I knew BILL BATES for all of the 19 years he served in this body and I can say without any qualification whatever that I have met few men over those years that I admired and respected more. More than that though, Mr. Speaker, BILL BATES was a friend, a true friend and he was a friend to many of us here, for who could not help like such a man? A happy man, a hard working man, a man dedicated to serving the people of his district as his father, the Honorable George J. Bates, had before him. His father and I were official observers at the Bikini atom bomb test in 1946.

As the ranking minority member of the House Armed Services Committee BILL's skillful and determined efforts to keep our country strong served all America and Americans. Mr. Speaker, we have all lost a good and true friend and we shall miss him terribly. To his charming wife and lovely daughter and his entire family I extend my deepest sympathy in their time of sorrow.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join the House Members in paying our respects today to our late colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM H. BATES of Massachusetts.

BILL BATES was known to us all as a dedicated and conscientious man who took boundless pride in his representation of the Sixth District of Massachusetts. Soon after I entered the House of Representatives, I learned that BILL BATES possessed outstanding leadership abilities and a warm personal charm. His dedication to his duties is best exemplified by his superlative accomplishments as the ranking minority member of the House Armed Services Committee. His contribution as a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy further revealed him to be a man in pace with the times and its problems.

His colleagues on both sides of the aisle grieve at his passing for BILL BATES was truly one of the most able and respected Members of Congress. His absence is deeply felt by us all.

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, this body is composed of men and women of distinction. Certainly one who has been particularly high in the esteem of his colleagues was the gentleman who served the Sixth District of the State of Massachusetts. My period of service in this body has been brief but it has been an honor to be able to serve with him.

Our late distinguished colleague took most seriously the constitutional charge that the Congress insure the national security. As senior minority member of the Armed Services Committee he was always in the forefront of the struggle to assure that America remained strong—able to protect its interests abroad and defend the Nation at home.

As second ranking minority House member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy our late colleague took second place to no one in his advocacy of developing the technology that would give the United States the leadership in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Our country's No. 1 ranking in this field is the strongest evidence of his success.

I join my colleagues in conveying to his family the deepest sympathy and condolences.

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, BILL BATES was a dear friend and colleague and it is with a heavy heart and a sense of deep loss that I join my colleagues in paying tribute to our dear departed colleague. He had a warmth of character and friendliness that endeared him to all who knew him. Those of us who worked daily with BILL BATES loved and respected him, and he will be sorely missed by everyone ever privileged to know him. It has been my privilege to know BILL over the 19 years he served this Nation, his State, his district, and this House with dedicated integrity, wisdom, diligence, and effectivenes. He was truly an outstanding member of this body. Mrs. Kluczynski joins me in expressing deep sympathy to his beloved wife Pearle, his daughter Susan, his mother, and his family.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, WILLIAM H. BATES, whose untimely passing we lament today, was a man who, because of his qualities as both a person and a public servant, will be difficult to replace in this body. He was, in my mind, a bright star in this Chamber, in his important Armed Services Committee assignment, and among his friends.

While BILL BATES was one of the senior members of his party in the House—he served as ranking minority member of his committee—he was still young in years. Like his father before him, he compiled a distinguished record in this body and, although he first came here as his father's successor, BILL BATES, through diligence, through intelligence, through integrity and decency, and

through insight into the multiple problems of our time, made his way on his own by his own efforts.

But there was more to our departed colleague than ability as a lawmaker. He had the capacity to rise above partisan politics when necessary—as it is frequently necessary in these times—and he possessed a personal warmth which earned for him the friendship of, I believe, every Member of this body, and for that matter, all with whom he came in contact.

I deeply mourn his passing, not only because the Congress can ill afford to lose so able a Member, but because I will always miss his friendship.

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, it greatly saddened me to learn of the death of the Honorable WILLIAM H. BATES.

His service to his State and the Nation was distinguished. The reasons for this are clearly evident by the quality and pertinency of his comments in this body. Hearings of the committees upon which he was a member further demonstrate this.

His two committees were in fields in which diligent effort is needed to master the complexities. The Honorable WILLIAM H. BATES was an acknowledged expert. As ranking minority member of the House Armed Services Committee, it was apparent to all that he had devoted his great energy to mastering the incredible array of information in making determinations vital to this Nation's military posture. The same may be said about his work as a senior member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

As a relatively junior Member of this body, I was most appreciative of and impressed by his unfailing efforts to provide guidance and assistance to a newcomer. His unfailing politeness and willingness to be of help will be sorely missed by all Members.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the country and the Congress mourn the loss of BILL BATES. His life was one of dedication to both.

BILL came to Congress just before I did, and in these past 17 years I can say that my own life and its many experiences have been made more valuable because of his service in the Congress of the United States.

There is little that can be added to that which is being said today about the brilliant and dedicated life of BILL BATES, except that his death takes from this Congress one of its most respected Members.

Today my deepest sympathy goes to his family along with my most sincere respect for the life of devotion given his country by BILL BATES.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to our late beloved Member, BILL BATES. We have lost one of the finest Members I have had the honor to serve with. BILL BATES was a man dedicated to serving of his country both as a naval officer and in the Congress. He served with great honor. In all of the years I have known him I have never heard him say an ill word about any one. He was held in high regard by all of his colleagues. We will miss his congenial personality and his wise counsel.

I express my deepest sympathy to his wife and family.

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, for almost 20 years the people of the Sixth District of Massachusetts, and the Nation, were most ably served by our friend and former colleague, the late BILL BATES, whose manner of reason and integrity earned him many friends in the Congress.

Although it was my privilege to have known BILL for only the past 2½ years, since becoming a Member of the 90th Congress, I came to know him as a man of conscience and conviction, and feel as though in some way I have benefited from having had the opportunity of working with him.

BILL BATES will be missed in the Congress by his colleagues on both sides of the political aisle and he will be remembered as a dedicated servant of the people.

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, Congress lost one of its most distinguished and cheerful Members with the passing of our good friend and colleague BILL BATES.

As all of you know, Congressman BATES' seniority made him the ranking Republican member of the House Armed Services Committee. As a member of that committee, I shall miss his sage judgment as I am sure will all the other members of the committee. He was forthright in his opinions. He always knew where he stood on any given question and he was a perceptive legislator who gave his best to whatever he set his hand.

His background fitted him perfectly for this committee. He served in the Navy for more than 9 years, resigning his commission as lieutenant commander when he was elected to the 81st Congress in a special election.

I shall miss him not only as a person who faced today's problems cheerfully and openly but as a man on whose judgment one could rely.

I am proud to join in this tribute to our late distinguished colleague. I feel that this is a great loss to the constituents whom he served so ably and to his country in this time of crisis. When so many military decisions are being made, the loss of a man with his background and understanding is indeed a heavy loss to bear. We shall miss him greatly.

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, it is with a mixture of sadness and pride that I rise to speak of our longtime friend and colleague, BILL BATES. Sadness, because he is gone has passed from amongst us; pride, because I knew him and can always say, "I was his friend."

In September 1643, Oliver Cromwell wrote in a letter to Sir William Springer:

> If you choose godly men to be Captains of Horse, honest men will follow them.

I can think of no phrase more fitting for BILL BATES: a Godly, honest man, who was a natural leader and inspired these same qualities in all who knew him.

BILL BATES had a wholesome spontaneous smile, a smile that cheered and brightened those around him.

The age of chivalry died long ago, but the spirit of chivalry never dies and on occasion manfests itself in some unusual man among men in the noblest traditions of the great Chevalier Bayard. Among us, then appears a man who, like Bayard, it may truly be said, that he was "without peer, without reproach." So was BILL BATES.

A large, strong and rugged man, he was forceful and moving, and a driving force for the good of his country. His service in the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States was constantly marked and guided by the uprightness and nobility of his character and the breadth and depth of his perception and intellect. He served his people honorably and well, and the legacy he leaves to his fellow Americans is that they are safer and more secure, in their liberty and in their homes, because of BILL BATES, and the service he gave.

His was a full and productive life. Although he was taken from us suddenly, and his passing leaves a space that cannot easily be filled, let us reflect that he gave to the Congress, and to his country, all that was his to give, right up to the last. No man could do more; few men do as much.

> And now these waiting dreams are satisfied;
> From twilight to the halls of dawn he went;
> His lance is broken; but he lies content
> With that high hour, in which he lived and died.

> And falling thus, he wants no recompense,
> Who found his battle in the last resort;
> Nor needs he any hearse to bear him hence,
> Who goes to join the men of Agincourt.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I share the deep feeling of sorrow and loss which fills the House on this sad occasion.

The death of our colleague, WILLIAM H. BATES, has created a void which is impossible to fill. He will be sorely missed by all—as a friend and as one of the most valuable Members of this body.

I had the privilege of knowing BILL's father, the late Hon. George J. Bates, who was also tragically taken from us. BILL, who replaced his father, brought to this Chamber the same integrity, intelligence and devotion to duty which had characterized the work of his father. He had served with distinction in the Navy. He brought to his work on the Armed Services Committee an intimate knowledge of national defense and a deep love for his country. His contributions to legislation dealing with our national security during the last two decades were tremendous.

I had the privilege of counting BILL BATES as one of my friends. I will always retain fond memories of him and his work in this body. Mrs. Byrnes joins me in expressing our sorrow and deepest sympathy to his wife and family.

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, some few days ago it fell my sad duty, along with the distinguished leadership of both parties and the entire membership of the House Committee on Armed Services, to represent the Congress in paying respect to our late friend and esteemed colleague, the late WILLIAM H. BATES of Massachusetts.

Since I am one of the more recent Members of this body, it was my privilege to know BILL BATES for only a short

while. In the brief months that I knew BILL, however, I found him to be a man of deep moral conviction and a colleague who was beloved and esteemed by all Members on both sides of the aisle.

His wise counsel in matters relating to the military will be greatly missed by all of us on the House Commitee on Armed Services. The place which he held in the hearts of our servicemen was quite evident in Salem, Mass., by the presence of a full company of Marine, Navy, Air Force, Coast Guard, and Army personnel who took part in the services honoring this dedicated Congressman from the great State of Massachusetts.

Our former colleague of the House, the Honorable Dewey Short, delivered the eloquent eulogy in St. James Cathedral. In his message he stated:

> It is not how many years a man lives, but how he lives these years which counts.

The great out-pouring of friends from Salem and throughout the State of Massachusetts attested to the fact that BILL BATES spent those 52 years rendering dedicated service to the people of this Nation. It was obvious to all of us who knew him that BILL BATES' years counted.

I should like to express my deepest sympathy to the members of his immediate family in his untimely passing.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the Congress, the State of Massachusetts, and the constituents he represented so ably, were saddened by the death of our friend and colleague, WILLIAM HENRY BATES.

BILL, the son of the late Honorable George J. Bates, a distinguished Representative for many years, who was killed in a plane crash, learned his lessons well from his father. He represented the constituents of the Sixth District of Massachusetts in the same capable, outstanding manner as his father had before him.

He not only served his country in the House of Representatives but also as a lieutenant commander in the U.S. Navy. He was truly a dedicated servant of the people.

It was a privilege and a pleasure to have known and worked with this distinguished gentleman and he will surely be missed by all of us. His stature as a person will be long remembered by those who were privileged to know him.

Mrs. Johnson joins me in extending deepest sympathy to his wife and daughter.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, Congress has lost an outstanding Member in the passing of WILLIAM HENRY BATES on June 22, 1969.

BILL BATES had an illustrious career of public service. His congressional service had its mark of greatness in his devoted service to our national security as a member of the House Armed Services Committee.

He loved his country.

He believed in its destiny.

He was a serious student of legislation.

He was knowledgeable in many fields.

He was dedicated and hard working.

His life serves as an example of courage and devotion. His smile and ready offer of assistance was extended to every constituent and every Member. He was so active and full of life. He was so considerate of others and always willing to shoulder more than his share of the load. Our Nation and all of us are the benefactors of the conscientious and tireless service that BILL BATES gave to our national defense as the ranking Republican member on the Armed Services Committee and to his duties as a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Through his service and integrity our security and freedom have been immeasurably enhanced.

Without question, BILL BATES' life and his accomplishments are a living testimonial to a man whose greatness was to be seen in everything he did and everyone with whom he came in contact. He was undoubtedly one of the best liked and most respected Members to have served in Congress.

In the death of BILL BATES the Nation has suffered a great loss, but it would have been an even greater loss had not Congress known and felt the presence of this man. Today, our Nation is a better place because of his contributions. He was indeed a good man in the fullest sense.

Together with the Members of this House, I mourn BILL BATES' passing and extend to his beloved widow Jean, his daughter, his brothers, and his family my deepest sympathy in their bereavement.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, WILLIAM BATES was a dedicated legislator who took a deep personal interest in serving the people of Massachusetts.

In addition, he was deeply concerned about the position of the United States in world affairs and he made the Nation's defense his special area of expertise. His work on the House Armed Services Committee and on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy reflected his long standing interest in resolving some of our most critical and troublesome problems. As the ranking minority member of Armed Services he was one of the small group to whom we looked for special guidance when we were discussing some of the complex issues of military defense.

In addition, he brought to his work in this body a spirit of kindliness and friendliness which is all too rare. No matter how serious the issue or how heated the debate, BILL BATES' smile and concern for those with whom he labored in the national interest continued.

The Congress can never have enough dedicated and knowledgeable men like BILL BATES. He was greatly respected, admired and liked by his colleagues on both sides of the aisle. We will miss him. The Nation will miss him.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, BILL BATES was an exceptional human being. I cannot recall ever meeting a person more friendly, more even-tempered, more considerate of the feelings of others. Never once during the 9 years that I knew him as a colleague in the House of Representatives did I hear a harsh word from him or any sign of ill-temper. It was my privilege to be with him during the annual conferences of the North Atlantic Assembly in Brussels, Belgium. During the long journeys and the sessions of the Assembly I had the privilege of talking with him at great length and occasionally taking a long walk at night with him. These experiences confirmed what I have just said.

Last year Mrs. Bates was with her husband on the trip to Brussels and just before the group returned to the United States I asked Jean if BILL was always as good-humored as he appeared to be in public. She said, "He is always happy, filled with good spirits. I call him my jolly Irishman."

His death is a great loss to the Congress of the United States and to me personally. Mrs. Findley joins me in extending deepest sympathy to Jean and her daughter.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join in the tribute to the memory of our beloved colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM H. BATES, of Massachusetts.

His passing was a special loss to me and many of my colleagues because we had the honor of serving with his distinguished father, the late Honorable George Joseph Bates, who had also achieved such a remarkable record in this House.

The Nation has been fortunate to have had the knowledgeable and skillful service of Congressman WILLIAM H. BATES during the nearly 20 years he served as a Member of the House of Representatives.

He had been a member of the military service when elected to Congress and used this background to great advantage in his unusual service as a member of the Armed Services Committee.

Each of us, as well as every staff member and visitor to this side of the Capitol, will miss his cheerful and friendly greeting. He evidenced his compassion for his fellow men with his warm and open manner in speaking to everyone he met—friend and stranger alike.

I am sure each Member of this House feels deeply the loss of our dear friend from Massachusetts.

I want to extend my heartfelt sympathy to his wife and daughter.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness that I join my colleagues in the House in mourning the untimely death of our distinguished colleague from Massachusetts, the Honorable WILLIAM H. BATES. It had been my pleasure to serve with him throughout his career in Congress which began 19 years ago, and to enjoy his friendship during that period. Even earlier, I had served with his distinguished father in Congress and on the great Committee on Armed Services, prior to his tragic death in an airplane collision over Washington National Airport. Both served with great ability from the same district in Massachusetts.

From the time of his election, BILL BATES served with distinction in Congress. He rose to be the senior minority member of the Armed Services Committee and one of the senior minority members on the Atomic Energy Committee. The security and welfare of our country could not have been in better hands. He was one of the most knowledgeable Members of the Congress on matters of national defense. He handled the demanding responsibilities of his committee assignments with the same intelligence, in-

sight, and love of country that he fulfilled his obligations to his constituents who continued to return him to Congress with overwhelming majorities.

A deeply religious man, BILL carried into his daily life the principles of Christianity, especially the commandment to "Love one another." For BILL BATES did love his fellow man. His entire life was a model of service and untiring effort to improve the lives of those he served. Until the very end, he fought for those less fortunate. His example will remain a source of inspiration.

His loyalty, sincerity of purpose, high ideals, and personal warmth made him a devoted friend and called forth friendship in return. I know few men who commanded as much respect, admiration, and love from all he met. This fine man was rare, indeed. I shall always cherish the memory of his friendship.

My sympathy and my prayers are with Mrs. Bates and the family during this difficult time.

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness that I join my colleagues in paying tribute here today to one of the truly great Members of this body, the late Representative WILLIAM H. BATES.

BILL BATES was a man of great judgment and integrity, of insight and wisdom, of compassion and, above all, of honor. He was a gentleman in every sense of the word. His contributions to the America of our day and to succeeding generations are marks of his keen understanding of our turbulent times and his deep dedication to the performance of his duties.

His death leaves each and every one of us with a deep feeling of personal loss. He was a man so brimming with vitality and life that it is hard to believe he will no longer be serving with us. He has set a splendid example for each of us to follow.

Mr. STUBBLEFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the passing of Representative WILLIAM BATES has deeply affected all of us who had the privilege of knowing and working with him. We have lost one of the finest men, one of the most dedicated citizens, that I have ever known.

Congressman BATES first came to the House after winning a special election to fill the vacancy left by the tragic death of his father, the distinguished member of the Massachusetts delegation, the late George Bates. To the office he brought his years of experience as a naval officer who had participated in the assault on Iwo Jima.

His early naval career was the basis of the invaluable contribution he made toward the development and building of our nuclear Navy. His voice was one of the first and the most persuasive in leading our Nation toward the building of the most modern and powerful Navy in the world. He was a man who was able to look ahead, and accurately judged the implications of nuclear power for our strategic needs. He not only recognized what was needed; he provided a major part of the drive that transformed acknowledged need into accomplished reality.

For the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the Sixth District which he represented, WILLIAM BATES was a loyal and devoted servant. Were no other evidence available, the overwhelming majority which returned him to Congress in each election is eloquent testimony to the respect and admiration of his constituents.

WILLIAM BATES devoted most of his life to serving his constituents, his colleagues, and his country. His contributions to our atomic naval research and development as a member of the House Armed Services Committee and of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy were immense. He will be remembered just as much, however, for those rare and intangible qualities of generosity, courage and faith with which he inspired everyone around him.

I can scarcely find the words to express the profound sense of loss and sorrow caused by the death of such a beloved and distinguished colleague. He was never too busy to offer his help or advice when it was needed; never too worried or preoccupied with his own affairs to spare a smile or a kindly greeting. He was humble in putting forward his own opinions, but steadfast in doing what he believed was right, rather than what was convenient.

Our Nation needs many more such dedicated patriots and fine human beings as WILLIAM BATES. There was no one like him, and he will be sorely missed. My grief and sympathy are with his family in their loss.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I join in honoring the memory of our distinguished colleague, Congressman WILLIAM BATES, of Massachusetts.

BILL was a warm and good friend, much beloved by his colleagues in the House. He was, too, a patriot, who served his country well, far beyond active duty in the war years, and with a sense of responsibility for and pride in America's future. We shall miss his counsel and his cheerful devotion to duty.

Mrs. Reid joins in extending our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Bates and their daughter.

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, although I knew Congressman WILLIAM BATES for only a short period, the impression he left upon me reflects the same one that I have heard expressed by my colleagues of much greater seniority. I remember that within my first week here BILL sought me out to extend a warm hand of welcome. He encouraged my appointment to the Armed Services Committee, and it is he who suggested to the chairman of that committee, the Honorable L. MENDEL RIVERS, my appointment to the special committee investigating the seizure of the U.S.S. *Pueblo*. It was this kind of consideration and thoughtfulness which made BILL BATES such a beloved Member of this body.

Few men are given the opportunity to serve their country as BILL BATES did. His years as a naval officer combined with his career in the Congress accord him an unusual place among those who have been privileged to serve. He stands as an example to all of us.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, the death of one of our Members is always a sad event. From time to time this forum is particularly disheartened by the passing from our midst of a singularly distinguished gentleman, a man whose unique capabilities and wise counsel create and maintain an aura of vision and integrity within this assembly. Such is the case with WILLIAM HENRY BATES.

Recognized by his colleagues as a man who could vigorously advance his views while maintaining strong friendships with Members of different opinion, Congressman BATES established himself as a talented and perceptive leader through almost two decades of public service.

A career begun by tragedy has been ended by tragedy. When his father was killed in a plane crash in 1949 while a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives, WILLIAM BATES succeeded to the role of leadership that was his father's.

Dedicating himself to the same diligent pursuit of public service that distinguished his father, Representative BATES, like his father, served his people honestly and forthrightly until the end.

Unfailingly capable, BILL BATES was never afraid to defend a program or principle even though he was assuming an unpopular role. Yet his determination to advocate principles rather than politics never led him to forget that his opponents on one issue or another were still his respected friends. Even in the midst of heated debate on important and controversial matters, he could still count among his friends members of all political and philosophical persuasions.

He was a man known by all, and especially by those who worked closely with him on committees, as a dedicated and honorable Congressman. The loss of this man leaves an empty place not only within our leadership, but within our hearts.

We all aspire to greatness measured by respected recognition and political prominence. We could never better assure ourselves of this greatness than to emulate the qualities possessed by this man.

Rarely receiving the widespread recognition which he deserved, rarely capturing national headlines, our departed colleague from Massachusetts typified the courage and brilliance of men whom Albert Camus called heroes. Willing to sacrifice fame for friendship, willing to put aside personal prestige for honest service, WILLIAM BATES will remain a symbol of quiet responsibility and unsullied trust.

We note the passage of this honorable gentleman with certain sadness, yet we also mark his departure from us with a sense of pride and honor to have known a man of such character.

Today we bid farewell to a gentleman, a leader, and most of all, to a beloved friend.

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, it is a sad occasion, but an honor nonetheless, to participate in the special orders in memory of our late colleague, Congressman WILLIAM BATES, of Massachusetts.

BILL BATES came to the House of Representatives as a result of a special election following the tragic death of his father, the Honorable George Bates, in the 81st Congress; proof of his service and popularity is the fact that the Sixth

District of Massachusetts has seen fit to return him to Washington in each succeeding Congress.

He had a distinguished career first in the Navy, and as a legislator rose to the position of ranking minority member of the House Armed Services Committee. He was also an active member of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, and a member of the U.S. delegation to the NATO Parliamentarians.

No one could have been more sincere or personable than BILL BATES, and like other men of quality and stature, his spirit will live on in the work he has accomplished, and in the lives of those whose lives he has touched. He was a most uncommon man.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, having served but a short time in the Congress, I was not privileged to know BILL BATES well. His imprint, however, is clear in my memory and I join today in paying tribute to the man, Congressman BATES.

BILL BATES was ready always to respond to my questions and offer a word of encouragement to me as a freshman legislator. His ready friendliness and wonderful sense of humor served all of us well when the going was tough on the floor.

His dedicated work as the ranking minority member of the Armed Services Committee earned him an important role. He handled this role with wisdom and strength and made a great contribution to our country's military capability.

Mrs. Steiger joins in extending our deep sympathy to Mrs. Bates and his family.

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, all of us are deeply saddened at the recent passing of our distinguished colleague and good friend, BILL BATES. During nearly 20 years as a respected and well-liked Member of this body, he established himself as an effective and affable Representative whose good sense and good humor were valued assets to all of us. As a fellow member of the Armed Services Committee, BILL BATES was always helpful and considerate to me in dealing with the many complex issues which came before us. His counsel will be missed.

I am sure Mr. BATES' good counsel and genuine warmth will also be missed by his many constituents in Massachusetts, as well. Having won his father's congressional seat as a young Navy lieutenant commander in 1950, he served with distinction, carrying on his father's tradition. The Bates record is a proud one of respect and service for the people of Massachusetts.

To the Bates family, my wife and I extend our sincerest sympathies.

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in this tribute to our late beloved friend, the Honorable WILLIAM BATES.

We were both patients at the Bethesda Naval Hospital and had the pleasure of spending much time together. We had the opportunity to talk about many things, particularly about his revered father, the Honorable George Bates—with whom I served in the Congress for many years. Like his dad, BILL was a lovable person, intelligent, and a good outstanding legislator. He was interested in people and in their welfare.

To his good wife, his mother, and other members of his family, I extend my deepest sympathy in their great loss.

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, every Member of this body was shocked and pained to learn of the death of our good friend and colleague, BILL BATES, of Massachusetts. Although many of us had known of BILL's illness for a while, his parting came nonetheless as a stunning blow. His death leaves a gap in the House of Representatives which will not easily, if ever, be filled. I considered him a good friend and a great representative of his people, and I shall miss him.

For over two decades BILL served here in the House. Yet neither seniority nor the abundance of genuine friends he acquired went to his head. He was always the same genial, hard-working figure. I feel safe in saying that great as it was, the esteem in which BILL BATES was held here in Congress was only a small reflection of the admiration and respect which the people of his congressional district had for him.

I know I join the entire House when I extend to his family my deepest sympathy and my continued prayers.

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it seems to be true that whenever someone dies his friends remember only the best about him. This does not make what is said in grief untrue, but it does make it incomplete. How many of us have read eulogies of famous men and thought to themselves "not quite true."

It is, I think, the distinguishing mark of BILL BATES that all the best we can say of him is decidedly true. There need be nothing left out in order to pay proper respect and tribute to this great man. BILL BATES genuinely and completely earned all the words of praise the Congress of the United States can bestow.

BILL BATES was a true gentleman at a time when to find this quality is increasingly rare. The world of politics is a hard place to be both nice and effective at the same time, to be liked by everyone yet the keeper of one's own soul and conscience. Yet BILL BATES was such a man. The simple truth is, BILL BATES was first of all an outstanding human being, and because of that, an outstanding Congressman.

It goes without saying that he served his district and his Nation well. His dedicated and continuing effort to protect the fishing and shoe industries and the many who depended upon them for their employment was carried out with good will toward all, especially those who were not on the same side of the issue. His untiring interest in and concern for a modern and alert defense posture for America was pursued with diligence and, skill, and, once again, good will. BILL BATES was a tolerant man who saw, heard and actually listened to and considered both sides of a question even when he was dedicated to the pursuit of a particular goal.

The most meaningful tribute I can pay to BILL BATES is to note with deep gratitude that my experience in the Congress was deeply enriched by serving with him, and with deep sadness that he is no longer with us. My heart goes out to his wife, daughter and family who have suffered an immeasurable human loss.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, the death of our beloved colleague, BILL BATES, has been a profound shock. Though I knew he was gravely ill, not even that knowledge seems to have prepared me for the loss of this friendly, cheerful, hearty, robust young man. And I know I am not alone in this feeling. I recall how deeply I was touched on the next day upon hearing the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee—on which BILL served as ranking member—say:

> We have missed him terribly this year, but we always felt that somehow, some way, he would come back to us. We never said "if Bill returns"; we always said "When Bill returns."

I believe those words expressed better than most of us could what we all have felt.

BILL BATES came to Congress nearly 20 years ago, chosen in a special election to fill the vacancy left by the tragic death of his father, the Honorable George Bates. Even though a generation my junior, BILL had been here almost a year when I was elected to the 82d Congress. We became good friends from the beginning and I have cherished that friendship.

The loss of this great and good and able man leaves a void in this Chamber and in the distinguished committee on which he served. We shall sorely miss his intellect. The chairman of the Armed Services Committee—who is, himself, recognized as an outstanding authority on defense matters—described BILL as "the most knowledgeable Member in the Congress concerning matters of national defense." No greater nor more generous tribute could be paid his mind and learning.

We shall miss his judgment, his character, his patriotism, his deep humility, his boundless energy. And so will his State and his Nation.

But here in this Chamber, I think we shall most miss his friendship. He was so kind, so thoughtful, so eternally good humored—truly a friend among friends. It is hard to give him up. It is impossible to express in mere words what his being among us has meant or the overwhelming sense of loss at his being gone. Yet he will never really be gone from us. For nothing can alter the impact and influence of his great service upon the life of this Nation, and he has left an eternal flame that will always glow in the hearts of those who knew him and loved him.

Mrs. Belcher and I extend our deepest sympathy to his wife, Jean, and his entire family. May the blessings of God's peace and love surround them in this time of sorrow.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, while we all knew that he was seriously ill, the news that BILL BATES had passed away came as a shock to all who knew him. Just a few months ago BILL was the picture of health: strong, robust, virile, and always cheerful. Now he is gone and his passing leaves a void here that not even time will fill.

I could talk at length on the life and accomplishments of this man whose untimely death has cast a pall over this Chamber. But that would be repetitious because I have been here a long time now and do not remember ever having heard so many sincere and genuine tributes to the life and character of any man than those spoken about BILL BATES on June 23, 1969, and again today.

Let me just say that in his passing the district in Massachusetts which he so ably represented here has lost an able and dedicated servant, the country has lost a genuine patriot, his family has lost a devoted husband and father, and I have lost a true friend.

None of us can afford such losses but we all accept them because they are a part of God's plan. And all of us who loved BILL BATES can, I think, derive some consolation from the knowledge that he is now at peace.

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I respectfully join my colleagues in paying a very special tribute to the late gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. BATES). This House, the Committee on Armed Services, the minority, each individual Member has cause to grieve his death. He was an especially able and valuable Member of the House. He was conscientious. He was affable. He died much too early. All of us will miss him as a friend and as a colleague.

We can, however, remind ourselves that we were all especially privileged to know and work with him. All of our memories will be fond ones. This in itself is a splendid tribute—and a near unique achievement by any man.

BILL was an uncommon man who performed uncommon services for his district and our Nation. Few Members will ever match his contributions to this House and the Committee on Armed Services.

He was able to develop an enviable record of sustained selfless service to his district and our Nation's national security—and yet maintain an independence and integrity which was known and respected by all of us. With all of this, he was a loyal and constructive member of the Republican conference. One of my special privileges was to serve with him in the minority whip organization, where he was effective and respected.

Mrs. Talcott and I express our condolences to Mrs. Bates and their family.

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in a special tribute to the memory of a dedicated public servant—Congressman WILLIAM H. BATES.

BILL's passing has left a void which cannot be filled but his life has given us insight into the true meaning of devotion and love of country.

For the past 19 years, BILL BATES represented the people of Salem, Mass., and as the ranking minority member of the House Armed Services Committee, he served all the people of the United States.

It was my privilege to serve with BILL in the House and on the Armed Services Committee. His devotion to his work will always serve as an inspiration to those of us who knew him.

My wife, Frances, joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to his wonderful family. May they be comforted by the lasting memories of this kind and beloved man.

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleagues in expressing my profound sorrow and sense of loss at the death of the distinguished and beloved Representative of the Sixth District of Massachusetts, Congressman WILLIAM H. BATES. His tragic passing has been a great shock to this House.

As his colleagues, most of us have memories of the many occasions when his personal warmth, wisdom based on experience, sympathy, and courage were freely offered in moments of need. He inspired the respect and admiration of all of us, regardless of our political affiliations, because of his dedication to the highest ideals of public service.

In addition to his 19 years as a Member of Congress, he also had an outstanding career as a Naval officer which included participation in the assault on Iwo Jima during World War II. His years of experience in the Navy reinforced Representative BATES' farsighted advocacy of nuclear-powered ships. As a member of the House Armed Services Committee and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy he was an expert on the strategic needs and priorities of our modern nuclear-powered forces, an incredibly complex field. His technical expertise and grasp of strategic alternatives made an invaluable contribution to the modern development of our Nation's defenses.

The death of Representative BATES is particularly poignant for the many Members who knew his father, the distinguished Congressman George J. Bates, of Massachusetts. WILLIAM BATES was elected to fill the vacancy left by his father's tragic death in an airplane crash. He served, as his father had, with loyalty, courage, honor, and dedication.

I believe that, although Representative BATES has now been lost to us, his example—the courage and spirit of public service which he inspired—will always remain with those of us who were privileged to know him. My deepest sympathy goes out to his family in this time of sorrow.

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, it was with great sadness that I learned of the passing of my colleague from Massachusetts, the Honorable WILLIAM H. BATES.

As a junior Member of the House, I did not have a long acquaintance with BILL, but even before I gained membership in this body, I recognized him as a strong champion of the nuclear Navy. Even more than that, I remember him as the man who fought to maintain "civilian" control over the combatant functions of the Armed Forces; a man who feared that lack of congressional supervision over the Pentagon would cause the executive branch of Government to assume a disproportionate role in determining the flexibility or rigidity of our military policies. As a strong advocate of maintenance by the legislative branch of its historic responsibilities over the design and capability of our major instruments of military policy, BILL BATES gained my respect and my support.

To his family and many friends, my deepest sympathy.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, I personally knew our departed friend, BILL BATES, from the day he came to this body. It was my privilege to serve here with his father, a great and good man, whose departure like that of his son, was shocking and most untimely.

To have had the friendship of BILL BATES and his father added much to my life. And such also added to the pleasures of my service in the House of Representatives.

BILL's passing left a tremendous void in our midst in both quantity and quality. He was a man of large and attractive proportions, both physically and mentally. Tall, erect, broad shouldered, and strong, BILL was a courteous and personable man of the highest character who attracted attention wherever he went. He was a man of cheer; his wonderful smile was always present. He always had a good word, and it was earnest and sincere. Wherever BILL was, he towered over the crowd, and he added pleasure and joy to the occasion.

As a representative of the people, he was numbered among the best. He served his district with earnestness and great dedication. The benefits from his service went far beyond his district to the good of his great State and country.

Whenever BILL BATES arose to speak in this body, silence prevailed and he always gained the rapt attention of the Members. He spoke with tenderness and ease but with strong conviction and impressively. He always knew his subject. He knew what he wanted to say and said it convincingly.

Over the years we have known many able and highly respected Members who have served on the great Committee on Armed Services. Their responsibility has been so heavy, more particularly during the years of conflict in which our country has been engaged. In considering the grave problems vested in the Armed Services Committee, BILL BATES was one who did his job well. He rendered courageous and patriotic service in our great Navy during World War II; and he matched that service as a highly valuable member of the Armed Services Committee.

The friends of Bill BATES in this House were not limited to his side of the aisle. Nor has there been such a limit to those who appreciated and respected him. While dedicated to the principles of his political party, he was nonpartisan in his service and association. For him there was no aisle. His friends and those who loved him in this body overflowed the middle aisle, wall to wall.

I am happy to say, Mr. Speaker, that BILL BATES was my friend. I was honored and fortunate to be numbered among his.

The life of BILL BATES was much too short; but, indeed, it was great. It will not be necessary for those who appreciated him to erect a monument to his memory, a monument that he so justly deserves. With his great and clean life as an obedient son, as a young man, as a student, an athlete, a public servant, a friend of mankind, as a husband, a father, and as one who feared and dedicated his life to a living God, he erected

his own monument. The memory of his life and good of his service will survive the crumbling of a monument of stone.

Mr. Speaker, the passing of WILLIAM HENRY BATES, whom we fondly knew as BILL, leaves us grief stricken and sad. We share his loss with his good wife and daughter. They have our sympathy.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, I join in this ceremony today to honor not merely an able colleague, but also a real friend whose demise brought immeasurable sadness to this body and to me personally. It is fitting that we pause and pay tribute to the service and memory of our late colleague, WILLIAM HENRY BATES. His passing is indeed a real loss felt by not only the House of Representatives, but the entire Nation as well.

In his long tenure in the House of Representatives he has become an institution in himself as a most valuable member of the Armed Services Committee. For 19 years, he devoted himself incessantly to matters of national defense. Seldom does one have the chance to be associated with a truly great legislative leader as WILLIAM HENRY BATES, and I shall always be grateful that I was afforded such an opportunity the last 7 years serving with him on the Armed Services Committee.

BILL BATES' record, unexcelled in accomplishments, in dedication to duty, in service to his country, as an effectual fighter for principles of good government, will be a lasting and constant imprint on the minds of us who will be challenged with the task of "carrying on" in the U.S. Congress. But we are fortunate that he left a legacy of noteworthy aspirations and hallmark goals as a paragon for our use.

Our departed friend was a warm and gracious gentleman—and to all who knew him, a very distinguished American. Truly, the best monuments to his memory remain in the indelible stamp of his career in Congress on the present and future affairs of National Government.

The passing of BILL BATES, to me, is a poignant personal loss for I enjoyed his friendship from the first time I knew him. Few men can equal his ability as a legislator and his strength as a real statesman and political leader. BILL BATES was a successful man—and a hard worker possessing an abundant degree of basic essentials for quality leadership, knowledge and courage.

All will agree that BILL BATES served his fellow man and his country to the very ultimate of his ability—giving all he had to give to any task or personal goal. I admired his sincerity and his loyalty to the beliefs he held dear. I saw at close range the quality of this man and was impressed. His life characterized the "best of the best," and I am better off for having known him.

No man loved his country more than did BILL BATES, and the Nation owes him a debt it can never repay for his contributions to our Military Establishment. His name is deeply etched in the defense services of America, and his presence in the deliberations of the House Armed Services Committee will be sadly missed.

Words are not adequate to express the emotions and sentiments that I feel at this moment, but I extend to his beloved and bereaved wife, Jean, a native of my congressional district, and other members of the family my deepest sympathy in their great sorrow.

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, it was with great sadness that I learned of the untimely death of my colleague and friend, BILL BATES, the young and vigorous gentleman from Massachusettes.

From the beginning of his 19 years of dedicated service to his State and country, he served with a sense of mission inherited from his father whose unexpired term he was elected to fulfill. BILL BATES exemplified the kind of love and service to our country and devotion to duty which should inspire us all.

In the 17 years I served with Mr. BATES, I came to respect and admire his service as senior minority member of the Armed Services Committee. As a member of the North Atlantic Assembly, formerly known as the NATO Parliamentarians, he received high praise for his energetic efforts.

To his wife, Jean, mother, Nora, and daughter, Susan, my wife joins me in extending our most heartfelt sympathy.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, we are saddened by the passing of our dear friend and distinguished colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM HENRY BATES. I rise to join his many friends in paying tribute to his memory.

BILL BATES was born in Massachusetts, with which State Hawaii has had ties of longstanding. He followed in the footsteps of his father in becoming a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives. That was 19 years ago. Throughout his long career, Congressman BATES was one of our most esteemed and one of the most dedicated Members of this body. He worked tirelessly to strengthen our nuclear Navy and to develop peaceful uses of atomic energy. His accomplishments in these fields will long be remembered as being particularly outstanding in a distinguished congressional career.

The people of Hawaii will also remember him as one who supported Hawaii's aspirations for statehood 10 years ago. In the passing of this son of New England, Hawaii has lost a true friend.

To the members of Congressman BATES' family, I extend my deepest sympathy and heartfelt condolences. It is my sincere hope that they will find some measure of comfort in the knowledge that his life was devoted to the service of his fellow men, whose lives and future have been bettered because BILL BATES lived among them, even though it was for too brief a period.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, even though there are few who have paid their respects to our departed colleague and my warm personal friend, BILL BATES, who in my judgment had a greater affection for him than do I, I feel inadequate to compete with them in putting into words that affection.

Certainly no man with whom I have had the privilege of serving in this body during my many years of service was more beloved than was BILL BATES. I feel that I was blessed with the privilege of enjoying his confidence and I can truthfully say that I have never heard him say an unkind word about anyone. His was a general disposition. He had a kind word for everyone. It was a distinct pleasure always just to be in his presence, and, while he possessed many virtues, I feel that his gentleness and his generosity in dealing with his fellow man was possibly his greatest virtue.

Mr. Speaker, it is most difficult for one to comprehend the uncertainties of life and divine disposition of God's creatures. BILL BATES was an outstanding athlete. He was possessed of almost a perfect physique and a comparatively young man. Although we find it difficult to understand why such an able, lovable, young man should be stricken down and taken from his loved ones and many friends on such short notice, we must realize, if not comprehend, that such is life. I do not think it is trite to say here that his congressional district, his State, and this Republic, which he loved and tried so hard to preserve, has lost a valuable servant.

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues and his innumerable friends, in extending to Mrs. Bates and his loved ones my deepest sympathy.

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to believe that BILL BATES is gone. Everything I say about him can be said by every Member of the House. He was a loyal friend. He was a dedicated American and a true patriot. He was respected and admired by all of us. He was held in affection by everyone of his colleagues.

His years of service on the Armed Services Committee made him a respected authority on the subject of defense and fitted him admirably for the post of ranking minority member of that important body. His leadership and the decisions he made in this position have, I am sure, left a profound effect on the defense posture of the country and, I am sure, all for the best.

BILL BATES had a charming personality and a friendly smile that made him one of the most popular Members of the House. Probably no one had more friends than he and since his passing, the tributes to him can be heard wherever House Members meet.

His death is a distinct loss to his country and his friends. I join my colleagues and his host of friends in extending my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Bates and his family.

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, the passing of our most esteemed colleague, BILL BATES, was a sad and premature event.

He was an outstanding Member of Congress and a particularly effective member of the House Armed Services Committee. As a member of that committee, I came to know BILL and to admire his great knowledge of the complicated matters that are the province of that body. He had the enviable ability to get to the heart of the matter and to penetrate the obfuscation that sometimes attends presentations before the committee. Officials tempted to sell a program with a maze of statistics and complicated data found BILL BATES the wrong man for such tactics.

He was highly regarded by committee members of both parties for his astuteness as a military expert and also by the representatives of the various defense agencies.

His constituency clearly had great respect and affection for him. This was evidenced by the large turnout for the funeral in Salem, Mass., and the obvious signs of grief and mourning which I noted that day.

BILL was a warm and friendly person and I was privileged to consider him a friend as well as a colleague. He was a gentleman in the truest sense of the word and a man devoted to his country. His death leaves a gap in the House of Representatives and marks the end of a period of long service to the Nation by BILL and his late father before him.

My wife, Barbara, and I extend to BILL's family our deepest sympathy.

May he rest in peace.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of our friend and colleague, WILLIAM H. BATES of Massachusetts.

His long record of service to his congressional district, his State, and his Nation was marked by integrity, effectiveness, and dedication to sound principles of government. He served his country well during his career in the U.S. Navy and continued to serve it well as a Member of Congress.

Mrs. Derwinski joins me in extending our heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Bates and her daughter.

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, during my years in Congress I got to know and respect BILL BATES. We had something in common in that we were both graduates of Brown University, and we shared many happy moments discussing the past, present, and future of Brown.

He will be missed in Congress because of his intelligence and decency. I personally am glad I had the opportunity to meet and know him.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I am indeed saddened by the death of Representative WILLIAM H. BATES, a great and good man, and an outstanding Member of Congress. He was a man of high principles, with a sense of humor that never failed to provide a spiritual lift to all who came in contact with him. He was loyal and courageous, and dedicated to public service. Words are inadequate to state the value of his service to our Nation, but let it be said here and now that he performed a service worthy to be remembered.

I consider it my privilege to have served in the House with this great man. It is my hope and my prayer that God may be comforting and kind and may bring strength to his survivors, and that his memory may continue among his colleagues and throughout the world.

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, the passing of Congressman WILLIAM H. BATES, of Massachusetts, removed from our ranks one of the most dedicated Members of the U.S. House of Representatives.

As the ranking Republican on the House Armed Services Committee, he was an effective voice for the defense of this Nation. I was immediately impressed upon first coming to the Congress with his grasp of the intricate details associated with a strong national defense.

First elected to the House in February 1950, he had a long and distinguished career of service. Certainly, it is the mark of a man that his constituents saw fit to elect him 11 times to the Congress.

It would be well to say that it is not for his length of service, however, that we honor him, but rather for how well he served. For indeed if there is one mark or one tribute that we could pay to him, it would be to say that he was faithful in the discharge of his duties and that the Congress and the Nation will be poorer because of his loss, but richer because he served.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, it is with real sadness that we mark today the passing of a good man and an able legislator, BILL BATES, of Massachusetts.

I doubt if there was any man in this body as genuinely popular as BILL BATES. He had a knack for making friends, and our loss is a real one.

BILL BATES was not only a popular man, he was an able one. Those who have known him over the years know of his devotion to his job. When he spoke on an issue, he was listened to. He was a man of good judgment and experience; he was receptive to the problems of others and quick to come up with realistic solutions to them.

The death of BILL BATES deprives us of a man of good humor, breadth of vision, and ability. He exemplified, as nearly as a single individual can, those qualities that make up an ideal legislator. those of us who knew him have lost a good friend.

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues today in paying tribute to the late Honorable WILLIAM H. BATES, a distinguished Congressman and a great American. His wisdom and guidance will be sorely missed in the House of Representatives for many years to come.

For 19 years he served his district, his State, and the Nation with unselfish dedication. He has served with distinction on the House Armed Services Committee and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

For 9 years before his election to Congress, BILL BATES served this Nation in the U.S. Navy, participating in assaults on Iwo Jima and the Japanese mainland. He was promoted to lieutenant commander.

His untimely passing has placed a burden on the Congress and the Nation, for a man of Congressman BATES' caliber is irreplaceable. Future generations of Americans will greatly benefit from his national contributions.

I extend my sympathy to his fine family, and express my sincere gratitude for having known WILLIAM H. BATES.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, our country and the Congress share the loss of his family in the passing of WILLIAM HENRY BATES. This House had no more able or dedicated Member, nor one more beloved by his colleagues. He was a man of unimpeachable integrity and high ability. His unfailing good humor and human warmth made him a joy to all who had the privilege of being associated with him. He had such boundless energy, was so filled with the joy of living, and possessed such a generous amount of honest goodness that what would be a tragic illness in any life seemed doubly so in his.

It is my firm conviction that heaven was made richer as the earth was made poorer by his passing. We have reason to be grateful for his life. He shall be sorely missed.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged, indeed, to join with my colleagues here today in this special tribute to the late Hon. WILLIAM H. BATES, of Massachusetts.

Just a few short days ago every Member of this House, regardless of political affiliation, and many thousands of people throughout this country and our great Commonwealth of Massachusetts were deeply saddened to learn that our dear friend and colleague had passed away.

Mr. Speaker, the past 19 years have constituted the most challenging legislative period in our history. Throughout this time Congressman BATES served this Nation, this House, his State, and his district with dedicated integrity, wisdom, diligence, and effectiveness. His unsurpassed industry and zeal in the discharge of his committee assignments, legislative responsibilities, and personal concern for the solution of constituents' problems is a byword in this House and our Commonwealth. The legend of this great and good man's generous spirit will forever brighten the annals and the atmosphere of this Chamber.

Affectionately known as BILL to almost everyone, he was a man entirely without pretension. Above and beyond all other things, he was beloved by all of us because of his humble attitude, his compassionate understanding, his patient tolerance, his optimistic disposition, his quiet humor, his genuine friendship, and his ever-kindly heart.

Mr. Speaker, during his service here BILL BATES accomplished many outstanding legislative achievements to benefit this country and his people at home.

However, his greatest contribution to his fellow men was the personal example he provided for all of us here, and for those who will come after, of honor and wholesomeness in patriotic service. BILL BATES will be sorely missed by everyone ever privileged to know him but he has left here a permanent inspiration for which this Congress and this Nation will remain forever grateful.

At this time of great sorrow, we extend our heartfelt sympathy to his gracious wife, Jean, his wonderful daughter, Susan, his mother, and his brothers and sisters, while we join in our prayers that the great soul of our beloved, departed friend will rest in eternal peace.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the loss of WILLIAM H. BATES, our late distinguished colleague from Massachusetts, is a great one—both for the Congress and for the Nation he so admirably served.

For 20 years in the Congress of the United States, BILL BATES worked with great industry and devotion for the principles of freedom and security through a strong national defense. America is indebted to him for that devotion. His talents for action and solid accomplishment will be sorely missed in this Chamber.

From a personal viewpoint, Mr. Speaker, I deeply regret the loss of a colleague whose warmly affable nature and graceful humor lightened and uplifted

these Halls. In a time of national questioning of values, BILL BATES represented a moral authority and ethical conviction unsurpassed in our National Government.

I am, indeed, very sorry to see him prematurely depart from our midst, and I would take this occasion to express my sincere sympathy to the members of his family.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, it is with a deep sense of loss that I join today in mourning the untimely passing of our distinguished colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM BATES.

I was privileged to know BILL as a friend, and as a man of outstanding ability, and a high sense of purpose. It was these qualities that stamped his service in the House, and endeared him to his constituency.

Though there is little that one can say to ease his family's sorrow, I know that BILL's wife and children can take consolation in the sure knowledge that his compassion and dedicated service touched all who knew him, and made all our lives more meaningful.

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I join on this day of special memory in a word of tribute to our former colleague, the late Congressman WILLIAM BATES of Massachusetts. BILL BATES resigned from a promising career in the U.S. Navy at the age of 33 to begin his distinguished service in the House, following in his father's footsteps. Through more than nine terms, he earned the reputation as a leading expert in the House on defense affairs, rising to the ranking minority position on the House Armed Services Committee. His efforts on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy were instrumental in establishing this Nation's policy and direction along a largely uncharted course. Above all, he was a warm and personal friend. His untimely death diminishes the House. BILL BATES will be missed by all.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, our Nation, and in particular the Sixth District of Massachusetts, has lost a fine public servant and a dedicated citizen, in the passing of our colleague, WILLIAM H. BATES.

Serving in his eighth term in the House, BILL BATES had risen to the ranking minority position on the Committee on Armed Services and he was the second ranking minority member on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

A veteran of naval service, he was a tower of strength in his devotion to duty in the deliberations of the Armed Services Committee. He gained high respect from his colleagues for the thorough manner in which he pursued the always-demanding responsibilities of legislation dealing with our armed services.

He also took intense interest in the related area of atomic energy, with his membership on the joint committee. Through his combination of committee memberships, he had gained excellent background understanding and judgment in these vital matters of national defense which will be sorely missed by his colleagues.

BILL came to the House in 1950, succeeding his father, the late Honorable George J. Bates, who was serving his seventh term in the House when he met a tragic death in an airplane accident at Washington National Airport in 1949.

The passing of BILL BATES came as a great shock to all of his many friends on Capitol Hill and elsewhere. A robust man until only a few weeks ago, he was highly respected in every regard. Then came the illness from cancer which led to his untimely death.

My sympathy goes out to his lovely wife and daughter in their bereavement. They have lost a devoted husband and father. We have lost a great friend and colleague. Our Nation has lost one of its finest citizens.

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, unusual and rare qualities of character were concentrated in our friend and colleague, BILL BATES. All of us were privileged to enjoy his friendly and helpful cooperation when matters involving his committee required our individual attention. While deeply serious in political conviction, BILL thoroughly enjoyed the lighter side of politics and his quick and ready wit frequently entertained and amused others. The depth of his interest in others was demonstrated not only in his relationships with Members of Congress but the employees of the House and Capitol also shared his love and affection. During his illness it was my privilege to personally witness his warmth and wit when Ernest S. Petinaud, maitre d' of the Members Dining Room permitted me to read a personal letter from his friend BILL BATES who was then in the hospital expecting to recover from the dread disease that was to take his life. The relationship was known only to the two of them, which again was a unique ability of BILL'S—to make each one of us feel that our friendship with him was something extra special.

Mr. Speaker, I include the above-mentioned letter in my remarks, with the express permission of our good friend Ernest:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D.C., April 30, 1969.*

Mr. ERNEST S. PETINAUD,
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CLIENT: I really appreciate your thoughtful card and note which recalls to my mind our close and fond association for many years. I had feared that during my illness you might have turned me over for a new manager but I can assure you that my prolonged convalescence has given me a good deal of time for contemplation and you would be amazed at the ideas I have concerning our future. In terms of bonanza, the signature on the menu exploitation will seem infinitesimal. I shall discuss these matters with you as soon as time permits. In the meantime, all my services will be for free.

I want to thank you for taking good care of Dr. Dean when he visited the Capitol with Bill Hogan from my office.

Trusting that it will not be too long before I return, I am

Sincerely yours,

BILL BATES.

Our sympathy and condolences are extended to members of the Bates family with the fervent prayer that God will continue to sustain them in this hour of trial and sorrow.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleagues in expressing my sincere sorrow at the passing of a personal friend, BILL BATES.

Both BILL and his father served with my father in the House of Representatives. In all, BILL served his country 9 years in the Navy and the 18 years as a Member of the House.

But it was not this tenure which marked him as a leader and loyal American. It was his service and dedication. He served on the Armed Services Committee with distinction.

BILL BATES served always as a statesman and not a politician. The best interests of the Nation were the most important thing to consider for BILL BATES.

We will miss him in this Chamber and I know the people of the Sixth District of Massachusetts will miss his leadership.

My wife and I both offer our sympathy in this hour to his wife Pearle and his daughter Susan.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am honored with the other Members of Congress to set aside this time to pay tribute to a friend and colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM HENRY BATES, of Massachusetts. I join my colleagues of both parties in mourning the tragic and untimely loss of one of our most distinguished and dedicated Representatives of the people of our country.

BILL BATES had represented the interests of the Sixth Congressional District in Massachusetts for 19 years. The ranking minority member of the House Armed Services Committee, BILL was also the second ranking minority member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. He served as well as a member of the U.S. delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly.

BILL attended the Saint James Parochial School and the Worcester Academy before matriculating at Brown University, where he was an outstanding athlete. He later was awarded a degree from the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration.

BILL BATES had been a dedicated naval officer for 10 years, when tragedy claimed the life of his distinguished father, the Honorable George J. Bates. BILL won a special election in February 1950, and succeeded his father in the House of Representatives. He had been reelected to the Congress each term since.

BILL BATES was perhaps the most knowledgeable Member of the House in areas concerning the national defense. A stanch advocate of a strong America, BILL was a powerful supporter of a modernized nuclear Navy. Yet he wanted only to create and preserve, not to destroy. He worked to solidify and preserve our country's security and strength only so that we could more effectively work for peace. His military competence and expertise placed him in a position of great importance to our national welfare, even at his early age.

He was a nonpartisan statesman, whose actions and achievements were dedicated to the public interest. He was an ideal legislator: the people and their needs came first for him. Deeply religious, BILL BATES fulfilled the Christian principles he lived by. He was a faithful and devoted servant of his God, his Nation, and his people. We all shall miss him greatly.

In the words of Angelo Patri:

In one sense, there is no death. The life of a soul on earth lasts beyond his departure. You will always feel that life touching yours, that voice speaking to you, that spirit looking out of other eyes, talking to you in the familiar things he touched, worked with, loved as familiar friends. he lives on in your life and in the lives of all others that knew him.

I extend my deepest sympathies and my most sincere condolences to his family and to his many friends—especially to his wife, Pearle, his daughter, Susan, his mother, Nora, and to his three sisters and brothers.

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult for us to accept the fact that our friend and colleague, WILLIAM H. BATES, will not again appear in this Chamber. As the chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services said recently, although we knew of the gravity of BILL's illness all of us thought in terms of when, not if, he would return. Seldom has the passing of a Member been so deeply and sincerely mourned by all of his colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

BILL BATES' worth never was measured by narrow or partisan standards because his tireless contributions to this House and to the Nation never were narrow or partisan. He was a big man: big of stature, of intellect, of heart, of spirit. Goodness, honor, and intelligence shone on his face like a badge of the inner man.

We grieve that his life has ended at its noontime. We grieve for the loss of the many additional years he should have been with us. And our heartfelt sympathy goes to Mrs. Bates and their daughter Susan.

In the words of John Donne:

Death be not proud, though some have called thee
Mighty and dreadful, for thou art not so
For those whom thou think'st thou dost overthrow . . .
One short sleep past, we wake eternally,
And death shall be no more; Death, thou shall die.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my many, many colleagues in honoring the memory of WILLIAM H. BATES, an exceptionally able Member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

As his service in this body paralleled my own, I had the good fortune of closely following all of his activities. Early in our association, I discovered that here was a man upon whose advice I could depend.

Long before he assumed his great responsibility as the ranking Republican on the important House Armed Services Committee, I searched him out for his views on matters that affected our national defense problems.

His long service in the U.S. Navy had well prepared him for his work on this committee. His record in that service was indeed outstanding. He rose from the position of apprentice seaman to that of lieutenant commander, a position he still held when elected to succeed his distinguished father, Congressman George J. Bates.

Equally distinguished was his work in the Congress. The legislation that he contributed served well his Nation.

WILLIAM BATES was cast in the same mold as our patriots of old. He devoted all of his tremendous energies and capabilities to the service of his Nation.

Mr. Speaker, we have lost one of our finest leaders. We shall long mourn him.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the death of our friend and colleague, WILLIAM H. BATES, is a great loss to the Congress. He will be missed by all of us who were fortunate to know and serve with him in the House of Representatives.

BILL BATES loved his country. He served with distinction in the U.S. Navy for more than 9 years, attaining the rank of lieutenant commander. Following his service, he was elected to the 81st Congress and reelected to each succeeding Congress. He became an active member of the Armed Services Committee where he served as minority leader. He believed in a strong national defense.

BILL BATES believed in the principles and ideals that made our Nation great. He believed in the free enterprise system. He was an active member of our informal House Textile Committee seeking always to help this great industry and its employees who contribute so much to the national defense and security of our Nation.

BILL BATES' service here in this House was fearless, forthright, and courageous. He was dedicated and devoted to the people he served. He always exhibited judgment and integrity in carrying out the duties and obligations of his office. We shall miss our dear friend.

Mrs. Dorn joins me in my deepest and heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Bates and the family.

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with a deep sense of sorrow that I rise today to honor the memory of one of our most beloved colleagues, the Honorable WILLIAM H. BATES, whose untimely death profoundly grieves all of us who were privileged to know him.

Some of my most pleasant and enduring memories have come from the many years BILL BATES and I were neighbors in the old Cannon House Office Building. His warm and engaging personality was delightfully accented with a gentle and lively wit, and his entire being radiated friendliness and joviality. He was unfailingly a dependable friend, always cooperative, and a sincere and devout Christian gentleman. BILL had a deep and abiding love for his fellow man, and took great joy in serving his constituents with intense dedication and devotion. I know of no one who was better liked.

Nearly 20 years ago, BILL gave up a promising naval career to succeed to the seat previously held by his late father, George, who was tragically killed in an aircraft accident here in Washington. Immediately upon assuming his seat, the young gentleman from Massachusetts' Sixth Congressional District applied himself diligently and industriously to his legislative endeavors, and rose to become the ranking minority member of the great Committee on Armed Services. His special competence in military affairs was widely acknowledged, and he was conceded to be one of the best informed authorities on military matters. BILL was also an outstanding member of the important and sensitive Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, as well as a highly valued member of the U.S. delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly. He was a skilled legislator who worked unceasingly for the security and welfare of his country. He was an inspiration to his colleagues.

The Nation, his State, and his district have lost a devoted patriot and servant. His friends and his loved ones have lost one of the most precious jewels fashioned by the hand of God. What an addition he is to heaven.

Mrs. Delaney joins me in expressing our deepest sympathy to his wife and daughter and other members of his family.

Mr. REIFEL. Mr. Speaker, it is not often that one meets another of such warm personality and with a sense of a sincere desire to be of help in anyway he can. For me BILL BATES was such a person. He learned of my personal concern for the Indian. He was aware of their impoverishment. BILL would assure me, from time to time over the 8 years that I have served here in the Congress, that at any time that he could be helpful in our efforts to improve the lot of this disadvantaged segment of our population he could be depended upon to help.

BILL was interested in helping in personal ways. Only a few days before I heard of the illness that befell him, I mentioned my plan to try to play golf. He without hesitation said, "Get a couple of clubs and if we can break away for a few minutes we'll go down to the gym and I'll show you how to hold the club and how to swing it. These are important to a beginner." He looked good. I had no idea he was soon to be confined to the hospital. The news of his illness and then his death were both hard for me to believe.

The Lord deprived me of my instruction from BILL BATES in how to hold a golf club. However, I should like to think that his outstanding example as a fine dedicated Christian, an able legislator, and a patient, considerate friend with the highest type of honesty and integrity may not be entirely lost upon me with his departure.

I join my colleagues in extending my deepest sympathy to his family.

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, this body is always diminished by the death of any one of its Members—especially one as effective, as respected and as greatly beloved as was BILL BATES.

For me, one of the more beautiful and meaningful passages ever written on the subject of our common involvement in mankind—and the inevitability of the day on which that earthly involvement must end—was penned years ago by the English poet and divine, John Donne. These are his words, familiar to all of us:

No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main; if a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a manor of thy friends or of thine own were; any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, in the passing of our friend and colleague, BILL BATES, this body—and I would venture to say man-

kind, as well—has been greatly diminished; and the bell that now tolls in our hearts and minds for our departed friend tolls, most poignantly, for each and every one of us.

If this seems peculiarly so in this sad instance, that fact has more behind it than the relative youthfulness of our friend and the shockingly swift nature of the illness that took him from our midst. For we have experienced losses of that nature before—and will again. But, as the waters of a pond subside back into stillness after a pebble has been dropped into them, life resumes and things move inevitably onward, and the surprisingly short period of time within which the absence of a respected and honored colleague is no longer remarked upon is good evidence—for all of us—that none of us is indispensable, no matter how tempting the thought.

But, Mr. Speaker, I do not believe we will soon forget BILL BATES—nor fail to miss his always encouraging and helpful presence. For BILL was one of those rare persons whose personalities are literally such as to brighten any room and lighten any mood—whose sunny smile and cheerful words in passing can make everyone's day just a little bit better, no matter how badly it may have started.

This is how it was with BILL BATES, who gave so generously of himself—and of his strengths and talents—to those who needed them: His constituents, his colleagues and friends, his family and, of course, his Nation. And it is because of the kind of man he was that this House so genuinely mourns his passing—and each and every one of us feels so greatly diminished thereby.

Mrs. Robison joins me in expressing our sincere regrets to BILL's widow and daughter, as to his other loved ones.

Mr. WHALLEY. Mr. Speaker, there is an emptiness here in the Capitol caused by the passing of our good friend and colleague, the late Honorable WILLIAM H. BATES. It is inadequate to say merely that we miss him. His absence is deeply felt by each of us.

BILL BATES, one of the most respected Members of Congress, deserved the full measure of our admiration. It is especially tragic to those of us who knew BILL well, that someone so full of life has fallen so young, so full of promise, and with so much to offer his district and his Nation.

He gave freely of himself—as a U.S. Representative and as a friend. It is sadly ironic that both he and his esteemed father, the late Representative George J. Bates, died tragically in the midst of careers dedicated to the service of their constituents and all people of this Nation.

It would be difficult to give BILL BATES all the praise and admiration that is due him. He was an honest man and a diligent legislator, probably one of the most knowledgeable Members of Congress concerning matters of national defense. He was also a true and loyal friend, and a loving husband, father, and son. I extend deepest sympathy to the wife, mother, and daughter of Congressman BATES and to the rest of his fine family.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in expressing my deep sense of loss in the untimely death of our colleague, Congressman WILLIAM H. BATES, of Massachusetts. As has been said by so many, BILL had a wonderful personality and always had time for everyone. Possessed of energy and ability, he leaves a record unsurpassed for devotion to his duties. It is hard to understand how anyone who is right at the peak of his success would be taken from us. However, the accomplishments of his work will last for many years to come.

To his wife and family we extend our deepest and sincerest sympathy.

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to join with my colleagues in a tribute to our late colleague and friend, WILLIAM BATES.

Throughout his long career in the House of Representatives, he demonstrated a deep commitment both to the people of the Sixth Congressional District in Massachusetts and to the Nation. Those of us who knew and worked with him respected him not only for his dedication and hard work as a legislator, but also for his warmth and friendliness as an individual.

His death has deprived Congress and the State of Massachusetts of a valuable public servant. His colleagues have lost a good friend. I hope that his family can be comforted by remembering that he lived a meaningful and productive life.

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Speaker, I join today with my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of WILLIAM H. BATES, a sincere, dedicated American and our friend. During the time that I had the privilege of serving here with him as a fellow member of the Armed Services Committee, I was always impressed by this able legislator and loyal public servant. His accomplishments were many and he was truly an example for all of us to follow. This statesman's life of service to his country should be an inspiration to us all.

I know, Mr. Speaker, that each one of us here today joins in extending deepest sympathy to his beloved wife and family.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, Hippocrates said:

> Life is short and Art long. The Occasion fleeting; experience fallacious and judgment difficult.

How poignant this remark becomes when a loved and respected Member of this body is removed untimely from our midst.

The personal connections between those of us who are privileged to serve in Congress are unique in many ways. We stand in absolute equality here, responsible only to our constituents and to our consciences. And yet we depend upon a majority of our colleagues if we are to accomplish anything. Somehow we must reconcile our political and sectional and economic and personal interests in order to find a majority. All these interests shift from day to day in an unpredictable way. That is what makes the art of Government long and tedious, and experience an uncertain guide. He who has worked out for himself an active and useful place in these legislative halls has indeed proved himself a man.

Today we know that BILL BATES was such a man.

BILL and I came to Congress shortly after the big war. We saw similar service in the Navy, and we learned the art of law-making together. I had known his father before him, and looked on him as a trusted friend. BILL proved himself a worthy successor to a distinguished predecessor. We valued him as a congenial and dependable legislator, true to his country, to his ideals, and to his responsibilities.

His passing leaves us infinitely saddened. Somehow we feel that a bright career was cut short to the detriment of his fellows. But we know, as he knew, that a Divine Providence rules over the affairs of men, and things happen only in conformity with His purpose.

To his bereaved wife and family we offer our most respectful condolences, and we trust that their grief will be assuaged by the consciousness that he served his place well during all the days which were accorded him on this temporal scene.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, when the sad news reached us that BILL BATES had passed away, the entire House lost a friend and colleague. But I lost more. I lost a shipmate, a comrade-in-arms. BILL BATES and I served together aboard the U.S.S. *Miami* for over a year and a half during World War II. Together, we plowed through the far reaches of the Pacific Ocean. We enjoyed that special friendship that builds in an instant during wartime and lasts forever.

BILL BATES came to us from Brown University where he developed an outstanding record, both as a scholar and as a sportsman. At Brown, he was an all-conference football player and aboard the *Miami* he was quickly dubbed as our "All-American Football Player."

BILL was energetic and affable. It was a delight to see him each day and get a dose of his contagious and friendly personality. Immediately, he gained the respect of officers and enlisted men alike. No one was better liked; no one was more respected. BILL added something to the standard "officer and gentleman" description—he was a good man.

When the war ended and we stepped off our different directions, BILL and I remained in contact. I noted with pride that he succeeded his father in Congress. At that time, I did not dream that I would be honored to be one of his colleagues in this body. So, when I came to Washington, it was natural that one of my first calls was to visit an old buddy—BILL BATES. He had not changed. He still had that same sparkle, bounce, and enthusiasm that he enjoyed 20 years before. Although he was a Republican and I was a Democrat, that never bothered our friendship. He took me in tow, introduced me to many Members in Congress and helped me in many ways. He continued this through the years and months we served together.

I do not believe, Mr. Speaker, that anyone has served in Congress who had more of an aggressive, yet friendly, personality. BILL became an expert in his field of military preparedness. As a ranking member of the House Armed Services Committee, he did his homework—he always new what he was talking

about. I know better than most that his interest in military preparedness was kindled in those early days of World War II when BILL was serving his country. BILL BATES knew his subject well as many witnesses before his committee ruefully discovered when they ventured beyond factual proof of their statements. Anyone testifying before his committee had to be prepared and willing to accept the possibility of probing questions.

BILL is gone, but he will be remembered.

It was my high privilege to be included among those who attended his final ceremonies in Salem, Mass. People by the thousands lined the streets in overwhelming tribute to a man and his principles. I was impressed again with the deep love his people had for BILL BATES, for his family and for his late father. BILL was loved and respected by his constituents and they chose an appropriate way to tell the country of their affection—they lined the streets in farewell.

As hard as BILL's place will be to fill here, his place can never be filled in the hearts of those who have known him over the years. Although we have to accept the ebb and flow of life, all of us ponder the somber revelation that these halls will not be as cheerful or as pleasant or as challenging without our friend. BILL was a noble soul, a great friend, and an outstanding Congressman. He served his country well and left a record for us to follow.

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, we all feel a deep sense of loss at the passing of one of our most beloved and distinguished colleagues. BILL BATES will be sorely missed by everyone. BILL BATES was a quiet, sincere, and dedicated American. He was a man molded in the image of the best American traditions.

His untimely death is surely a double tragedy. No one can adequately describe the grief BILL BATES' family and loved ones are suffering from his death. But the American people also mourn his death. America cannot afford to lose men of the caliber of BILL BATES. In the 19 years that he served his country and his district, both on the Armed Services Committee and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, he set a standard of loyalty and dedication which all of us may admire.

As Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover said, "I am proud to have been associated with so fine a gentleman and patriot who did such honor to his country and to his State."

Mr. Speaker, I and my family extend our most sincere condolences to Mrs. Bates, their daughter, Susan, and the rest of his family.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with the members of the Massachusetts congressional delegation and my other colleagues in paying tribute to the late Congressman WILLIAM BATES. Words are inadequate to properly express the great loss, not only in Massachusetts, but the entire United States has suffered in the passing of the late Congressman BATES. I had an opportunity to see Congressman BATES almost every day since his office was located on the same floor as my office in the Rayburn Office Building and quite often we walked over to the floor of the House together.

I and the entire Nation was shocked to learn of Congressman BATES' sudden serious illness as I thought he was one of the healthiest Members serving in the House of Representatives. He was all that anyone could expect of a Congressman, a statesman, and a gentleman. He will be greatly missed here in the House of Representatives and there is no doubt in my mind that this country is a much better place to live on account of the late Congressman BATES' service as a Member of Congress. He always met everyone with a smile and never criticized anyone. He was a great leader and an outstanding statesman and has left a record for all the younger generation to shoot for in this world. I want to express my deepest sympathy to all the members of the Bates family and know that he will be greatly missed in his home since he was strictly a family man. He left an enviable record with the Armed Forces of our country during World War II especially during the time he was commander of his ship in some of the toughest battles. I personally will always miss serving with the late Congressman BATES and feel that he was one of the finest men that I have ever had the pleasure of knowing during my lifetime.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the recent death of our colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM H. BATES, robbed this Congress and this Nation of a public servant who will be sorely missed. His judgment, his understanding, and his unabashed love for his country were among the many outstanding qualities that made him an effective and respected Member of Congress.

I consider it a rare privilege to have served in the 89th, 90th, and 91st Congresses with BILL BATES. Although we sat on opposite sides of the aisle, and represented differing political philosophies, I found that partisanship played no part in his thinking or his voting when the interests of the Nation were at stake.

As a former naval officer, he was one of the acknowledged experts in the House on matters of defense. As a member of the Armed Services Committee for the past 19 years, he has played an immeasurable role in guiding this Nation's defense policies through some of the most critical periods of our history.

To his family, I extend my most sincere sympathy. I know that their grief is tempered by the knowledge that their loved one leaves an outstanding record of public service, and an imperishable memory of a great and good man.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I thank all of my colleagues who have participated in this eulogy today.

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## GOLDEN EAGLE AND GOLDEN AGE PASSPORTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. SAYLOR) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today two bills which deal with the utilization of our Nation's recreational areas. Over the years, we have encouraged our citizens to "See America First" and 5 years ago we started a "passport" program that would make it easier for the American traveler to do just that.

The passport concept, whatever its shortcomings, has provided an incentive to our citizens to travel in the Nation's parks and recreational areas and I believe this concept should now be given a new lease on life.

In 1968, we amended the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act to repeal the authority, on March 30, 1970, for the annual recreation area permit known as the Golden Eagle Passport. Our action was based in large part from citizen complaints regarding fees at Corps of Engineers' reservoirs where fees had not been previously collected, and on a lack of revenue, compared to original estimates, from the recreation entrance and user fees.

In essence, what we did was to terminate a program because it had not lived up to monetary projections and expectations and because it lacked universal application, thereby making it difficult for the public to comprehend. In any other instance, the termination of such a program would be warranted and an affirmation that the Congress is providing its oversight responsibilities as it should. But with the passport program, we were looking at the dollar signs instead of the citizen signs. The concept of a nationwide passport to all our national parks, recreation areas, national monuments, and other Federal areas is still valid. With some slight modifications in the way it is handled, it should be extended.

It seems to me that the crux of the problem surrounding the current passport program has been its lack of universality. That is, not every national recreational area is included in the current program. In the two bills I have introduced, this problem is rectified by specifically naming the areas wherein the passport would be recognized. The second major problem with the current system has been money. The glowing estimates we had back in 1964 concerning the expected revenues were just too optimistic; however, it should be noted that over $15 million has been deposited in the land and water conservation fund in the 5-year life of the program. We simply have to recognize that the passport system is not a "moneymaker" nor is it even self-sustaining, but it is a program that benefits hundreds of thousands of people, and these people have been and are willing to share the cost of the program. A third general problem with the current system is that some individuals and groups took advantage of the system. It is regrettable but true that whatever the Government does, there is always a small group that will try to turn that action to personal gain. We cannot allow that minority's action to ruin the passport concept for the many who want to use the system as Congress intended. To terminate the program because of such action would be like ending the welfare system because of a few welfare cheats, or end-

ing income taxes altogether because a few citizens circumvent their load of taxes.

EXTEND GOLDEN EAGLE PASSPORT

The first bill I have introduced would extend the current Golden Eagle Passport system. Believing that most past and potential users of the passport are willing to help the Government bear the cost of the system, I have called for raising the annual fee to $10. Many of the comments I have received concerning the Golden Eagle system indicate that the traveling public is not adverse to paying a little bit more for the passports. In fact, one letterwriter told me:

If money is the problem, then increase the price of the passport itself. Don't abolish it altogether. Most of us that use public facilities would gladly pay twice the current annual price than do without it entirely.

EXPANDED COVERAGE

In my bill to extend the Golden Eagle Passport, I have spelled out the national recreational areas that would be required to recognize and accept the passports. Areas included are those under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service, the Bureau of Land Management, the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Forest Service, the Corps of Engineers, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the U.S. section of the International Boundary and Water Commission—United States and Mexico. Including all, the areas should end the confusion over the passport. I recognize that we will have a stiff fight on our hands to make the passport system universal, however, it would be a tragedy if the system which the Congress designed to benefit thousands were allowed to lapse because of the bureaucratic whims of one subagency of the Government. I am confident that the Congress will not allow this to happen.

THE GOLDEN AGE PASSPORT

The second bill I have introduced would add a new concept to the already successful passport system. The Golden Age Passport would make it possible for our senior citizens to enjoy the beauties of America upon payment of a one-time fee. The Golden Age Passport, costing $25, would be available to the purchaser for life. Again, we should not have any delusions about the Golden Age Passport being self-sustaining, but it would seem that an inexpensive passport-to-pleasure in America's parks would be a small price for the whole of the United States to support in order that our senior citizens may find enjoyment in retirement travel in the United States. I mention "support" above because this is not a "free" program. The senior citizen is asked to share the load and if my information is correct about the desires of the travelers, they will be more than happy to assume this additional cost of retirement.

There is no way to accurately predict how many of the new Golden Age Passports would be issued, restricted as they would be to older Americans, but the number will obviously be fairly small to begin with and I do not believe this addition to the Golden Eagle program would unduly burden those responsible in the various agencies of the Government. The purpose of the new program is to assist those who want to travel in America during their retirement; I think we have a responsibility to retirees to make such travel attractive.

TEXT OF BILLS

Mr. Speaker, I have appended to my remarks the text of the two bills mentioned above with the hope that after examination of the texts, other Members will join with me in saving the Golden Eagle Passport and in creating the Golden Age Passport.

GOLDEN EAGLE

A bill to continue the Golden Eagle Program established under the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That (a) the first section of the Act entitled "An Act to amend title I of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965, and for other purposes", approved July 15, 1968 (82 Stat. 354; Public Law 90–401), is repealed.

(b) That subsection added to section 2 of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 by section 2 of such Act of July 15, 1968 (82 Stat. 355; Public Law 90–401), and designated as subsection (c), is redesignated as subsection (d).

SEC. 2. Subparagraph (i) of the second of section 2(a) of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 is amended by striking out "An annual fee of not more than $7" and inserting in lieu thereof "An annual fee of not more than $10".

GOLDEN AGE

A bill to provide for the establishment of a lifetime fee for persons sixty-five years of age or over for admission to outdoor recreation areas administered by certain agencies of the United States, and for other purposes

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the President is authorized to establish a Golden Age Passport for a fee of $25 payable by any person sixty-five years of age or over entering an area referred to in section 2 of this Act by private noncommercial automobile which, if paid, shall excuse the person paying such fee and anyone who accompanies him in such automobile from payment of any other fee for admission to that area, and any other area referred to in such section 2, during the lifetime of the holder of such passport.

SEC. 2. This Act shall apply with respect to entrance or admission fees or charges for any area administered for outdoor recreation purposes by the National Park Service, the Bureau of Land Management, the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Forest Service, the Corps of Engineers, the Tennessee Valley Authority, or the United States section of the International Boundary and Water Commission (United States and Mexico). Possession of a Golden Age Passport used for entrance or admission to any area described in this section will not excuse the holder of such passport from payment of any other user fees or charges which may be levied within any such area.

SEC. 3. All fees collected under this Act shall be covered into the Land and Water Conservation Fund in the Treasury of the United States established by the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965.

SEC. 4. This Act shall take effect on March 31, 1970.

## FIVE-PERCENT INTEREST ON U.S. SAVINGS BONDS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. MICHEL) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I am highly pleased to learn that the administration has asked for an increase in the interest on U.S. savings bonds to a more realistic figure of 5 percent. Back in February of this year I introduced legislation to accomplish this objective and have been in touch with the White House and the Treasury Department several times in the intervening months to urge that this action be taken. It is most encouraging that the administration is honoring its commitment to the many people who are helping our Government by buying these bonds.

This increase is long overdue since large investors have been getting 7 percent on short-term Federal borrowing and its time that the average family man be given consideration as he helps Uncle Sam while building up a nest egg for retirement or to finance a college education for his children.

I pledge to do all that I can to push for early enactment of the administration's request, and as evidence of my deep interest in this matter, I include my remarks here on the House floor on February 18, March 11, and April 24 of this year in the RECORD at this point:

PROPOSED INCREASE IN INTEREST RATES ON SERIES E GOVERNMENT BONDS

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing legislation today which would authorize the President to increase the interest rates paid on series E Government bonds to 5 percent. The current rates on this type of Government security are unrealistic and in my opinion penalize the small investor.

E bond buyers get a mere 4.25 percent after 7 years, while the big financiers and investors who can buy Federal securities in blocks of $5,000 or more, are realizing 6 and 7 percent return on their investment today.

The E bond purchases have been going out of favor with the American public, as evidenced by the fact that in January alone cashing in of E bonds exceeded purchases by $61 million. When people are cashing in more bonds than they are buying, it certainly indicates that the program needs a change. The current "Freedom Shares" program, which requires purchase of E bonds before the higher interest shares can be bought, has been largely unsuccessful. An increase to 5 percent on interest paid to purchasers of E bonds—which can be purchased in amounts as small as $17.50, as you know—would bring the rate more in line with current bank interest rates.

I should say, too, Mr. Speaker, that many Americans who have been buying E bonds for patriotic reasons are disgusted with the spendorama that has marked the past 8 years, and caused the Government to go into the market to borrow so heavily. The best spur to bond sales will come when there is a clear indication that the Federal Government itself intends to get its fiscal house in order.

INTEREST RATES ON U.S. SAVINGS BONDS

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, for the third straight month, more U.S. savings bonds and freedom shares were cashed in by Americans than were bought for the future. This is a clear indication that the present rates of interest being paid on these bonds are unrealistic and unfair. I have introduced legislation (H.R. 7015) which would authorize the President to raise the interest rates to at least compare with bank rates. We cannot expect the small investor to sacrifice his interest earnings in the name of patriotism

when big investors in Federal securities are grabbing off interest rates above 6 percent.

When $13 million more Series E bonds were cashed in than were purchased last month, it should be obvious that more and more Americans are realizing that under present interest rates these bonds are not good investments. I am hopeful that Congress can read the handwriting on the wall, and will take action to bring these bonds up in line with today's money market. Savings bonds have long been an important part of Federal borrowing, as well as providing financial security and a convenient way to save through payroll deductions for millions of Americans. We should not let this program wither for lack of action.

AMERICANS CASH IN MORE U.S. SAVINGS BONDS THAN PURCHASED

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, during March for the fifth straight month, Americans cashed in more U.S. savings bonds than they bought. Purchases amounted to $336,907,000 while redemptions totaled $394,116,000. It is obvious that these bonds have ceased to be competitive in today's money market. It is time for Congress to act to eliminate the 4¼-percent ceiling for interest to be paid on these bonds.

These are $45 billion worth of these bonds outstanding, about 15 percent of our national debt. They represent the savings mainly of small investors. For many, their bonds are their only savings, a nest egg against financial need. In 1960 U.S. bonds represented 20 percent of all savings. Today they are only 13 percent. We should encourage more Americans to get into the habit of buying a bond a month through the convenience of payroll deductions. But, we cannot expect them to buy bonds that are paying nearly a whole percentage point less than a bank account. I am pleased that Treasury Secretary David Kennedy has indicated that the Nixon administration is preparing to ask for changes in the bond interest rate. Back on February 18 I introduced legislation which would accomplish this end, H.R. 7015, which is before the Ways and Means Committee.

I have heard complaints from some Members of this body that there is little to do in the way of legislation. May I suggest that prompt action on the bond bill would help the Government and millions of small investors.

## U.N. REPORT ON GAS AND GERM WARFARE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FEIGHAN). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. MCCARTHY) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, on July 2, 1969, Secretary General U Thant of the United Nations released an excellent report on chemical and biological warfare. The Secretary's report recommends that all nations ratify the Geneva protocol of 1925 banning first use of chemical and biological warfare; it recommends that all nations agree that the protocol applies to all chemical and biological agents, including tear gas or harassing agents; and it calls on all countries to reach agreement to halt the development, production, and stockpiling of all chemical and biological warfare agents and to eliminate them from the arsenals of weapons.

I welcome the Secretary General's recommendation that all nations ratify the Geneva protocol. This recommendation reinforces the need for the United States to act promptly to ratify this useful arms control treaty. I have asked President Nixon to resubmit the Geneva protocol to the Senate for ratification. As of this date, 75 of my colleagues in the House of Representatives have joined me in sponsoring a resolution urging that the protocol be resubmitted for ratification. In addition, Chairman WILLIAM FULBRIGHT of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has said that he would be glad to hold hearings on the protocol should President Nixon send it to the Congress for action. Despite our announced support for the principals of the protocol, we remain one of the few nations that has not acceded to the protocol.

Both tear gas and defoliants are included in the list of chemical agents that are discussed by the report. The report and the Seretary's recommendations make it clear that the use of tear gas and defoliants by the United States in Vietnam are believed to be contrary to the spirit of the Geneva Protocol. The report, in effect, reinforces the need to maintain the principal of no use of gas as opposed to use of some gases and nonuse of others.

The Secretary's report makes it clear that the testing and use of biological warfare agents pose health hazards to everyone—that the deadly diseases that have been stockpiled for use as weapons are just as dangerous to the user as they are to the recipient. The report emphasizes the need to promptly reach agreement on a ban on the production, stockpiling, and use of biological weapons. A proposal that would accomplish this is now before the 18-Nation Disarmament Convention which is meeting in Geneva. I believe that the United States should do all it can to see that this resolution is adopted.

The Secretary General's recommendation to prohibit the development, production and stockpiling of chemical as well as biological warfare agents goes beyond the Geneva protocol and the proposal to the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference. Such a step is highly desirable if an effective means of verifying the ban on chemical agents could be found.

I do not agree with the use in the report of the term "incapacitating warfare agent" in describing biologically produced toxins. The report refers to the Staphylococcus toxin, a poison produced by bacteria, sometimes referred to as food poisoning, as an incapacitating warfare agent. Most doctors would agree that a toxin that may be incapacitating for one person may kill another. We do not have sufficient experience with the effects of these poisons when breathed in or swallowed to say that they are "incapacitating" rather than lethal.

I also object to the inclusion of biologically produced toxins in the chemical warfare category rather than in the biological warfare category. These toxins, although not bacteria themselves, require the development, testing and production of deadly biological agents and are a byproduct of bacteria. All of the apparatus connected with the production of biological warfare agents would be retained making the arms inspection problem even more difficult. And these toxins are in some cases more deadly than nerve gas. One ounce of botulinus toxin, effectively spread, for example, would kill everyone in the United States and Canada.

Secretary General U Thant's report is a highly useful document on the nature of chemical and biological warfare. I am including the text of the report at this point:

QUESTION OF GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

(Report of the Secretary-General on chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and the effects of their possible use)

Pursuant to General Assembly resolution 2454 A (XXIII) of 20 December 1968, the Secretary-General has the honour to transmit herewith to the General Assembly the report on chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and the effects of their possible use, prepared with the assistance of qualified consultant experts.

In accordance with paragraph 4 of the resolution, the report is also being transmitted to the Security Council (S/9292) and the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament[1] as well as to the Governments of Member States.

FOREWORD BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL

During the past few years, I have become increasingly concerned by developments in the field of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and have given expression to this concern on several occasions. A year ago, I stated publicly that "the international community was not sufficiently conscious of the dangers inherent in this new type of weapon of mass murder", and that "due attention had not been focused on this very serious problem". In the introduction to my annual report on the work of the Organization, in September 1968, I stated:

"While progress is being made in the field of nuclear disarmament, there is another aspect of the disarmament problem to which I feel too little attention has been devoted in recent years. The question of chemical and biological weapons has been overshadowed by the question of nuclear weapons, which have a destructive power several orders of magnitude greater than that of chemical and biological weapons. Nevertheless, these too are weapons of mass destruction regarded with universal horror. In some respects, they may be even more dangerous than nuclear weapons because they do not require the enormous expenditure of financial and scientific resources that are required for nuclear weapons. Almost all countries, including small ones and developing ones, may have access to these weapons, which can be manufactured quite cheaply, quickly and secretly in small laboratories or factories. This fact in itself makes the problem of control and inspection much more difficult. Moreover, since the adoption, on 17 June 1925, of the Geneva Protocol for the prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, there have been many scientific and technical developments and numerous improvements, if that is the right word, in chemical and biological weapons, which have created new situations and new problems. On the one hand, there has been a great increase in the capability of these weapons to inflict unimaginable suffering, disease and death to ever larger numbers of human beings; on the other hand, there has been a growing tendency to use some chemical agents for civilian riot con-

[1] By a letter dated 1 July 1969 from the Secretary-General to the Co-Chairmen of the Conference.

trol and a dangerous trend to accept their use in some form in conventional warfare.

"Two years ago, by resolution 2162 B (XXI), the General Assembly called for the strict observance by all States of the principles and objectives of the Geneva Protocol of 1925, condemned all actions contrary to those objectives and invited all States to accede to the Protocol. Once again, I would like to add my voice to those of others in urging the early and complete implementation of this resolution. However, in my opinion, much more is needed. . . ."

At its twenty-third session, by resolution 2454 A (XXIII), the General Assembly requested me to prepare, with the assistance of qualified consultant experts, a report on chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons in accordance with the proposal contained in the introduction to my annual report on the work of the organization (A/7201/Add.1), and in accordance with the recommendation contained in the report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament of 4 September 1968 (A/7189).

In pursuance of this resolution, I appointed the following group of fourteen consultant experts to assist me in the preparation of the report: Dr. Tibor Bakacs, Professor of Hygiene, Director-General of the National Institute of Public Health, Budapest; Dr. Hotse C. Bartlema, Head of the Microbiological Department of the Medical-Biological Laboratory, National Defense Research Organization TNO, Rijswijk, Netherlands; Dr. Ivan L. Bennett, Director of the New York University Medical Center and Vice-President of Medical Affairs, New York University, New York; Dr. S. Bhagavantam, Scientific Adviser to the Minister of Defence, New Delhi; Dr. Jiri Franek, Director of the Military Institute for Hygiene, Epidemiology and Microbiology, Prague; Dr. Yosio Kawakita, President of University of Chiba, Professor of Bacteriology, Chiba City, Japan; M. Victor Moulin, *Ingénieur en chef de l'armement, Cref du Bureau Défense chimique et biologique, Direction technique des armaments terrestres,* Saint Cloud, France; Dr. M. K. McPhail, Director of Chemical and Biological Defence, Defence Chemical, Biological and Radiation Laboratories, Defence Research Board, Ottawa; Academician O. A. Reutov, Professor of Chemistry at the Moscow State University, Moscow; Dr. Guillermo Soberon, Director, *Instituto de Investigaciones Biomedicas, Universidad Nacional Autonma de Mexico,* Mexico City; Dr. Lars-Erik Tammelin, Chief of Department for Medicine and Chemistry, Research Institute for National Defence, Stockholm; Dr. Berhane Teoume-Lessane, Medical Co-Director and Head of Department of Viruses and Rickettsiae, Imperial Central Laboratory and Research Institute, Addis Abba; Colonel Zbigniew Zoltowski, Professor of Medicine, Epidemiologist and Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of National Defence, Warsaw; Sir Solly Zuckerman, Chief Scientific Adviser to the Government of the United Kingdom, Professor Emeritus, University of Birmingham.

Mr. William Epstein, Director of the Disarmament Affairs Division, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, served as Chairman of the Group of Consultant Experts. Mr. Alessandra Corradini, Chief of the Committee and Conference Services Section, acted as Secretary of the Group. He was assisted by members of the Disarmament Affairs Division.

After giving due consideration to the terms of the resolution and to the views expressed and the suggestions made during the discussion of the question at the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, I reached the conclusion that the aim of the report should be to provide a scientifically sound appraisal of the effects of the chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and should serve to inform Governments of the consequences of their possible use. Within this over-all framework, the report would furnish accurate information in a concise and readily understandable form on the following matters: the basic characteristics of chemical and bacteriological (biological) means of warfare; the probable effects of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons on military and civil personnel, both protected and unprotected; the environmental factors affecting the employment of chemical and bacteriological (biological) means of warfare; the possible long-term effects on human health and ecology; and the economic and security implications of the development, acquisition and possible use of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and of systems for their delivery.

The consultant experts to whom I conveyed these terms of reference accepted them as the basis for their study.

It was my intention that the Group of Consultant Experts should survey the entire subject from the technical and scientific points of view, so that the report could place these weapons in proper perspective. It was also my hope that an authoritative report could become the basis for political and legal action by the Members of the United Nations.

As the report was to be made available by 1 July 1969, very concentrated efforts by the consultant experts were required in order to cover this extensive field. The members of the Group, acting in their personal capacities, carried out this demanding task at three sessions between January and June 1969.

The Group had the benefit of valuable submissions from the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs (Pugwash) and the International Institute for Peace and Conflict Research (SIPRI). I wish to express my grateful appreciation to all the consultant experts for their dedicated work and to the organizations and bodies who co-operated in the preparation of the study.

The Group has submitted to me a unanimous report embodying its findings and conclusions. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express my gratification for the very high level of competence with which the consultant experts have discharged their mandate. In a very short period of time, they have produced a study, which, in spite of the many complex aspects of the subject matter, is both concise and authoritative. It is a document which, I believe, provides valuable insights into the grave dangers that are posed by the production and possible use of these dreaded weapons.

I am particularly impressed by the conclusion of the consultant experts wherein they state:

"The general conclusion of the report can thus be summed up in a few lines. Were these weapons ever to be used on a large scale in war, no one could predict how enduring the effects would be, and how they would affect the structure of society and the environment in which we live. This overriding danger would apply as much to the country which initiated the use of these weapons as to the one which had been attacked, regardless of what protective measures it might have taken in parallel with its development of an offensive capability. A particular danger also derives from the fact that any country could develop or acquire, in one way or another, a capability in this type of warfare, despite the fact that this could prove costly. The danger of the proliferation of this class of weapons applies as much to the developing as it does to developed countries.

"The momentum of the arms race would clearly decrease if the production of these weapons were effectively and unconditionally banned. Their use, which could cause an enormous loss of human life, has already been condemned and prohibited by international agreements, in particular the Geneva Protocol of 1925, and, more recently, in resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The prospects for general and complete disarmament under effective international control, and hence for peace throughout the world, would brighten significantly if the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents intended for purposes of war were to end and if they were eliminated from all military arsenals.

"If this were to happen, there would be a general lessening of international fear and tension. It is the hope of the authors that this report will contribute to public awareness of the profoundly dangerous results if these weapons were ever used, and that an aroused public will demand and receive assurances that Governments are working for the earliest effective elimination of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons."

I have given the study prepared by the consultant experts my earnest consideration and I have decided to accept their unanimous report in its entirety, and to transmit it to the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and to the Governments of Member States, as the report called for by resolution 2454 A (XXIII).

I also feel it incumbent upon me, in the hope that further action will be taken to deal with the threat posed by the existence of these weapons, to urge that the Members of the United Nations undertake the following measures in the interests of enhancing the security of the peoples of the world:

1. To renew the appeal to all States to accede to the Geneva Protocol of 1925;

2. To make a clear affirmation that the prohibition contained in the Geneva Protocol applies to the use in war of all chemical, bacteriological and biological agents (including tear gas and other harassing agents), which now exist or which may be developed in the future;

3. To call upon all countries to reach agreement to halt the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents for purposes of war and to achieve their effective elimination from the arsenal of weapons.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

JUNE 30, 1969.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have the honour to submit herewith a unanimous report on chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons which was prepared in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 2454 A (XXIII).

The Consultant Experts appointed in accordance with the General Assembly resolution were the following:

Dr. Tibor Bakacs, Professor of Hygiene, Director-General of the National Institute of Public Health, Budapest.

Dr. Hotse C. Bartlema, Head of the Microbiological Department of the Medical-Biological Laboratory, National Defence Research Organization TNO, Rijswijk, Netherlands.

Dr. Ivan L. Bennett, Director of the New York University Medical Center and Vice-President for Medical Affairs, New York University, New York.

Dr. S. Bhagavantam, Scientific Adviser to the Minister of Defence, New Delhi.

Dr. Jiri Franek, Director of the Military Institute for Hygiene, Epidemiology and Microbiology, Prague.

Dr. Yosio Kawakita, President of the University of Chiba, Professor of Bacteriology, Chiba City, Japan.

M. Victor Moulin, *Ingénieur en chef de l'armement, Chef du Bureau Défense chimique et biologique, Direction technique des armements terrestres,* Saint Cloud, France.

Dr. M. K. McPhail, Director of Chemical and Biological Defence, Defence Chemical, Biological and Radiation Laboratories, Defence Research Board, Ottawa.

Academician O. A. Reutov, Professor of Chemistry at the Moscow State University, Moscow.

Dr. Guillermo Soberon, Director, *Instituto de Investigaciones Biomedicas, Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, Mexico City.*

Dr. Lars-Erik Tammelin, Chief of Department for Medicine and Chemistry, Research Institute for National Defence, Stockholm.

Dr. Berhane Teoume-Lessane, Medical Co-Director and Head of Department of Viruses and Rickettsiae, Imperial Central Laboratory and Research Institute, Addis Ababa.

Colonel Zbigniew Zoltowski, Professor of Medicine, Epidemiologist and Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of National Defence, Warsaw.

Sir Solly Zuckerman, Chief Scientific Adviser to the Government of the United Kingdom, Professor Emeritus, University of Birmingham.

The report was drafted during sessions held in Geneva between 20 and 24 January and between 16 and 29 April, and finalized at meetings held in New York between 2 and 14 June 1969.

The Group of Consultant Experts wish to acknowledge the assistance they received from the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs (Pugwash) and the International Institute for Peace and Conflict Research (SIPRI), all of which submitted valuable information and material for the purposes of the study.

The Group of Consultant Experts also wish to express their gratitude for the valuable assistance they received from members of the United Nations Secretariat.

I have been requested by the Group of Consultant Experts, as their Chairman, to submit their unanimous report to you on their behalf.

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM EPSTEIN,
*Chairman, Group of Consultant Experts on Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons.*

INTRODUCTION

1. In accordance with the resolution of the General Assembly 2454 A (XXIII) the Secretary-General was asked to prepare, with the assistance of qualified consultant experts, a report on chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and on the effects of their possible use. Specifically the experts were asked to provide a scientific appraisal of the characteristics of the chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons which could be used in warfare; of the effects they could have on military personnel and civilians; as well as of their long-term effects on health and our physical environment. They were also asked to provide a statement about the economic and security implications of the development, acquisition and possible use of such weapons and associated weapon systems. The report which follows is confined to these objectives.

2. No form of warfare has been more condemned than has the use of this category of weapons. The poisoning of wells has been regarded from the time immemorial as a crime incompatible with the rules of war. "War is waged with weapons, not with poison" (*"Armis bella non venenis geri"*), declared the Roman jurists. As the destructive power of arms increased over the years, and with it the potential for the widespread use of chemicals, efforts were made to prohibit through international understandings and by legal means the use of chemical weapons. The Brussels Declaration of 1874 and the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 prohibited the use of poisons and poisoned bullets and a separate declaration of the Hague Convention of 1899 condemned "the use of projectiles the sole object of which is the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases".

3. The fear today is that the scientific and technological advances of the past few decades have increased the potential of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons to such an extent that one can conceive of their use causing casualties on a scale greater than one would associate with conventional warfare. At the moment most of our knowledge concerning the use of chemical weapons is based upon the experience of World War I. Gas was first used in 1914 and the first big attack in 1915 claimed 5,000 human lives. It is estimated that from then until the end of the war in 1918, at least 125,000 tons of toxic chemicals were used, and according to official reports gas casualties numbered about 1,300,000, of which about 100,000 were fatal. The agents which were used in this war were much less toxic than those, in particular nerve agents, which could be used today, and they were dispersed by means of relatively primitive equipment as compared with what is now available, and in accordance with battlefield concepts of a relatively unsophisticated kind.

4. It is true that a considerable effort has also been made to develop chemical agents which have as their purpose not to kill but to reduce a man's capacity to fight. Such agents are used by civil authorities of a number of countries in order to suppress disorders and to control riots, but when used in warfare they would inevitably be employed as an adjunct to other forms of attack, and their over-all effect might be lethal.

5. Since World War II, bacteriological (biological) weapons have also become an increasing possibility. But because there is no clear evidence that these agents have ever been used as modern military weapons, discussions of their characteristics and potential threat have to draw heavily upon experimental field and laboratory data, and on studies of naturally occurring outbreaks and epidemics of infectious disease, rather than on direct battlefield experience. Their potential importance in warfare can be sensed when one remembers that infectious disease even as late as World War II caused numerous casualties.

6. The greater threat posed by chemical weapons today derives from the discovery and manufacture of new, more toxic compounds. On the other hand, bacteriological (biological) agents already exist in nature and can be selected for use in warfare. Some of these agents, notably bacteria, have been known for several decades, but there is a vast number of other possible agents, especially viruses, which have been discovered only recently, and some of these also possess characteristics which make their use possible in war. Increases in potency of these various types of agent have been made possible by scientific and technological advances in microbial genetics, experimental pathology and aerobiology.

7. As is well known, the use of toxic gases in World War I generated so powerful a sense of outrage that countries were encouraged to adopt measures prohibiting both chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons. The result was the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925, which prohibits the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and of all analogous liquids, materials or devices, as well as bacteriological methods of warfare. This estabished a custom and hence a standard of international law, and in practice most States have adhered to the principle that no one should resort to the use of such weapons. But despite the abhorrence in which they have always been held by civilized peoples, chemical weapons have none the less on occasion been used. For example, mustard gas was used in Ethiopia in 1935–36, causing numerous casualties amongst troops and a civilian population which was not only completely unprotected, but which lacked even the most elementary medical services. It should also be noted that the existence of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 may have helped as a deterrent to the use of chemical or bacteriological (biological) weapons in World War II, even though the belligerents in that conflict had developed, produced and stockpiled chemical agents for possible use. The International Tribunal at Nuremberg brought into the open the fact that amongst the new agents which had been produced and stockpiled during the course of the war were such highly lethal agents as Tabun and Sarin. Since then the validity and effectiveness of the Geneva Protocol have been reinforced by the approval, by the General Assembly of the United Nations, without a single dissenting voice, of resolutions 2162 B (XXI) of 5 December 1966 and 2454 A (XXIII) of 20 December 1968, calling for "strict observance by all States of the principles and objectives" of the Geneva Protocol, and inviting all States to accede to it.

8. It is simple to appreciate the resurgence of interest in the problems of chemical and bacteriological (biological) warfare. Advances in chemical and biological science, while contributing to the good of mankind, have also opened up the possibility of exploiting the idea of chemical and bacteriological (biological) warfare weapons, some of which could endanger man's future, and the situation will remain threatening so long as a number of States proceed with their development, perfection, production and stockpiling.

9. The report, as is noted in the General Assembly resolution, is designed to submit to peoples and governments, in a form easily understood by them, information on the effects of the possible use of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons, as well as to promote a further consideration of problems connected with chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons. Information about the nature of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons, about their increase and diversification as technology has advanced, about their long-term effects on human beings, animals and vegetation, and about environmental factors which condition these effects, is provided in Chapters I to IV of the Report. In Chapter V, which deals with the economic and security implications of chemical and bacteriological (biological) warfare, the experts have interpreted the word "security" to mean both security in the narrow military sense, and security in terms of the adverse and long-term effects which these weapons, given they were ever used, could have on the framework of civilized existence.

10. As the present report shows, the outstanding characteristics of this class of weapons, and particularly of bacteriological (biological) weapons, is the variability, amounting under some circumstances to unpredictability, of their effects. Depending on environmental and meteorological conditions, and depending on the particular agent used, the effects might be devastating or negligible. They could be localized or widespread. They might bear not only on those attacked but also on the side which initiated their use, whether or not the attacked millitary forces retaliated in kind. Civilians would be even more vulnerable than the military. The development, acquisition and deployment of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons—quite apart from questions of protection—constitutes a real economic burden which varies in extent for different countries. Above all their acquisition could not possibly obviate the need for other weapons.

11. As chapters I and V of the report indicate, it would be enormously costly in resources, and administratively all but impossible, to organize adequate protection for a

civilian population against the range of possible chemical agents. Even military personnel, if locally engaged in a particular operation in which chemical and/or bacteriological (biological) weapons were used and where they had the advantage of protective measures, would be unlikely to escape the wider-spread and longer-term effects on their country at large. These might arise, for example, from the impracticability of protecting soil, plants, animals and essential food crops against short and long-term effects.

12. To appreciate the risks which bacteriological (biological) warfare could entail, one has only to remember how a natural epidemic may persist unpredictably, and spread far beyond the initial area of incidence, even when the most up-to-date medical resources are used to suppress the outbreak. The difficulties would be considerably increased were deliberate efforts made, for military reasons, to propagate pathogenic organisms. Mass disease, following an attack, especially of civilian populations, could be expected not only because of the lack of timely warning of the danger, but also because effective measures of protection or treatment simply do not exist or cannot be provided on an adequate scale.

13. Once the door was opened to this kind of warfare, escalation would in all likelihood occur and no one could say where the process would end. Thus the report concludes that the existence of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons not only contributes to international tension, but that their further development spurs the arms race without contributing to the security of any nation.

14. The present report will, in accordance with resolution 2454 A (XXIII), be submitted to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to the Security Council and to the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session. We hope that it will contribute to the implementation of measures which, in the final analysis, will eliminate chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons from all military arsenals.

CHAPTER I. THE BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL) MEANS OF WARFARE

15. Since World War I, when chemical warfare was first resorted to on a large scale, the variety and potency of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons has grown steadily, and there has been a corresponding increase in the capacity to deliver them to a target area. The particular threat posed by chemical weapons today derives from the existence of new, and far more toxic, chemical compounds than were known fifty years ago. Since bacteriological (biological) agents exist naturally, their increased potency as weapons has resulted from a process of selection rather than from the production of entirely new agents. As is explained in later sections of this report, selection has been made possible by advances in our knowledge of the genetics of microbes, and through advances in experimental aerobiology.

16. The most significant result of these technical developments is the great variety of injurious effect which these agents can induce, and the consequent increase in the number and types of situation in which there might be a temptation to use them for military purposes.

*A. Characteristics of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons*

17. For the purposes of this report, chemical agents of warfare are taken to be chemical substances, whether gaseous, liquid, or solid, which might be employed because of their direct toxic effects on man, animals and plants. Bacteriological (biological) agents of warfare are living organisms, whatever their nature, or infective material derived from them, which are intended to cause disease or death in man, animals or plants, and which depend for their effects on their ability to multiply in the person, animal or plant attacked.

18. Various living organism (e.g. rickettsiae, viruses and fungi), as well as bacteria, can be used as weapons. In the context of warfare all these are generally recognized as "bacteriological weapons". But in order to eliminate any possible ambiguity, the phrase "bacteriological (biological) weapons" has been used throughout to comprehend all forms of biological warfare.

19. All biological processes depend upon chemical or physico-chemical reactions, and what may be regarded today as a biological agent could, tomorrow, as knowledge advances, be treated as chemical. Because they themselves do not multiply, toxins, which are produced by living organisms, are treated in this report as chemical substances. We also recognize there is a dividing line between chemical agents of warfare in the sense we use the terms, and incendiary substances such as napalm and smoke, which exercise their effects through fire, temporary deprivation of air or reduced visibility. We regard the latter as weapons which are better classified with high explosives than with the substances with which we are concerned. They are therefore not dealt with further in this report.

20. Finally, we recognize that both chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents are designated either as lethal agents, that is to say, agents which are intended to kill, or as incapacitating agents, that is to say, agents which are intended to cause disability. These terms are not absolute, but imply statistical probabilities of response which are more uncertain with bacteriological (biological) than with chemical agents. Not all individuals will die from an attack with a given lethal agent, whereas some, for example infants and people weakened by malnutrition, disease or old age, as well as a high proportion of individuals in special circumstances, for example following irradiation, might succumb to an attack with incapacitating chemical or bacteriological (biological) agents. With a few chemical agents, notably some tear gases (lachrymators), there is a negligible probability of any fatal outcome, and these have been used by many Governments to quell riots and civil disorders. When used in this way they are called riot control agents. Lachrymators have also been widely used in warfare as harassing agents, in order to enhance the effectiveness of conventional weapons, or to facilitate the capture of enemy personnel.

1. Differences Between Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Warfare

21. Although there are some similarities between chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents regarded as weapons of war, they differ in certain important respects. These differences are related to (1) potential toxicity; (2) speed of action; (3) duration of effect; (4) specificity; (5) controllability; and (6) residual effects.

Potential toxicity

22. Although more toxic than most well-known industrial chemicals, chemical warfare agents are far less potent on a weight-for-weight basis than are bacteriological (biological) agents. The dose of a chemical agent required to produce untoward effects in man is measured in milligrams (1/1,000 of a gram), except for toxins which may be in the microgram (1/1,000 of a milligram) range. The corresponding dose for bacteriological (biological) agents is in the picogram 1/1,000,000 of a microgram) range.

23. This difference reflects the fact that bacteriological (biological) agents, being alive, can multiply, and its significance is that, weight-for-weight, bacteriological (biological) weapons could be expected to inflict casualties over very much more extensive areas than could chemical weapons.

24. Being living organisms, bacteriological (biological) agents are also very much more susceptible to sunlight, temperature, and other environmental factors than are chemical agents. A bacteriological (biological) agent disseminated into a given environment may retain its viability (ability to live and multiply) while losing its virulence (ability to produce disease and injury).

Speed of action

25. As a class, chemical agents produce their injurious effects in man, animals or plants more rapidly than do bacteriological (biological) agents. The time between exposure and significant effect may be minutes, or even seconds, for highly toxic gases or irritating vapours. Blister agents take a few hours to produce injury. Most chemicals used against crops elicit no noticeable effect until a few days have elapsed. On the other hand, a bacteriological (biological) agent must mutiply in the body of the victim before disease (or injury) supervenes; this is the familiar "incubation period" of a disease, the time which elapses between exposure to infection and the appearance of symptoms of illness. This period is rarely as short as one or two days, and may be as long as few weeks or even longer. For both chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents the speed of action is affected by the dose (i.e., the quantity absorbed) but this secondary factor does not obscure the basic difference between the two classes of agents in the time they take to manifest their effects.

Duration of effect

26. The effects of most chemical agents which do not kill quickly do not last long, except in the case of some agents such as phosgene and mustard, where they might continue for some weeks, months or longer. On the other hand, bacteriological (biological) agents which are not quickly lethal cause illness lasting days or even weeks and on occasion involve periods of prolonged convalescence. The effects of agents which act against plants and trees would last for weeks or months and, depending on the agent and the species of vegetation attacked, could result in death.

Specificity

27. While both classes of agents can be used to attack man, animals or plants, individual biological agents have in general a much greater degree of host specificity. Influenza, for example, is essentially a disease of man; foot-and-mouth disease mainly affects cloven-hoofed animals; and rice blast is a disease confined to rice only. On the other hand, some diseases (for example, brucellosis and anthrax) occur both in man and animals. However, chemical agents are much less specific: nerve agents can affect mammals, birds and invertebrates (e.g., insects).

Controllability

28. By controllability is meant the ability to predict the extent and nature of the damage which chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents can cause. This is a most important consideration in their use as weapons. The most likely means of delivering chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents is by discharge into the atmosphere, relying on turbulent diffusion and wind currents to dilute and spread the agent over the area being attacked. Control is thus possible only to the extent that the meteorological situation can be predicted.

29. Because they infect living organisms, some bacteriological (biological) agents can be carried by travellers, migratory birds, or animals, to localities far from the area originally attacked.

30. The possibility of this kind of spread does not apply to chemical agents. But control of contamination by persistent chemical agents could be very difficult. Should large quantities of chemical agents penetrate the soil and reach underground waters, or

should they contaminate reservoirs, they might spread hundreds of kilometres from the area of attack, affecting people remote from the zone of military operations. Although we know of no comparable substance likely to be used as a chemical warfare agent, the spread of DDT over the globe illustrates, in an extreme form, how man-made chemicals can spread. This chemical insecticide is now found in the tissues of creatures in all parts of the world, even in places in which it has never been used. For example, as a result of its transfer through food chains, it is even found in the tissues of the penguins which live in Antarctica.

Residual effects

31. In circumstances which favour their persistence, herbicides, defoliants and perhaps some other chemical agents, might linger for months, stunting the growth of surviving or subsequent plant life, and even changing the floral pattern through selection. Following repeated use, certain chemical agents could even influence soil structure. The risk of residual effects with some bacteriological (biological) agents is potentially greater, mainly because they could lead to disease, which might become epidemic if man-to-man transmission occurred readily. Bacteriological (biological) agents might also find unintended hosts in the animals and plants of an area, or be transported by infected individuals over great distances to new environments.

2. Technology of Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Warfare

32. The technological problems associated with chemical and bacteriological (biological) warfare are of two kinds; (1) those associated with the production of the agents and the weapons needed for their dissemination and (2) those which concern the provision of the protective equipment and defences necessary to protect military forces and civilian populations. Any nation whose chemical, pharmaceutical and fermentation industries are well advanced could produce chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents on a scale commensurate with its other military capabilities. The assurance of safety in the production of bacteriological (biological) agents, problems associated with the synthesis of complex chemical agents, and deciding on the best weapons to disseminate them, are examples of some of the relevant technological difficulties. A special problem associated with the development and maintenance of an offensive capability in bacteriological (biological) warfare relates to the fact that some agents are viable for only a short time (a few days) after manufacture. This period can be extended by refrigeration of the agent or by freeze-drying it before storage. The drying processes, however, are very complex and difficult where large quantities of highly pathogenic agents are involved. The problems which relate to defence are far more difficult, for as with most weapons, effective defence calls for much more stringent training, and demands far more manpower and monetary resources than does the offence. For example, alarm systems against chemical attack are very complex electro-mechanical devices whose production demands a highly technologically based industry. They cannot be maintained except by expert and highly trained personnel.

3. Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons Systems

33. The use in warfare, and the possible military effectiveness, of chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents cannot be appreciated if they are thought of simply as poisons and plagues. They need to be considered in the context of the weapon systems of which they would be part.

34. A weapon system comprises all the equipment and personnel, as well as the organizational structure, required to maintain and operate a military device. By itself, for example, a cannon is not a weapon system. Only when it is integrated into an artillery battery, together with trained crew, ammunition, vehicles, supplies, spare parts, firing table, forward observer, communications and command organization does it constitute a weapon system. Correspondingly, artillery shells filled with mustard gas or nerve agents and guns to fire them, or an aircraft with a spray tank filled with a bacteriological (biological) agent, are not by themselves weapon systems.

35. Many complex technological problems have to be overcome in transforming a chemical or bacteriological (biological) "agent" into a "weapon system". A "weapon" is of little military value if it is not dependable and if it cannot be delivered to a target with certainty. This means that in the development of a chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapon system it is not only necessary to consider matters such as mass means of delivery, but also the limitations on use set by terrain and weather prediction.

36. In addition, considerations affecting defence need to be taken into account. Masks, protective clothing, detection alarms, special medical supplies, augmented logistic facilities and, above all, thoroughly trained military and civilian personnel, are necessary parts of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapon systems. The concept of a fully developed chemical or bacteriological (biological) weapon system is thus exceedingly complex, and implies as much technical capability and as high a degree of training as does the operation of any other advanced weapons system. While chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapon systems are cheaper and more readily attained than nuclear weapons, and while they may in some circumstances be more effective militarily than conventional weapons, they are highly complex systems which for their development and operation call for sizeable resources and considerable expertise. But the possibility always exists that by choosing a single agent and a simple means of delivery, a nation could equip itself relatively cheaply to attack a limited area with a reasonable chance of success.

*B. Concepts of the use of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons in war*

1. Chemical Weapons

37. Chemical weapons could be used either within the zone of contact of opposing forces; or against military targets such as airfields, barracks, supply depots, and rail centres well behind the battle-area itself; or against targets which have no immediate connexion with military operations; for example, centres of population, farm land, and water supplies. The circumstances in which they could be used within a zone of contact are many and varied—for example, to achieve a rapid and surprise advantage against a poorly trained, ill-equipped military force which lacked chemical protective equipment; to overcome troops in dug-outs, foxholes, or fortifications where they would be otherwise protected against fragmenting weapons and high-explosive; to remove foliage, by means of chemical herbicides so as to improve visibility and to open up lines of fire, and to prevent ambush; to create barriers of contaminated land on or in the rear of the battlefield to impede or channel movement; or to slow an enemy advance by forcing them to use protective clothing and equipment. Such equipment undoubtedly restricts mobility and impedes normal activities. It is thus highly probable that once one of two well-equipped sides had been attacked with chemical weapons, it would retaliate in kind, in order to force its opponent to suffer the same penalties of restriction. In all such operations civilians who had not fled from the battle-area might become casualties, as they also would if, while not in the battle-zone, vapours or aerosols drifted towards them with the wind, or if they strayed at a latter date into areas contaminated with a persistent agent. The risk of civilian casualties would obviously be greater if chemical attacks were made on military targets well in the rear of the zone of contact, and would be very serious in the case of attacks on centres of population.

2. Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons

38. There is no military experience of the use of bacteriological (biological) agents as weapons of war and the feasibility of using them as such has often been questioned. One issue which has frequently been raised concerns the validity of extrapolations made from laboratory experience to military situations in the field. Some recent investigations under field conditions throw light on this point.

39. In one field trial, zinc cadmium (one micron is 1/1,000,000 of a metre) in diameter, from a ship travelling 16 kilometres offshore. About 200 kilograms were disseminated while the ship travelled a distance of 260 kilometres parallel to the coastline. The resulting aerosol travelled at least 750 kilometres, and covered an area of over 75,000 square kilometres.

40. This observation provides an indication of the size of area which might be covered by a windborne aerosol, but it does not tell whether the bacteriological (biological) agents which might be spread in an aerosol would still retain the ability to produce disease. All bacteriological (biological) agents lose their virulence or die progressively while travelling in an aerosol and the distance of effective travel of the cloud would depend on the rate of decay of the particular agent in the particular atmospheric conditions prevailing.

41. Some idea of the relative size of areas which can be covered by bacteriological (biological) and chemical aerosols can be gained from this same experiment. Had the particles that were carried been a bacterial or viral agent, they would not have caused casualties over as large an area as the one covered, because of decay of the agent while in the aerosol state. However, depending on the organism and its degree of hardiness, areas of 5,000 to 20,000 km$^2$ could have been effectively attacked, infecting a high proportion of unprotected people in the area. If the same means are applied to a hypothetical chemical attack using the most toxic chemical nerve agent, then about 0.8 kg of agent would have been released per km. The downwind hazard from this, in which some casualties might be expected, would not have extended more than one kilometre, and probably less, unless meteorological conditions were extremely favourable (see chapter III). The area covered by such a chemical attack might thus have been 50 to 150 km,$^2$ as compared with the 5,000 to 20,000 km$^2$ for the bacteriological (biological) attack.

42. For purposes of sabotage or covert (secret, as in sabotage actions behind enemy lines) operations, small aerosol generators for bacteriological (biological) agents could be built, for example, into fountain pens or cigarette lighters. It is also possible to conceive of the distribution of bacteriological (biological) agents by hand to poison either water supplies or ventilation systems, especially in a situation of breakdown of sanitary facilities due, say, to military mobilization, or to a nuclear attack. In addition to producing casualties, such an attack could produce severe panic. If half a kilo of a culture of Salmonella (a group of bacteria, many species of which produce severe intestinal infections, including gastro-enteritis, food ("ptomaine") poisoning, paratyphoid fever and typhoid fever) had been added to a reservoir containing 5 million litres of water, and complete mixing had occurred, severe illness or disability would be suffered by anyone drinking 1 decilitre (about 3 ounces) of untreated water.

43. The same degree of poisoning as would be produced by half a kilo of Salmonella culture could be achieved with 5 kilos of botulinum toxin, (see chapter II), 7 kilos of staphylococcal enterotoxin, or 50 kilos of V-nerve agent, or in the case of common industrial chemicals, with five tons of sodium fluoroacetate (used as a rodenticide) or ten tons of potassium cyanide.

*C. Chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents*

1. Chemical Agents

44. Chemical agents are usually described in terms of their physiological effects and are characterized as follows:

Agents affecting man and animals

*Nerve agents* are colourless, odourless, tasteless chemicals, of the same family as organophosphorus insecticides. They poison the nervous system and disrupt vital body functions. They constitute the most modern war chemicals known; they kill quickly and are more potent than are any other chemical agents (except toxins).

*Blister agents (vesicants)* are oily liquids, which, in the main, burn and blister the skin within hours after exposure. But they also have general toxic effects. Mustard gas is a good example. Blister agents caused more casualties than any other chemical agent used in World War I.

*Choking agents* are highly volatile liquids which, when breathed as gases, irritate and severely injure the lungs, causing death from choking. They were introduced in World War I and are of much lower potency than the nerve agents.

*Blood agents* are also intended to enter the body through the respiratory tract. They produce death by interfering with the utilization of oxygen by the tissues. They, too, are much less toxic than nerve agents.

*Toxins* are biologically produced chemical substances which are very highly toxic and may act by ingestion or inhalation.

*Tear and harassing gases* are sensory irritants which cause a temporary flow of tears, irritation of the skin and respiratory tract, and occasionally nausea and vomiting. They have been widely used as riot control agents, and also in war.

*Psycho-chemicals* are drug-like chemicals intended to cause temporary mental disturbances.

Agents affecting plants

*Herbicides (defoliants)* are agricultural chemicals which poison or dessicate the leaves of plants, causing them to lose their leaves or die. The effectiveness of different chemical warfare agents against man, animals and plants is shown in table 1. The various specific chemical agents are listed and described in chapter 2.

Methods of delivery

45. Chemical munitions are designed to fulfill three objectives: (1) to provide a container for the agent so that the agent/munition combination can be delivered to its target; (2) to attain an effective distribution of agent over the target area; and (3) to release the agent in active form. In the case of incapacitating and riot control agents, it is necessary that the munition itself should not cause injury or death, and that it should not start fires. This is particularly important for devices used in the control of riots.

46. The munitions to be used would depend on the method of delivery, the shape and size of the target area, and other variables. Ground-to-ground munitions include grenades, shells, rockets, and missile warheads; air-to-ground munitions include large bombs, dispensers, spray tanks, and rockets; emplaced munitions include generators and mines.

47. *Ground-to-ground munitions.* Small ground-to-ground munitions (grenades, shells and small rockets) function much like their conventional counterparts. Upon impact in the target area, they would either explode or burn, and so expel the agent to form a cloud which would diffuse and drift downwind, resulting in an elongated alliptical area within which casualties would occur. This represents a point source of dissemination (chapter II).

TABLE 1.—CATEGORIES OF CHEMICAL WARFARE AGENTS AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

| | Physical state at 20° C. | Persistency | Main state of aggregation in target | Effective route of entry | Effective against— |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nerve agents | Liquid | Low to high | Vapor, aerosol, liquid. | Lungs, eyes, skin | Man, animals. |
| Blister agents | Liquid, solid | High | do | do | Do. |
| Choking agents | Liquid | Low | Vapor | do | Do. |
| Blood agents | Liquid, vapors | do | do | Lungs | Do. |
| Toxins | Solid | do | Aerosol, liquid | Lungs, intestinal tract. | Do. |
| Tear and harassing gases | Liquid, solid | do | Vapor, aerosol | Lungs, eyes | Do. |
| Incapacitants | do | do | Aerosol, liquid | Lungs, skin | Do. |
| Herbicides (defoliants) | do | Low to high | do | Foliage and roots | Plants.[1] |

[1] Some herbicides, particularly those containing organic arsenic are also toxic for man and animals.

48. Small rockets would frequently be fired in "ripples", and artillery shells in salvos, resulting in a group of impacts over the target area. This would constitute an area source of dissemination (chapter II).

49. Large ground-to-ground (as well as aerial munitions and missile warheads) might carry a number of small submunitions as well as agent in bulk. The parent munition, upon functioning, would disperse the submunitions over the target area. These would then disseminate the agent over a wide area rather than a single point of impact, as in the case of bulk munitions.

50. Another military concept is to use large warheads filled with several hundred kilos of an agent of low vapour pressure. Such a warhead, burst at a suitable altitude would produce a shower of droplets, effectively contaminating everything on which it fell. A number of such weapons could be used to assure that the target was covered.

51. *Air-to-ground munitions.* Bombs dropped from aircraft are larger than most shells, and consequently would result in a higher concentration of the chemical near the point of ground impact. Bombs bursting close to the ground could be used to achieve a wider dissemination of the agent, especially with chemical agents.

52. A dispenser is a container for submunitions, which, after opening, could remain attached to the aircraft. The submunitions could be released simultaneously or in succession.

53. Small rockets or missiles could also be used to deliver chemical agents from aircraft. The pattern of dispersal would be much the same as that produced by ground-to-ground rockets or missiles.

54. *Ground-emplaced munitions.* Ground-emplaced munitions comprise generators and mines. The generator is a tank containing a chemical agent, a source of pressure, and a nozzle through which the agent is forced. Generators would be placed upwind of the target, and then activated by a suitable device.

55. Chemical mines would be placed in areas of anticipated enemy activity, and would be activated by pressure or trip wires.

2. Bacteriological (Biological) Agents

56. Like chemical agents, bacteriological (biological) agents may also be classified in terms of their intended use, whether designed to incapacitate or to kill human beings, to incapacitate or kill food and draft animals, or to destroy food plants and industrial crops.

57. Bacteria, viruses, fungi, and a group of microbes known as rickeetsiae are by far the most potent agents which could be incorporated into weapon systems. There is no assurance, however, that other living organisms may not in the future become more important as potential agents for warfare. The selection of agents for use in warfare

58. The number of bacteriological (biological) agents which could potentially be used in warfare is far fewer than those which cause naturally-occurring disease. To be effective for this purpose they should:

(a) be able to be produced in quantity;

(b) be capable of ready dissemination in the face of adverse environmental factors;

(c) be effective regardless of medical counter-measures;

(d) be able to cause a large number of casualties (this would imply that any agent chosen would be highly infectious, but whether the agent chosen would also be easily transmissible from man-to-man, would depend upon an intent to initiate an epidemic spread).

Agents affecting man

59. All the diseases under consideration occur naturally, and the causative organisms with few exceptions, are known to scientists throughout the world. Incapacitating agents are those which, in natural outbreaks, cause illness but rarely death. If the natural disease has an applicable mortality, the agent is regarded as a lethal one. However, these agents when used as aerosol weapons might cause more severe disease than occurs naturally.

60. Different populations have varying degrees of resistance to the diseases produced by bacteriological (biological) agents. An infectious disease which might be only mildly incapacitating in one population might prove disastrous to another. For example, when measles was first introduced into the Hawaiian Islands, it caused far more deaths than in the relatively resistant populations of Europe. A bacteriological (biological) weapon which might be intended only to incapacitate could be highly lethal against a population where resistance had been lowered as a result of malnutrition. Conversely, a weapon which was intended to spread a lethal disease might only cause occasional mild illness in people who had been given a protective vaccine or who had become immune as a result of natural infection. The history of epidemiology is rich with surprises.

61. *Viruses* are the smallest forms of life. Most of them can be seen only with the electron microscope, and must be grown on living tissue (tissue cultures, fertile eggs, etc.). Genetic manipulation of the whole virus or chemical manipulation of its nucleic acid, might be used to acquire strains of higher virulence or greater stability to environmental stresses.

62. *Rickettsiae* are intermediate between the viruses and bacteria. Like the viruses, they grow only in living tissue. Judging by the scientific literature, research into the genetics of rickettsiae has been less intense than into that of viruses and bacteria.

63. *Bacteria* are larger than viruses, ranging in size from 0.3 micron to several microns. They can be easily grown on a large scale employing equipment and processes similar to those used in the fermentation industry, but

special skills and experience would be needed to grow them in quantity in the particular state in which they readily cause disease. Although many pathogenic (disease-producing) bacteria are susceptible to antibiotic drugs, antibiotic-resistant strains occur naturally, and can be selected or obtained through the use of suitable methods of genetic manipulation. Similarly, it is possible to select strains with increased resistance to inactivation by sunlight and drying.

64. *Fungi* also produce a number of diseases in many, but very few species appear to have any potential in bacteriological (biological) warfare.

65. *Protozoa* are one-celled microscopic organisms which cause several important human diseases, including malaria. Because of their complex life cycles, they too appear to have little significance in the present context.

66. Parasitic *worms* such as hook-worm, and the filarial worms have very complicated life cycles. They cause illness and disability only after long exposure and repeated infection, and would be extremely difficult to produce in quantity, to store, to transport, or disseminate in a weapon. Insects are also difficult to conceive of as weapons. Some, such as the mosquito and the tick are transmitters of disease, and as "vectors," have to be looked upon as having potential military significance. Higher forms of life, such as rodents and reptiles can be dismissed in the context of the present discussion.

Agents affecting animals

67. Bacteriological (biological) anti-animal agents, such as foot-and-mouth disease and anthrax would be used primarily to destroy domestic animals, thereby indirectly affecting man by reducing his food supply.

68. Outbreaks of contagious disease in animal populations, known as epizootics, may spread much more readily than do epidemics among human beings. Viral infections are probably more serious for animals than those caused by other classes of micro-organisms.

69. Most of the bacterial diseases of animals which could probably be used in warfare are also transmissible to man. Human beings would be expected to get the disease if they were affected by the attacking aerosol cloud, and occasional individuals might contract the disease from infected animals.

Agents affecting plants

70. The natural occurrence of devastating plant diseases such as the blight of potatoes in Ireland in 1845, the coffee rust of the 1870s in Ceylon, the chestnut blight of 1904 in the United States of America, and the widespread outbreaks today of cereal (especially wheat) rusts has suggested that plant pathogens might be used for military purposes. There are four major requirements for the deliberate development of a plant disease into epidemic (epiphytotic) proportions: large amounts of the host plant must be present in the region; the agent should be capable of attacking the particular varieties of host plant that are grown; adequate quantities of the agent must be present; and the environmental conditions within the region should be favourable for the spread of the disease. An epiphytotic cannot develop if any one of the above requirements is not satisfied.

Methods of delivery

71. Bacteriological (biological) agents can, in principle, be loaded into the same type of munitions as can chemical agents. Other than for covert or "special-purpose missions", bacteriological (biological) weapons, if developed for military purposes, would in all probability be delivered by aircraft or by large ballistic missiles. Aircraft (including cruise missiles and drones) could drop a large number of bomblets from high altitude, or spray from a low altitude. Because a small amount of agent will cover relatively large areas, bombs would probably be small (1 kilo or less) and dispersed over as wide an area as possible. They could be released from clusters or from dispensers in the manner of chemical weapons, but probably from a higher altitude.

72. An aircraft could establish a line of agent which, as it travelled downwind, would reach the ground as a vast elongated infective cloud (see chapter II). The effectiveness of such a procedure would be highly dependent on weather conditions, but the larger the area, the larger the weather front involved, the greater the chances that the predicted results would be achieved. A small relative error might, however, involve a country not in the conflict.

73. It is conceivable that bacteriological (biological) weapons, probably bomblets, could be packaged in a ballistic missile. The bomblets could be released at a predetermined altitude to burst at ground level. The effect would be the same as bomblet delivery by aircraft except that it would be more costly.

74. Unless transmitted by insects, bacteriological (biological) agents have little power to penetrate the intact skin. Infections through the respiratory tract by means of aerosols is by far the most likely route which could be used in warfare.

75. Many naturally-occuring diseases (e.g. influenza, tuberculosis) are spread by the aerosol route, and some of them, notably influenza, can generate into large epidemics. When an infected person sneezes, coughs, or even speaks, an aerosol is formed which contains particles ranging widely in size. The larger particles are usually of little importance because they fall to the ground. But small particles (3 microns or less in diameter) dry out rapidly in the air, and are the most infectious. They may remain suspended in the atmosphere for a long time. Animal experiments have shown that a great many infectious agents (including many which are transmitted otherwise in nature) can be transmitted to animals by aerosols of small particle size. Laboratory accidents and experiments on volunteers have confirmed the effectiveness of the aerosol route of infection for man.

76. If bacteriological (biological) warfare ever occurred, the aerosol technique would thus be the one most likely to be used, simply because the respiratory tract is normally susceptible to infection by many micro-organisms; because of the wide target area which could be covered in a single attack; and because ordinary hygenic measures are ineffective in preventing the airborne route of attack. Since the particle size of an aerosol is crucial to its ability to penetrate into the lung (see chapter III for detailed discussion), the method for aerosolizing a bacteriological (biological) agent would have to be controllable so as to assure the dissemination of a large proportion of particles less than 5 microns in diameter.

77. Aerosols of bacteriological (biological) agents could be formed by three general methods. Agents could be disseminated by explosive means in much the same way as chemical agents. However, the size of the resulting particle is hard to control by this method, and much of the agent may be destroyed by the heat and shock of the exploding munition. Particles could also be formed by using pressure to force a suspension of the organisms through a nozzle. Particle size is determined by the amount of pressure, the size of the discharge orifices, the physical characteristics of the agent, and atmospheric conditions. Size control of solid particles (dry form of agent) can be achieved by "pre-sizing" before dissemination. Aerosol particles could also be produced as a spray by releasing the agent in liquid suspension into a high velocity air stream. This principle can be applied to spray devices for use on high performance aircraft.

*D. Defence of man against chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents*

78. A comprehensive defensive system against attacks by chemical or bacteriological (biological) agents would have to provide for detection and warning, rapid identification of agents, protection of the respiratory tract and skin, decontamination, and medical prophylaxis and treatment. Some aspects of such a system could be dealt with by fairly simple equipment. Others would necessitate highly sophisticated apparatus. But the whole complex would necessitate a very effective organization manned by well-trained personnel. While military units and small groups of people could be equipped and trained to protect themselves to a significant extent, it would be impracticable for most (if not all) countries to provide comprehensive protection for their entire civil population.

1. Medical Protection

Chemical attacks

79. No general prophylactic treatment exists which could protect against chemical attacks. Antidotes (atropine and oximes) to nerve agents are of value if administered within half an hour before or within a very short time after exposure. Atropine is itself toxic, however, and might incapacitate unexposed individuals given large doses. Skin can be protected from the vapours of blister agents by various ointments, but they are not effective against liquid contamination.

Bacteriological (biological) attacks

80. Vaccination is one of the most useful means of protecting people from natural infective disease, and the only useful means available for prophylaxis against bacteriological (biological) attacks. The protective value of vaccines against small-pox, yellow fever, diphtheria, and other diseases is fully established, although the protection they afford can be overcome if an immunized individual is exposed to a large dose of the infectious agent concerned. It is probable, however, that even those existing vaccines which are effective in preventing natural infectious diseases might afford only limited protection against respiratory infection by an agent disseminated into the air in large amounts by a bacteriological (biological) weapon. Moreover, whole populations could not be vaccinated against all possible diseases. The development, production, and administration of so many vaccines would be enormously expensive, and some vaccines might produce undesirable or dangerous reactions in the recipients.

81. This picture is not significantly altered by certain new developments in the field of vaccination: e.g. the use of living bacterial vaccines against tularemia, brucellosis and plague; or aerosol vaccination, which is particularly relevant to vaccination of large numbers of people. There have been recent advances in the control of virus diseases, but at present none of these is practicable for the protection of large populations against bacteriological (biological) warfare.

82. Prophylaxis against some diseases can also be provided by the administration of specific anti-sera from the blood of people or animals previously inoculated with micro-organisms, or products derived from them, to increase the anti-body levels (immunity) in their blood. Tetanus anti-toxin is used in this manner, and until more effective methods replaced them, such anti-sera were used for many diseases. It would, however, be impossible to prepare specific anti-sera against all possible bacteriological (biological) agents and to make them available for large populations.

83. Other possibilities, for example the use of therapeutic materials before symptoms appear, are equally remote from practical realization. They include immune serum, gammaglobulin, or drugs such as antibiotics or sulfonamide drugs. The use of gammaglobulin to prevent, or mitigate the severity of, disease may be useful for individuals known to have been exposed. But since gammaglobulin is made by separation from human blood, stocks could never be available

except for isolated cases. In theory, chemoprophylaxis (the use of drugs and antibiotics to prevent infection) might also be useful in the short term for small groups operating at especially high risk. But it would only be prudent to assume that the bacteriological (biological) agents which an enemy might use would be those which were resistant to such drugs.

2. Detection and Warning

84. The requirement is to detect a cloud of a chemical or a bacteriological (biological) agent in the air sufficiently quickly for masks and protective clothing to be donned before the attack can be effective. Usually the objective would be to try and detect the cloud upward of the target so that all those downwind could be warned. There are also requirements for the detection of ground contamination with chemical agents and for detection equipment to enable those under attack to decide when it would be safe to remove their protective equipment.

Chemical attacks

85. In World War I it was possible to rely upon odour and colour as the primary means of alerting personnel that a chemical attack had been launched. The newer, more toxic chemical agents cannot be detected in this way. On the other hand, presumptive evidence that such weapons had been used would nonetheless still be of value as warning. Once an enemy had used chemical weapons, each subsequent attack would necessarily have to be presumed to be a possible chemical attack, and protective measures would have to be instituted immediately. Individuals would have to mask not only in the air attack in which spray was used, or when there was smoke or mist from an unknown source, or a suspicious smell, or when they suffered unexpected symptoms such as a runny nose, choking and tightness in the chest, or disturbed vision, but whenever any bombardment occurred. But because of the uncertainty, it would be clearly desirable to devise and provide a system of instruments which can detect the presence of toxic chemicals at concentrations below those having physiological effects, and which would give timely and accurate warning of a chemical attack. It would also be advantageous to have test devices, collectors and analytical laboratory facilities in order to determine whether the environment was safe, as well as to identify accurately the specific chemical agent used in an attack.

86. The first and essential component of a defensive system would be an instrument which could detect low concentrations of a chemical agent. However low the concentration, a person could inhale a toxic amount in a short time because he breathes 10–20 litres of air per minute. Since the human body can eliminate or detoxify very small amounts of many toxic materials, there is no need to consider very long periods of exposure—the concern is with the exposures of only a few hours. This is often referred to technically as the Ct (concentration time) factor. Essential requirements of a method of detection suitable for use by military or civil defence personnel are that it be simple, specific, sensitive and reliable. Typical detector kits contain sampling tubes and/or reagent buttons, papers, etc. After being exposed to particular chemical agents, these detectors change colour or exhibit some other change easily observable without special instruments. Chemical detection kits could also be used to decide when it is safe to remove protective masks or other items of protective clothing. Obviously, laboratories, whether mobile or fixed, can perform more elaborate chemical analyses than can detection kits.

87. Warning devices which have been devised incorporate sensitive detectors that actuate an automatic alarm which alerts individuals to take protective action before a harmful dose of agent is received. They are of two trends: point sampling devices, which sample the air at one location by means of an air pump, and area scanning devices, which probe a specific area for chemical agents. The disadvantage of point source alarms is that they must be placed upwind of the area that has to be protected, and a rather large number may be needed. If the wind shifts, they have to be repositioned. Successful area scanning alarms have not yet been developed.

88. It must be recognized that in spite of instrumental warning systems, personnel near the point of dissemination of a chemical agent might still not have sufficient time to take protective action.

Bacteriological (biological) attacks

89. Unlike chemical weapons, bacteriological (biological) weapons cannot readily be distinguished from the biological "background" of the environment by specific chemical or physical reactions, and much lower aerosol concentrations of bacteriological (biological) agents are dangerous than of chemical agents. The problem of early detection and warning is thus even more difficult than for chemical weapons. A partial solution to the problem has been achieved with certain non-specific but very sensitive physical devices such as particle-counters and protein detectors (protein is a typical constituent of micro-organisms). Presumptive evidence of a bacteriological (biological) attack might be obtained if there is an unusual deviation from the normal pattern of material in the air recorded by the instruments. The elevation of such a deviation, however, would necessitate intensive and prolonged study of the normal pattern in a given location. This subject is discussed further in annex A.

3. Physical Protection

90. The primary objective is to establish a physical barrier between the body and the chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents, and especially to protect the skin and and the respiratory tract. Without this no warning system, however effective, has the slightest value. Protection could be achieved by using various types of individual protective equipment or by means of communal shelters.

Individual protection

91. Protective masks are the first line of defense against all chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents. Although protective masks differ in appearance and design, they have certain features in common: a fitted facepiece, made of an impermeable material soft enough to achieve an effective seal against the face, and some means of holding it in place, such as a head strap, and a filter and absorption system, in canister or other form, which will remove particulate (aerosol) agents by mechanical filtration. The canister also contains activated charcoal, sometimes impregnated to react with agents in the vapour state, but which in any case will absorb toxic vapours. Some masks are made so as to permit the drinking of water while the individual is masked, or attempts at resuscitation measures on casualties without unmasking them. Civil defense masks are often less elaborate versions of the military mask. Gas proof protectors can be provided for infants.

92. A protective mask, properly fitted and in good working condition, will provide complete respiratory protection against all known chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents. However, a certain percentage of masked personnel can be expected to become casualties because of lack of training, failure to keep the mask in good condition, growth of beard, or because facial injuries prevent a good fit, etc. The amount of leakage that can be tolerated with bacteriological (biological) agents is much less because of their greater potency.

93. Since mustard gases and the nerve agents of low or intermediate volatility can penetrate the unbroken skin, even through normal clothing, the whole body surface must be protected by some form of special clothing, of which there are two kinds, one which is impermeable to liquid agents, and the other which, though permeable to air and moisture, has been treated so as to prevent chemical agents from getting through. Rubber coated fabrics, made into protective suits, constitute the first, while normal clothing, treated with chlorimides or absorbents, is an example of the second. In addition, some form of impermeable cover, ground sheet or cape, can be used to protect against gross liquid contamination. Feet and hands are usually protected by special gloves, and either by boot covers or treated boots.

94. Together with a mask, protective clothing, properly worn and in good condition, will afford excellent protection against known chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents. The greatest degree of protection is provided by the impermeable type but when worn continuously it becomes very burdensome because of heat stress, particularly in warm environments. Permeable clothing allows somewhat greater activity, but even so, physical activity is impaired.

Collective or communal protection

95. Collective protection takes the form of fixed or mobile shelters capable of accommodating groups of people, and has been devised not only for civilians but also for special groups of military personnel (e.g. command posts, field hospitals). Collective protection is the most effective physical means of protection against all forms of attack. Sealing or insulating the shelter will provide protection only for a limited time, because of lack of ventilation. Sealing plus a supply of oxygen and a means of eliminating carbon dioxide is better, but once again the time of occupancy is limited. The shelter could be none the less safe even though surrounded by fire or high concentrations of carbon monoxide. The best kind of shelter provides ventilation with filtered air to maintain a positive pressure relative to that outside. This positive internal pressure prevents the penetration of airborne agents, and permits entry or exit of personnel and equipment without contamination of the interior of the shelter. Extended periods of occupancy are possible.

96. These principles of collective protection are applicable to all enclosures arranged for human or animal occupancy. They have been used to provide protection by: hastily constructed or improvised field shelters, mobile vans and armoured vehicles, and permanent or fixed shelters designated for housing civilian or military personnel.

97. Once a bacteriological (biological) attack had been suspected or detected, it would be necessary to identify the specific agents involved so that proper protective measures could be taken and chemo-prophylaxis and treatment planned. Identification would also help to predict the incubation period and hence the time available for remedial measures to be taken. At present the only means of identifying specific micro-organisms is by normal laboratory procedures. Many routine laboratory methods of identification require as long as two to five days, but some recent developments have reduced this time appreciably. It is possible to collect the particles from large volumes of air and concentrate them in a small amount of fluid. Bacteria can then be trapped on special filters and transferred to nutrient media, where sufficient growth may take place to permit identification of some kinds of bacteria within fifteen hours. Another method, the fluorescent antibody technique, can be highly specific, and is applicable to bacteria and some viruses. In some cases, it allows of specific identification within a few hours. But despite all these recent developments, laboratory identification of biological agents is still a complicated and unsatisfactory process.

4. Decontamination

Chemical agents

98. Prolonged exposure to weather and sunlight reduces or eliminates the danger of most chemical agents, which are slowly decomposed by humidity and rain. But one could not rely on natural degradation to eliminate the risk and, in general, it would be essential to resort to decontamination. This would reduce the hazard but it is a time-consuming process and would greatly hamper military operations.

99. A wide range of chemicals could be used as decontaminants, the choice depending on the particular agent which has to be neutralized, the type of surface that needs to be treated, the extent of contamination, and the amount of time available. Decontaminants range from soap and detergent in water, to caustic soda, hypochlorite and various organic solvents, and their successful use calls for large numbers of people, a copious supply of water, and appropriate equipment.

100. Decontaminating solutions, powders, applicators and techniques have been developed for decontaminating skin, clothing, personal equipment and water. These would need to be used immediately after an attack.

101. Unless food had been stored in metal cans or other containers which were impermeable to chemical agents, it would have to be destroyed. Decontamination of complex equipment and vehicles is a difficult and time-consuming procedure. Special pressurized sprayers to disseminate powdered and liquid decontaminants have been developed for this purpose, as have paints or coatings to provide a smooth impermeable surface to preclude the penetration of chemical agents.

102. Decontamination might even need to be extended to roads and selected areas. This would involve the removal of contaminated soil by bulldozing, or covering it with earth, using explosives to spread a powdered decontaminant over a wide area.

Bacteriological (biological) agents

103. Decontamination procedures for biological agents are similar to those used for toxic chemical agents. Aeration and exposure to strong sunlight will destroy most micro-organisms, as will also exposure to high temperatures. Thoroughly cooking exposed food, and boiling water for at least fifteen minutes will kill almost all relevant micro-organisms. Calcium hypochlorite and chlorine can also be used to purify water. Certain chemical compounds, such as formaldehyde, ethylene oxide, calcium and sodium hypochlorites, sodium hydroxide and betapropiolactone, can be used to decontaminate materials and work areas. A hot, soapy shower is the best way to decontaminate human beings.

*E. Protection of domestic animals and plants against chemical and bacteriological (biological) attacks*

1. Chemical Attacks

104. The widespread protection of domestic animals and plants from chemical attack would be impracticable. Once a crop had been attacked with herbicides there is no effective remedial action. The damage could be made good only by a second planting of either the same or another crop, depending on the season.

2. Bacteriological (Biological) Attacks

Animals

105. Animals or flocks could be protected by collective shelters, although the cost would be great and, in the absence of automatic warning devices, it would be impossible to assure that the creatures would be sheltered at the time of attack.

106. The ideal means of protection for animals would be vaccination. Vaccines have been developed, and many are routinely produced, for foot-and-mouth disease, rinderpest, anthrax, Rift Valley fever, hog cholera, Newcastle disease and others. Vaccination of animal herds by aerosols is a promising area of investigation.

Plants

107. The only hopeful approach would be to breed disease resistant plants. This is a regular part of most national agricultural programmes, and has as its object the increase of crop yields. But unless the exact identity of the bacteriological (biological) agent which might be used were known well in advance (possibly years), it would not be feasible to apply this principle to provide protection to crops against this kind of attack.

108. Efforts devoted to spraying fungicides and similar preparations to reduce loss after attack do not appear to be economically effective. In most cases the best procedure is to utilize available manpower and machines in planting second crops.

*Annex A. Early warning systems for air-borne bacteriological (biological) agents*

An ideal automatic system for early warning against an attack with bacteriological (biological) agents would comprise the following components:

(1) a device to collect large volumes of air and concentrate the particulate matter obtained, in a small volume of fluid or on a small surface;

(2) a device to quantify and identify the collected material;

(3) a mechanism to assess the results and to initiate an alarm if necessary.

To collect and identify bacteriological (biological) agents and to initiate an alarm so that protective measures can be taken in sufficient time to be useful is extremly difficult. This is so because, firstly, identification of agents is generally time-consuming and, secondly, large and fluctuating quantities of bacteria and other organic materials exist in the atmosphere at all times. Thus if pathogens from a cloud released by an aggressor were collected, the device would need, not only to determine whether the quantity collected was significantly above the normal amounts that might occur, but also what the agent was, or at least that, in the amount collected, it was highly dangerous to man.

At present, warning devices are available which are sensitive but non-specific and these, unfortunately, would give an unacceptably high proportion of false alarms. Others are being developed which attempt to incorporate both rapid response with high specificity, but none to date is in the production stage. Research on this important problem is being continued and some of the approaches and techniques that are being used in this study are listed below.

Classification of automated biodetection approaches [2]

General category and suggested approach

Physical particle detection: Magnification; light scattering; volume displacement.

Key biochemical components: Antigen detection by fluorescent labelling; dyes and staining; bioluminescence and fluorescence; optical activity; pyrolysis products detection; ATP detection; proteins, nucleic acids, or others.

Biological activity: Growth (increase in cell mass or numbers) ; $CO_2$ evolution; phosphatase activity; substrate change (pH, Eh, $O_2$ interchange); pathogenic effects.

CHAPTER II. THE PROBABLE EFFECTS OF CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL WEAPONS ON MILITARY AND CIVILIAN PERSONNEL, BOTH PROTECTED AND UNPROTECTED

*A. The effects of chemical agents on individuals and populations*

109. The effects of chemical warfare agents on humans, animals and plants depend on the toxic properties of the agent, and dose absorbed, the rate of absorption and the route by which the agent enters the organism. Toxic agents may enter the body through the skin, the eyes, the lungs, or through the gastro-intestinal tract (as a result of eating contaminated food or drinking contaminated liquids).

110. For a given agent absorbed under the same conditions, the effect will be proportional to the dose absorbed. This is why it is possible to define for each agent certain characteristic doses, such as the dose which, under given conditions, will on average cause death in 50 per cent of the individuals exposed (the 50 per cent lethal dose, or "LD 50"), or the dose which will cause 50 per cent non-fatal casualties, or the dose which will have no appreciable military effect. These are expressed in milligrams of agent, with reference to a healthy adult of average weight. They may also be given in terms of milligrams per kilogram of body weight.

111. For purposes of evaluation it is convenient to express the same idea somewhat differently in the case of gases, vapours and aerosols absorbed through the respiratory passages. Here the absorbed dose depends on the concentration of the agent in the air, on the respiration rate of the subject, and on the duration of the exposure. If, for the sake of illustration, it is assumed that the average respiration rate for groups of individuals engaged in various activities remains relatively constant, it follows that the dose, and therefore the effect produced, will be directly proportional to the product of the concentration of the agent in the air (C in milligrams/cubic metre) and the exposure time (t in minutes). This is called the dosage (or Ct factor), certain characteristic values of which (for example the LD 50) are used in particular situations for quantitative estimates of the effects produced.

112. For toxic agents acting on or through the skin, the dose absorbed by contact will often be related to the "contamination rate", expressed in grams/square metre, which indicates to what extent surfaces are contaminated by the liquid.

113. The consequences of an attack on a population are a combination of the effects on the individuals in it, with both the concentration of agent and the susceptibility of individuals varying over the whole area exposed to risk. Different individuals would respond differently to an attack, and might have different degrees of protection. Possible long-term contamination of personnel from chemical warfare agents persisting on the ground and vegetation may add to the immediate, direct effects.

114. Protective masks, protective clothing and shelters and, to a certain extent, decontamination when applicable, give substantial protection against all chemical warfare agents. But, as already emphasized, the mere possession of a means of protection by no means constitutes an absolute safeguard against contamination by poisons. Alarm and detection equipment is important, sometimes vital, because without it timely warning, which is essential to the proper use of protective equipment, would be lacking. Since protective measures are most effective when performed by trained personnel working effectively in units, military personnel are more likely to be provided with adequate protection than a civilian population. In any event, the civilian population in most countries is simply not provided with protection against chemical warfare.

115. Several chemical warfare agents which were known during World War I, and others developed since, have been reported on in the scientific literature. However, the effects of the more lethal modern chemical weapons have not been studied under conditions of actual warfare. Furthermore, no complete

[2] Adapted from Greene, V. W. "Biodetecting and Monitoring Instruments Open New Doors for Environmental Understanding," *Environmental Science Technology*, February 1968, pp. 104–112.

and systematic field studies of the use of defoliants, herbicides and riot control agents are available. The following descriptions of the probable effects of chemical weapons, based both upon evidence and on technical judgment, must therefore be regarded as somewhat conjectural.

1. Effects of Lethal Chemical Agents on Individuals

116. Table 1 provides a classification of the most important lethal chemical agents, and notes some of their characteristics in terms of the effects they produce. More details are given in annex A.

TABLE 1.—GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LETHAL CHEMICAL AGENTS

| Type | Mechanism | Time for onset of effects | Examples |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nerve agent G | Interferes with transmission of nerve impulses. | Very rapid by inhalation (a few seconds) | Tabun, Sarin, Soman. |
| Nerve agent V | do | Very rapid by inhalation (a few seconds); relatively rapid through skin (a few minutes to a few hours). | VX. |
| Blister agent | Cell poison | Blistering delayed hours to days; eye effects more rapid. | Sulfur mustard; nitrogen mustard. |
| Choking agent | Damages lungs | Immediate to more than 3 hours | Phosgene. |
| Blood agent | Interferes with all respiration | Rapid (a few seconds or minutes) | Hydrogen cyanide. |
| Toxin | Neuromuscular paralysis | Variable (hours or days) | Botulinum toxin. |

117. Lethal chemical agents kill in relatively small doses, and as a rule the amount that causes death is only slightly greater than that which causes incapacitation. Death may occasionally be caused by high doses of presumed incapacitating agents and, conversely, minor effects could be caused by low doses of lethal agents. Blister agents are considered with the lethal agents, since a small but significant fraction of the personnel attacked with such agents may die or suffer serious injury.

Nerve agents

118. These lethal compounds are readily absorbed through the lungs, eyes, skin and intestinal tract without producing local irritation, and they interfere with the action of an enzyme (cholinesterase) essential to the functioning of the nervous system. The nerve-agent casualty who has been exposed to a lethal dose will die of asphyxiation within a few minutes if he is not treated swiftly by means of artificial respiration and drugs such as atropine or oximes. Otherwise recovery is generally rapid and complete. Occasionally, it may take several weeks, but will be complete unless anoxia or convulsions at the time of exposure were so prolonged as to cause irreversible brain damage.

119. The route of entry of the agent into the body has some influence on the appearance of symptoms. These develop more slowly when the agent is absorbed through the skin than when it is inhaled. Low dosages cause a running nose, contraction of the pupil of the eye and difficulty in visual accommodation. Constriction of the bronchi causes a feeling of pressure in the chest. At higher dosages, the skeletal muscles are affected—weakness, fibrillation, and eventually paralysis of the respiratory muscles occurring. Death is usually caused by respiratory failure, but heart failure may occur. It is estimated that the most toxic nerve gases may cause death at a dosage of about ten mg min/m$^3$. (A dosage of one mg min/m$^3$ consists of an exposure for one minute to gas at a concentration of one milligram per cubic metre.) Less toxic ones are lethal at dosages of up to 400 mg min/m$^3$.

Blister agents or vesicants

120. Mustard is a typical blister agent which, like other members of this class, also has general toxic effects. Exposure to concentrations of a few mg/m$^3$ in the air for several hours results at least in irritation and reddening of the skin, and especially irritation of the eyes, but may even lead to temporary blindness. Exposure to higher concentrations in the air causes blisters and swollen eyes. Severe effects of this kind also occur when liquid falls on the skin or into the eyes. Blistering with mustard is comparable to second degree burns. More severe lesions, comparable to third degree burns, may last for a couple of months. Blindness may be caused, especially if liquid agent has entered the eyes. Inhalation of vapour or aerosol causes irritation and pain in the upper respiratory tract, and pneumonia may supervene. High doses of blister agents cause a general intoxication, similar to radiation sickness, whch may prove lethal.

121. The first step in treating a person who has been exposed to a vesicant or blister agent, is to wash out of the eyes and decontaminate the skin. Mild lesions of the eyes require little treatment. The blisters are treated in the same way as any kind of second-degree burn.

Other lethal agents

122. *Phosgene* and compounds with similar physiological effects were used in World War I. Death results from damage to the lungs. The only treatment is inhalation of oxygen and rest. Sedation is used sparingly.

123. *Hydrogen cyanide* in lethal doses causes almost immediate death by inhibiting cell respirations. Lower doses have little or no effect.

124. Most of the so-called blood agents contain cyanide, and all act rapidly. The casualty would either die before therapy could begin, or recover soon after breathing fresh air.

125. *Botulinum toxin* is one of the most powerful natural poisons known, and could be used as a chemical warfare agent. There are at least six distinct types, of which four are known to be toxic to man. Formed by the bacterium *Clostridium botulinum*, the toxin is on occasion accidentally transmitted by contaminated food. The bacteria do not grow or reproduce in the body, and poisoning is due entirely to the toxin ingested. It is possible that it could be introduced into the body by inhalation.

126. Botulism is a highly fatal poisoning characterized by general weakness, headache, dizziness, double vision, dilation of the pupils, paralysis of the muscles concerned in swallowing, and difficulty of speech. Respiratory paralysis is the usual cause of death. After consumption of contaminated food, symptoms usually appear within twelve to seventy-two hours. All persons are susceptible to botulinum poisoning. The few who recover from the disease develop an active immunity of uncertain duration and degree. Active immunization with botulinum toxoid has been shown to have some protective value, but antitoxin therapy is of limited value, particularly where large doses of the toxin have been consumed. Treatment is mainly supportive.

2. Effects of Lethal Agents on Populations

127. As already indicated, the possible effects of an attack on populations with lethal chemical warfare agents would depend upon the agent used, upon the intensity of the attack, whether the population was mainly under cover or in the open, on the availability of protective facilities, on the physiological state of the individuals affected, and upon the meteorological conditions, which might differ from what had been predicted, and alter during the course of an attack.

128. The importance of meteorological conditions on the spread of agent from its point or area of release is illustrated by Figures 1(a), 1(b) and 1(c), which show in an idealized diagrammatic form the type of dosage contours to be expected from a point source, from multiple sources and from a linear aerial source respectively when exposed to the effects of wind.

129. Figure 1(a) (not printed in RECORD) shows the shape of the zone travelled by the chemical cloud produced by a point source (for example, one isolated munition), at the far left of the innermost cigar-shaped figure under conditions of a strong wind (say 5–20 km/h) in the direction indicated.

130. The number on each line indicates the dosage (Ct=concentration times time) on the line. The dosage at any point inside the area delimited by the curve is greater than the number indicated. On the basis of these data, it is possible to estimate the casualties when the characteristic dosages of the agent used are known. For example, if the LD 50 value of the agent were 30 milligram-minutes/cubic metre, there would be more than 50 per cent fatalities in the area inside the contour marked 30.

131. This figure applies to a volatile agent such as Sarin, which is usually released in the form of a vapour or an aerosol cloud. In the case of a non-volatile liquid released in the form of droplets which fall onto the ground and contaminate it, a corresponding map could be drawn for the level of contamination of the soil (expressed in milligrams/square metre).

132. Figure 1(b) (not printed in RECORD) shows the same phenomenon in relation to an area source such as would result, for example, from attack by a missile warhead filled with small bombs or by an artillery salvo.

133. In the case of a volatile agent released in the form of a vapour or aerosol, the resulting cloud, carried downwind, covers a zone whose general shape is the same as in the case of a point source (Figure 1(a)), but its dimensions are obviously much larger and the dosage values are also larger.

134. If a non-volatile agent were released in the form of droplets, the hazard would be very great in the impact area because all surfaces (skin, clothing, vehicles, equipment, vegetation, etc.) would be contaminated. The downwind hazard caused by the drift of the most minute particles would extend over a much smaller area than in the previous case because only a relatively small number of minute particles would be carried by the wind.

135. Figure 1(c) (not printed in RECORD) shows the zone covered by a linear aerial source as in the case of dissemination of a non-volatile agent from an aircraft.

136. The emitted cloud is carried by the wind and does not touch the ground until it has travelled some distance away from the line of flight of the disseminating aircraft; this depends on the altitude of the aircraft and on the wind velocity. Since the cloud has already been subjected to the influence of turbulent diffusion before reaching the ground, the dosage values or contamination rates will be highest some distance away from the zone boundary nearer the source.

137. Because of meteorological and other variables, it is impossible to make general statements about the quantitative effects of chemical weapons on populations. The following hypothetical examples, therefore are intended merely to illustrate what might happen and the degree to which protective measures could reduce casualties. To provide representative illustrations, the examples chosen include the different hazards created by nerve agents used in a battle zone, on military targets in the rear and on civilians in a town.

Effects of nerve gas on protected troops in combat

138. A heavy attack with air-burst munitions dispersing non-volatile liquid nerve agent would create concentrations on the ground that could range from one-tenth of a gram to ten grams of liquid per square metre, giving a mean value of about five grams. This would be extremely hazardous. At the same time, aerosol concentrations would be created over almost the entire impact area (dosages about twenty mg. min/m³). This would produce casualties even if there were no liquid hazard.

139. To counter this type of attack, protective measures of a very high order of efficiency, including protective masks, light protective clothing, means for decontamination, detection systems, antidotes and medical care, would have to be available. Protective clothing and rapid utilization of gas masks would give a certain measure of protection. But in this case, subsequent decontamination and medical care would be necessary to avoid heavy lethal losses.

Effects of nerve gas on a military target in the rear

140. An attack from the air with a volatile nerve agent against a military installation in a rear area would cause an intense liquid and vapour hazard in the installation itself, and a vapour hazard downwind in the surrounding area. As suggested in figure 1(b), the impact area would be very heavily contaminated; gas dosages inside and close to the impact area would be very high. Further downwind the gas concentration would decrease gradually, and finally become innocuous. A general picture of the way casualties would occur in a downwind area is indicated in figure 1(a).

141. After an attack in which tons of Sarin were used against an area of one square kilometre, the impact area and the area immediately downwind from it would be highly lethal to all unprotected personnel. Lethal casualties would occur at dosages above eighty mg. min/m³ and severe casualties down to thirty mg. min/m³. Some very light casualties would result at dosages around five mg. min/m³. The distance between the impact area and the area of lowest effective dosage would depend on the local topography and on weather conditions, but would rarely exceed a few tens of kilometres.

142. Personnel provided only with gas masks, but not wearing them at the moment of the attack, would suffer substantial losses in and close to the impact area, both because of the effects of the liquid and because of the high gas concentration inhaled before they could don their masks. Further downwind, masks would give essentially complete protection if warning were provided reasonably quickly.

Effects of a nerve gas attack on a town

143. The population density in a modern city may be 5,000 people per square kilometre. A heavy surprise attack with nonvolatile nerve gas by bombs exploding on impact in a wholly unprepared town would, especially at rush hours, cause heavy losses. Half of the population might become casualties, half of them fatal, if about one ton of agent were disseminated per square kilometre.

144. If such a city were prepared for attack, and if the preparations included a civil defence organization with adequately equipped shelters and protective masks for the population, the losses might be reduced to one half of those which would be anticipated in conditions of total surprise.

145. Although it would be very difficult to achieve, if there were a high level of preparedness, comprising adequate warning and effective civil defense procedures, it is conceivable that most of the population would be sheltered at the time of the attack, and that very few would be in the streets.

146. Given a town with a total population of 80,000, a surprise attack with nerve gas could thus cause 40,000 casualties, half of them fatal, whereas under ideal circumstances for the defense, fatalities might number no more than 2,000. It is inconceivable however, that the ideal would ever be attained.

3. Effects of Incapacitating Chemical Agents

147. Incapacitating chemicals, like tear gases and certain psychochemicals, produce in normal health people a temporary, reversible disability with a few if any permanent effects. In young children, old people and those with impaired health, the effects may sometimes be aggravated. They are called incapacitating because the ratio between the lethal and incapacitating doses is very high. The types which could have a possible military use are limited by requirements of safety, controlled military effectiveness and economic availability.

Tear and harassing gases

148. Many chemical compounds fall into this category, of which ϖ-chloracetophenone (CN), ortho-chlorobenzylidenemalononitrile (CS), and adamsite (DM) are probably the most important. They are solids when pure, and are disseminated as aerosols.

149. Either as vapour or in aerosol, tear and harassing gases rapidly produce irritation, smarting and tears. These symptoms disappear quickly after exposure ceases. The entire respiratory tract may also be irritated, resulting in a running nose and pain in the nose and throat. More severe exposures can produce a burning sensation in the trachea. As a result, exposed persons experience difficulty in breathing, attacks of coughing and occasionally, nausea and headaches.

150. Extremely high dosages of tear and harassing gases can give rise to pulmonary edema (fluid in the lungs). Deaths have been reported in three cases after extraordinary exposure to ϖ-chloracetophenone (CN) in a confined space.

151. The effects of adamsite (DM) are more persistent. Nausea is more severe and vomiting may occur.

152. Results of experiments on various species of animals (see annex B) and some observations of human responses lead to the following tentative conclusions. First, CS is the most irritating of these gases, followed by adamsite (DM) and ϖ-chloracetophenone (CN). Second, the tolerance limits (highest concentration which a test subject can tolerate for one minute) of DM and CS are about the same. Third, the least toxic of the tear gases is CS, followed by DM and then CN. Fourth, human beings vary in their sensitivity to, and tolerance of, tear and harassing gases. And finally, the toxicity of these gases varies in different animal species and in different environmental conditions.

153. The symptoms caused by tear gases disappear, as tears wash the agent from the eyes, and if the victim gets out of the tear gas atmosphere. Some, however, cause reddening or rarely even blistering of the skin when the weather is hot and wet.

Toxins

154. Staphylococcus toxin occurs naturally in outbreaks of food poisoning—which is the only medical experience with this toxin. The symptoms have a sudden, sometimes violent, onset, with severe nausea, vomiting and diarrhea. The time from ingestion of the toxin to the onset of symptoms is usually two to four hours. although it may be as short as a half hour. Most people recover in 24–48 hours and death is rare. Treatment is supportive and immunity, following an attack, is short-lived. The toxin is resistant to freezing, to boiling for thirty minutes, and to concentrations of chlorine used in the treatment of water. Staphylococcus toxin could be considered as an incapacitating chemical warfare agent. Symptoms can be produced in animals by intravenous injection, and the toxin may also be active by the respiratory route.

Psychochemicals

155. These substances have been suggested for use in war as agents which could cause temporary disability by disrupting normal patterns of behaviour. The idea cannot be accepted in its simple form, since these substances may lead to more permanent changes, particularly in individuals who are mentally unbalanced or who are in the early stages of a nervous and mental disease. Moreover, very high doses, which would be difficult to exclude during use in war, can cause irreversible damage to the central nervous system or even death. Psychochemicals could also have particularly severe effects on children.

156. Compounds such as LSD, mescaline, psilocybin, and a series of benzilates which cause mental disturbance—either stimulation, depression or hallucination—could be used as incapacitating agents. Mental disturbance is, of course, a very complex phenomenon, and the psychological state of the person exposed to a psychochemical, as well as the properties of the agent, would profoundly influence its manifestations. But, despite the variation in responses between individuals, all those affected could neither be expected to act rationally, nor to take the initiative, nor make logical decisions.

157. Psychochemicals do more than cause mental disturbance. For example, the general symptoms from the benzilates are interference with oridinary activity; dry, flushed skin; irregular heartbeat; urinary retention; constipation; slowing of mental and physical activity; headache, giddiness; disorientation; hallucinations; drowsiness; occasional maniacal behaviour; and increase in body temperature. While these effects have not been fully studied, there would be a significant risk of affected individuals, particularly military personnel, becoming secondary casualties due to unco-ordinated behaviour. A single dose of 0.1 to 0.2 mg LSD25 will produce profound mental disturbance within half an hour, the condition persisting for about ten hours. This dose is about a thousandth of the lethal dose.

158. Treatment of the symptoms of psychochemicals is mainly supportive. Permanent psychotic effects may occur in a very small proportion of individuals exposed to LSD.

159. It is extremely difficult to predict the effects which an attack with psychochemical agents would produce in a large population. Apart from the complication of the varying reaction of exposed individuals, there could be strange interactions within groups. A few affected individuals might stimulate their fellows to behave irrationally, in the same way as unaffected persons might to some extent offset the reactions of those affected. Since the probability of fatal casualties resulting directly from exposure is low, some normal group activity might be sustained. Protective makes would probably provide complete protection, since practically all potential psychochemical agents, if used as offensive weapons, would be disseminated as aerosols.

4. Other Effects of Chemical Agents

Effects on animals

160. The effects of lethal chemical agents on higher animals are, in general, similar to those on man. The nerve agents also kill insects.

Effects on plants

161. A variety of chemicals kill plants, but as already indicated, little is known about their long-term effects. The effective dose ranges of defoliants vary according to the particular species of plant attacked, its age, the meteorological conditions and the de-

sired effect: e.g., plant death or defoliation. The duration of effect usually lasts weeks or months. Some chemicals kill all plants indiscriminately, while others are selective. Most defoliants produce their effects within a few weeks, although a few species of plant are so sensitive that defoliation would occur in a period of days.

162. An application of defoliating herbicide (for example, the commonly used "2,4–D" and "2,4,5–T" which are the butyl esters of (2,4–dichlorophenoxy) acetic acid and (2,4,5–trichlorophenoxy) acetic acid) per acre (roughly 36 kg per hectare) can produce 65 per cent defoliation for six to nine months in very densely forested areas, but in some circumstances some species of trees will die. Significantly lower doses suffice for most agricultural and industrial uses throughout the world. Defoliation is, of course, a natural process—more common in trees in temperate zones than in the tropics. Essentially what defoliants do is trigger defoliation prematurely.

163. Desiccation (the drying out) of leaves results in some defoliation, although usually the leaf-drop is delayed, and the plant would not be killed without repeated application of the chemical. Chemical desiccants cause a rapid change in colour, usually within a few hours.

*B. The effects of bacteriological (biological) agents on individuals and populations*

164. Mankind has been spared any experience of modern bacteriological (biological) warfare, so that any discussion of its possible nature has to be based on extrapolation from epidemiological knowledge and laboratory experiment. The number of agents which potentially could be used in warfare is limited by the constraints detailed in chapter I. On the other hand, the variability which characterizes all living matter makes it conceivable that the application of modern knowledge of genetic processes and of selection could remove some of these limitations. Some species of micro-organisms consist of a number of strains characterized by different degrees of virulence, antigenic constitution, susceptibility to chemotherapeutic agents and so on. For example, strains of tularemia bacilli isolated in the United States are generally much more virulent in human beings than those found in Europe or Japan. Foot-and-mouth disease virus is another well-known example of an organism with various degrees of virulence. The situation with bacteriological (biological) weapons is thus quite different from that of chemical weapons, where the characteristics of a given compound are more specific.

1. Effects on Individuals

165. Bacteriological (biological) agents could be used with the intention of killing people or of incapacitating them either for a short or a long period. The agents, however, cannot be rigidly defined as either lethal or incapacitating, since their effects are dependent upon many factors relating not only to themselves but also to the individuals they attack. Any disease-producing agent intended to incapacitate may, under certain conditions, bring about a fatal disease. Similarly, attacks which might be intended to provoke lethal effects might fail to do so. Examples of naturally occurring lethal disease are shown in table 2 and representative incapacitating diseases in table 3. A detailed list of possible agents, with a brief description of their salient characteristics is given in annex C.

166. A number of natural diseases of man and domestic animals are caused by mixed infections (e.g., swine influenza, hog cholera). The possible use of two or more different organisms in combination in bacteriological (biological) warfare needs to be treated seriously because the resulting diseases might be aggravated or prolonged. In some instances, however, two agents might interfere with one another and reduce the severity of the illness they might cause separately.

167. The effects of some forms of bacteriological (biological) warfare can be mitigated by chemotherapeutic, chemoprophylactic and immunization measures (for protection see chapter I and annex C of this chapter). Specific chemotherapeutic measures are effective against certain diseases, but not against those caused by viruses. But it may not always be possible to apply such measures, and they might not always be successful. For example, with some diseases early therapy with antibiotics is usually successful, but relapses may occur. Moreover, resistance against antibiotics may develop in almost all groups of micro-organisms, and resistant strains may retain full virulence for man as well as for animals.

TABLE 2.—EXAMPLES OF AGENTS THAT MIGHT BE USED TO CAUSE DEATH

| Agents and diseases | Incubation period (days) | Effect of specific therapy | Likelihood of spread from man to man |
|---|---|---|---|
| Viruses: | | | |
| Eastern equine encephalitis | 5–15 | Nil | Nil.[1] |
| Tick-borne encephalitis | 7–14 | do | Do. |
| Yellow fever | 3–6 | do | Do. |
| Rickettsiae: | | | |
| Rocky Mountain spotted fever | 3–10 | Good | Do. |
| Epidemic typhus | 6–15 | do | Do. |
| Bacteria: | | | |
| Anthrax | 1–5 | Moderate. | Low. |
| Cholera | 1–5 | Good | High. |
| Plague, pneumonic | 2–5 | Moderate. | Do. |
| Tularemia | 1–10 | Good | Low. |
| Typhoid | 7–21 | do | High. |

[1] Unless vector present.

TABLE 3.—EXAMPLES OF AGENTS THAT MIGHT BE USED TO CAUSE INCAPACITATION

| Agents and diseases | Incubation period (days) | Effect of specific therapy | Likelihood of spread from man to man |
|---|---|---|---|
| Viruses: | | | |
| Chikungunya fever | 2–6 | Nil | Nil.[1] |
| Dengue fever | 5–8 | do | Do. |
| Venezuelan equine encephalitis | 2–5 | do | Do. |
| Rickettsiae: Q-fever | 10–21 | Good | Low. |
| Bacteria: Brucellosis | 7–21 | Moderate. | Nil. |
| Fungi: Coccidioidomycosis | 7–21 | Poor | Do. |

[1] Unless mosquito vector present.

Possible bacteriological (biological) agents

168. Victims of an attack by bacteriological (biological) weapons would, in effect, have contracted an infectious disease. The diseases would probably be known, but their symptoms might be clinically modified. For example, apart from the deliberate genetic modification of the organism, the portals of infection might be different from the natural routes, and the disease might be foreign to the geographical area in which it was deliberately spread. Possible bacteriological (biological) agents representing disease caused by the main groups of relevant micro-organism are:

169. *Anthrax:* Under natural conditions, anthrax is a disease of animals, the main source of infection for man being cattle and sheep. Its vernacular synonym "wool sorter's disease" indicates one way men used to contract the disease. Depending on the mechanism of transmission, a cutaneous (skin) form (contact infection), an intestinal form (alimentary infection), or pulmonary form (airborne infection) may develop. The lung or respiratory form is most severe, and unless early treatment with antibiotics is resorted to, death ensues within two-three days in nearly every case.

170. Antibiotic prophylaxis is possible, but would have to be prolonged for weeks, since it has been shown that monkeys exposed to anthrax aerosol die if antibiotic treatment is discontinued after ten days. In certain countries, several types of vaccines are employed, but their value has not been fully evaluated.

171. The anthrax bacillus forms very resistant spores, which live for many years in contaminated areas, and which constitute the most dangerous risk the disease presents. From epidemiological observations, the inhalation infectious dose for man is estimated at 20,000 spores. Experiments on animals show that anthrax can be combined with influenza infection or with some noxious chemical agent, and that the susceptibility of the animal to airborne anthrax infection is then markedly enhanced.

172. With suitable expertise and equipment large masses of anthrax bacilli can be easily grown, and heavy concentrations of resistant anthrax spore aerosols can be made. Such aerosols could result in a high proportion of deaths in a heavily exposed population. Immunization could not be expected to protect against a heavy aerosol attack. The soil would remain contaminated for a very long time, and so threaten live-stock farming.

173. *Coccidioidomycosis:* This disease, which is also called desert fever, is caused by a fungus in the soil of deserts in the United States, South America and the USSR. The spores of the fungus are very stable, and can easily be disseminated as an aerosol. If they are inhaled, pneumonia with fever, cough, ague and night-sweating, and muscle pains follow after an incubation period of one-three weeks. In most cases, recovery from the disease occurs after some weeks of illness. An allergic rash sometimes breaks out during the first or second week of the illness, and can be significant for proper diagnosis. Treatment presents great difficulties.

174. *Plague:* Under natural conditions, small rodents, from which the disease is transmitted by fleas, are the main source of human infection with plague. This is how "bubonic" plague develops. If the plague microbes are inhaled, pneumonic plague develops after a three-to-five-day incubation period. The patient suffers from severe general symptoms and if untreated, normally dies within two to three days. A patient with pneumonic plague is extremely contagious to contacts.

175. Preventive vaccination is moderately effective against bubonic, but not pneumonic plague. If administered early, streptomycin treatment may be successful.

176. In a study of experimental pulmonary plague in monkeys, it was found that an average dose of only 100 bacteria caused fatal disease in half the animals tested. Animal experiments have also shown that particles of 1 micrometre diameter (1.25,000 of an inch), containing single microbial cells, can cause primary pneumonia, with a rapid and fatal outcome. If the aerosal is formed by larger particles (5–10 micrometres diameter), microbial cells are deposited in the nose and other regions of the upper respiratory tract, and primary foci of the disease develop in the corresponding lymphatic nodes. A fatal generalized infection may then follow.

177. A large mass of plague bacteria could be grown, and probably lyophilized (freeze-dried) and kept in storage. The agent is highly infectious by the aerosol route and most populations are completely susceptible. An effective vaccine against this type of disease is not known. Infection might also be transmitted to urban and/or field rodents and natural foci of plague may be created.

178. *Q-fever:* Under natural conditions, Q-fever is a disease of animals, the main sources of infection to man being sheep,

goats and cattle. The infection is transmitted most frequently by the air route.

179. An incubation period of two to three weeks follows the inhalation of the infectious material. A severe attack of an influenza-like illness follows, with high fever, malaise, joint and muscle pains, which may be followed in five to six days by pneumonia. In untreated cases, the illness lasts two to three weeks; the patient feels exhausted and is unable to do normal work for several weeks. But the disease can be successfully treated with broad spectrum antibiotics (tetracyclines). Prophylactic vaccines have been prepared in some countries, but have not yet been proved suitable for large-scale use.

180. The agent causing the disease is a rickettsia, and is extremely infectious for man. An epidemic of Q-fever once occurred due to contaminated dust which was carried by the wind from a rendering plant some ten kilometres away. Q-fever is also a common and significant laboratory hazard, even though it is only rarely transmitted from man to man. The high susceptibility of humans to this agent has been demonstrated in volunteers.

181. Q-fever rickettsiae are extraordinarily resistant to environmental factors such as temperature and humidity. Very large amounts can be produced in embryonated chicken eggs (20,000 million micro-organisms per millilitre) and can be stored for a long period of time. A Q-fever aerosol could produce an incapacitating effect in a large proportion of the population of an attacked area. The infective agent could persist in the environment for months and infect animals, possibly creating natural foci of infection.

182. *Tularemia:* Under natural conditions, tularemia is a disease of wild animals, the source of human infection being rodents, especially rabbits and hares. When it occurs naturally in human beings, who are very susceptible to the disease, skin lesions with swelling of the lymph nodes are its usual manifestation (infection by contact with sick or dead animals, or by way of ticks and other vectors). Infection can also occur through the eye and the gastro-intestinal tract. The pulmonary form (airborne infection) is the more serious. Pulmonary tularemia is associated with general pain, irritant cough, general malaise, etc., but in Europe and Japan mortality due to this form of the disease was never higher than 1 per cent even before antibiotics became available. American tularemia strains, on the other hand, are much more dangerous: some epidemics have been associated with a mortality rate as high as 20 per cent, despite antibiotic treatment. Usually treatment with streptomycin or tetracyclines is highly effective. A tularemia vaccine developed in the Soviet Union is also highly effective.

183. The agent causing the disease is a microbe which is very sensitive to common disinfectants, but which is able to survive for as long as a few weeks in contaminated dust, water, etc.

184. Aerosols of tularemia have been tested on volunteers. The inhalation infectious dose for man is about ten to twenty-five microbes, and the incubation period five days. By increasing the inhaled dose a hundred times, the incubation periods shortens to two to three days. Owning to its easy aerosol transmission, tularemia has often infected laboratory workers.

185. The microbiological characteristics are similar to those of the plague bacillis (although antibiotic treatment and vaccination prophylaxis are effective). Both lethal and incapacitating effects are to be expected. The disease is not transferred from man to man, but long-lasting natural foci might be created.

186. *Venezuelan equine encephalitis virus (VEE)*: In nature, VEE is an infection of animals (equines, rodents, birds) transmitted to man through mosquitos which have fed on infected animals.

187. The disease has sudden onset, with headache, chills and fever, nausea and vomiting, muscle and bone pains, with encephalitis occurring in a very small proportion of cases. The mortality rate is very low and recovery is usually rapid after a week, with residual weakness often persisting for three weeks. No specific therapy is available. The vaccine is still in the experimental stage.

188. Numerous laboratory infections in humans have been reported, most of them airborne. In laboratory experiments, monkeys were infected with aerosolized virus at relatively low concentrations (about 1,000 guinea pig infectious doses).

189. Since the virus can be produced in large amounts in tissue culture or embryonated eggs, and since airborne infection readily occurs in laboratory workers, concentrated aerosols could be expected to incapacitate a very high percentage of the population exposed. In some areas, persistent endemic infection in wild animals would be established.

190. *Yellow fever:* In nature, yellow fever is primarily a virus disease of monkeys, transmitted to man by a variety of mosquitos (*Aedes aegypti, Aedes simpsoni, Hemagogus* species, etc.) After an incubation period of three-six days, influenza-like symptoms appear with high fever, restlessness and nausea. Later the liver and the kidneys may be seriously affected, with jaundice and diminished urinary excretion supervening. The very severe forms end in black vomitus and death. In a non-immune population, mortality rates for yellow fever may be as high as 30–40 per cent. There is no specific treatment, but prophylactic vaccination, being highly effective, is widely used in yellow fever endemic areas.

2. Effects on Populations

191. Other than for sabotage, the use of aerosol clouds of an agent is the most likely form of attack in bacteriological (biological) warfare. For example, material can be produced containing infective micro-organisms at a concentration of 10,000 million per gram. Let us suppose that an aircraft were to spray such material so as to produce an aerosol line source 100 kilometres in length across a 10 kilometre per hour wind. Then, assuming that 10 per cent of organisms survived aerosolization, and that subsequent environmental stresses caused them to die at a rate of 5 per cent per minute, about 5,000 square kilometres would be covered at a concentration such that 50 per cent of the unprotected people in the area would have inhaled a dose sufficient to infect them, assuming that the infective dose is about 100 micro-organisms per person. This particular calculation is valid for agents such as those which cause tularemia, plague, as well as for some viruses. The decay rate of the causative agents of Q-fever, anthrax and some other infections is much lower and the expected effect would be still greater.

192. The effects of bacteriological (biological) attacks would obviously vary according to circumstances. Military personnel equipped with adequate protective measures, well trained in their use and provided with good medical services could, if warned of an attack, be able to protect themselves to a considerable degree. But effective early warning and detection systems do not yet exist. On the other hand, attacks on civil populations are likely to be covert and by surprise and, at present no civilian populations are protected. Unprotected military or civilian personnel would be at complete risk, and panic and irrational behaviour would complicate the effects of the attack. The heavy burden which would be imposed on the medical services of the attacked region would compound disorganization, and there would be a major risk of the total disruption of all administrative services.

193. In view of the extensive anti-personnel effects associated with agents of the kind with which this report is concerned, it is useful to view them against the area of effect of a one-megaton nuclear explosion, which as is well recognized, would be sufficient to destroy utterly a town with a population of a million. It should of course be emphasized that direct comparisons of the effects of different classes of weapons are, at best, hypothetical exercises. From the military point of view, effectiveness of a weapon cannot be measured just in terms of areas of devastation or numbers of casualties. The final criterion will always be whether a specific military objective can be achieved with one than another set of weapons. The basic hypotheses chosen for the comparison are rather artificial; and in particular, environmental factors are ignored. But despite this limitation, table 4 gives data that help to place chemical, bacteriological (biological) and nuclear weapons in some perspective as to size of target area, numbers of casualties inflicted, and cost estimates for development and production of each type of weapon. The figures speak for themselves.

TABLE 4.—COMPARATIVE ESTIMATES OF DISABLING EFFECTS OF HYPOTHETICAL ATTACKS ON TOTALLY UNPROTECTED POPULATIONS USING A NUCLEAR, CHEMICAL, OR BACTERIOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL) WEAPON THAT COULD BE CARRIED BY A SINGLE STRATEGIC BOMBER

| Criterion for estimate | Type of weapon | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Nuclear (1 megaton) | Chemical (15 tons of nerve agent) | Bacteriological (biological) (10 tons [a]) |
| Area affected | Up to 300 km² | Up to 60 km² | Up to 100,000 km². |
| Time delay before onset of effect | Seconds | Minutes | Days. |
| Damage to structures | Destruction over an area of 100 km.² | None | None. |
| Other effects | Radioactive contamination in an area of 2,500 km² for 3 to 6 months. | Contamination by persistence of agent from a few days to weeks. | Possible epidemic or establishment of new endemic foci of disease. |
| Possibility of later normal use of affected area after attack. | 3 to 6 months after attack | Limited during period of contamination. | After end of incubation period or subsidence of epidemic. |
| Maximum effect on man | 90 percent deaths | 50 percent deaths | 50 percent morbidity; 25 percent deaths if no medical intervention. |
| Multiyear investment in substantial research and development production capability.[b] | $5,000 to $10,000 million | $1,00 to $5,000 million | $1,000 to $5,000 million. |

[a] It is assumed that mortality from the disease caused by the agent would be 50 percent if no medical treatment were available.
[b] It is assumed that indicated cumulative investments in research and development and production plants have been made to achieve a substantial independent capability. Individual weapons could be fabricated without making this total investment.

3. Effects on Animals

194. The way bacteriological (biological) weapons might be used against stocks of domestic animals would probably be the same as that used in attacks against man. Representative diseases and their characteristics are shown in table 5.

195. Viral infections probably cause the most important diseases of domestic animals and could have more devastating effects than diseases produced by other types of pathogens. Since many of the organisms which cause infectious diseases in domestic animals are also pathogenic for man, and since some

of them may also be readily transmitted from animals to man, either directly or by vectors, such attacks might also affect the human population directly. Attacks upon livestock would not only result in the immediate death of animals, but also might call for compulsory slaughter as a means of preventing the spread of infection.

196. Covert bacteriological (biological) attack during peacetime directed against domestic animals could give rise to serious political and economic repercussions if large numbers of stock were affected. For example, African swine fever occurs endemically on the African continent as a subclinical disease of warthogs. In 1957 it was accidentally brought from Angola to Portugal, and then in 1960 to Spain. Despite strict and extensive veterinary measures that were enforced, losses in pig breeds were estimated to amount within a single year to more than $9,000,000.

197. Isolated attacks against stocks of domestic animals during wartime would have only a nuisance value. However, if a highly infectious agent (e.g., foot-and-mouth disease) were used, even a local attack could have very widespread effects because of spread by the normal commercial movement of animals, particularly in highly developed countries. Extensive attacks with traveling clouds could, however, lead to a disastrous state of affairs. The history of myxamatosis (a rabbit disease) in Europe provides a parallel. Not only did it drastically reduce the rabbit population in France, into which it was first introduced; it immediately spread to other countries of Europe, including the United Kingdom. The risk of the uncontrolled spread of infection to a number of countries is an important consideration in the use of some bacteriological (biological) weapons.

198. The possibilities of protecting domestic animal stocks against bacteriological (biological) attacks are so remote that they are not worth discussing.

TABLE 5.—EXAMPLES OF DISEASES THAT MIGHT BE USED TO ATTACK DOMESTIC ANIMALS

| Disease | Animals attacked |
|---|---|
| Viruses: | |
| African swine fever | Hogs. |
| Equine encephalitis | Horses. |
| Foot-and-mouth disease. | Cattle, sheep, hogs. |
| Fowl plague | Chickens, turkeys. |
| Hog cholera | Hogs. |
| Newcastle disease | Chickens, turkeys. |
| Rift Valley fever | Cattle, goats, sheep. |
| Rinderpest | Cattle, sheep, oxen, goats, water buffaloes. |
| Vesicular stomatitis | Cattle, horses, mules, hogs. |
| Rickettsiae: | |
| Veldt disease | Cattle, sheep, goats. |
| Q-fever | Do. |
| Bacteria: | |
| Anthrax | Cattle, sheep, horses, mules. |
| Brucellosis | Cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, horses. |
| Glanders | Horses, mules. |
| Fungi: | |
| Lumpy jaw | Cattle, horses, hogs. |
| Aspergillosis | Poultry, cattle. |

4. Effects on Plants

199. Living micro-organisms could also be used to generate diseases in crops which are economically important either as food or as raw material (e.g., cotton and rubber). Significant food crops in this respect include potatoes, sugar-beet, garden vegetables, soya beans, sorghum, rice, corn, wheat and other cereals and fruits. Obviously the selection of the target for a biological attack would be determined by the relative importance of the crop in the national diet and economy. Deliberately induced epiphytotics (plant disease epidemics) could in theory have serious national and international consequences.

200. The fungal, bacterial, or viral agents which could be used against plants are shown in table 6.

TABLE 6.—EXAMPLES OF DISEASES THAT MIGHT BE USED TO ATTACK PLANTS

| | Diseases | Likelihood of spread |
|---|---|---|
| Viruses | Corn stunt | High. |
| | Hoja blanca (rice) | Do. |
| | Fiji disease (sugarcane) | Do. |
| | Sugar beet curly top | Do. |
| | Potato yellow dwarf | Do. |
| Bacteria | Leaf blight (rice) | Do. |
| | Blight of corn | Do. |
| | Gummosis of sugarcane | Low. |
| Fungi | Late blight (potato) | Very high. |
| | Cereal rusts | Do. |
| | Rice blast | Do. |
| | Corn rust | High. |
| | Coffee rust | Very high. |

201. With a few minor exceptions, the plant viruses could be cultured only in living plant systems, the casual agent being found only in the plant tissues and juices. Virus diseases are transmitted principally by insect vectors and to some extent by mechanical means.

202. Bacterial agents which attack plants can persist for months on or in the plants. All of them can be cultured on artificial media. Normally, plant bacteria are not disseminated to any great extent by winds; the principal methods for spread in nature are insects, animals (including man) and water. Rain can spread bacteria locally, while insects and animals are responsible for their more extensive spread. It is conceivable that bacterial plant pathogens could be adapted for deliberate aerial dissemination.

203. Plant fungi, which causes some of the most devastating diseases of important agricultural crops, are disseminated mainly by winds, but also by insects, animals, water and man. Many fungal pathogens produce and liberate into the air countless numbers of small, hardy spores which are able to withstand adverse climatic conditions. The epidemic potential of a number of fungal pathogens is considerable.

204. In theory there are measures which could protect crops against bacteriological (biological) attacks; but at present their potential cost rules them out in practice. There is no essential difference between the counter-measures which would have to be introduced to counter bacteriological (biological) weapons and those employed normally to control plant diseases in peacetime. But the use of bacteriological (biological) weapons to destroy crops on a large scale would imply that the attacker would choose agents capable of overcoming any known, economical method of protection. Advanced countries might, as a precautionary measure exchange susceptible plants by more resistant strains. This would be difficult for countries whose agricultural standards were not high, and which would be the most vulnerable to bacteriological (biological) attacks on their crops.

5. Factors Influencing the Effects of Bacteriological (Biological) Attacks

Exotic diseases

205. Any country which resorted to bacteriological (biological) warfare would presumably try to infect, with a single blow, a large proportion of an enemy population with an exotic agent to which they had not become immune through previous exposure. Such exotic agents would lead to the appearance of diseases which normally had not occurred before in a given geographical area, either because of the absence of the organism involved (e.g., foot-and-mouth disease in North America or Japan), and/or of natural vectors (e.g., Japanese or Venezuelan encephalitis in Europe, Rocky Mountain spotted fever in many countries). In addition, a disease which had been controlled or eradicated from an area (e.g., urban or classical yellow fever from many tropical and sub-tropical countries, epidemic typhus from developed countries) might be reintroduced as a result of bacteriological (biological) warfare.

Altered or new diseases

206. Deliberate genetic steps might also be taken to change the properties of infectious agents, especially in antigenic composition and drug resistance. Apart from genetic changes that could be induced in known organisms, it is to be expected that new infectious diseases will appear naturally from time to time and that their causative agents might be used in war. However, it could not therefore be assumed that every outbreak of an exotic or new disease would necessarily be a consequence of a bacteriological (biological) attack. The Marburg disease, which broke out suddenly in 1967 in Marburg, Frankfurt and Belgrade, was a good example. It was acquired by laboratory workers who had handled blood or other tissues of vervet monkeys which had been recently caught in the wild, and by others who came into contact with them. Because the outbreak occurred in medical laboratories it was very skillfully handled. In other circumstances, it might have spread widely before it was controlled.

Epidemic spread

207. As already emphasized, a wide variety of agents can infect by the inhalation route, so that in a bacteriological (biological) attack a large number of persons could be infected within a short time. From the epidemiological point of view, the consequences would differ depending on whether the resultant disease was or was not transmissible from man to man. In the latter case the result would be a once-for-all disaster, varying in scale and lethality according to the nature of the organism used and the numbers of people affected. The attack would undoubtedly have a strong demoralizing effect on the unaffected as well as the affected population, and it would be in the nature of things that there would be a breakdown of medical services.

208. If the induced disease were easily transmissible from man to man, and if it was one against which the population had not been effectively immunized, it is possible to imgine what could happen by recalling, say, the periodical appearance of new varieties of influenza virus, e.g. the 1957 influenza pandemic. In Czechoslovakia (population about 14 million), 1,500,000 influenza patients were actually reported; the probable total number was 2,500,000. About 50 per cent of the sick were people in employment and their average period away from work was six days. Complications necessitating further treatment developed in 5–6 per thousand of the cases, and about 0.2 per thousand died. Those who are old enough to remember the 1918 influenza pandemic, which swept over most of the world, will judge the 1957 outbreak as a mild affair.

Susceptibility of population

209. A very important factor in the effectiveness of an aerosol attack is the state of immunity of the target population. Where the population is completely lacking in specific immunity to the agent which is disseminated, the incidence and severity of disease are likely to be exceptionally high. Naturally occurring examples of very severe epidemics in virgin populations are well known (e.g. measles in Fiji, poliomyelitis and influenza in the Arctic). A similar result follows the introduction of a susceptible population (often a military force) into an already infected area. Thus there was a high prevalence of dengue fever in military forces operating in the Pacific in World War II—sometimes affecting as many as 25 percent of the operational strength of a unit. The local population suffered relatively little

from the disease because they had usually been infected early in life, and were subsequently immune.

Populations of increased vulnerability

210. Malnutrition: Recent statistical studies reveal a clear association between malnutrition and the incidence of infectious diseases. FAO, WHO and UNICEF have pointed out that in developing countries, a shortage of nutritious food is a major factor in the high mortality rate due to infectious diseases, particularly in children.

211. *Housing and clothing:* Primitive housing and inadequate clothing would lead to an increased vulnerability to bacteriological (biological) and more particularly chemical weapons. Millions of people live in houses which are permeable to any sort of airborne infection or poison, and millions are inadequately clothed and walk barefooted.

212. Other conditions which characterize poor populations have a definite influence on the spread of infections. Large families increase the opportunities for contagious contact. Inadequate housing, lack of potable water and, in general, bad sanitation, a low educational level, numerous vectors of infectious disease (e.g. insects), and, of course, a lack of medical services are factors which also favour the spread of disease. The agents used might also persist in the soil, on crops, grasses, etc., so that delayed action might need to be taken into account.

Social effects and public health measures

213. A basic factor which influences the risk of epidemic situation during every war is a rapid impairment of standards of hygiene. Widespread destruction of housing and of sanitary facilities (water works, water piping, waste disposal, etc.), the inevitable decline in personal hygiene, and other difficulties, create exceptionally favorable conditions for the spread of intestinal infections, or louse-transmitted disease, etc.

214. The importance of adequate public health services is well illustrated by an explosive water-borne epidemic of infectious hepatitis in Delhi in 1955–1956, which affected some 30,000 persons, and which occurred because routine water treatment was ineffective. This epidemic was caused by the penetration into the water supply of waste waters heavily contaminated with hepatitis virus. However, there was no concurrent increase in the incidence of bacillary dysentery and typhoid fever, showing that the routine treatment of the water had been adequate to prevent bacterial but not viral infections.

215. Air streams, migrating animals and running water may transport agents from one country to the other. Refugees with contagious diseases pose legal and epidemiological problems. In areas with multinational economies, losses in livestock and crops may occur in neighbouring countries by the spread of the disease through regional commerce.

216. The experiences from fairly recent smallpox epidemics can also be used to illustrate the social effects of an accidentally introduced, highly dangerous airborne infection. In New York (1947) one patient started an epidemic, in which twelve persons became ill and two died. Within a month more than 5 million persons were revaccinated. Similarly in Moscow, in January 1960, a smallpox epidemic of forty-six cases (of whom three died) developed, caused by a single patient. At that time 5,500 vaccination teams were set up and vaccinated 6,372,376 persons within a week. Several hundreds of other health workers searched a large area of the country for contacts (9,000 persons were kept under medical supervision, of these 662 had to be hospitalized as smallpox suspects).

ANNEX A.—CHEMICAL PROPERTIES, FORMULATIONS, AND TOXICITIES OF LETHAL CHEMICAL AGENTS (EXCERPT FROM MATERIAL SUPPLIED BY WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION)

[Key to table: 1—trivial name; 2—military classification; 3—approximate solubility in water at 20° C.; 4—volatility at 20° C.; 5—physical state (a) at −10° C., (b) at 20° C.; 6—approximate duration of hazard (contact, or airborne following evaporation) to be expected from ground contamination: (a) 10° C., rainy, moderate wind, (b) 15° C., sunny, light breeze, (c) −10° C., sunny, no wind, settled snow; 7—casualty-producing dosages (lethal or significant incapacitating effects); 8—estimated human respiratory $LCt_{50}$ (mild activity: breathing rate ca. 15 litres/min.); 9—estimated human percutaneous toxicity]

| 1 | Sarin | VX | Hydrogen cyanide | Cyanogen chloride | Phosgene | Mustard gas | Botulinal toxin A |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | Lethal agent (nerve gas) | Lethal agent (nerve gas) | Lethal agent (blood gas) | Lethal agent (blood gas) | Lethal agent (lung irritant). | Lethal agent (vesicant) | Lethal agent. |
| 3 | 100 percent | 1 to 5 percent | 100 percent | 6 to 7 percent | Hydrolysed | 0.05 percent | Soluble. |
| 4 | 12,100 mg/m³ | 3 to 18 mg/m³ | 873,000 mg/m³ | 3,300,000 mg/m³ | 6,370,000 mg/m³ | 630 mg/m³ | Negligible. |
| 5 (a) | Liquid | Liquid | Liquid | Solid | Liquid | Solid | Solid. |
| (b) | Liquid | Liquid | Liquid | Vapour | Vapour | Liquid | Solid. |
| 6 (a) | ¼ to 1 hour | 1 to 12 hours | Few minutes | Few minutes | Few minutes | 12 to 48 hours | |
| (b) | ¼ to 4 hours | 3 to 21 days | Few minutes | Few minutes | Few minutes | 2 to 7 days | |
| (c) | 1 to 2 days | 1 to 16 weeks | 1 to 4 hours | ¼ to 4 hours | ¼ to 1 hour | 2 to 8 weeks | |
| 7 | >5 mg-min/m³ | >0.5 mg-min/m³ | >2,000 mg-min/m³ | >7,000 mg-min/m³ | >1,600 mg-min/m³ | >100 mg-min/m³ | 0.001 mg (oral). |
| 8 | 100 mg-min/m³ | 10 mg-min/m³ | 5,000 mg-min/m³ | 11,000 mg-min/m³ | 3,200 mg-min/m³ | 1,500 mg-min/m³ | 0.02 mg-min/m³. |
| 9 | 1,500 mg/man | 6 mg/man | | | | 4,500 mg/man [1] | |

[1] A drop of mustard weighing a few mgs can produce a serious blister which will be incapacitating if it interferes with the normal activities of an individual.

*Annex B. Tear and harassing gases*

Three parameters will be used to qualify the effects of tear gases. These are defined as follows:

*Threshold of irritation* is the atmospheric concentration of the substance (in mg per m³), which, in one minute of exposure, causes irritation.

*Tolerance limit* is the highest atmospheric concentration (in mg per m³) which a test subject can tolerate during one minute of exposure.

*Lethal index* is a dosage, and thus the product of the concentration in the air (in mg per m³) and the time of exposure (in minutes), which causes mortality. Data for various tear gases are given in the following table.

The data given under "Lethal index" are from animal experiments with various species.

| Tear gas | Threshold of irritation (mg./m.³) | Tolerance limit (mg./m.³) | Lethal index (mg. min./m.³) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Adamside (DM) | 0.1 | 2– 5 | 15,000–30,000 |
| Ethyl Bromacetate | 5.0 | 5–50 | 25,000 |
| Bromacetone | 1.5 | 10 | 30,000 |
| Omega-Chloracetophenone (CN) | .30–1.5 | 5–15 | 8,500–25,000 |
| O-Chlorbenzylidene malononitrile (CS) | .05–.1 | 1– 5 | 40,000–75,000 |

ANNEX C.—SOME BIOLOGICAL AGENTS THAT MAY BE USED TO ATTACK MAN

| Disease | Infectivity [1] | Transmissibility [2] | Incubation period [3] | Duration of illness [3] | Mortality [3] | Antibiotic therapy | Vaccination [4] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Viral: | | | | | | | |
| Chikungunya fever | Probably high | None | R to 6 days | 2 weeks—a few months. | Very low (<1 percent). | None | None. |
| Dengue fever | High | do | 5 to 8 days | A few days to weeks | Very low (<1 percent). | do | Do. |
| Eastern equine encephalitis | do | do | 5 to 15 days | 1 to 3 weeks | High (>60 percent) | do | Under development. |
| Tick-borne encephalitis | do | do | 1 to 2 weeks | 1 week to a few months. | Variable up to 30 percent. | do | Do. |
| Venezuelan equine encephalitis | do | do | 2 to 5 days | 3 to 10 days | Low (<1 percent) | do | Do. |
| Influenza | do | High | 1 to 3 days | do | Usually low, except for complicated cases. | do | Available. |
| Yellow fever | do | None | 3 to 6 days | 1 to 2 weeks | High (up to 40 percent). | do | Do. |
| Smallpox | do | High | 7 to 16 days | 12 to 24 days | Variable but usually high (up to 30 percent). | do | Do. |
| Rickettsial: | | | | | | | |
| Q-fever | do | None or negligible | 10 to 21 days (sometimes shorter). | 1 to 3 weeks | Low (usually 1 percent). | Effective | Under development. |
| Psittacosis | do | Moderately high | 4 to 15 days | 1—several weeks | Moderately high | do | None. |
| Rocky Mountain spotted fever | do | None | 3 to 10 days | 2 weeks to several months. | Usually high (up to 80 percent.) | do | Under development. |
| Epidemic typhus | do | do | 6 to 15 days | A few weeks to months. | Variable but usually high (up to 70 percent). | do | Available. |

See footnote at end of table.

ANNEX C.—SOME BIOLOGICAL AGENTS THAT MAY BE USED TO ATTACK MAN—Continued

| Disease | Infectivity [1] | Transmissibility [2] | Incubation period [3] | Duration of illness [3] | Mortality [3] | Antibiotic therapy | Vaccination [4] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bacterial: | | | | | | | |
| Anthrax (pulmonary) | Moderately high | Negligible | 1 to 5 days | 3 to 5 days | Almost invariably fatal. | Effective if given very early. | Do. |
| Brucellosis | High | None | 1 to 3 weeks | Several weeks to months. | Low (<5 percent) | Moderately effective. | Under development. |
| Cholera | Low | High | 1 to 5 days | 1 to several weeks | Usually high (up to 80 percent). | do | Available. |
| Glanders | High | None | 2 to 14 days | 4 to 6 weeks | Almost invariably fatal. | Little effective | None. |
| Melioidosis | do | do | 1 to 5 days | 4 to 20 days | Almost 100 percent fatal. | Moderately effective | Do. |
| Plague (pneumonic) | do | High | 2 to 5 days | 1 to 2 days | do | Moderately effective if given early. | Available. |
| Tularemia | do | Negligible | 1 to 10 days | 2 to several weeks | Usually low sometimes high (up to 60 percent). | Effective | Do. |
| Typhoid fever | Moderately high | Moderately high | 1 to 3 weeks | A few to several weeks. | Moderately high (up to 10 percent). | Moderately effective | Do. |
| Dysentery | High | High | 1 to 3 days | A few days to weeks | Low to moderately high depending on strain. | Effective | None. |
| Fungal: Coccidioido mycosis | do | None | 1 to 3 weeks | A few weeks to months. | Low | None | Do. |

[1] Infectivity: Indicates the potency of the parasite to penetrate and multiply in the host's organism, regardless of the clinical manifestation of illness. In fact, there are several agents by which the great majority of the exposed population will be infected without developing clinical symptoms.

[2] Transmissibility: This refers to direct transmission from man to man without the intervention of any arthropod vector.

[3] The figures listed under incubation period, duration of disease, and mortality are based on epidemiological data. They vary, according to variations in virulence and dose of the infecting agent, resistance of the host, and many other factors. It also should be noted that, if the agents concerned, would be deliberately spread in massive concentrations as agents of warfare, the incubation periods might be shorter and the resulting symptoms more serious. As to mortality, thirefers to the ratio between the number of fatalities to the number of diseased (not to that of ins fected) individuals, if no treatment is given.

[4] The availability of vaccines is no indication of their degree of effectiveness.

CHAPTER III. ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS AFFECTING THE USE OF CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL) WEAPONS

*A. General considerations*

217. Extraneous factors influence the behaviour of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons to a far greater extent than they do any other kind of armament. Some, such as wind and rain, relate to the state of the physical environment, and to a certain extent can be evaluated quantitatively. Others, which reflect the general ecological situation, and the living conditions and physiological state of the populations exposed to the effects of the weapons, are more difficult to define; their influence—though they could be considerable—cannot be quantified.

218. This limitation applies particularly to bacteriological (biological) weapons. The natural course of infectious diseases—for example in influenza epidemics—shows that they are governed by so many uncontrollable factors that the way they develop cannot as a rule be foreseen. This would also be probably true of pathogenic agents which were deliberately dispersed. On the other hand, the knowledge gained through the study of epidemiology, and in the study of artificial dispersions of bacteriological (biological) agents, both in the laboratory and the field, has shed some light on some of the factors concerned.

219. The ecological problem is the main theme of chapter IV. The factors which concern the variability of the human target, e.g. physiological and living conditions, and levels of protection, have already been described in chapters I and II. This chapter is concerned with the physical environment (climate, terrain).

1. Phenomena Associated With the Dispersal of Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Agents

220. It has already been pointed out that chemical substances and living organisms capable of being used as weapons are extremely varied in their nature and in their effects. On the other hand, regarded solely from the standpoint of their physical state after dispersion in the atmosphere, they can clearly be placed in one or other of the following categories:

Liquid drops and droplets of varying size; (diameters greater than about 10 Microns)

More or less finely divided liquid and solid aerosols; (diameters less than about 10 microns)

Vapours.

221. Almost always, moreover, especially in the case of liquid chemical agents, the result of dispersion is a mixture of these different phases; thus, a liquid dispersed by an explosive charge gives rise to a mixture of aerosol and vapour, while aerial spraying may produce a mixture of droplets and aerosols. Solid chemical substances will be in aerosol form, and this will also be true, as has already been pointed out, of bacteriological (biological) agents.

222. Thus, chemical attacks would usually take effect simultaneously in two forms (fig. 1)—not printed in RECORD.

Contamination of the ground at, and in the immediate vicinity of, the target by direct deposition of the agent at the time of dispersion, and by subsequent settling of large particles;

Formation of a toxic cloud consisting of fine particles or droplets, of aerosol, and possibly of vapour.

223. Most bacteriological (biological) attacks would be designed primarily to create an infectious aerosol as an inhalation hazard. Some ground contamination might, however, also result when infectious particles settled on the ground.

224. Both ground contamination and toxic or infectious clouds would be immediately subject to the physical action of the atmosphere.

225. If the soil contaminants were liquid chemical agents, they would either evaporate, producing a sustained secondary cloud, or be absorbed by the ground, or diluted or destroyed by atmospheric precipitation. If they were solid agents, whether chemical or biological, they might be returned to a state of suspension by air currents, and perhaps carried out of the initially contaminated zone.

226. As it becomes formed, the toxic or infectious cloud is immediately exposed to atmospheric factors, and is straightaway carried along by air currents. At the same time, the particles within it are deposited at different rates according to their mass, and reach the ground at varying distances from the point of emission, depending on wind velocity (up to several kilometres in the case of particles less than a few tens of microns in diameter). The mechanically stable fraction of the aerosol (particles under 5 microns in diameter) remains in suspension, and may be carried along for considerable distances.

*B. The influence of atmospheric factors on clouds of aerosols or vapours*

227. The movement of a toxic or infectious cloud after its formation depends chiefly on the combined effects of wind and atmospheric conditions. The cloud is carried a longer or shorter distance by the wind; at the same time it is dispersed and diluted at a faster or slower rate by turbulence of the atmosphere and by local disturbances of mechanical origin resulting from the roughness of the ground.

228. The cloud may rise rapidly in the atmosphere or remain in the immediate vicinity of the ground, thus retaining its destructive power for a greater or lesser time depending on whether the air layer in which it is released is in a stable or unstable state.

1. State of the Atmosphere

229. The state of the atmosphere plays such an important role in the behavior of aerosol clouds that one might almost say that it is the predominant factor in determining the outcome of an attack, the effect of which could be considerably reduced, or almost nullified, were the atmosphere very unstable, or very serious if it was in a state of pronounced or prolonged stability. For this reason the mechanisms governing the turbulent movements of air, caused by differences in temperature between superimposed air layers require some explanation.

230. Disregarding the frictional layer of air close to the ground, where mechanical turbulence resulting from friction between the air and the rough ground over which it moves creates special conditions, air temperature in the troposphere decreases on average at the rate of 0.64°C for every 100 metres of altitude. Very frequently, however, as a result of thermal exchange between the air and the ground, a cooler air layer may be formed beneath a mass of hot light air; in such conditions, the lower air layer, with its greater density, does not tend to rise and the atmosphere is said to be in "stable equilibrium".

231. The situation, in which the vertical temperature gradient becomes inverted, is known as "temperature inversion", while the air layer affected by the phenomenon is termed as "inversion layer". When present it is eminently favourable to the persistence of toxic clouds.

232. After a day of sunshine, the surface of the ground cools rapidly, with the result that the layer of air close to the ground cools more rapidly than those above it. Both the

intensity of the inversion and the thickness of the air layer involved increase to a maximum toward 4 a.m., and then decrease again, finally disappearing shortly after sunrise. This variation is very marked when the sky is clear, and in favorable conditions the inversion may last from fourteen to eighteen hours a day, depending on the season.

233. Very often, however, especially in winter or in overcast weather, when the rays of the sun are not sufficiently intense to heat the surface of the ground, the temperature inversion may last for several days. This condition has characterized all the disasters caused by industrial pollution; for example, the smog which claimed 4,000 victims in London in 1952 took its toll during a period of atmospheric stability which lasted for seven days.

234. Figure 2 shows the evolution of a toxic cloud depending on the state of the atmosphere.

235. Apart from this kind of low-altitude inversion, which is most important in the context of this report since it governs the behaviour of toxic clouds released close to the ground, a similar process may take place on a large scale at higher altitudes (hundreds or thousands of metres) whenever a cool air layer is formed beneath a hot air mass. This may take place over large, cold expanses (i.e. large expanses of land or sea, cloud or fog masses, etc.). Because of the high altitude at which they form, these inversion layers have little effect on toxic clouds released at ground level; but in the case of the long-distance transfer of spores they may act as a screen or reflector.

236. The configuration of the surface of the earth in a particular area, which alters the thermal exchange pattern, may also be conducive to the formation of an inversion. For example, inversions are a customary phenomenon in winter in deep valleys surrounded by high peaks, and occur more frequently in the neighborhood of slopes facing the north than on southern slopes. This also occurs wherever hills of any size enclose a plain or basin, interrupting the general flow of air and preventing mixing from taking place. It is interesting to note that apart from the periodic appearance of smog in London, all the other major accidents resulting from air pollution have occurred in regions where the land configuration fits this description. For example, the small town of Donora, in the United States, lies in a relatively narrow plain bordered by high hills. In 1948 air pollution in the course of an inversion lasting five days led to twenty deaths and 6,000 cases of illness among the town's 14,000 inhabitants.

2. Urban Areas

237. The case of urban built-up areas is more complex, and it may even be said that each one possesses its own micro-climate, depending on its geographical situation, its topography and the layout and nature of its buildings.

238. Because the materials from which they are constructed are better conductors, and because their surfaces face in very varied directions, buildings usually capture and reflect solar radiation better than does the natural ground. Urban complexes therefore heat up more quickly than does the surrounding countryside, and the higher temperature is still further augmented by domestic and industrial heating plants. The result is a flow of cool air from the neighbouring countryside towards the hot centre of the town, beginning shortly after sunrise, decreasing at the beginning of the afternoon and then rising again to a maximum shortly before sunset. This general flow, which is of low velocity, is disturbed and fragmented at ground level by the buildings, forming local currents flowing in all directions.

239. This constant mechanical turbulence, to which is added the thermal turbulence caused by numerous heat-generating sources, should prevent the establishment in towns of a temperature inversion at low altitude. In fact, however, inversions do occur, when conditions are otherwise favourable, but the inversion layer is situated at a higher altitude than over the surrounding countryside (30 to 150 metres).

240. At night, local inversions may be generated at low altitude as a result of rapid radiation from the roofs of houses; thus in a narrow street lined with buildings of equal height, an inversion layer may be created at roof-top level which will persist until dawn.

241. Fog is more frequent over towns than over open country (+30 per cent in summer and +100 per cent in winter). The process of fog formation is accelerated by the particles, dust and smoke which form a dome over the town. At night these particles act as nuclei around which the fog condenses, the fog contributing in its turn to the retention of the particles in the dome. Fog will obviously have the same concentrating effect on particles originating in toxic clouds.

242. One final point which should be noted is that toxic aerosols and vapours may take some time to penetrate enclosed spaces. Once they have done so, they may continue as a hazard for very long unless adequate ventilation is provided.

3. Effect of Wind and Topography

243. The wind carries and spreads the toxic or infectious cloud, which is simultaneously diluted by turbulence. The distance which the cloud travels before its concentration has fallen to a level below which it is no longer harmful depends on the velocity of the wind and the state of the atmosphere. Since topography also produces changes in the normal wind pattern, it too plays an important part in determining the direction of travel of toxic clouds, sometimes focusing their effects in individual areas. Local winds may also be established as a result of differences in the heat absorbed by, and radiated from, different ground surfaces.

244. These local surface winds, which affect the air layer nearest the ground up to 300 metres, are frequent and widespread in mountain ranges and near sea coasts. There are slope breezes, valley breezes, sea breezes and land breezes; and they could shift a toxic cloud in directions which cannot be predicted from a study of the general meteorology of the area. The breezes develop according to a regular cycle. During the day, under the influence of solar radiation, the air moves up the valleys and slopes, and moves from the sea towards the land; at night these currents are reversed. In temperate climates land and sea breezes are predominant during the summer; but they are masked by the general wind pattern during the other seasons of the year. They are predominant in subtropical and tropical regions throughout the year.

4. Example of Combined Effects of Wind and the State of the Atmosphere on a Cloud

245. There is some similarity between the evolution of toxic clouds which could be produced by chemical and bacteriological (biological) attacks and that of clouds containing industrial pollutants, so much so that the mathematical models developed for forecasting atmospheric pollution can be applied, with a few modifications, to toxic clouds. But the initial characteristics of the two are as a rule different. Characteristic features of chemical or bacteriological (biological) attacks are the multiplicity and high yield of the sources of emission and their very short emission time, all of which are factors making for a greater initial concentration in the cloud than the concentration of pollutants in industrial clouds.

246. Figure 4 indicates the order of magnitude of these phenomena, and demonstrates the schematic form, and for different atmospheric conditions, the size of area which would be covered by toxic clouds originating from a chemical attack using Sarin, with an intensity arbitrarily chosen at 500 kg/km. It shows that the theoretical distance of travel by the cloud, determined for bare and unobstructed ground, may exceed 100 km. In practice the atmosphere must remain stable for more than ten hours in order to enable the cloud to travel such distances, a condition which, although certainly not exceptional, is fairly uncommon.

247. This figure illustrates the effect of atmospheric conditions on the distance a toxic cloud can be carried by the wind.

248. The example chosen is that of a medium-intensity (500 kg) attack with Sarin on a circular objective 1 km in diameter. The wind velocity is 7 km/h.

249. Each of the lines represents a contour of the hazard zone, i.e. the zone in which any unprotected person would be exposed to the effects of the agent.

250. Under highly unstable conditions (for example, on a very sunny day), this hazard zone is no greater than the area of objective aimed at (the circle at the left end of the figure). On the other hand, in any other situation—(1) slightly unstable, (2) neutral, (3) slightly stable, (4) moderately stable or (5) highly stable—the distance travelled will be greater, and it may extend almost 100 km if conditions remain highly stable for a sufficiently long time. It must be noted, however, that the distance of 100 km could be reached only if a very marked inversion persisted for about fourteen hours (100 + 7); such a situation is quite rare.

251. Corresponding evaluations cannot be made for an urban area, since the parameters involved are too numerous and too little understood. But it may be presumed that most of the characteristics of the urban micro-climate would tend to increase the persistence of chemical clouds. This is serious cause for concern, when it is remembered that in highly industrialized countries 50 to 90 per cent of the population live in urban areas.

252. To sum up, a stable or neutral atmosphere in equilibrium might cause a toxic cloud produced by a chemical or bacteriological (biological) attack to persist for hours after it had exercised its military effect, which could generally be expected to materialize in the first few minutes following the attack. These conditions could obtain not only at night, but also during long winter periods over vast continental expanses. If a neutral atmosphere in equilibrium were associated with a light wind irregular in direction, then the area affected could be relatively large and, assuming an adequately heavy initial attack, the concentrations would be high.

5. Special Features of Bacteriological (Biological) Aerosols

253. So far as physical phenomena are concerned (horizontal and vertical movements, sedimentation, dilution, etc.), bacteriological (biological) aerosols would be generally affected in the same way as chemical clouds of aerosol and vapour, but not necessarily to the same extent. But since the effective minimum doses for bacteriological (biological) agents are considerably smaller than for chemical agents, bacteriological (biological) aerosols would be expected to remain effective even in a very dilute state and, consequently, that they could contaminate much larger areas than could chemical clouds. An example is given in chapter II.

254. There would be no limit to the horizontal transport of micro-organisms, if there were none to the capacity of the organisms to survive in the atmosphere. Thus if the microbial aerosol particles were so small that their speed of fall remained close to the speed of the vertical air movements in the frictional layer (under average conditions this is on the order of 10cm/s), the agents, whether alive or dead, would remain sus-

pended and travel very considerable distances. Even if bacteriological (biological) clouds were to move only in the air layer nearest the ground, they could cover very large areas. For example, in one experiment 600 litres of *Bacillus globigii* (a harmless spore-forming bacterium which is highly resistant to aerosolization and environmental stresses) were released off shore; bacteria were found more than 30 km inland. Organisms were found over 250 km² which was the entire area within which there were monitoring stations during the trial. The actual area covered was much more extensive.

255. On the other hand, most pathogenic agents are highly vulnerable when outside the organism in which they normally reproduce, and are liable to biological inactivation, which is sometimes rapid, in the aerosol state. This inactivation process is governed by several factors (such as temperature, humidity, solar radiation, etc.) which are now the subject of aerobiological research.

256. The size of the infective particles in a bacteriological (biological) aerosol is highly significant to their ability to initiate disease as a result of inhalation. It has been established that the terminal pars of the respiratory tract are the most susceptible sites for infection by inhalation. As with chemical agents, the penetration and retention of inhaled bacteriological (biological) particles in the lungs is very dependent on particle size, which is primarily determined by the composition of the basic material and the procedure of aerosolization, as pointed out in chapter I.

257. The influence of particle size on aerosol infectivity is illustrated in table 1, which shows that there is a direct relationship between the $LD_{50}$ and particle diameter of an aerosol of *Franciscella tularensis*.

TABLE 1.—NUMBERS OF BACTERIA OF "FRANCISCELLA TULARENSIS" REQUIRED TO KILL 50 PERCENT OF EXPOSED ANIMALS

| | Numbers of bacterial cells $LD_{50}$ | |
|---|---|---|
| | Guinea pigs | Rhesus monkeys |
| Diameter of particles (microns): | | |
| 1 | 3 | 17 |
| 7 | 6,500 | 240 |
| 12 | 20,000 | 540 |
| 22 | 170,000 | 3,000 |

*C. Influence of atmospheric factors on chemical agents*

1. Influence of Temperature

258. An attack with a liquid chemical agent, as already pointed out, would as a rule result in the formation of a cloud of small droplets, aerosol and vapour in varying proportions, as well as in ground contamination, all of which would be affected by air temperature.

259. *Influence on droplet and aerosol clouds:* Only particles having dimensions within certain limits penetrate and are retained by the lungs. The larger ones are trapped in the upper part of the respiratory tract (e.g. nose and trachea), whereas the smaller ones are exhaled. Penetration and retention have maximum values in the size range of 0.5 to 3 microns.

260. Liquid chemical agents exercise their effects both by penetrating the skin and by inhalation. The material absorbed by the lungs acts immediately, whereas there is a delay before the effects become manifest from an agent absorbed through the skin or the mucous membrane of the upper air passages.

261. A high temperature favours the evaporation of particles which will decrease in size and thus reach the lungs, contributing to the immediate effect; an additional quantity of vapour is produced which contributes to the same effect.

262. *Effect on ground contamination:* The temperature of the air, and even more that of the ground, have a marked effect on the way ground contamination develops and persists. The temperature of the ground, which depends on the thermal characteristics of its constituent materials and on the degree of its exposure to the sun, either increases or reduces evaporation, and consequently decreases or increases the duration of contamination. The surface temperature is extremely variable from point to point, depending on the type and colour of the soil; a temperature difference of 20° has been noted between the asphalt surface of a road and the surrounding fields. The temperature gradient also varies during the course of the day; in clear weather the differences may range from 15 to 30°C in a temperate climate, and up to 50°C in a desert climate. High temperatures of both air and ground favour the rate of evaporation, thus reducing the persistence of surface contamination; wind, because of the mechanical and thermal turbulence it creates, has a similar effect.

263. To illustrate the effect of these variable factors, it is worth noting that the contamination of bare ground by unpurified mustard, at a mean rate of 30 g/m², will persist for several days or even weeks at temperatures below 10° C at medium wind velocities, whereas it lasts for only a day and a half at 25° C. Furthermore, because of accelerated evaporation at high temperatures, the cloud produced is more concentrated, and the danger of vapour inhalation in, and downwind of, the contaminated area becomes greater.

2. Influence of Humidity

264. In contrast to high temperature, high relative humidity may lead to the enlargement of aerosol particles owing to the condensation of water vapour around the nuclei which they constitute. The quantity of inhalable aerosol would thus diminish, with a consequent reduction in the immediate effects of the attack.

265. On the other hand, a combination of high temperature and high relative humidity causes the human body to perspire profusely. This intensifies the action of mustard-type vesicants, and also accelerates the transfer through the skin of percutaneous nerve agents.

3. Influence of Atmospheric Precipitation

266. Light rain disperses and spreads the chemical agent which thus presents a larger surface for evaporation, and its rate of evaporation rises. Conversely a heavy rain dilutes and displaces the contaminating product, facilitates its penetration into the ground, and may also accelerate the destruction of certain water-sensitive compounds (e.g. lewisite, a powerful blistering agent).

267. Snow increases the persistence of contamination by slowing down the evaporation of liquid contaminants. In the particular case of mustard gas, the compound is converted into a pasty mass which may persist until the snow melts.

268. Soil humidity, atmospheric precipitation and temperature also exercise a powerful influence on the activity of herbicides, which are much more effective at higher humidities and temperatures, than in dry weather and at low temperatures. This applies equally to preparations applied to plants and to those introduced into the soil.

4. Influence of Wind

269. As vapours emanating from ground contaminated by liquid chemical agents begin to rise, the wind comes into play. The distance the vapours will be carried depends on the wind velocity and the evaporation rate of the chemical, which will itself change with variations in ground and air temperatures. The distance is maximal (several kilometres) when there is a combination of the conditions promoting evaporation (high soil temperature) persistence of the cloud (stable atmosphere) and dispersal of the cloud (gentle winds). These conditions exist in combination at the end of a sunny day, at the time when a temperature inversion exists.

5. Influence of Soil—Dependent Factors

270. *Nature of the soil.* The soil itself, through its texture and the porosity of its constituent materials, plays an important role in the persistence of liquid chemical contaminants, which may penetrate to a greater or lesser extent, or remain on the surface. In the former case the risk of contamination by contact is reduced in the short term, but persistence will be increased to the extent that factors favourable to evaporation (temperature, wind) are prevented from acting. In the latter case, when the contaminant remains on the surface, the danger of contact contamination remains considerable, but persistence is reduced. Thus persistence in sandy soils may be three times as long as in clay.

271. *Vegetation.* Vegetation prevents a liquid contaminant from reaching the soil and also breaks it up, thus encouraging evaporation. But at the same time the short-term danger is enhanced because of the widespread dispersion of the contaminant on foliage, and the consequently increased risk of contact contamination.

272. The canopy of foliage in dense forests (e.g. conifers, tropical jungle), traps and holds a considerable proportion of a dispersed chemical agent, but the fraction which none the less reaches the soil remains there for a long time, since the atmospheric factors involved in the process of evaporation (temperature, wind over the soil, turbulence) are hardly significant in such an environment as compared with open spaces.

273. Too little is known about the absorption and retention of toxic substances by plants to make it possible to assess the resulting danger to the living creatures whose food supply they may constitute. Like certain organic pesticides, it is probable that other toxic chemicals may penetrate into plant systems via the leaves and roots. Cases could then arise where all trace of contaminant had disappeared from the soil but with the toxic substance persisting in vegetation.

274. *Urban areas.* It can also be assumed that, in spite of a surface temperature which is on the average higher, contaminants might persist longer in built-up areas than over open ground. There are two reasons for this. Structural, finishing and other building materials are frequently porous, and by absorbing and retaining liquid chemical agents more readily, they increase the duration of contamination. Equally the factors which, in open country, tend to reduce persistence (sunshine, wind over ground) play a less important part in a built-up city.

275. Climate, in general, may exercise an indirect influence on the effect of percutaneous chemical agents, simply because of the fact that in hot climates the lightly clad inhabitants are very vulnerable to attacks through the skin.

276. The predominating influence of climatic factors and terrain on the persistence of contamination indicates that the *a priori* classification of chemical agents as persistent or non-persistent, solely on the basis of different degrees of volatility, is somewhat arbitrary since, depending on circumstances, the same material might persist for periods ranging from a few hours to several weeks, or even months.

*D. Influence of atmospheric factors on bacteriological (biological) agents*

277. Infectious agents, when used to infect by way of food and water, or by means of animal vectors are, of course, hardly subject to the influence of climatic factors. But any large-scale attack by bacteriological (biological) agents would probably be carried out by aerosols, in which the agents would

be more susceptible to environmental influences than chemical agents.

278. Physico-chemical atmospheric factors have a destructive effect on aerosol-borne micro-organisms. Their viability decreases gradually over a period of hours or days at a progressively diminishing rate. Some decay very rapidly: for example, certain bio-aerosols used for pest control in temperate climates, and dispersed under average conditions in the cold or transitional seasons, show a rate of decay of 5 per cent per minute.

279. This apparent vulnerability of micro-organism in aerosols might cast some doubt on the possible effectiveness of bacteriological (biological) attacks. However, there are various means by which the rate of decay in the aerosol can be considerably reduced. For example: the use of very high concentrations of agent; the use of suitably "modelled" pathogenic strains; or the protection of aerosol particles by encapsulating them in certain organic compounds.

280. These procedures, which prolong the survival of micro-organisms in air, could presumably also be applied to potential agents of bacteriological (biological) warfare. Means are also available for prolonging the survival of micro-organisms in water, soil, etc.

1. Influence of Temperature

281. The effect of temperature on the survival of micro-organisms in bacteriological (biological) aerosols is not highly significant in the temperature ranges generally encountered. As a general rule, aerosol-borne biological agents will be destroyed more rapidly the more the temperature rises. On the other hand, in some circumstances high temperatures may act on bacteriological (biological) aerosols in the same way as on chemical aerosols, that is to say, particle size will be diminished by evaporation, and thus their rate of entry into the lungs will be enhanced.

2. Influence of Humidity

282. Relative humidity is the most important of the atmospheric conditions which affect the rate of decrease of viability of micro-organisms in the air. The extent of its effect varies with different micro-organisms, with the nature of the suspending fluid from which the aerosol is disseminated, with the manner of its dissemination (as a spray or as a dry powder). As a general rule, the rate of inactivation is greater at lower relative humidity although with some organisms maximum inactivation occurs in the middle range of relative humidity (30–70 per cent). The rate of inactivation will, however, tend to decrease with time, and may become extremely low when a state of equilibrium (stabilization) between the particles and their environment has been established. This implies that irrespective of relative humidity values, the final infective concentration of a stabilized aerosol may still be above the threshold minimum dose for infection by inhalation. Even so, microbial survival in a stabilized aerosol may be further reduced by sudden variations in atmospheric humidity.

283. The effectiveness of aerosol-borne bacteriological (biological) agents depends not only on their capacity to survive in the air. Also important is their low rate of sedimentation, combined with the capacity of the micro-organisms to spread and penetrate into buildings, so contaminating surfaces and materials indoors as well as outdoors. The possibility that some infective agents can survive for a long time in such conditions, and the fact that environmental dust particles may exercise a protective influence on organisms have been demonstrated on many occasions. Studies made in hospitals have shown that surviving micro-organisms can be dispersed from sites which have come to be called "secondary reservoirs", and that they may become sources of new infections, carried either through the air or by contact.

3. Influence of Solar Radiation

284. The ultra-violet part of the solar spectrum has a powerful germicidal effect. Bacterial spores are much less sensitive to this radiation than are either viruses or vegetative bacteria, and fungal spores are even less sensitive than bacterial spores. The destructive effect of solar radiation on micro-organisms is reduced when relative humidity is high (over 70 per cent). Air pollution, including a high proportion of atmospheric dust, also provides some protection.

285. Ultra-violet light exercises its destructive effects on micro-organisms through the structural degradation of the nucleic acids which carry the genetic information. Most research on this subject has been carried out on microbes in liquid suspensions, but the results of studies of aerosol-borne microbes seem to lead to similar conclusions.

286. The germicidal effect of ultra-violet radiation has been known for a long time and used in combating airborne infections in schools, military buildings and hospitals. The problem of proper radiation dosage, and proper techniques, however, still remain to be solved.

287. The lethal effect of sunlight on micro-organisms is less marked, although still apparent, in diffuse light. This is why a bacteriological (biological) attack, if one ever materialized, would be more probably undertaken in darkness.

4. Influence of Atmospheric Precipitation

288. Rain and snow have relatively little effect on bacteriological (biological) aerosols.

5. Influence of the Chemical Composition of the Atmosphere

289. Little is known about the influence on the viability of micro-organisms of the chemical compounds present in the atmosphere. Oxygen promotes the inactivation of aerosol-borne agents, particularly in conditions of low humidity, and recent studies have also demonstrated that an unstable bactericidal factor (formed by combination between ozone and gaseous combustion products of petroleum) is present in the air, particularly downwind of heavily populated areas.

6. General Effects of Climate

290. Climate may also have a general and considerable influence on the development of epidemics and epizootics, in so far as the proliferation of vectors which spread disease may be encouraged, given the right conditions. This is indicated by the way myxomatosis developed in Australia. Although several attempts in 1927, and then from 1936 to 1943, to impart the disease to Australian rabbits failed, the epizootic spread rapidly from 1950 onwards, apparently for the sole reason that the summer, which was particularly rainy that year, was associated with an exceptional proliferation in the flooded Murray River valley of the mosquitoes which carry the disease.

291. Atmospheric humidity and temperature also have a strong influence on micro-organisms acting upon vegetation.

CHAPTER IV. POSSIBLE LONG-TERM EFFECTS OF CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL) WARFARE ON HUMAN HEALTH AND ECOLOGY

*A. Introduction*

292. So far this report has dealt essentially with the potential short-term effects of chemical and bacteriological (biological) warfare. The possible long-term effects of the agents concerned need to be considered against the background of the trends whereby man's environment is being constantly modified, as it becomes transformed to meet his ever-increasing needs. Some of the changes that have occurred have been unwittingly adverse. The destruction of forests has created deserts, while grasslands have been destroyed by over-grazing. The air we breathe and our rivers become polluted, and chemical pesticides, despite the good they do, also threaten with undesirable secondary effects. The long-term impact of possible chemical and bacteriological (biological) warfare clearly needs to be considered within an adequate ecological framework.

293. *Ecology* may be defined as the study of the interrelationships of organisms on the one hand and of their interactions with the physical environment in which they are found on the other. The whole complex of plants and animals within a specific type of environment—a forest, a marsh, a savannah—forms a community comprising all the plant life and all the living creatures—from the micro-organisms and worms in the soil, to the insects, birds and mammals above the ground—within that environment, and the understanding of their interrelationships also necessitates a knowledge of the physical characteristics of the environment which bear on the living complex. Ecological communities are normally in dynamic equilibrium, which is regulated by the interaction of population density, available food, natural epidemics, seasonal changes and the competition of species for food and space.

294. Man has his special ecological problems. His numbers are multiplying fast, and increasing population requires commensurate increases in food production. The production and distribution of adequate food for the population which is predicted for the latter part of this century, and which will go on increasing through the next, will allow no relaxation in the effort which has already proved so successful. Food production has increased phenomenally in the past fifty years, primarily because of (1) improved agricultural practices, and particularly because of a marked increase in the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides; (2) the development of genetically improved plants, herds and flocks; and (3) increased industrialization of food-producing processes. There is hope that steps such as these will continue to bear fruit.

295. But while the use of fertilizers, herbicides and pesticides has brought about a massive increase in food production, it has also added to the pollution of soil and water, and as a result has altered our ecological environment in an enduring way. So too have other features of our industrial civilization. The motor car has been a very potent factor in increasing air pollution in towns and cities. The increasing population of the world creates unprecedented wastes, and the methods used to dispose of it—burying it, burning it, or discharging it into streams or lakes—have further polluted the environment. The remarkable development of synthetic and plastic materials in recent years has also added a new factor to the short- and long-term biological effects on man. Every new advance on our technological civilization helps to transform the ecological framework within which we evolved. From this point of view the existence and possible use of chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents in warfare have to be regarded as an additional threat, and as a threat which might have enduring consequences, to our already changing environment.

*B. Consequences to man of upsetting the ecological equilibrium*

296. The chemical industry doubled its output between 1953 to 1960 and it is still growing fast but the useful results of its continued development are none the less of the utmost importance to man's future. The good effects on food production of the use of artificial fertilizers alone far outweigh any secondary deleterious consequences of their use. The facts are too well known to need spelling out. It is enough to point out, as one example, that maize production in the United States increased between 1923 and

1953, a thirty-year period, by barely four quintals per hectare, but that in the ten years between 1953 and 1964, when the use of fertilizers and more productive hybrid seeds became widespread, the increase was eleven quintals. This is characteristic of what has happened everywhere where fertilizers have been used on a large scale.

297. The beneficial effect of the use of modern chemical pesticides also does not need spelling out. It is estimated that the present annual world loss in production due to weeds and parasites is still approximately 460 million quintals of wheat and 360 million quintals of maize, and that to eliminate this waste will mean the use of even more pesticides than are now being consumed.

298. What has to be realized about modern agricultural practices is that without them the increases in the output of food which the world needs could never be achieved. Unless production mounts everywhere, those who have not yet cast off the burdens of living in a primitive agricultural world will never reach the level of civilization to which all aspire.

299. But, as already indicated, the great increase in the use of fertilizers, pesticides and herbicides does have deleterious side effects. For example, in Switzerland, surface waters and springs have been contaminated in times of high rainfall by excessive amounts of fertilizers corresponding to 0.3–0.5 kg of phosphorous and 45 kg of nitrogen per hectare per year. This kind of thing occurs elsewhere as well, and it cannot but help transform—for all we know adversely—the environment in which living matter including fish otherwise thrive.

300. The dangers of the side effects of modern pesticides are also beginning to be appreciated, and are already beginning to be guarded against in advanced countries. Except in high dosage, these substances act only on lower organisms, although some organophosphorous compounds are toxic to man and other vertebrates. Less selective agents may be toxic to soil bacteria, plankton, snails and fish. Chlorinated hydrocarbons, such as DDT, are toxic only in unusually high dosages, but accumulate in fat, and deposit in the liver and the central nervous system. Following surface application, pesticides enter the soil and seep into underground waters; or become washed by rain into rivers, lakes and reservoirs. It is theoretically possible that in some situations, in which non-selective chemical pesticides are used, disruption of the ecological equilibrium could lead to the long-term suppression of useful animals and plants. These are dangers which only constant vigilance will avert.

301. Detergents are another modern chemical development whose use has had to be regulated, since they have a direct short-term effect on certain types of natural food such as daphniae and the algae which are eaten by fish. The first detergents which came on the market led to enormous quantities of foam on river, and this in turn reduced the supply of oxygen for organisms living in the water. They also damage the earth by affecting soil bacteria. Such detergents, which resist destruction even by the most modern water treatment methods, have all but disappeared from use and have been replaced by others, which can be almost completely destroyed by waste water treatment.

302. In the context of the possible long-term effects of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons, we have finally to note that towns and cities are growing all over the world, and that in the developed countries, conurbations (fusion of cities with loss of suburbs) have reached population levels approaching 50 million. Such great concentrations of people require very complicated arrangements for supply of food, water and other materials, transport and general administration. The use of chemical or bacteriological (biological) weapons against cities would undoubtedly have an exceptionally severe disorganizing effect, and the full re-establishment of the services necessary for health, efficient government, and the smooth operation of industry might take a very long time.

*C. Possible long-term effects of chemical and bacteriological (biological) means of warfare on man and his environment*

303. Chemical weapons, in addition to their highly toxic short-term effects, may also have a long-term effect on the environment in which they are disseminated. If used in very high concentration they might cause damage by polluting the air, by polluting the water supplies and by poisoning the soil.

304. Bacteriological (biological) weapons could be directed against man's sources of food through the spread of persistent plant diseases or of infectious animal diseases. There is also the possibility that new epidemic diseases could be introduced, or old ones reintroduced, which could result in deaths on the scale which characterized the mediaeval plagues.

1. Chemical Weapons

305. There is no evidence that the chemical agents used in World War I—chlorine, mustard, phosgene, and tear-gas—had any untoward ecological consequences. As already observed, over 120,000 tons of these agents were used during that war, and in some areas which were attacked, concentrations must have added up to hundreds of kilograms per hectare. These regions have long since returned to normal and fully productive use.

306. The organophosphorous, or nerve, agents have never been used in war, and no corresponding experience is available to help form a judgment about their possible long-term effects. But since these agents are toxic to all forms of animal life, it is to be expected that if high concentrations were disseminated over large areas, and if certain species were virtually exterminated, the dynamic ecological equilibrium of the region might be changed.

307. On the other hand there is no evidence to suggest that nerve agents affect food chains in the way DDT and other pesticides of the chlorinated hydrocarbon type do. They hydrolyze in water, some of them slowly, so there could be no long-term contamination of natural or artificial bodies of water.

308. The use of herbicides during the course of the Viet-Nam conflict has been reported extensively in news media, and to a lesser extent in technical publications. The materials which have been used are 2,4-dichlorophenoxyacetic acid, 2,4,5-trichlorophenoxyacetic acid, cacodylic acid and picloram.

309. Between 1963 and 1968 these herbicides were used to clear forested areas for military purposes over some 9,100 km.² This may be divided by forest type as shown in the following table.

TABLE 1.—TYPE OF FOREST AND EXTENT AND AREA TREATED WITH HERBICIDES IN SOUTH VIETNAM, 1963–68

| Type of forest | Extent km.² | Area treated km.² |
|---|---|---|
| Open forest (semideciduous) | 50,150 | 8,140 |
| Mangrove and other aquatic | 4,800 | 960 |
| Coniferous | 1,250 | 0 |
| Total | 56,200 | 9,100 |

310. South Viet-Nam is about 172,000 km² in area, of which about one-third is forested. The area treated with herbicides up to the end of 1968 thus amounts to about 16 per cent of the forested area, or a little over 5 per cent of the total.

311. There is as yet no scientific evaluation of the extent of the long-term ecological changes resulting from these attacks. One estimate is that some mangrove forests may need twenty years to regenerate, and fears have been expressed about the future of the animal population they contain. Certain species of bird are known to have migrated from areas that have been attacked. On the other hand, there has been no decline in fish catches, and as fish are well up in the food chain, no serious damage would seem to have been done to the aquatic environment.

312. When a forest in a state of ecological equilibrium is destroyed by cutting, secondary forest regenerates, which contains fewer species of plants and animals than were there originally, but larger numbers of those species which survive. If secondary forest is replaced by grassland, these changes are even more marked. If one or more of the animal species which increases in numbers is the host of an infection dangerous to man (a zoonosis), then the risk of human infection is greatly increased. This is exemplified by the history of scrub typhus in South-East Asia, where the species of rat which maintains the infection and the vector mite are much more numerous in secondary forest, and even more so in grassland, so increasing the risk of the disease being transmitted to people as forest is cleared.

313. In high rainfall areas, deforestation may also lead to serious erosion, and so to considerable agricultural losses. Deserts have been created in this way.

2. Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons Against man

314. New natural foci, in which infection may persist for many years, may be established after an aerosol or other type of bacteriological (biological) attack. This possible danger can be appreciated when one recalls the epidemiological consequences of the accidental introduction of rabies and other veterinary infections (blue-tongue, African swine fever) into a number of countries. The spread of rabies in Europe following World War II, as a consequence of the disorganization caused by the war, shows how an epidemiologically complicated and medically dangerous situation can emerge even with an infection which had long been successfully controlled. In 1945 there were only three major foci of infection in Czechoslovakia. In the following years, foxes multiplied excessively because farms were left unworked, because of the increased number of many kinds of wild creatures, and also because of the discontinuation of systematic control. Foxes also come in from across frontiers, and the epizootic gradually worsened. In the period 1952/1966 a total of 888 foci were reported, 197 new ones in 1965 alone. Bringing the situation under control demanded extraordinary and prolonged efforts by the health service: in 1966 alone, 775,000 domestic animals were vaccinated in affected areas of the country. None the less, the disease has not yet been stamped out. Natural foci cannot be eliminated without organized and long-term international co-operation.

315. Arthropods (insects, ticks) also play an important part, along with other creatures, in the maintenance of pathogenic agents in natural foci. A man exposed to a natural focus risks infection, particularly from arthropods, which feed on more than one species of host. A bacteriological (biological) attack might lead to the creation of multiple and densely distributed foci of infection from which, if ecological conditions were favourable, natural foci might develop in regions where they had previously never existed, or in areas from which they had been eliminated by effective public health measures.

316. On the other hand, the large-scale use of bacteriological (biological) weapons might reduce populations of susceptible wild species below the level at which they could continue to exist. The elimination of a species or group of species from an area would create

in the ecological community an empty niche which might seriously disturb its equilibrium, or which might be filled by another species more dangerous to man because it carried a zoonosis infection acquired either naturally or as a result of the attack. This would result in the establishment of a new natural focus of disease.

317. The gravity of these risks would depend on the extent to which the community of species in the country attacked contained animals which were not only susceptible to the infection, but were living in so close a relationship to each other that the infection could become established. For example, not all mosquito species can be infected with yellow fever virus, and if the disease is to become established, those which can become vectors must feed frequently on mammals, such as monkeys, which are also sufficiently susceptible to the infection. A natural focus of yellow fever is therefore very unlikely to become established in any area lacking an adequate population of suitable mosquitos and monkeys.

318. Endemics or enzootics of diseases (i.e. infections spreading at a low rate, but indefinitely, in a human or animal population) could conceivably follow a large-scale attack, or might be started by a small-scale sabotage attack, for which purpose the range of possible agents would be much wider, and might even include such chronic infections as malaria.

319. *Malaria* is a serious epidemic disease in a susceptible population, but it is difficult to envisage its possible employment as a bacteriological (biological) weapon, because of the complex life cycle of the parasite. Drug-resistant strains of malaria exist in, for example, areas of Asia and South America, and their possible extension to areas where mosquitos capable of transmitting the disease already exist, would greatly complicate public health measures, and cause a more serious disease problem because of the difficulties of treatment.

320. *Yellow fever* is still enzootic in the tropical regions of Africa and America. Monkeys and other forest-dwelling primates, together with mosquitoes which transmit the virus, constitute natural foci and ensure survival of the virus between epidemics.

321. Importation of this disease is possible wherever a suitable environment and susceptible animal and mosquito hosts exist. This occurred naturally in 1960 when a previously uninfested area of Ethiopia was invaded by yellow fever and an epidemic resulted in about 15,000 deaths. Because of the inaccessibility of the area, some 8,000–9,000 people had died before the epidemic was recognized. The epidemic was extinguished but it is likely that a permanent focus of yellow fever infection has been established in this area, previously free of the disease. It might be extremely serious if the virus were introduced into Asia or the Pacific islands where the disease appears never to have occurred, but where local species of mosquito are known to be able to transmit it. Serious problems could also arise if the virus were introduced into the area of the United States where vector mosquitoes still exist, and where millions of people live in an area of a few square kilometres.

322. Another consideration is the possible introduction of a new species of animal to an area to cause either long-term disease or economic problems. For example, mongooses were introduced many years ago to some Caribbean islands, and in one at least they have become a serious economic pest of the sugar crop, and an important cause of rabies. The very large economic effect on the introduction of rabbits to Australia is well known. Certain mosquito species (a yellow fever mosquito, *Aedes aegypti*, and a malaria mosquito, *Anopheles gambiae*) have naturally spread to many areas of the world from their original home in Africa, and have been responsible for serious disease problems in the areas that have been invaded. It is conceivable that in the war the introduction of such insects on a small scale might be tried for offensive purposes.

323. In addition to the development of new natural foci, another long-term hazard, but one which is very much more speculative than some of the possibilities mentioned above, is that of the establishment of new strains of organisms of altered immunological characteristics or increased virulence. This might occur if large numbers of people or other susceptible animal species became infected in an area through a bacteriological (biological) attack, thus providing opportunities for new organisms to arise naturally. The appearance from time to time of immunologically different forms of influenza shows the type of thing which might happen. Such altered forms of agents might cause more severe and perhaps more widespread epidemics than the original attack.

Against domestic animals

324. *Foot-and-mouth disease* is a highly infectious but largely non-fatal disease of cattle, swine and other cloven-footed animals. It is rarely transmitted from a diseased animal to man, and when it is, the order is a trivial one.

325. The milk yield of diseased cows decreases sharply and does not reach its normal yield even after complete recovery. Losses range from 9 to 30 per cent of milk yield. In swine, loss from foot-and-mouth are estimated at 60–80 per cent among suckling pigs. Foot-and-mouth is endemic in many countries and breaks out from time to time even in countries which are normally free of the disease. Some countries let it run its course without taking any steps to control it; others try to control it by the use of vaccines; and some pursue a slaughter policy in which all affected animals and contacts are killed.

326. It is obvious that a large epizootic could constitute a very serious economic burden, for example, by bringing about a serious reduction in the supply of milk. It is in this context that foot-and-mouth disease could conceivably serve as a bacteriological (biological) weapon, especially since war conditions would greatly promote its spread. Efficient prevention is possible through active immunization, but the immunity is rather short-lived and annual vaccination is required.

327. *Brucellosis* is an example of chronic disease which could possibly result from bacteriological (biological) weapon attacks. There are three forms known, which attack cattle, swine and goats respectively. Any of these may be transmitted to man, in whom it causes a debilitating but rarely fatal disease lasting for four to six months or even longer. It is enzootic in most countries of the world, and an increased incidence of the disease resulting from its use as a weapon could be dealt with, after the initial blow, in the same way as is the natural disease. But the cost of eliminating disease such as brucellosis from domestic animals is very high.

328. *Anthrax* was described in chapter II and what concerns us here is that if large quantities of anthrax spores were disseminated in bacteriological (biological) weapons, thus contaminating the soil of large regions, danger to domestic animals and man might persist for a very long time. There is no known way by which areas could be rendered safe. The use of large quantities of anthrax as a weapon might therefore cause long-term environmental hazards.

Against crops

329. The *rust* fungus, as already noted, is one of the most damaging of natural pathogens which affects wheat crops. Each rust pustule produces 20,000 uredospores a day for two weeks, and there may be more than 100 pustules an a single infected leaf. The ripe uredospores are easily detached from the plant even by very weak air currents. The spores are then carried by the wind over distances of many hundreds of kilometres. It is estimated that the annual total world loss of wheat from rust is equivalent to about $500 million.

330. Weather plays a decisive role in the epiphytotic spreading of rust. Temperature influences the incubation period and the rate of uredospore germination. Germination and infection occur only when there is a water-saturated atmosphere for three to four hours. Thus, epiphytotic spread occurs when there are heavy dews and when the temperature is between 10° and 30° C. The principal means of prevention is to destroy the pathogen and to breed resistant species. Recently, ionizing radiation has been employed to develop resistant strains.

331. The cereal rusts die out during winter unless some other susceptible plant host, such as barberry, is present, and therefore their effect on crops would be limited to a single season. As they are capable of reducing man's food reserves considerably, rust spores could be extremely dangerous and efficient bacteriological (biological) weapons, especially if deployed selectively with due regard to climatic conditions. Artificial spreading of an epiphytotic would be difficult to recognize and delivery of the pathogen to the target would be relatively simple.

332. Rust epiphytotics might have a very serious effect in densely populated developing countries, where the food supply might be reduced to such an extent that a human population already suffering from malnutrition might be driven to starvation, which, depending on the particular circumstances, might last a long time.

333. Another conceivable biological weapon, although neither a practical nor a bacteriological one, is the *potato beetle*. To use it for this purpose, the beetle would have to be produced in large numbers, and introduced, presumably clandestinely, into potato growing regions at the correct time during maturation of the crop. In the course of spread the beetle first lives in small foci, which grow and increase until it becomes established over large territories. The beetle is capable of astonishing propagation: the progeny of a single beetle may amount to 8,000 million in one-and-a-half years.

334. Since beetles prefer to feed and lay their eggs in plants suffering from some viral disease, they and their larvae may help transmit the virus thereby increasing the damage they cause. The economic damage caused by the beetle varies with the season and the country affected, but it can destroy up to 80 per cent of the crop. Protection is difficult because it has not been possible to breed resistant potato species and the only means available at present is chemical protection.

335. Were the beetle ever to be used successfully for offensive purposes, it could clearly help bring about long-term damage because of the difficulty of control.

3. Genetic and Carcinogenic Changes

336. The possibility also exists that chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons might cause genetic changes. Some chemicals are known to do this. LSD, for example, is known to cause genetic changes in human cells. Such genetic changes, whether induced by chemicals or viruses, might conceivably have a bearing on the development of cancer. A significantly increased incidence of cancer in the respiratory tract (mainly lung) has been reported recently among workers employed in the manufacture of mustard gas during World War II. No increased prevalence of cancer has been reported among mustard gas casualties of World War I although it is doubtful if available records would reveal it. However, most of these casualties were exposed for only short periods to the gas whereas the workers were con-

tinuously exposed to small doses for months or years.

CHAPTER V. ECONOMIC AND SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF THE DEVELOPMENT, ACQUISITION AND POSSIBLE USE OF CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL) WEAPONS AND SYSTEMS OF THEIR DELIVERY

*A. Introduction*

337. Previous chapters have revealed the extent to which developments in chemical and biological science have magnified the potential risks associated with the concept of chemical or bacteriological (biological) warfare. These risks derive not only from the variety of possible agents which might be used, but also from the variety of their effects. The doubt that a chemical or bacteriological (biological) attack could be restricted to a given area means that casualties could occur well outside the target zone. Were these weapons used to blanket large areas and cities, they would cause massive loss of human life, affecting non-combatants in the same way as combatants, and in this respect, they must clearly be classified as weapons of mass destruction. The report has also emphasized the great problems and cost which would be entailed in the provision of protection against chemical and bacteriological (biological) warfare. It is the purpose of this final chapter to explore in greater depth the economic and security implications of matters such as these.

*B. Production*

1. Chemical Weapons

338. It has been estimated that during the course of the First World War, at a time when the chemical industry was in a relatively early stage of development, about 180,000 tons of chemical agents were produced, of which more than 120,000 tons were used in battle. With the rapid development of the industry since then, there has been an enormous growth in the potential capacity to produce chemical agents.

339. The scale, nature, and cost of any programme for producing chemical weapons, and the time needed to implement it, would clearly be largely dependent on the scientific, technical and industrial potential of the country concerned. It would depend not only on the nature of the chemical industry itself, and on the availability of suitably trained engineers and chemists, but also on the level of development of the chemical engineering industry and of the means of automating chemical processes, especially where the production of highly toxic chemical compounds is involved. Whatever the cost of developing a chemical or bacteriological (biological) capability, it needs to be realized that it would be a cost additional to, and not a substitute for, that of acquiring an armoury of conventional weapons. An army could be equipped with the latter without having any chemical or bacteriological (biological) weapons. But it could never rely on chemical or bacteriological (biological) weapons alone.

340. Today a large number of industrialized countries have the potential to produce a variety of chemical agents. Many of the intermediates required in their manufacture, and in some cases even the agents themselves, are widely used in peace time. Such substances include, for example, phosgene, which some highly developed countries produce at the rate of more than 100,000 tons a year and which is commonly used as an intermediate in the manufacture of synthetic plastics, herbicides, insecticides, paints and pharmaceuticals. Another chemical agent, hydrocyanic acid, is a valuable intermediate in the manufacture of a variety of synthetic organic products and is produced in even greater quantities. Ethylene-oxide, which is used in the manufacture of mustard gases, is also produced on a large scale in various countries. It is a valuable starting material in the production of a large number of important substances, such as detergents, disinfectants and wetting agents. The world production of ethylene-oxide and propylene-oxide is now well in excess of 2 million tons per year. Mustard gas and nitrogen mustard gases can be produced from ethylene-oxide by a relatively simple process. Two hundred and fifty thousand tons of ethylene-oxide would yield about 500,000 tons of mustard gas.

341. The production of highly toxic nerve agents, including organophosphorus compounds, presents problems which, because they are relatively difficult, could be very costly to overcome. To a certain extent this is because of the specialized safety precautions which would be needed to protect workers against these very poisonous substances, a need which, of course, applies to all chemical agents, especially to mustard gas. However, many intermediates used in the manufacture of nerve agents have a peacetime application: for example, dimethylphosphite, necessary for the production of Sarin, is used in the production of certain pesticides. But even leaving operating expenses aside, the approximate cost of acquiring one plant complex to produce munitions containing up to 10,000 tons of Sarin a year would be about $150 million. The cost would, of course, be considerably less if existing munitions could be charged with chemical agents.

342. A country which possessed a well-developed chemical industry could clearly adapt it to produce chemical agents. But were it to embark on such a step, it would be only the beginning. The establishment of a comprehensive chemical warfare capability would also involve special research centres, experimental test grounds, bases, storage depots and arsenals. The development of sophisticated and comprehensive weapons systems for chemical or bacteriological (biological) warfare would be a very costly part of the whole process. None the less, the possibility that a peacetime chemical industry could be converted to work for military purposes, and of chemical products being used as weapons, increases the responsibility of Governments which are concerned to prevent chemical war from ever breaking out.

2. Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons

343. The microbiological expertise necessary to grow agents of bacteriological (biological) warfare exists to a large extent in many countries, since the requirements are similar to those of a vaccine industry and, to a lesser extent, a fermentation industry. Apart from the combination of the highly developed technologies of these two industries, there remains only a need for some specialized knowledge, expertise and equipment to permit the safe handling of large quantities of bacteriological (biological) agents. Consequently, existing facilities in the fermentation, pharmaceutical and vaccine industries could be adapted for the production of bacteriological (biological) agents. But the technological complexities of producing bacteriological (biological) agents in dry powder form are very much greater than for wet spray systems. Moreover, it would be desirable to provide an effective vaccine with which to protect production staff. The technical diffculties would increase with the scale and complexity of the weapons systems that were being developed. But the fact remains that any industrially advanced country could acquire whatever capability is set out to achieve in this field.

344. The difficulty and cost of providing for the transport and storage of bacteriological (biological) weapons are considerable, since special storage conditions, e.g., refrigeration, and stringent safety and security precautions are essential. In addition, testing to determine the potential effectiveness of the material produced would require considerable and costly testing facilities both in the laboratory and in the field.

345. Despite the fact that the development and acquisition of a sophisticated armoury of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons systems would prove very costly in resources, and would be dependent on a sound industrial base and a body of well-trained scientists, any developing country could in fact acquire, in one way or another, a limited capability in this type of warfare—either a rudimentary capability which is developed itself, or a more sophisticated one which it acquired from another country. Hence, the danger of the proliferation of this class of weapons applies as much to developing as it does to developed countries.

*C. Delivery systems*

346. Practically all types of explosive munitions (artillery shells, mines, guided and unguided rockets, serial bombs, landmines, grenades, etc.) can be adapted for the delivery of chemical agents. A modern bomber, for example, can carry about fifteen tons of toxic chemical agents, and it is estimated that only 250 tons of V-gas, an amount which could be delivered by no more than fifteen or sixteen aircraft, is enough to contaminate a great city with an area of 1,000 square kilometers and a population of 7 to 10 million. Were such a population mainly in the open and unprotected, fatal casualties might reach the level of 50 per cent.

347. Existing armaments which (with some modification) could be used to deliver agents in order to generate local outbreaks of disease, could also contaminate large areas with pathogens. For example, a single aircraft could cover with a bacteriological (biological) agent an area of up to 100,000 square kilometers, although the area of effective dosage might be much smaller due to loss of the infectivity of the airborne agent.

348. While the development and production costs of chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents might well be high, the cost of the complete weapons system (see chapter I) would be even greater. The cost of developing, procuring and operating a squadron of modern bombers far outweighs the cost of the bombs it could carry. However, for some purposes, an existing weapon system or a far less sophisticated means of disseminating might be used.

*D. Protection*

349. The measures which would be required to protect a population, its livestock and plants against chemical or bacteriological (biological) attack are immensely costly and complex (chapter I). At present, warning systems for the detection of aerosol clouds are fairly rudimentary. Systems for the detection of specific chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents might be devised, but again they are likely to prove very expensive, if indeed they are feasible.

350. With certain agents, contamination of the environment, for example of buildings and soil, could persist for several days or weeks. Throughout this period people would be exposed to the risk of contamination by contact and by inhalation. Protective clothing, even if adequately prefabricated and distributed or improvised, would make it difficult to carry on with normal work. The prolonged wearing of respirators causes physiological difficulties, and it would prove necessary to provide communal shelters with air filtration and ventilations systems for civil populations. Shelters would be extremely costly to build and operate, and a programme for their construction would constitute a heavy burden on the economy.

351. Even if protective measures were provided against known agents, it is conceivable that new ones might be developed whose physical or chemical properties would dictate a need for new individual and com-

munal protective equipment. This could constitute an even greater economic burden.

352. Defensive measures, especially against chemical agents, would also have to include the extremely laborious and expensive task of decontaminating large numbers of people, as well as equipment, weapons and other materials. This would mean setting up decontamination centres and training of people in their use. Stocks of decontaminating agents and replacement clothing would also be required.

353. A very important part of a defense system against chemical or bacteriological (biological) weapons would be the means of very rapidly detecting an attack and identifying the specific agent used in an attack. Methods for doing this rapidly and accurately are still inadequate. Specific protection against bacteriological (biological) agents would necessitate the use of vaccines and perhaps antibiotics (see annex C of chapter II). Vaccines vary in their effectiveness, even against naturally-occurring infections, and even those which are highly effective in natural circumstances may not protect against bacteriological (biological) agents deliberately disseminated into the air and inhaled into the lungs. Antibiotics used prophylactically are a possible means of protection against bacteria and rickettsiae but not against viruses. But the large and complex problems of their use in large populations would be all but insuperable.

354. It would be extremely difficult to arrange for the medical treatment of a civilian population which had been attacked with chemical or bacteriological (biological) weapons. Mobile groups of specialists in infectious disease, of microbiologists, and of well-trained epidemiologists, would have to be organized to provide for early diagnosis and treatment, while a network of reserve hospitals and a massive supply of drugs would have to be prepared in advance. The maintenance of a stockpile of medical supplies is extremely costly. Many drugs, especially antibiotics, deteriorate in storage, Huge amounts would have to be discarded as useless from time to time, and the stock would have to be replenished periodically.

*E. Cost to society*

355. The extent to which the acquisition, storage, transport and testing of chemical and bacteriological (biological) munitions would constitute an economic burden, would depend on the level of a country's industrial and military capability, although compared to nuclear weapons and advanced weapons systems in general, it might not seem excessive. But the task of organizing delivery systems and deployment on a large or sophisticated scale could well be economically disastrous for many countries. Moreover the preparation of an armoury of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons would constitute a possible danger to people in the vicinity of production, storage and testing facilities.

356. Chemical and bacteriological (biological) attacks could be particularly dangerous in towns and densely populated areas, because of the close contacts between individuals, and because of the centralized provision of services for every day necessities and supply (services, urban transport networks, trade, etc.). The consequences might also be particularly serious in regions with a warm moist climate, in low lying areas, and in areas with poorly developed medical facilities.

357. The technical and organizational complexity, as well as the great financial cost, of providing adequate protection for a population against attack by chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents have already been emphasized. The costs would be formidable by any standards. The construction of a system of fall-out shelters to protect only part of the population of one large and highly developed country against nuclear weapons has been estimated at no less than $5,000-$10,000 million. Such shelters could be modified, at a relatively modest additional cost, to provide protection against chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons. To construct communal shelters for a corresponding part of the population against chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons alone would cost much the same as protection against nuclear fall-out. If all other necessary related expenditures are considered—such as detection and warning systems, communications, and medical aid—the total costs of civil defence against chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents would be greater than $15,000-$25,000 million for a developed country of 100-200 million people. But even if such a programme were ever planned and implemented, there could be no assurance that full protection could be achieved.

358. For whatever its cost, no shelter programme could provide absolute protection against attack by chemical or bacteriological (biological) agents. Protective measures would be effective only if there were adequate warning of an attack, and if civil defence plans were brought into operation immediately and efficiently. However many shelters were available, the liklihood would be that large numbers of people would be affected to varying degrees, and would be in urgent need of medical attention, and once hostilities had ceased, that there would be large numbers of chronic sick and invalids, requiring care, support and treatment, and imposing a heavy burden on a society already disorganized by war.

359. It is almost impossible to conceive of the complexity of the arrangements which would be necessary to control the consequences of a large-scale bacteriological (biological) attack. Even in peacetime, the development of an epidemic of a highly contagious disease started by a few individual cases, introduced from abroad, necessitates enormous material expenditure and the diversion of large numbers of medical personnel. Examples of widespread disruption due to a few smallpox contacts are given in chapter II. No estimates are given of the actual costs involved in dealing with these events, but in some cases they must have run into millions of dollars. Large-scale bacteriological (biological) attacks could thus have a serious impact on the entire economy of the target country and, as is observed in chapter II, depending on the type of agent used, the disease might well spread to neighbouring countries.

360. Whatever might be done to try to save human beings, nothing significant could be done to protect crops, livestock, fodder and food-stuffs from a chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons attack. Persistent chemical agents could constitute a particular danger to livestock.

361. Water in open reservoirs could be polluted as a result of deliberate attack, or perhaps accidentally, with chemical or bacteriological (biological) weapons. The water supply of large towns could become unusable, and rivers, lakes and streams might be temporarily contaminated.

362. Enormous damage could be done to the economy of a country whose agricultural crops were attacked with herbicides. For example, only ten to twenty grammes per hectare of 2, 4D could render a cotton crop completely unproductive (see annex A). Fruit trees, grape vines and many other plants could also be destroyed. Mixtures of 2, 4D, of 2, 4, 5T and picloram are particularly potent. The chemical known as paraquat can destroy virtually all annual plants, including leguminous plants, rice, wheat and other cereals. Arsenic compounds desiccate the leaves of many crops and make them unusable as food. There are no means known at present of regenerating some of the plants which are affected by herbicides. Experience has shown, however, that in the case of some species, either natural or artificial seeding can easily produce normal growth in the next growing season. But the destruction of fruit trees, vines and other plants, if achieved could not be overcome for many years. For most practical purposes, it would be impossible to prevent the destruction of cultivated plants on which herbicides have been used, and depending on a country's circumstances, widespread famine might follow.

363. If the induced disease were to spread, bacteriological (biological) weapons could affect even more extensive agricultural areas. The effect would however be more delayed and more specific to the crops affected. Annex A gives examples of the extent of the decrease in a wheat harvest and in a rice harvest affected by blast. The uredospores of the rust are easily transported by air currents so that down-wind sections would be affected by rust to a considerable distance, with a corresponding sharp reduction in the crop, while the upwind sections gave a good yield.

364. Over and above all these possible effects of chemical and bacteriological (biological) warfare on farm animals and crops is the possibility discussed in the previous chapter, of widespread ecological changes due to deleterious changes brought about in wild fauna and flora.

*F. The relevance of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons to military and civil security*

365. The comparison of the relative effectiveness of different classes of weapons is a harzardous and often futile exercise. The major difficulty is that from the military point of view, effectiveness cannot be measured just in terms of areas of devastation or of numbers of casualties. The final criterion would always be whether a specific military purpose had been more easily achieved with one rather than another set of weapons.

366. Clearly, from what has been said in the earlier chapters of this report, chemical weapons could be more effective than equivalent weights of high explosive when directed against densely populated targets. Similarly, so far as mass casualties are concerned, bacteriological (biological) weapons could, in some circumstances, have far more devastating effects than chemical weapons, and effects which might extend well beyond the zone of military operations.

367. From the military point of view, one essential difference between anti-personnel chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons on the one hand, and a conventional high explosive weapon on the other (including small arms and the whole range of projectiles), is that the area of the effects of the latter is more predictable. There are, of course, circumstances where, from the point of view of the individuals attacked, an incapacitating gas would be less damaging than high explosives. On the other hand, whereas military forces can, and do, rely entirely upon conventional weapons, no country, as already observed, could entrust its military security to an armoury of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons alone. The latter constitute only one band in the spectrum of weapons.

368. As previous chapters have also shown, neither the effectiveness nor the effects of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons can be predicted with assurance. Whatever military reasons might be advanced for the use of these weapons, and whatever their nature, whether incapacitating or lethal, there would be significant risk of escalation, not only in the use of the same type of weapon but also of other categories of weapons systems, once their use had been initiated. Thus, chemical and bacteriological (biological) warfare could open the door to hostilities which could become less controlled, and less controllable, than any war in the past. Uncontrollable hostilities cannot be reconciled with the concept of military security.

369. Since some chemical and bacteriologi-

cal (biological) weapons constitute a major threat to civilian populations and their food and water supplies, their use cannot be reconciled with general national and international security. Further, because of the scale and intensity of the potential effects of their use, they are considered as weapons of mass destruction. Their very existence thus contributes to international tension without compensating military advantages. They generate a sense of insecurity not only in countries which might be potentially belligerent, but also in those which are not. Neutral countries could be involved through the use of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons, especially those whose territories bordered on countries involved in conflict in the course of which chemical and bacteriological (biological) casualties had been suffered by garrisons and civilians close to frontiers. The effects of certain bacteriological (biological) weapons used on a large scale might be particularly difficult to confine to the territory of a small country. Large-scale chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents and chemical agents might be used for acts of sabotage. Such events might occur as isolated acts, even carried out in defiance of the wishes of national leaders and military commanders. The continued existence and manufacture of chemical weapons anywhere may make such occurrences more likely.

370. Obviously any extensive use of chemical weapons would be known to the country attacked. The source of the attack would probably also be known. On the other hand, it would be extremely difficult to detect isolated acts of sabotage in which bacteriological (biological) weapons were used, especially if the causative organism were already present in the attacked country. Because of the suspicions they would generate, acts of sabotage could thus provoke a conflict involving the widespread use of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons.

ANNEX A

[Economic loss from possible use of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons against crops]

TABLE 1.—ECONOMIC LOSS WHICH COULD RESULT FROM THE USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS DUE TO THE DESTRUCTION OF CROPS PER HECTARE OF LAND

| Type of plant | Average harvest (in tons per hectare) | Price of 1 ton in U.S. dollars | Sum total of losses in U.S. dollars per hectare |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cotton | 3 | 600 | 1,800 |
| Rice | 5 | 84 | 420 |
| Wheat | 3 | 69 | 207 |
| Apple tree | 30 | [1] 140 | [1] 8,400 |

[1] Will not produce apples for 2 years.

TABLE 2.—ECONOMIC LOSS DUE TO THE USE OF BACTERIOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL) WEAPONS AGAINST CROPS

| Plant | Type of agent | Losses | | Loss in U.S. dollars per hectare |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Percent | Tons per hectare | |
| Wheat | Cereal rust ("Puccinia graminis") | 80 | 24 | 165 |
| Rice | Rice blast ("Piricularia drizae") | 70 | 35 | 294 |

CONCLUSION

371. All weapons of war are destructive of human life, but chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons stand in a class of their own as armaments which exercise their effects solely on living matter. The idea that bacteriological (biological) weapons could deliberately be used to spread disease generates a sense of horror. The fact that certain chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents are potentially unconfined in their effects, both in space and time, and that their large-scale use could conceivably have deleterious and irreversible effects on the balance of nature adds to the sense of insecurity and tension which the existence of this class of weapons engenders. Considerations such as these set them into a category of their own in relation to the continuing arms race.

372. The present inquiry has shown that the potential for developing an armoury of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons has grown considerably in recent years, not only in terms of the number of agents, but also in their toxicity and in the diversity of their effects. At one extreme, chemical agents exist and are being developed for use in the control of civil disorders; and others have been developed in order to increase the productivity of agriculture. But even though these substances may be less toxic than most other chemical agents, their ill-considered civil use, or use for military purposes could turn out to be highly dangerous. At the other extreme, some potential chemical agents which could be used in weapons are among the most lethal poisons known. In certain circumstances the area over which some of them might exercise their effects could be strictly confined geographically. In other conditions some chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons might spread their effects well beyond the target zone. No one could predict how long the effects of certain agents, particularly bacteriological (biological) weapons might endure and spread and what changes they could generate.

373. Moreover, chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons are not a cheap substitute for other kinds of weapon. They represent an additional drain on the national resources of those countries by which they are developed, produced and stockpiled. The cost cannot of course be estimated with precision; this would depend on the potential of a country's industry. To some the cost might be tolerable; to others it would be crippling, particularly, as has already been shown, when account is taken of the resources which would have to be diverted to the development of testing and delivery systems. And no system of defence, even for the richest countries in the world, and whatever its cost, could be completely secure.

374. Because chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons are unpredictable, in varying degree, either in the scale or duration of their effects, and because no certain defence can be planned against them, their universal elimination would not detract from any nation's security. Once any chemical or bacteriological (biological) weapon had been used in warfare, there would be a serious risk of escalation, both in the use of more dangerous weapons belonging to the same class, and of other weapons of mass destruction. In short, the development of a chemical or bacteriological (biological) armoury, and a defence, implies an economic burden without necessarily imparting any proportionate compensatory advantage to security. And at the same time it imposes a new and continuing threat to future international security.

375. The general conclusion of the report can thus be summed up in a few lines. Were these weapons ever to be used on a large scale in war, no one could predict how enduring the effects would be, and how they would affect the structure of society and the environment in which we live. This overriding danger would apply as much to the country which initiated the use of these weapons as to the one which had been attacked, regardless of what protective measures it might have taken in parallel with its development of an offensive capability. A particular danger also derives from the fact that any country could develop or acquire, in one way or another, a capability in this type of warfare, despite the fact that this could prove costly. The danger of the proliferation of this class of weapons applies as much to the developing as it does to developed countries.

376. The momentum of the arms race would clearly decrease if the production of these weapons were effectively and unconditionally banned. Their use, which could cause an enormous loss of human life, has already been condemned and prohibited by international agreements, in particular the Geneva Protocol of 1925, and, more recently, in resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The prospects for general and complete disarmament under effective international control, and hence for peace throughout the world, would brighten significantly if the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) agents intended for purposes of war were to end and if they were eliminated from all military arsenals.

377. If this were to happen, there would be a general lessening of international fear and tension. It is the hope of the authors that this report will contribute to public awareness of the profoundly dangerous results if these weapons were ever used, and that an aroused public will demand and receive assurances that Governments are working for the earliest effective elimination of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons.

PROTOCOL FOR THE PROHIBITION OF THE USE OF IN WAR OF ASPHYXIATING, POISONOUS OR OTHER GASES, AND OF BACTERIOLOGICAL METHODS OF WARFARE; SIGNED AT GENEVA, JUNE 17, 1925

The undersigned plenipotentiaries, in the name of their respective Governments:

Whereas the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and of all analogous liquids, materials or devices, has been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilized world;

Whereas the prohibition of such use has been declared in Treaties to which the majority of Powers of the world are Parties; and

To the end that this prohibition shall be universally accepted as a part of International Law, binding alike the conscience and the practice of nations;

Declare:

That the High Contracting Parties, so far as they are not already Parties to Treaties prohibiting such use, accept this prohibition, agree to extend this prohibition to the use of bacteriological methods of warfare and agree to be bound as between themselves according to the terms of this declaration.

The High Contracting Parties will exert every effort to induce other States to accede to the present Protocol. Such accession will be notified to the Government of the French Republic, and by the latter to all signatory and acceding Powers, and will take effect on the date of the notification by the Government of the French Republic.

The present Protocol, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified as soon as possible. It shall bear today's date.

The ratifications of the present Protocol shall be addressed to the Government of the French Republic, which will at once notify the deposit of such ratification to each of the signatory and acceding Powers.

The instruments of ratification of and accession to the present Protocol will remain

deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic.

The present Protocol will come into force for each signatory Power as from the date of deposit of its ratification, and, from that moment, each Power will be bound as regards other Powers which have already deposited their ratifications.

In witness whereof the Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Protocol.

Done at Geneva in a single copy, the seventeenth day of June, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-Five.

RESOLUTION 2162 B (XXI)

*The General Assembly,*

*Guided* by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law,

*Considering* that weapons of mass destruction constitute a danger to all mankind and are incompatible with the accepted norms of civilization,

*Affirming* that the strict observance of the rules of international law on the conduct of warfare is in the interest of maintaining these standards of civilization,

*Recalling* that the Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, of 17 June 1925, has been signed and adopted and is recognized by many States.

Noting that the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament has the task of seeking an agreement on the cessation of the development and production of chemical and bacteriological weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, and on the elimination of all such weapons from national arsenals, as called for in the draft proposals on general and complete disarmament now before the Conference,

1. *Calls for* strict observance by all States of the principles and objectives of the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925, and condemns all actions contrary to those objectives;

2. *Invites* all States to accede to the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925.

*1484th plenary meeting, 5 December 1966.*

RESOLUTION 2454 A (XXIII)

*The General Assembly,*

*Reaffirming* the recommendations of its resolution 2162 B (XXI) calling for strict observance by all States of the principles and objectives of the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925, condemning all actions contrary to those objectives and inviting all States to accede to that Protocol,

*Considering* that the possibility of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons constitutes a serious threat to mankind,

*Believing* that the people of the world should be made aware of the consequences of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons,

*Having considered* the report of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee which recommended that the Secretary-General appoint a group of experts to study the effects of the possible use of such weapons,

*Noting* the interest in a report on various aspects of the problem of chemical, bacteriological and other biological weapons which has been expressed by many Governments and the welcome given to the recommendation of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee by the Secretary-General in his Annual Report for 1967–68.

*Believing* that such a study would provide a valuable contribution to the consideration in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee of the problems connected with chemical and bacteriological weapons,

*Recalling* the value of the report of the Secretary-General on the effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons,

1. *Requests* the Secretary-General to prepare a concise report in accordance with the proposal in Part II of his Introduction to the Annual Report for 1967–68 and in accordance with the recommendation of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee contained in paragraph 26 of its report (document A/7189);

2. *Recommends* that the report be based on accessible material and prepared with the assistance of qualified consultant experts appointed by the Secretary-General taking into account the views expressed and the suggestions made during the discussion of this item at the twenty-third session of the General Assembly.

3. *Calls upon* Governments, national and international scientific institutions and organizations to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the preparation of the report;

4. *Requests* that the report be transmitted to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, the Security Council and the General Assembly at an early date, if possible by 1 July 1969, and to the Governments of Member States in time to permit its consideration at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly;

5. *Recommends* that Governments give the report wide distribution in their respective languages, through various media of communication, so as to acquaint public opinion with its contents;

6. *Reiterates* its call for strict observance by all States of the principles and objectives of the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925 and invites all States to accede to that Protocol.

*1750th plenary meeting, 20 December 1968.*

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## FIRE AT ROCKY FLATS MANUFACTURING PLANT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. ASPINALL) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, recently there has been a number of articles in the newspapers concerning the fire on May 11, 1969, at the Atomic Energy Commission's Rocky Flats Manufacturing Plant in Colorado. These articles would make it seem that the Government was trying to hide the fact that a fire ever occurred. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The AEC office at Rocky Flats issued press releases on May 11, 12, and 13. There was extensive television coverage on the afternoon of the fire, May 11. A Washington press release was issued by AEC headquarters on May 20, as was a statement by Maj. Gen. Edward Giller, assistant general manager at the AEC for military application. Furthermore, in the Joint Committee's report, "Authorizing Appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission for Fiscal Year 1970," dated June 17, 1969, there is on page 11 the following paragraph:

> The only potentially serious production problem relates to the uncertain impact of the May 11, 1969, fire at the AEC Rocky Flats Plant and its effect on the production of certain weapons components. The committee recognizes that because of the hazards involved, cleanup and damage assessment must of necessity proceed at a slow and careful pace. Current estimates on the recovery of manufacturing capability at the Rocky Flats Plant indicate that deployment of the U.S.'s newest weapon systems will not be delayed. The committee notes that the AEC has requested a supplemental appropriation for fiscal year 1969 of $45 million to initiate repairs.

To bring the record up to date, I would like to have printed a letter of June 27, 1969, from Mr. Robert E. Hollingsworth, general manager of the AEC, to Chairman HOLIFIELD of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

I would like to point out that the AEC expects to meet its projected schedules for the production of Minuteman III and Poseidon warheads.

You will note that no mention is made of the production of Sprint or Spartan warheads, since these systems are still in the research and development phase.

We learned recently of a jurisdictional dispute between two of the crafts involved in constructing the new building at Rocky Flats. The dispute has been taken to the National Labor Relations Board and it is hoped that it will be resolved shortly.

The letter follows:

U.S. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION,
*Washington, D.C., June 27, 1969.*

Hon. CHET HOLIFIELD,
*Chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.*

DEAR MR. HOLIFIELD: Chairman Seaborg's June 13, 1969, letter to you summarized our current assessment of the programmatic impact of the Rocky Flats fire. The purpose of this letter is to provide, on an unclassified basis, additional details of our recovery plan, a more detailed schedule of deliveries, and an assessment of the uncertainties involved.

Recovery effort is proceeding on a 21-shift per week basis. The plan for recovery of capabilities will proceed in two phases. The first phase is aimed at achieving an interim capability to support process engineering and limited production to enable us to meet initial delivery schedules on the Minuteman and Poseidon warheads. It is estimated that a limited capability for production of complete plutonium subassemblies will be available in four to six months.

The second phase is aimed at recovery of full capability for quantity production, and is dependent on completion of the basic capacity under construction for production of Minuteman and Poseidon warhead components. We expect to have this new plant in operation by February 1970.

Based on the recovery schedule outlined above, and taking into account the necessary minimum processing and interplant lead times, we now estimate that we can achieve the following schedules through FY 72:

a. *Current Production.* For weapons which were in current production, we have enough completed subassemblies to allow continuation of production for a few months. After that time, production will be suspended for approximately six months after which production can be resumed.

b. *Minuteman and Poseidon Warheads.* We had not planned to start production of warheads for Minuteman and Poseidon until early in calendar year 1970. We now estimate that the recovery schedule outlined above will permit us to begin production essentially on the original schedule. This will allow us to support the initial operational capability dates and deployment schedules for both systems.

It should be recognized that there are several uncertainties associated with our recovery plan and estimated schedules. The following assumptions, each one of which has an important bearing on the validity of our predictions, have been made in developing these schedules:

a. That there will continue to be a stable labor situation in both construction and operating labor contracts.

b. That building designs for facilities currently under construction will not have to be changed significantly because of recommendations resulting from the post-fire investigation.

c. That no major problem is encountered in procurement and installation of new specialized process equipment.

A major problem in any one of the areas listed above would require reevaluation of our schedules.

Sincerely,

R. E. HOLLINGSWORTH,
*General Manager.*

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## WHERE THE SHOE PINCHES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. BURKE) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I should like to bring to the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives a letter I received from Mr. John E. Mara, general president of the Boot & Shoe Worker's Union, AFL-CIO. In light of the shoe import petition signed by 306 Members of the House and sent to President Nixon, Mr. Mara's letter is quite timely. This letter concerns itself with an editorial that appeared in the New York Times, "Where the Shoe Pinches." Mr. Mara's letter points out that the facts do not bear out the statements contained in the Times' editorial.

The letter and editorial follow:

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION,
*Boston, Mass., July 3, 1969.*

EDITORIAL PAGE EDITOR,
*New York Times,*
*New York, N.Y.*

DEAR SIR: Your July 2nd editorial, "Where the Shoe Pinches," concerning the changing attitude in Congress toward the problem posed for the United States shoe industry by imports misses the real point.

It has taken at least 12 years of education by the efforts of the two major shoeworker unions and shoe manufacturers to make even the slightest impression on more than a few members of Congress concerning the real imports-created condition of the American shoe industry.

The language of the editorial using the tired, old cliches of "inefficient plants," and "inattention to changes in style," show a lack of knowledge of the real situation. On top of this, your reference to the report of the U.S. Tariff Commission on the shoe industry merely repeats the same oversights in that committee's findings.

Actually, the industry has been dealt body blow after body blow by the continued, almost studied, indifference of most government agencies to a situation which sees the shoe industry losing from 20 to 30 percent of its domestic market to shoes imported from low-wage countries each year.

True, U.S. manufacturers in the beginning chose to ignore the rising imports trend, too. They felt, and said openly, that imports offered no real threat to the U.S. shoe industry. But that attitude was obviously a reflection of their feeling that shoeworkers in this country would continue to be placid, acquiescent, and unmilitant in their wage requests, an attitude which had kept them for many years at the low end of the economic scale in American industry. At this writing the national hourly average of shoeworkers is $2.29 compared to an average of $3.17 for all U.S. manufacturing.

Thanks to the minimum wage set by Federal statutes, the rising cost-of-living, the establishment of the so-called poverty level of a $3,000 a year income for American families, and the constant pressure of collective economic bargaining by enlightened workers; costs of shoemaking has increased.

Naturally, these added costs have prompted some U.S. shoe manufacturers to look at other sources of product at less cost. The South no longer qualifies, and the states like Maine and Pennsylvania, in the north, are rapidly falling into the pattern of union negotiated higher shoeworker wages.

So, first choice has been the low-wage areas of the world. European countries were the first of these, then the parade began from Europe to Asia, Africa, and the underdeveloped countries. Lately we have seen shoe manufacturers in Nationalist China's Taiwan flooding our already gutted markets. Haiti is now in the picture, too.

One result of the entrepreneurial skill of shoe importers and retailers has been to close one American shoe factory after another. Haverhill, Massachusetts, once a prime source of shoes, lost another one this past week. The 400 shoeworkers whose jobs were thus sacrificed to imports can, of course, tell the 1600 members of their families immediately effected by the factory shutdown that the event is fully understood and supported by both the New York Times and the U.S. Tariff Commission. Neither sees any merit in checking the avalanche of shoe imports which brought about this and other shoe factory closings.

As your editorial said, the swell of interest in the plight of American shoeworkers has, indeed, reached into Congress. Witness the petition of more than 300 Congressmen to President Nixon on behalf of these shoeworkers and their sorely beset industry. The

same thing has already happened, the editorial points out, in the case of steel workers, textile workers and their industries. In all of these cases so many are being hurt that their injuries have finally penetrated the conscience of Congress.

It must be said, however, that men like Maine's Senator Edmund Muskie, the late, respected Congressman William Bates of Massachusetts and his colleague Representative James Burke, along with Congressman John Dent of Pennsylvania, have long been seriously and vocally involved in fighting for relief for the shoe worker and his industry. Only now, at this very late date, are their efforts bearing real fruits.

It has taken 12 years of a Cassandra-like pointing out by our union to move more than the few men named above to the realization that the present imports situation would reach its current stage.

The government, through at least two administrations, has refused to take seriously the situation now threatening to overwhelm our industry. So detached has the government become from reality in this case, that our union has finally undertaken a new approach to the problem.

Working at the union's 25th Constitutional Convention at St. Louis, Missouri, in its 74th year of existence, delegates resolved to oblige all negotiators in all our local unions, as well as those in the national union, to press for agreements from manufacturers, in future negotiations, to pay to the union a token fee of five cents on each pair of shoes the manufacturer imports for sale in the United States.

The money thus raised is to be used by this union for the active, aggressive sales promotion of American-made shoes.

We have no illusions that such a program can stem the present export of jobs and import of shoes from low-wage countries like France, Spain, Greece, Italy, South Korea, Japan, and now, Haiti, and Taiwan, and places like Hong Kong. But if our program adds even a token to the cost of importing shoes from these places, and begins to bring the message home to consumers who buy such shoes, it will have more effectiveness than any act of our government has had up to now.

The real nitty-gritty is in the fact that shoeworkers in the countries and places sending shoes here have little or no voice or choice in wages, working conditions, or benefits. Free and open bargaining for these factors are not part of their way of life as they are part of ours. Their situation thus becomes a matter of negotiation between shoeworkers and their governments. Since this is mostly solved by governmental decree, there is no equality of situation or condition linking the shoe workers of those countries with our shoeworkers.

We feel deeply that the economic achievement of American shoeworkers, and of their industry, takes first place in their own country. It should not be callously, if philosophically, shrugged off as expendable for the greater good of world trade.

The trouble with your editorial is that your writer chose to suggest the propriety of strangling an American industry for a dubious benefit to international free trade . . . and a still more dubious benefit to foreign shoemakers who have not the smallest voice in their own welfare.

Sincerely,

JOHN E. MARA,
*General President.*

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[From the New York Times, July 2, 1969]

WHERE THE SHOE PINCHES

When protectionism assumes so contagious a form as import quota restrictions, there's no limiting its spread across the entire spectrum of industrial products. Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans, who professes a belief in "free trade," argues that "voluntary" quotas on woolens and synthetics are necessary because textiles are a special political case. But now it appears that shoes are about to be added to the list of domestic industries incapable of meeting the challenge of foreign competition.

The word on shoes comes from Senator Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois, whose legislative abilities have long been partly dedicated to setting the international trade clock back to the autarchy of the 1930's. After a private luncheon with Secretary Stans, the Senator announced that efforts would be made to seek "voluntary" shoe agreements with other countries. By a happy coincidence on that same day, a petiiton from a large number of House members—warning that imports were threatening the jobs of American shoe workers—was sent to President Nixon.

Some domestic shoe manufacturers, plagued by higher costs, relatively inefficient plants and inattention to changes in style are of course being pinched by foreign competition. But nothing in a recent report by the Tariff Commission suggests that the domestic industry as a whole is suffering from imports. Other countries are not likely to shackle their shoe industries by agreeing to a U.S. quota scheme, and if they do, retaliation against U.S. imports is certain. Higher shoe prices—the inevitable result of protection—are something that American consumers can do without.

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## CALIFORNIA MOVES TO PROTECT PUBLIC HEALTH

(Mr. MOSS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, recently, the California State Senate passed legislation, senate bill 341, which would prohibit cigarette advertising in the State of California. For the benefit of my colleagues, I wish to place in the RECORD at this point a copy of this legislation which is now pending before the State assembly and a statement by the author, State Senator Anthony C. Beilenson, on the bill:

SENATE BILL 341

An act to add article 6 (commencing with section 17580) to chapter 1 of part 3 of division 7 of the business and professions code, relating to advertising of cigarettes

*The people of the State of California do enact as follows:*

SECTION 1. Article 6 (commencing with Section 17580) is added to Chapter 1 of Part 3 of Division 7 of the Business and Professions Code, to read:

"Article 6. Advertising Tobacco Products"

17580. "Advertise" means any statement made for the purpose of inducing, or which is likely to induce, directly or indirectly, the retail purchase of *cigarettes*. It does not include statements made upon a package, carton, or any other container for tobacco products.

17581. It shall be unlawful for any person, firm, or corporation to advertise in this state by any means whatever, including, but not limited to, newspapers, radio, television, and billboards, any cigarettes.

This section shall apply only to television and radio advertisements broadcast or transmitted from stations located in California and to newspaper and magazine advertisements in publications or regional editions which have their major circulation in California. For the purposes of this section, regional editions shall include advertising zones.

17582. Nothing in this article shall be construed as prohibiting any advertising concerning the relationship between the use of cigarettes and the public health, provided that such advertising does not refer directly or indirectly to any particular brand of cigarettes.

17583. Any person, firm, or corporation, or any employee or agent thereof, who violates this article, is guilty of a misdemeanor.

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LEGISLATIVE COUNSEL'S DIGEST

SB 341, as amended, Beilenson (Gov. Eff.). Cigarette advertising.

Adds Art. 6 (commencing with Sec. 17580), Ch. 1, Pt. 3, Div. 7, B. & P.C.

Makes it a misdemeanor for any person, firm, or corporation to advertise in this state by any means whatever, including newspapers, radio, television, and billboards, any cigarettes. Specifies that prohibition applies only to television and radio advertisements broadcast or transmitted from stations located in California and to newspaper and magazine advertisements in publications or regional editions which have their major circulation in California.

Defines the term advertise as meaning statements made for the purpose of inducing, or which is likely to induce, directly or indirectly, the retail purchase of any cigarettes. Excludes therefrom statements made upon a package, carton, or other container for *cigarettes*.

Excludes from prohibition any advertising concerning the relationship between the use of *cigarettes* and the public health, provided that such advertising does not refer directly or indirectly to any particular brand of *cigarattes*.

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STATEMENT OF STATE SENATOR ANTHONY C. BEILENSON TO THE SENATE GOVERNMENTAL EFFICIENCY COMMITTEE CONCERNING SENATE BILL 341 RELATIVE TO CIGARETTE ADVERTISING

As amended, SB 341 would only ban cigarette advertising, rather than the advertising of all tobacco products as originally provided.

A second amendment specifies that the prohibition would apply to radio and television ads broadcast or transmitted from stations located in California. Stations broadcasting into California from neighboring states would not be affected. Cigarette ads placed with the networks for nationwide broadcast would have to be dropped or replaced when transmitted by California stations.

As for magazines and newspapers, SB 341 would ban cigarette ads in publications or regional editions which have their major circulation in California. For purposes of the legislation, advertising zones—which are used by most major publications—are acceptable designations for regional editions.

Experience has shown that prohibition of advertising of specified products is feasible and presents few practical problems.

A ban on cigarette ads has been voluntarily accepted by three television ownerships. The Post-Newsweek chain which owns WTOP of Washington, D.C., a recognized leader in the industry and a CBS affiliate, no longer accepts cigarette ads. The Bonneville International Corp., which has stations in Seattle, Salt Lake City, Kansas City, and also KBIG AM-FM radio in Los Angeles, has announced a similar ban, as has the Westinghouse Broadcasting "Group W" chain of 5 television and 7 radio stations.

There has also been state action in controlling television ads. Oregon prohibits ads of alcoholic beverages under statute 471.730 which gives the Oregon Liquor Control Commission the power to ban alcohol commercials including those for wine and beer, on all media. Under this law Oregon stations have been prohibited from transmitting national ads which show the consumption of liquor, and have prohibited all liquor ads on

Sunday. Oregon stations replace the national ads with local spots of other products.

In short, these examples show that a ban on television cigarette ads in California can reasonably be accomplished.

In a prior committee hearing, it was stated that there would be several specific problems raised by a ban on television cigarette ads. I will discuss each of these separately.

First there are no mechanical difficulties in blacking out the cigarette ads by the local station. Any portion of a network show can be easily deleted with a flick of a switch. This is known as the "roll of process".

Second, there is little likelihood that such a ban would result in a large revenue loss for the television industry. This is so because of the diversification of the tobacco industry, the industry's advertising buying policy, and the fact that we are talking about a statewide rather than a national ban.

Cigarette commercials appear only on prime time. This is the time most desired by advertisers. My staff has been told by a former television network executive that there is absolutely no difficulty in selling prime time, and that there are other sponsors ready to take the time.

Further, because of the diversification in the tobacco industry, this time may even be retained by the tobacco companies themselves for the use of their other products. For example, American Tobacco could substitute a Shasta soft drink ad for a Lucky Strike ad in broadcasts in California.

Another factor increasing the likelihood that this time would be purchased is the fact that a whole new market of advertisers would be opened—the regional advertisers. At the present time, there is little reason for a corporation operating primarily in California to buy prime time over national television since it only wants to advertise in California. However, a California ban on cigarettes would make this time valuable to regional advertisers because they could now buy just the California audience time. In this way, large California corporations like Bank of America or PG&E would find it profitable to buy such time and obtain the name identification with the prime time big name shows. Thus, a side effect of such a ban may be to help these California industries to gain wider exposure and increase sales.

In short, the ban on cigarette advertising in California would in all probability have no effect on the television revenue since the present national advertising market is already willing to purchase the prime time; the cigarette companies may decide to retain the time for their other products; and further, a whole new market is opened up—the regional market.

The loss of revenue would not be a problem. Rather, the problem would be one of paperwork and reshuffling for the advertising agencies to place the new advertisers in these spots.

Third, there will not be a loss of any big specials. Cigarette companies have not sponsored a special on their own in recent years, if ever. Sponsorship is always shared with several other sponsors. Thus, only a portion of the advertising time would have to be found for the California market. And as stated above, this would not be a difficult problem.

Fourth, there is no problem with the contracts between the networks and the advertisers. The network rate cards specifically state that "no minimum line up of stations is required," so the loss of the California stations would not eliminate the rest of the contract applying to the remainder of the United States.

Fifth, there is no problem with the contracts between the network and the local stations since the supervening illegality, as of the effective date of this legislation, would negate the contractual requirements of the local stations to carry the network television ad. The station would however, still be required to carry any other substitute ad the network provided.

Sixth, *no* California television stations would be placed at a competitive disadvantage with Oregon, Arizona, or Nevada stations. This is true simply because there are *no* California television stations which are in advertising competition with television stations in these states. The patterns of a California station and a foreign state station may overlap the same area, and some Californians may pick up the signal from the foreign state's stations. However, these are fringe areas, and include very few California viewers. When an advertiser is deciding whether to buy time from a particular station, the fringe area is of little or no consequence, and does not serve as a basis for his decision on which station to place his ad.

The only place where there might be competition would be with a Mexican station in Tijuana. However, a competitive disadvantage could only occur if a substitute advertiser could not be found, and as stated above, this is unlikely. The networks would substitute the cigarette ads and the local station would still get the same amount of revenue. Also, the station might find a local advertiser. It is interesting to note that if a local advertiser is found, it will be the foreign station which is at competitive disadvantage because local stations make *more* net profit on a local ad than they do by carrying a network ad. (Since the networks do not get a percentage of local ad revenue, there would be a great incentive for the networks to provide a network ad for the local station, which the local would have to show under its contract with the network).

In summary, prohibition of certain television advertising not only *can* be done, it *is* being done. Further, there is a very strong probability that a prohibition on television cigarette advertising will take place on a national basis under the FCC ruling.

If it does become a national ban, this makes a ban on other cigarette advertising in California all the more important. England several years ago prohibited cigarette ads only on television. The result was that the advertising money went to the other media. It would seem likely that a similar result would occur in the United States if the FCC ruling applies or if California only passed a law banning the television ads. Thus, in order to prevent this happening in California the ban should include the other media. At the present time, there is only a small amount of money being spent in these other media and if such a ban is to occur in the future, it would be best if it occurred now before advertising revenue is transferred to these media and they develop a dependency upon it.

As stated earlier, I think the section of the bill relating to magazines and newspapers should be limited to "publications or regional editions (including advertising zones), which have their major circulation in California." Under this qualification, the publications would fall into three major groups with different consequences for each group.

First, there are the high circulation publications which have a California or western edition, or which sell ads on a regional basis. This group would not face any difficulty in eliminating their cigarette ads in the California market since they are already set up to handle such a division of advertising. For example:

*Look* has 75 advertising zones. Number 74 is California. Ads can be purchased in any one zone or in any combination of zones. Thus, a cigarette advertiser in *Look* could purchase all zones except #74.

*Life* has separate advertising zones for each individual state.

*American Home* has both a southern and northern California edition.

*Time* has both a San Francisco and Los Angeles metropolitan edition.

*National Geographic* has both a San Francisco and Los Angeles metropolitan edition.

*T.V. Guide* has both a San Francisco and Los Angeles metropolitan edition.

*True* has a southern California edition.

*Wall Street Journal* has a Pacific Edition.

Second, there are the publications which are not set up to advertise regionally and do not have a major portion of their circulation in California. These magazines would be excluded from the provisions of this bill.

Third, are those publications whose major circulation is in California and thus would be affected by the bill. These are the California newspapers and local magazines, such as *Los Angeles* magazine.

Little or no cigarette advertising is carried in these publications and therefore there would be little or no revenue loss for them. Further, they would not be placed at a competitive disadvantage with Oregon, Nevada, or Arizona newspapers because there are no large competing local publications along the California border. In fact, the largest paper along the border is the *Las Vegas Review Journal* which only has a circulation of 55,000 and that is on Sunday, and it has no California competitor.

But even more important is that these smaller publications just do not carry cigarette ads at the present time. Even the large publications like the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and the *Sacramento Bee* do not normally carry these ads, although they may carry them if there is a big advertising campaign being put on by one of the cigarette companies.

Again it should be pointed out that the problems in this area can be solved. The *Readers Digest*, the *New Yorker*, and *Sunset* magazine have all voluntarily agreed not to accept cigarette advertising.

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## THE HUNGRY AMONG US

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, it is a shameful fact that today there are approximately 19 million Americans who are either suffering from acute malnutrition, or who live with hunger on a daily, depressing basis. In the midst of plenty, we allow want to rear its head. Such is our national shame. No amount of verbiage or excuses can blot out or blur the sharply defined outlines of this horror which dwells among us.

Malnutrition strikes hardest at pregnant women and children under age 10, especially nursing babies. Exposure of a person to such a prolonged condition causes permanent body damage and irrevocably arrests brain development.

Under normal growth conditions, the body's organs must develop coordinately. Delayed brain development permanently stunts its ability to function. Slow learning capacity and permanently impaired thought processes result.

By prolonging malnutrition among significant numbers of Americans, we guarantee a future supply of maimed members of society, unemployable and dependent on welfare for medical and living costs. Clusters of such people are to be found ghettoed in cities and scattered in our countryside. Their living conditions shame and shock us. Apathy on the part of those charged with authority to alleviate or remove such conditions is condonation of destruction and suffering of our fellows.

Some among us argue for feeding the

hungry to remove them from relief rolls. Theirs is a narrow stream of thought. Our motivation to end malnutrition must stem from compassion as well as self interest.

We have adequate supplies of nourishing foodstuffs we can easily make available to all these people. This must be done now. Once the immediate condition is alleviated, we may turn our attention to long-term programs of education and employment aimed at adequate incomes. In order to reach for these goals, Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a package of three measures.

The first, the Food Stamp Reform Act of 1969, is aimed at getting adequate nourishment immediately and for long enough periods, to those most in need of such help. Another, the Human Nutrition Act of 1969, would provide a start on the road to full and final solution of our basic difficulty.

The Food Stamp Reform Act amends the 1964 food stamp program, which has not fulfilled its original goal of upgrading health and well being of our poor. Nutrition and food must be provided on basis of need. Food stamps should be provided at a cost the poor can pay. They must be able to secure an adequate diet with them. Because it has failed to meet such objectives, the food stamp program is as much failure as it is success.

The bill aims at fulfillment of these objectives, expanding the original program by permitting participants to purchase items for personal hygiene and home sanitation with food stamps. It removes restrictions on distribution of federally owned foodstuffs in areas where the food stamp program is in operation. It requires establishment of a national income standard by the Federal Government with State cooperation in order to more fairly determine eligibility.

If local officials refuse to comply with the act, provision is made to administer the program through Federal initiative alone.

The Human Nutrition Act provides for fulfillment of a long-recognized need of establishing a coordinated program at top Government level to meet continuing needs of the poor and hungry. It creates an office within the Department of Agriculture to immediately tend to these needs. Such an Assistant Secretary for Human Nutrition and an Advisory Council on Human Nutrition would coordinate programs such as the National School Lunch Act, Food Stamp and Child Nutrition Acts. The Advisory Council would be composed of private individuals who are specialists in the field of human nutrition. Their primary task would be to study and report on existing programs, evaluating and recommending more effective approaches to problems. Reports would be made available to the Congress.

My third measure would extend benefits of the food stamp program to provide for hot meals served by private nonprofit groups and organizations to our elderly. It authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to designate specific church and other nonprofit organizations to accept food stamps in exchange for prepared meals. Stamps would still be issued only to individuals.

Some 50 charitable organizations in the Nation now offer prepared meals to shut-ins and other elderly people now unable to cook for themselves due to individual handicaps or lack of facilities.

Without such service, these older people would be forced to enter institutions. Now they can live at home and meals may be brought to them there. Such programs today rely on volunteer help. They are limited due to high costs of food and other expenses involved in transporting hot food to their homes.

It is a national shame that millions of older people are forced to the edge of degradation because we will not recognize reality and aid them. It is a national disgrace that America, in the midst of plenty, will turn its back upon helpless citizens. We have it within our power to rectify this entire situation.

Mr. Speaker, these bills provide a means to our ends of curbing hunger across our land. We can no longer pretend that malnutrition and hunger do not dwell amongst us almost everywhere. Daily America loses because of their evil presence. We can work diligently and practically to end it.

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## CONSUMERS DESERVE FULL WARRANTY PROTECTION

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, the American consumer is today the virtually helpless target of a vast range of deceptive practices we allow to proliferate in an untouched state in our economic marketplace. Consumer buying integrity is challenged from every direction. From first advertisement to container holding the product—from actual price information on a label to quality and quantity of product—from warranty and product performance to repair and servicing. A victimized consumer must bear costs while manufacturers, advertisers, sales personnel, and repairmen receive all or most of the benefits.

One means of deception exceeds all others in terms of misrepresentation and final expense—product warranty. A warranty or guarantee suggests to a buyer that a purchase is of excellent quality. If by some remote chance something goes wrong with it, presence of the warranty certificate implies that the problem would be rectified without question. Often such warranties are utilized as sales enticements.

How often have each of us seen advertisements in all media boasting of "full 5-year warranty," "1-year full guarantee," or "guaranteed your money back." Trying to collect on your warranty, however, is another kettle of fish entirely.

Warranties must possess clarifying restrictions in order to protect manufacturers. As it turns out, such restrictions are often so broad that they exclude coverage on behalf of the buyer of almost everything relevant. Here are some of the more common warranty exclusions and deceptions:

Exclusion of coverage for cost of shipping product to manufacturer or repair shop for repair or replacement. Cost is usually borne by consumer.

Exclusion of coverage of labor costs for repair work, which is usually borne by consumer.

Exclusion of fees or so-called service charges in making complaint and repairs. Often these changes are added without warning to consumer.

Exclusion of provisions for replacement of entire product if it turns out to be a total failure.

Coverage allowed for but a few of the product's parts, such as portions of a motor, though an entire motor must often be replaced if one part malfunctions.

Limitation of time period for coverage. Sometimes coverage period begins from manufacture date, and is often expired by date of delivery.

Lack of clarification of who bears responsibility to make repairs, dealer or manufacturer. Consumers must usually track down repair shop.

Legally complex language of warranty impossible for most laymen to read, understand and act upon.

Restrictions on transfer of warranty benefits or coverage to a second owner if product is resold during warranty period.

Lack of explicit procedures for filing claims for repairs or replacement.

Multiplicity of disclaimers, which in most cases succeed in absolving manufacturer or dealer of any liability.

A recent Consumer Union survey of new automobile buyers found 65 percent of those reporting dissatisfaction with warranty work, stating dealer could not fix defect; another 15 percent claimed the dealer was uncooperative; 12 percent claimed the warranty did not cover the defect. Over 16,000 of 50,000 car owners surveyed by CU found their automobile in unsatisfactory condition when delivered.

Mr. Speaker, it is time Congress offered American consumers what they are fully entitled to: Full protection under warranty. Consumers who purchase in good faith have a right to prompt repair or replacement of a defective product without personal expense.

I am joining the gentleman from Michigan, Congressman JAMES O'HARA in sponsoring the Consumer Full Warranty Act, which requires dealers to guarantee that products they sell are free from defects of both materials and workmanship. It would require dealers to guarantee that products are fit for purposes they are sold for—that they comply with a dealer's descriptions. Also, goods must be free of liens, and sale must bring with it good title of ownership.

My measure would provide warranty protection for a minimum 1-year period, beginning at date of delivery rather than of manufacture. Longer warranties would be encouraged, and would be transferable to succeeding owners if sold during the warranty period. Its language would have to be intelligible to a layman, and must be explained to a buyer at time of purchase.

Procedures for filing claims and obtaining proper repairs would have to be clearly stated in warranty. A manufac-

turer would be required to establish conveniently located service facilities, making repairs under such warranties at no expense to buyer. Labor, parts, shipping costs, and service charges would be borne by the manufacturer. If a product could not be repaired, a manufacturer would have to make good upon the guarantee within 60 days.

Manufacturers would have to cooperate closely with the FTC in records keeping and claims reporting. Failure of manufacturer to comply would result in criminal proceedings being brought by the FTC. A purchaser would be granted authority and support in bringing suit against manufacturers whose warranties remained unfulfilled. Such suits could cover full purchase price of a product, damages, court costs, and resulting expenses.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is a consumers bill of rights as far as warranties and guarantees are concerned. Full consumer protection can be made a reality.

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## THE PARTNERS' PLANE FOR PEACE

(Mr. FASCELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, on June 3, of this year I was pleased to call to the attention of our distinguished colleagues in the House the resolution adopted by the Fourth Inter-American Conference of the Partners of the Alliance for Progress.

That resolution asked President Nixon to make available one aircraft out of the thousands of American transport planes involved in defense and military activities, for the purpose of promoting peace and understanding in this hemisphere.

The Partners of the Alliance have not been able to accept many contributions of excellent equipment because their warehouses are already bulging with hundreds of tons of equipment that, despite their best efforts, they have been unable to transport. In addition, many technical and professional volunteers who are anxious to give their time and talents to the Alliance are unable to do so, because of a lack of transportation assistance. Because of this great need, I have written to President Nixon asking favorable action on this humanitarian request.

Mr. Speaker, the response to the Partners Plane for Peace, which I have witnessed over the past few weeks, has been both impressive and heartening. Support for the proposal has come from many quarters—public officials, the press, private citizens: Americans concerned with the principles underlying the Alliance—a partnership for progress and peace.

The outstanding Governor of the State of Kansas, the Honorable Robert Docking, wrote to say:

> You are to be congratulated for the support you have given to the proposal that an aircraft be made available to the partners of the Alliance. I concur that this program serves the cause of peace and understanding in the Western Hemisphere. And I agree that one aircraft to transport equipment is not too much to ask.

Dean Boyd Martin of the University of Idaho, an early organizer and supporter of the Alliance, said:

> I wish to take this opportunity to commend you for calling attention to this meeting before the House of Representatives and also for advocating the assignment and operation of one United States aircraft as a "Partners Plane for Peace." I think this is a wonderful idea, and I sincerely hope that it can be successfully completed.

An editorial by Mr. Bill Frank in the Wilmington, Del., Morning News Opinion suggested another aspect of the Partners Plane for Peace. Mr. Frank pointed out:

> Such a plane would leave the United States and stop off at various Latin American countries, distributing contributions from the various partners in the U.S. to their counterparts in Latin America.
>
> Delawareans have already shipped considerable material—tractors, camping equipment, medicines and drugs, and seeds.
>
> But they can send a lot more, with the help of the Medical Society of Delaware, the Boy Scouts of America, the Jaycees and the State Department of Agriculture, and individuals.
>
> Ed Golin, one of the original partners, and still an officer, sees the value of a U.S. aircraft beyond sending material to Panama, for example.
>
> On its return flight, he says, the plane could bring back arts and crafts for loan exhibitions in Delaware. A tremendous collection of archaeological items could come here for display.

Another editorial, this one by Mr. Oren Campbell of the Idaho Free Press and the Caldwell News Tribune, noted that our Government has thousands of military aircraft, and asks:

> Why not a plane for peace?
>
> The idea is an excellent one. It would be an important first step in strengthening one of the most vital links in U.S.-Latin relations.
>
> We strongly support this and other measures that will increase cooperation, economy, and understanding between Americans and our neighbors to the South.

Even more significant in showing the urgent need for a Partners Plane, Mr. Speaker, has been the response from those citizens actually involved in the day-to-day operation of the Alliance. A letter from Mr. Lester Rogers, the chairman of the Nicaragua/Wisconsin Partners of the Alliance, is particularly revealing. Mr. Rogers writes:

> We are highly pleased by your efforts to procure a plane for use by the Partners of the Alliance for Progress. A major bottleneck in Wisconsin's program with Nicaragua has been in transportation. As you know, lack of local civic sense of responsibility in Latin America is one of their major problems. Two years ago, to provide a stimulus for local civic responsibility, we shipped a good, used, fire truck, a gift from the city of Shorewood, to Matagalpa, Nicaragua. This fire truck has been a great help toward recruiting volunteers and interest in the local fire department. We were just plain lucky in this case to have found a Scandinavian ship in the Milwaukee Harbor that was going to Nicaragua and kindly consented to transport the truck. However, more than a year ago, the city council of Madison gave a truck to San Juan del Sur, and Ft. Atkinson's city council gave a truck to Puerto Cabezas. Both of these trucks are still in Wisconsin due to the transportation problem.
>
> We have been offered about 100 good, used, 2900 egg capacity electric incubators much needed in Nicaragua, but so far have been unable to find a satisfactory means of transporting them. We are sure that availability of a plane for both cargo and personnel would improve tremendously the program of the Partners.

The Chancellor of Oakland University, who also serves as the chairman of the Michigan Partners program, stated in his letter:

> This is the most pressing of all the needs we have (except money!), and we shall do everything we can to help with it. It is a brilliant idea and would be the greatest boost this citizen based effort has had in its young history.

Mr. Daniel Hussey, the executive vice president of the New Jersey Partners of the Alliance, understandably laments:

> Presently we have many tons of very serviceable hospital equipment which many of our Board of Trustees and the state and local Jaycee groups have worked on in order to rehabilitate the items for shipping. In the past we have had the good fortune to be able to utilize the services, free, of the Brazilian Naval transports which come into New York Harbor before returning to Brazil. This year, however, no such vessels have been available and we have no promise of others in the near future. As a result, the items which have been painted, cleaned, waxed, and so forth are awaiting shipment in a warehouse where the facilities are not entirely what we would like to have. Because of this backup of material we cannot in turn bring in many other tons of hospital supplies which we know we can obtain.
>
> As an example of what we have been able to do, we have sent about 32 tons of hospital and school equipment which cost us approximately $6,000. We estimate the value of the material forwarded to be worth about $210,000.
>
> So you can see that we have been effective but currently are stymied for want of a method of shipping our material to Brazil. Should your plan to have an aircraft made available to the Partners' program be realized, we could once again start the pipeline of help to Brazil flowing in a definite fashion.

Mr. Speaker, Jim Boren, the guiding light behind the Partners program, and his very able assistant at the Agency for International Development, Wade Fleetwood, have performed an outstanding service for the peoples of Latin America and the United States by their efforts to promote interchange and communication between the neighbors of this hemisphere.

They tell me that these are a very few of the many cases where transportation could open the door of peace and understanding a little wider.

The United States is in a perilous race with time and history in her efforts to close the ever-widening technological and economic gap between the members of the Alliance. This is one of those rare instances when a very small contribution can have very great beneficial effects.

The noble goals of the Alliance for Progress have helped create what has been called the "revolution of rising expectations" in Latin America.

We must do everything we can to make that revolution a peaceful and progressive one. The Partners' Plane for Peace

would be an important and significant step in that direction.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the full texts of some very thoughtful editorials and articles which have come to my attention in the last few weeks:

[From the Idaho Free Press & Caldwell News-Tribune, June 12, 1969]

GOOD IDEA: PEACE PLANE

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York recently reported that U.S.-Latin relations under the Alliance for Progress are hamstrung by red tape.

After two fact-finding missions for President Nixon, Rockefeller said, in effect, "there is no alliance." He saw deterioration and disillusionment in Latin relations with the U.S.

The Alliance for Progress, Rockefeller declared, had been "overpromised and under developed" by the U.S. and has resulted in frustrating the hopes of the Latin people.

He was critical of U.S. laws governing Latin aid—laws requiring that supplies for aid projects must be purchased in the U.S. even when they are available in the nation to be aided.

Rockefeller emphasized he was confident that changes would be made.

One specific change we would recommend lies in a phase of the Alliance for Progress program that is working. We're referring to the Partners of the Alliance program—our people-to-people approach to Latin aid. This organization joining 37 U.S. states with 38 areas of Latin America has paved the way for friendship, understanding and economic assistance in areas where the U.S. government itself has met with antagonism.

Here in Idaho we're working on self-help projects with Ecuador.

We'd like to see more encouragement of the people-to-people program by our government.

Rep. Dante B. Fascell, D-Fla., recently proposed a "Partners' Plane for Peace"—one U.S. aircraft that could be assigned to the Partners of the Alliance "to serve the cause of peace and understanding in the hemisphere."

Such a plane, he said, would "carry goods donated by American citizens to Latin American countries, in conjunction with the Alliance for Progress."

This would serve as "a dramatic symbol of the generosity of the American people—just as does the gleaming white hospital ship, HOPE," the New York congressman said.

Last year the Partners organization sent more than 660 tons of agricultural, educational and hospital equipment to partner nations in Latin America.

At present, an estimated 800 tons of additional equipment and large numbers of volunteers are awaiting transportation to Latin America.

Our government has thousands of military aircraft. Why not a plane for peace?

The idea is an excellent one. It would be an important first step in strengthening one of the most vital links in U.S.-Latin relations.

We strongly support this and other measures that will increase cooperation, economy and understanding between Americans and our neighbors to the South.

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[From the Wilmington (Del.) Morning News Opinion, June 16, 1969]

(By Bill Frank)

PANAMA FLIGHT NO FANCY

Can you imagine a great U.S. plane zooming down from the skies onto a Latin American airport some afternoon?

The people of the hills and the valleys would be looking up and wondering about its mission only to learn that this is not a war mission but one of peace and friendship.

The great plane would taxi along the air strip and pretty soon, like the abundance of good things flowing out of a cornucopia, out of it would come books, agricultural seeds, medicines and life-saving drugs, tools for farming and science.

The first question in the minds of the people would be: "What is it they want in return for all these?"

The answer would be: "Nothing but friendship and goodwill."

This describes the concept of U.S. Rep. Dante F. Fascell, D-Fla., to stimulate the sagging morale of the Alliance for Progress and reassure the people of Latin America of the U.S. interest and support of the alliance.

If it materializes, this plan would involve the Delaware Partners of the Alliance and solve their problem of transportation of many items they want to send to their counterpart in Panama.

The Delaware Partners of the Alliance was established about five years go with Panama.

The idea was to have a realistic people-to-people program as far removed from government as possible.

In these past five years, the Delaware Partners have established a meaningful rapport with citizen groups in Panama along social, educational, scientific and agricultural lines.

But because of the expense of air transportation and the slowness of sea-going freight, there's been great lagging periods in sending materials to the underprivileged areas of Panama.

Now comes Congressman Fascell with an idea.

He has called upon President Nixon to assign one U.S. aircraft, a Partners' Plane for Peace, to the Partners of the Alliance for Progress "to serve the cause of peace and understanding in the Western Hemisphere."

Fascell declared that "now is no time to turn our backs on the people of Latin America."

He decried "violence of a small, hostile minority" which recently forced the cancellation of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller's fact-finding mission to Venezuela.

"In 1968 alone," Fascell said, "the Partners of the Alliance in the United States sent more than 660 tons of agricultural, educational and hospital equipment to their partners in Latin America. Today an estimated 800 tons of additional equipment and large numbers of volunteers are awaiting transportation to Latin America.

"Despite the great generosity of many airlines and shipping companies, additional space is needed to transport this equipment and volunteers to Latin America.

Fascell's idea has tremendous possibilities.

Such a plane would leave the United States, and stop off at various Latin American countries, distributing conributions from the various partners in the U.S. to their counterparts in Latin America.

Delawareans have already shipped considerable material to Panama—tractors, camping equipment, medicines and drugs and seeds.

But they can send a lot more, with the help of the Medical Society of Delaware, the Boy Scouts of America, the Jaycees and the State Department of Agriculture and individuals.

Ed Golin, one of the original Delaware Partners and still an officer, sees the value of a U.S. aircraft beyond sending material to Panama, for example.

On its return flight, he says, the plane could bring back arts and crafts for loan exhibitions in Delaware. A tremendous collection of Panamanian archaeological items could come here for display.

"After all," Golin explains, "this Partners of the Alliance is a two way street. Our Panamanian friends are also anxious to contribute something to us; for the link between Panama and the United States is of particular importance and has been in all the years of the Panama Canal."

Nothing could be more dramatic than a U.S. plane on a mission of friendship. It would certainly pack an unforgettable gesture.

When does it start?

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[From the Casper (Wyo.) Star-Tribune, June 17, 1969]

SUGGEST "PLANE FOR PEACE" TO LIFT "PARTNERS" PROGRAM

A proposal designed to boost the sagging morale of the Alliance for Progress and reassure the people of Latin America of United States interest and support was made in Congress recently.

The proposal concerns the Partners' Plane for Peace. Casper is a participant in the Partners program having as a partner a cattle and ranching province in southern Brazil named Goyas.

The proposal calls for an airplane to make a circuit of the hemisphere loading and unloading people and donated equipment to expand the interchange of the Partners program.

In 37 states who are members of the Partner program daily collect items Latin America partners have requested to help them in self-help projects. These items include everything from used school desks to hospital x-ray equipment.

At this time the program is going nowhere because of the hold-up in shipping procedures.

The Wyoming State Chairman for the Partners of the Alliance is a Casper man, Roy Houser, 204 North Pennsylvania. The past chairman was also a Casper man, Edwin Brennan, 1704 Westridge Circle.

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[From the Denver (Colo.) Post, June 26, 1969]

CONGRESS OK SOUGHT—"PLANE FOR PEACE" ADVOCATED TO SPUR LATIN ALLIANCE AID

Dr. Will Pirkey, president of the National Association of the Partners of the Alliance (NAPA), said Wednesday that a "plane for peace" is being sought from Congress; he spoke before a meeting of the Colorado Partners of the Alliance.

The plane would be used to facilitate cultural exchanges and ship cargo between the United States and the 16 Latin American countries participating in the Alliance for Progress, he said.

Dr. Pirkey, a Denver physician and past president of the Colorado Partners of the Alliance, said a "plane for peace" could be used for such purposes as transporting medical equipment.

"Over 10 tons of medical equipment is being stored in Denver alone awaiting some form of transportation to Brazil. If NAPA had a plane at its disposal, this equipment could be flown out on a regularly scheduled basis," he said.

Dr. Pirkey said he hopes Congress will set aside one Air Force jet transport plane for NAPA use.

Rep. Dante B. Fascell, D-Fla., is spearheading the drive for a "plane for peace" in Congress, Dr. Pirkey said.

Fascell, speaking in the House of Representatives earlier this month, said that although much is being done to ship equipment to Latin American countries, "the tragedy . . . is that countless tons of additional equipment and large numbers of technical assistance volunteers could have been added . . . had transportation been available."

Dr. Pirkey also outlined his goals as NAPA president. He said he hoped to get the national program into the private sector. NAPA is currently operating on a declining grant from the Agency for International Development. The grant expires in two years.

He said he wished to expand NAPA aid to the existing state programs so they may better fulfill their objectives and expand the program from its current 37 states to all 50.

[From the Knoxville (Tenn.) News-Sentinel, June 29, 1969]

PARTNERS GO TO PEOPLE

(By Laffitte Howard)

"People, not systems, will solve our problems."

These are the words of Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, father of the atomic submarine and gadfly of the military because he believes red tape is only for cutting.

And while we are speaking of the Pentagon, what he said is equally true of the State Department or any agency of our Government.

The truth of his words has been spelled out for the past five years by a private group of Americans dedicated to aiding the people, not the governments, of Latin America.

The name of the group is the Partners of the Alliance, and it is just that—a private partner of the Alliance for Progress, the U.S. Government program started by President Kennedy to help our neighbors to the south.

ALLIANCE IN TROUBLE

But today the Alliance for Progress is in trouble.

As Scripps-Howard staff writer Robert Dietsch pointed out in a series in The News-Sentinel recently, the Alliance "was spawned with so much promise and hoopla" but Latin America today "probably has more hungry, ill-housed and poor people than ever before and as much illiteracy as ever."

Mr. Dietsch goes on to say "it is clearer than ever that what is lacking in and toward Latin America are ideas and motivation."

But the Partners of the Alliance has both ideas and the will to make them work. Thirty-seven states in the U.S. have become partners with states or countries in Latin America, and the contact is with people, not the heads of these governments.

Tennessee's partner is Amazonas, the largest state in Brazil—a state that takes in about a fifth of the whole country and is almost as large as all of the U.S. east of the Mississippi River.

Amazonas is mostly virgin jungle and most of its 750,000 people live close to the Amazon River or its tributaries, for most, water is their only means of transportation.

Head of the Tennessee Partners with Amazonas is Dean Arthur E. Warner of U-T's College of Business Administration. And he points out that the need of the Partners is for transportation. Here in Tennessee there are several tons of medical equipment and school groups have collected books and papers and crayon which are not in Amazonas because the Partners cannot afford private shipping.

Last month at a national meeting the Partners asked that "a single plane designated for purposes of war should be (made) available for conversion to serve the cause of peace and understanding in the hemisphere" and urged President Nixon to put such a plane at the Partners' disposal.

Rep. Dante B. Fascell has carried the request to the floor of the House of Representatives and Dean Warner urges that interested Tennesseans join in calling on their congressmen to carry the call to the President.

In 1968 the Partners sent 660 tons of agricultural, hospital and educational equipment to Latin-American Partners, but many more tons could have been sent if cheaper transportation had been available.

HELPED 350 TO VISIT

Last year the Agency for International Development helped 350 volunteer technicians visit Latin Partners and 1250 additional volunteers from the U.S. and 560 from Latin America traveled under private funding. As with equipment, much more of an exchange would have been possible if the transportation could have been financed.

Among those from Amazonas coming to Tennessee has been Moacir Andrade who last summer exhibited and discussed his work at U-T, Vanderbilt and in Union City, Jackson and Memphis. After his exhibits, which were well-received here, he sold $280 worth of his painting and gave the money to the Tennessee Partners.

And a potential gain for the U.S. from partnership is jute, a plant that grows wild in Amazonas. Area carpet makers are interested in exploring the possibility of using this jute as a backing for carpeting made in the United States. This could be not only a cheap raw material for manufacturers here, but Dean Warner points out that even a small plant in Amazonas could do wonders for an area where most of the people still live as they did 200 or 300 years ago.

U-T professors and instructors have visited Brazil and others from Amazonas have come to Tennessee to discuss the swapping of students and educational materials and courses.

But lack of transportation is the big bottle neck, not only between Tennessee and Amazonas, but between the other states and the friends they are making and the people they are helping in Latin America.

Partners of the Alliance makes a strong case for designating a military transport plane for its use.

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## COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICES: A VAST STORE OF KNOWLEDGE FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

(Mr. HORTON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, across this entire country there is a quiet but resourceful group of people striving to help alleviate the crucial problems facing the rural and urban disadvantaged.

While many may look at the cooperative extension services in our counties as an organization to help the farmer and give direction to young people in 4-H clubs, the efforts of these agents go far deeper.

I want to bring to the attention of my colleagues the efforts of two home economists in my 36th district of New York—Mrs. Mildred L. Roland, home economics division leader for the Cooperative Extension Association of Monroe County, and Mrs. Dorothy C. Williams, home economics agent of the Wayne County Cooperative Extension.

These two women are representative of an army of skilled professionals who are ready and willing to bring their vast stores of knowledge to the help of the disadvantaged. Let me share with you letters I have received from Mrs. Roland and Mrs. Williams. I am sure that you will join with me in commending their efforts as well as the efforts of all extension service home economists. The letters follow:

COOPERATIVE EXTENSION
ASSOCIATION OF MONROE COUNTY,
*Rochester, N.Y., June 26, 1969.*

Hon. FRANK HORTON,
*Rochester, N.Y.*

DEAR MR. HORTON: We were pleased to receive your letter regarding the type of program being conducted by Cooperative Extension to help alleviate the problems facing the disadvantaged in our community. Our staff shares your concern in this area. Several programs have been and are continually being directed to this audience. Let me share some of them with you.

JOB TRAINING PROGRAMS

While hard-core unemployed men and women are being taught job skills to earn more pay, Cooperative Extension recognized a need to also help trainees develop skills in getting more for their money.

Programs for—

165 NAB trainees conducted at Xerox.
115 New Careers trainees.
100 trainees at Concentrated Employment Program.
120 clerical trainees at Urban League.
45 retailing trainees at Urban League.

Interest has also been expressed by the local parole officer for similar programs with parolees.

Content: Payday planning; consumer frauds; credit problems; consumer buymanship; money handling. Other business and professional representatives in the community have been involved by Extension in these programs. Examples: Bar Association, Family Service, Better Business Bureau, and banks.

Frequently, trainees ask for personal help with financial difficulties they've already encountered. In some instances, financial counseling is provided by the home economist. Otherwise, the trainee is referred to the appropriate helping agency in the community, such as ABC Legal Services, Better Business Bureau, Family Service.

DEBT COUNSELING

Families of all income levels, but especially limited income families, encounter debt difficulties that are not adequately resolved by existing agencies or lenders. Cooperative Extension has spearheaded the involvement of local creditors and agencies to establish a community-wide debt counseling service. An Extension home economist is committee chairman. The home economist, to gain experience and insight into the debt problems, has served as a financial consultant to one of the largest family-serving agencies in the community. She has directly assisted 65 families who were on the brink of bankruptcy, in most cases; and indirectly assisted many more through training and advice to caseworkers.

Financial counseling advice has also been provided to the Human Relations Commission staff: VISTA workers in the migrant areas, and volunteers and professionals of day care facilities, hospitals, and housing groups.

TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR INDIGENOUS LEADERS

For the past three and one-half years, Cooperative Extension has trained the Teaching Homemakers working in the three Neighborhood Service Information Centers under the local OEO program, Action for a Better Community. The training has been given in all aspects of home economics, plus leadership development. Related community agencies, such as the Red Cross, Visiting Nurse Association and the Health Association, have also contributed to this training program.

More recently, volunteer Teaching Homemakers from another group, called WEDGE (a northwest district action program located around the Brown Square area), have participated in the above-mentioned training program.

TRAINING FOR HEADSTART COOKS

An Extension home economist has given some training on the use of government donated foods, as well as other training on menu planning, to cooks working in the Head Start program.

DONATED FOODS PROGRAM

Teaching Homemakers, trained by Extension, give information on the use of these

foods to families with whom they work. Recipes developed by Cooperative Extension have been widely distributed through agencies, such as the Social Services Department and ABC Centers.

VARIED PROGRAMS DESIGNED FOR LOW INCOME GROUPS

(In each case a group of Teaching Homemakers was trained by the Extension home economist).

Buying Clothing for the School Child, 58 attended.

Food Makes a Difference, 38 attended. (One teaching homemaker repeated this meeting for a group of 25 welfare mothers.)

General nutrition information; uses of surplus foods; busy housewife meals, and meals children like was the emphasis.

Be a Better Shopper—a program presented to many audiences of varying income levels—has been revised for use with low income groups. Corner store prices vs. supermarket prices was one point of emphasis for low income groups. Photographs and a prepared script enable this program to be taken to many groups by a volunteer or indigenous leader.

Starting July 1st, Cooperative Extension will, under a contractual agreement with the Rochester Housing Authority, conduct the training program for 70 families in the Holland Townhouse Turnkey III project. Families in this group are in the $4000 to $8000 income group. The townhouses are two- to four-bedroom homes and the plan is one that will permit families to own a home within a 25-year period, or less if their income permits.

The training program will be designed to assist families in their objective of accomplishing home ownership and will include such things as financial management skills, simple home maintenance, and good housekeeping practices.

I have touched only on the program for low income groups. So that you will be familiar with the various kinds of programs in the Home Economics Division. I am enclosing a copy of our brochure, as well as a list of publications which we recently duplicated for distribution.

We would be pleased to have you stop in at the office sometime.

Sincerely,

MILDRED L. ROLAND,
*Home Economics Division Leader.*

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COOPERATIVE EXTENSION, NEW YORK STATE, CORNELL UNIVERSITY, STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,

*Alton, N.Y., June 20, 1969.*

Hon. FRANK J. HORTON,
*House of Representatives,*
*Cannon House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. HORTON: I share your concern for the disadvantaged in Wayne County. During my two years in the Home Economics Division I have spent about ¼ of my time planning, preparing, and teaching programs for disadvantaged groups.

This summer will be the third year I have been Coordinator of all parent programs for the Clyde Head Start. Although the programs at Clyde focused mainly on helping parents understand what their children were learning in Head Start and how parents can be important teachers, I worked with the mothers on nutrition and grocery shopping problems.

I presented several similar programs for the Head Start MOMS group in Red Creek. I provided materials for distribution to these mothers and also to the Sodus Head Start mothers.

I meet every month with the CAP Neighborhood House "Consumer Club" in Clyde and have often talked with this group about food and nutrition.

I meet each month with a group of mothers sponsored by the Council of Churches "Harvester's Club" in Lyons. Initially this group got together to learn better family money management, but we have devoted several meetings to buying meats, feeding little folks, how to become a better shopper at the supermarket, etc.

I prepare one-idea grocery shopping fliers that are sent by Social Services to all recipients of food stamps each month.

In cooperation with the USDA representative in Rochester, I set up displays to promote the use of food stamps in six large Wayne County grocery stores.

I helped start a sewing group for mothers sponsored by the Migrant Ministry at their center in Williamson. I provide simple recipes and nutrition information (USDA Food For Thrifty Families and Smart Shopper Series) for Rural Migrant Ministry volunteers who work with migrant mothers during the summer.

I keep myself in contact with the CAP Neighborhood Center directors, Head Start directors, Social Service Caseworkers, and Food Stamp director, CAP Board of Directors, a school caseworker in Sodus and Williamson, and I offered to help the BEAM Director when there was an office in Sodus.

The Home Economics Division Program Committee is aware of the Expanded Nutrition Program, however when it was first presented to us we had a very full plan of work already in progress. Since I am the only agent in the Home Economics Division, we decided to consider it if a second federal appropriation became available. Most of the 22 counties who first started the Nutrition Program have at least two Home Economics Division agents, so it was easier for them to assign the Nutrition Program to one agent and have the other agent carry on with other programs.

We are happy to report to you that on June 5, 1969 the Home Economics Division Program Committee discussed the Expanded Nutrition Program again and voted to have Wayne County participate if federal funds become available to start the program in Wayne County. We are now prepared to adjust the responsibilities of our one Home Economics agent to make time for training and working with Nutrition aides.

We understand that if a second allotment is granted to New York State for the Expanded Nutrition Education program that most of the money will be used in New York City. Cooperative Extension at Cornell hopes to have enough money so that upper New York State counties will have the opportunity to get into the program. You might be able to suggest that Wayne County be included when additional funds are granted. We are ready to participate and await the federal money to begin in Wayne County.

Sincerely,

DOROTHY C. WILLIAMS,
*Cooperative Extension Agent.*

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## ASSISTANCE TO FOREIGN NATIONS

(Mr. MORSE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the United States has been engaged in the business of providing technical assistance to the developing nations for 20 years. To some extent we have had success—but to a greater degree our programs fall far short of what is needed to bring the developing countries up to a par with the more affluent nations. Each year when we consider the Foreign Assistance Act the same kinds of questions arise—why have our efforts not been more successful? What are we doing wrong, and what might we do in order to be more effective?

It is time, Mr. Speaker, that we gave some attention to our own past experience, in an effort to learn from our mistakes and to make future efforts more worth while.

It is with this interest in mind that I want to bring to the attention of my colleagues the comments of Robert E. Culbertson, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America, entitled "What We Have Learned in 20 Years of Technical Assistance."

Among the several very valid and insightful points which Mr. Culbertson makes about the process of development, and the role which we may play in that process, there is one to which I want to call special attention. It relates to a concept in which I have long had a deep interest. At the outset of this paper, Mr. Culbertson states:

> We have learned that development can be induced more effectively if we utilize an inter-disciplinary approach to problem solutions.

What Mr. Culbertson is suggesting is that we realize the importance of adopting a systems approach to the problems which our foreign aid program is trying to solve. Certainly one of this country's greatest resources is our technical capacity; we have developed many of the techniques of systems analysis for use in solving defense problems, and to a lesser extent for solving other public problems. One of the most perceptive observations made here is that the developing countries will meet with the greatest success in both economic and social growth when they approach their problems in the context of a systems approach which uses the expertise of all the several related disciplines involved.

I know that Mr. Culbertson's observations will be of interest to all of us as we try to bring greater effectiveness to the entire foreign assistance program, and I insert his comments at this point in the RECORD:

WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED IN 20 YEARS OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

(By Robert E. Culbertson, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America)

Among the "lessons" we have probably learned, or, at least the conclusions from experience to which I have come, are the following:

(1) We have learned how much more difficult development is than we had thought at the start. How slow the processes of change and how hard to cause them to move faster. In 1948 we but dimly understood that development is a process and that change is its prime characteristic.

(2) We have learned that development can be induced more effectively if we utilize an interdisciplinary approach to problem solutions. This is consistent with the nature of the process. Hence the greater promise in "regional development" programs; "urban development"; and "agri-business," "rural," and "community" development programs as against discreet programs of straight agriculture, industry, education, health, etc.

(3) We have learned that the "institution building" concepts of the 50's are of limited usefulness. Institutions without processes to speed up institutions without programs working closely in concert with other institutions toward common goals don't accomplish much, except by chance. Example: extension services; agricultural banks, that is, by themselves. However, in the context of a "systems" approach to problem solutions, using the several "disciplines" involved, a group of institutions, built or refurbished to make music together, yields good results. Example: the exploitation of "miracle wheat" in Pakistan, India and Turkey through a literal concert of all the relevant agencies in the context of a cohesive national policy.

*Exception:* It is possible that educational institutions are an exception, particularly special purpose schools like those in the areas of higher education, and technical schools. It may be hard to do wrong here. Educational institutions have a way of being or becoming relevant, regardless of the lack of skill of their founders. Such an institution, once created, makes a life of its own, and is very resistant to death, primarily because it becomes community property.

(4) We have learned that *Economic Growth* does not automatically bring social development or change for the better for the great majority of people. The quality and character of growth in the interests of people involves a separate *additional* set of problems and involves processes beyond simple economic growth (GNP). Growth is essential, of course; it is fundamental that there be an increasingly large pie; but it won't be cut any differently than before without conscious effort, both in policy terms and technologically. Labor has an important role to play with respect to the former. The latter has to do with the development of more refined techniques of agricultural, industrial, and agri-business development with the goals being higher incomes for farmers, workers, and small businessmen.

(5) We have learned how important, yet how delicate, is the art of making technical assistance effective. In the 50's we thought the thing to do was to "export know-how." We minimized the need for adaptation. We did not deny it, but we didn't take it seriously enough, and we did not recognize that much "know-how" can't stand the trip. Examples of this are our standard efforts over the years in education and agriculture. The results in Latin America are at the least disappointing. I.L.O., however, has had some advantages in this area. The programs for which it has expertise tend to be among those more relevant to developing countries, with proper adaptation and the development of local strains. I am thinking of how useful employment services have proved to be; and household surveys, manpower analyses, and the experiments with education outside the formal school system.

(6) We have learned that development does not normally result from "technical assistance" projects if they are carried out by the donor agency. Doing the job for the host country does not work. It results in the project ending once the assistance stops. And there are degrees of this disease. Too much technical assistance even if it doesn't kill can weaken the project, in terms of ultimate self-sufficiency. In this connection, too little use has been made thus far of the training and educating abroad of nationals of the host country as an alternative to sending foreign technicians to their countries. Perhaps foreign technicians can move a project further than "participants" over a four or five year period. Given a 10 year span, however, I suspect that putting the major emphasis on sending nationals abroad for advanced training, in lieu of importing technicians, would give vastly superior results. Now that we can easily look back 10 years it is unfortunate that we did not think of this sooner. It remains, however, hard for us to plan ahead 10 years, and we thus still too often tailor our projects to 3–5 year goals and wind up again sending too many culturally unadapted specialists to try to do a job that could be done better by host country nationals if we only took the slightly longer time that this approach requires.

(7) We have learned that in some areas of development, progress comes to a halt and remains at a standstill in the absence of new scientific breakthroughs. Food production in relation to population needs is an example. The picture for Asia was bleak and little could be done about it before the discoveries of miracle rice and wheat. These discoveries have revolutionized the food picture, and agriculture, and the economies of Asia. We need similar breakthroughs in education and family planning, for example, and since wheat and rice are not so total a part of the economies of the world outside Asia, we need equivalent breakthrough for Latin America and Africa in corn, beef, beans, and related proteins.

(8) We have learned that the wistful aspirations of the developing countries to participate in the rapid expansion of world trade is a cruelly unattainable vision so long as the transfer of technology to the developing nations is not speeded up. To participate in expanding world trade means, essentially, to compete in the increasingly sophisticated markets of the developed countries, which is where trade is expanding. To do this will require a massive not to say herculean effort to raise the levels of technology in the developing countries. This can be done in part, and reasonably fast, by bringing in foreign private capital together with the technology and management skills needed to produce quality products consistently. In important part, however, raising national technology levels is a vast and little understood field involving more skillful use than is now being made of: (1) training abroad; (2) higher and technical education; (3) scientific and professional organizations; (4) new forms for institutionalized research and development in the developing countries such as the international centers for grains research in the Philippines and Mexico; and (5) multi-lateral and bi-lateral technical assistance programs.

Also involved is the area of new products research and development, so promising in both South America and Africa because of the richness of the unexplored natural resources of these continents. Here is involved a blend of resources evaluation and basic and applied scientific research looking to the discovery, or creation, of new products that can be competitive in world markets.

(9) We have learned much more about the meaning of the long-recognized fact that external aid is "marginal." That external development aid from public sources can be but a small fraction of a country's total public sector investment program is well known. The overwhelming importance of private sector investment in relation to public investment has also been long understood. What we have learned is more about how important it is to focus if not to limit external investment to programs that are by their nature agents of growth and change—to projects that start unstoppable movements. Where a small amount of external capital can help cause a large amount of domestic capital to be devoted to an efficient program of growth and change, aid is being well used. When private investment ploughs new fields starting new growth cycles and creating new markets and new jobs, it is being well used. Where aid, however, goes to projects not characterized by their capacity to start movements and not supported, say, at least 8–1 by domestic resources, such aid is essentially wasted, in development terms. A bridge, a dam, a piece of road are not necessarily a waste in and of themselves but if they are wholly, or substantially, financed by foreign aid and that's all there is to the project—a discreet, physical, foreign accomplishment with no follow-on—such aid has not performed the function that justifies it. In development terms it has accomplished nothing.

(10) We have learned that too rapid population growth is making extremely difficult progress in all phases of development and threatens, if not curbed, to make impossible the attainment of reasonable goals of human well-being.

(11) We have learned that contrary to the emotional views of some, there is a unity, not a dichotomy, of interests among economists and "social" developers. They need each other. Social development not based on sustained economic growth is a concept without serious foundation. Economic development without social growth as its end aim is an incomplete concept, and where deliberate, is wrong and its own undoing. What is needed then is for the economists to take off their coats, roll up their sleeves and go to work in concert with the scientists and technicians on the real problems of real live people who live in regions that actually exist and whose problem won't be solved by dicta, pronouncement, policy, or financial manipulation at the national level, but only by a combination of these with precise attention to the real problems of production, distribution and marketing of the products of the locale concerned. In Latin America neither economists nor social developers can afford to think in terms of just 20-odd "universes" representing that many countries and that many economies. The separate groups of people, the problems of whose "sub-economies" need "tailor-made" attention, number closer to 100 than 20. This is one of Latin America's unhappiest truths. Yet there is no easy way out. Each of the hundred sub-economies requires at least as intensive attention in its own right as do the 20-odd national economies.

12. We have learned the utility of *functional concentration* especially in the achievement of hard-to-get results within a reasonable period of time—in other words in the effecting of breakthroughs. The Atomic Energy Commission learned this long ago. (e.g. Salt Reactor, Bombs, Power) U.S. Manufacturing Industries have long known this. (e.g. SST, Turbine Engines, G.M., decentralized organization, etc.) We in international development have learned that it applies to our work, too, as we have noted in surprise at how successful, for example, has been the International Rice Research Institute, the discoverer of miracle rice. The dedication of a whole organizational unit from the top down to a single goal, and given the freedom to pursue it, does something to its effectiveness. The breadth of interests in an AID, a UN, an OAS is so great—there is so much room for conflict, cynicism, and differing views on priorities; there is so much need for over-management and over-programming that the various elements tend to cancel each other out. This suggests a progressive limiting of the role of the so-called principal agencies of external aid (e.g. AID, UN, OAS) to resource allocation, which they can and have to do, with the operation of development programs increasingly delegated to special purpose organizations, public and private. This does not contradict the point I made earlier about the need for a multi-disciplinary approach to problem solutions. It complements it. A complex problem like how to raise farm income cannot be solved except by a complex solution system identified with a given location and specific crops, and involving many inputs. However, among the essential inputs

are the results of the work of such special purpose institutions as the wheat research center in Mexico. Without its input the hope of significantly raising income from wheat farming cannot exist. With a miracle strain alone, however, not much is likely to happen, either. With however, a new scientific find built into a system aimed at the well-being of the people involved in the system we are likely to obtain the results sought. When we compare this reasonable prospect with the reality that by the standard methods used to date, agricultural productivity hasn't and can't keep pace with population growth, and we at the same time recognize that this is one of the roots of the present deep discontent, the lesson is worth pondering, and acting upon.

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## PUBLISHING OF INCOME TAX DATA

(Mr. O'HARA asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, I think it is fair to say that most Americans believe that the job of the Internal Revenue Service is to collect taxes—period.

The Internal Revenue Code, under a section whose origins date back to 1916, does grant the IRS the authority to publish "pertinent and valuable facts" relating to income tax returns.

There is a publishing project now underway at the IRS which it justifies under this authority. The facts which it is publishing are admittedly "pertinent and valuable"—but pertinent and valuable to the wrong people for the wrong purposes.

If this project proceeds to the end envisioned by IRS officials, it will be a boon for direct-mail advertisers and door-to-door salesmen.

But the citizen who happens to be in a fair financial position will get nothing but a deluge of junk mail and a parade of salesmen at the door.

To my mind, this project raises serious questions about the protection of the privacy of our citizens and the confidentiality of individual income tax returns.

Here is what the IRS has done:

It has pulled detailed tax information—adjusted gross income, total tax liability, number of joint returns, dependents—for groupings of people, within certain major ZIP code classifications and then published it in a booklet, "ZIP Code Area Data, Individual Income Tax Returns."

This document presents the smallest geographical breakdown yet for specific financial information.

This initial booklet covers 837 cities and geographical areas throughout the United States, according to the IRS press release.

But it has an even more ambitious project underway, and one that gives cause for concern.

The IRS is working now on publishing these income tax statistics for every one of the 35,000 ZIP code areas in the Nation. The information will be placed on microfilm or magnetic tape and sold to IRS "customers" for about $2,000, or enough to cover IRS costs.

Prior to publication of the current booklet for 837 ZIP code areas, the IRS provided tax statistics only for entire States and about 100 of the biggest metropolitan statistical areas.

Even under this first ZIP code breakdown, the statistics cover a sizable area, generally an entire city.

But when the statistics are published for each ZIP code, the geographical area represented will be reduced to a size measureable in city blocks.

And who will be the prime beneficiaries of this data? The people who have something to sell and want to pinpoint their best sales prospects.

If you live in a reasonably affluent area, as identified by the IRS booklet, you can expect to be inundated with junk mail. The mail advertiser equipped with this IRS publication will only have to flick through it to find the ZIP code areas where the best potential customers live. With the help of the Post Office Department, the message will be right on target.

Door-to-door salesmen will have no problem identifying the areas of maximum potential, as they sometimes do now. A flip through the ZIP code tax summary and they can home in on their quarry with unprecedented accuracy.

An unreasoned fear, you say?

Well, the IRS admits in the opening paragraph of the introduction to the publication that the information is most useful, and, I quote, "for the purpose of economic studies, especially for market analysis."

In other words, it is basically of use for commercial—as opposed to governmental—purposes.

Internal Revenue Commissioner Randolph W. Thrower takes apparent pride in the fact that this new publication "marks the first time in the Federal Government that the postal ZIP code has been used as a means of geographic classification in publishing financial statistics for small areas."

Few Americans will share Mr. Thrower's apparent pride in this latest bit of bureaucratic innovation.

For one thing, the IRS is abusing the purposes of the ZIP code, which, if I understand correctly, was instituted for the sole purpose of speeding mail to its destination. It was not conceived with the idea of turning it into a statistical unit for the purpose of analyzing the population.

Second, the job of the Internal Revenue Service is to collect taxes as efficiently and fairly as possible.

The IRS performs its tax collecting responsibilities with dispatch. In performing its primary function, it has won the respect—if not the affection—of most Americans.

The use of IRS resources in such a questionable statistical venture certainly will not endear the IRS to the already wary taxpayer who will see it as an abuse of the information which they must supply by law to the IRS.

Few people believe that it is the responsibility of the IRS to find prospects for salesmen.

This week, I addressed a letter to Commissioner Thrower asking that the entire ZIP code project be reconsidered and that further work be halted.

If there is no greater purpose than to assist commercial interests in doing business—

I wrote—

Then it should be abandoned.

I take this opportunity to call this matter to the attention of my colleagues. If you agree with my assessment of the dangers of this project, I hope that you will make your views known to Commissioner Thrower.

I want to include at this point in the RECORD a copy of the IRS press release "IRS Publishes Income Data by ZIP Code Area," Commissioner Thrower's letter of transmittal for the ZIP code statistical publication, the introduction to the publication, and my letter to Commissioner Thrower:

[Internal Revenue Service news release, June 26, 1969]

IRS PUBLISHES INCOME DATA BY ZIP CODE AREA

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Adjusted gross income, total tax liability, and other statistical data relating to Federal individual income tax returns are now available for the first time by major postal ZIP Code classification, the Internal Revenue Service announced today.

The statistical information, based on 1966 tax returns and covering 837 cities and geographic areas throughout the United States, is contained in the new IRS publication, "Statistics of Income—1966. Supplemental Report, ZIP Code Area Data from Individual Income Tax Returns."

IRS said that the new booklet marks the first publication by the Federal Government of financial statistics for small areas in which the postal ZIP code system has been used for geographic classifications. Previously such IRS data was available only for each state and the 100 largest standard metropolitan areas.

Since the ZIP Code system tends to reflect transportation patterns and patterns of commerce, IRS said the statistical material in the new publication would be especially useful in approximating marketing or commuting areas.

The 837 area tabulations in the publication cover the entire country and are identified by the first three digits of the five-digit ZIP Code. Among the 837 listings, 199 are for large cities and the remaining 638 for suburban or rural areas, IRS said. A list of the 199 cities for which separate tabulations are shown is attached.

For densely populated areas such as Atlanta, Ga., for example, the booklet presents a tabulation for the city itself and separate listings for the surburban areas, all by three-digit ZIP Code.

Eight separate tabulations are given for New York City to correspond to the number of major post offices there which have differing three-digit ZIP Codes.

For all 837 ZIP Code areas, the IRS publication includes a tabulation, by size of income, of the number of returns filed, number of joint returns filed by husbands and wives, number of exemptions claimed for taxpayers and their families, adjusted gross income, and total tax liability.

IRS said the publication breaks the size of income down into three groupings for each ZIP Code area: Under $3,000; $3,000 under $10,000 and $10,000 or more.

Typical of the 837 area listings in the booklet is the following tabulation for the city of Los Angeles:

| Adjusted gross income classes | Number of returns | Number of joint returns | Number of exemptions | | | Adjusted gross income (in thousands) | Total tax (in thousands) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Total | Taxpayers | Dependents | | |
| **900 Los Angeles (city)** | | | | | | | |
| Total | 765,639 | 313,780 | 1,849,600 | 1,193,511 | 656,089 | $5,162,789 | $671,815 |
| Under $3,000 | 244,108 | 35,934 | 415,303 | 325,204 | 90,099 | 354,578 | 14,215 |
| $3,000 under $10,000 | 392,381 | 174,660 | 1,024,848 | 617,508 | 407,340 | 2,329,212 | 213,992 |
| $10,000 or more | 129,150 | 103,186 | 409,449 | 250,799 | 158,650 | 2,478,999 | 443,608 |

The 96-page publication, "Statistics of Income—1966, Supplemental Report, ZIP Code Area Data from Individual Income Tax Returns," is available for $1.00 from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

As an extension of the material in the publication for those interested, IRS has announced that it is developing identical data for all 35,000 five-digit ZIP Code areas in the country.

The five-digit information, IRS said, will be made available to customers by year-end on magnetic tape or on microfilm at approximately $2,000 each to reimburse IRS for the development cost involved. IRS at present cannot fill requests for data covering limited numbers of five-digit ZIP Code areas.

Individuals interested in the full-set of five-digit tabulations should contact the Director, Statistics Division, Internal Revenue Service, 1111 Constitution Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20224, as soon as possible, and no later than July 15, 1969.

*Statistics of income—1966 supplement, ZIP code area data from individual income tax returns, list of the 199 zoned cities in the ZIP code system, by State*

| State and zoned city: | ZIP code prefix |
|---|---|
| Alabama: | |
| Birmingham | 352 |
| Huntsville | 358 |
| Mobile | 366 |
| Montgomery | 361 |
| Arizona: | |
| Phoenix | 850 |
| Tucson | 857 |
| Arkansas: Little Rock | 722 |
| California: | |
| Alhambra | 918 |
| Anaheim | 928 |
| Bakersfield | 933 |
| Berkeley | 947 |
| Burbank | 915 |
| Fresno | 937 |
| Glendale | 912 |
| Inglewood | 903 |
| Long Beach | 908 |
| Los Angeles | 900 |
| North Hollywood | 916 |
| Oakland | 946 |
| Palo Alto | 943 |
| Pasadena | 911 |
| Richmond | 948 |
| Riverside | 925 |
| Sacramento | 958 |
| San Bernardino | 924 |
| San Diego | 921 |
| San Francisco | 941 |
| San Jose | 951 |
| San Mateo | 944 |
| Santa Ana | 927 |
| Santa Barbara | 931 |
| Santa Monica | 904 |
| Torrance | 905 |
| Van Nuys | 914 |
| Colorado: | |
| Colorado Springs | 809 |
| Denver | 802 |
| Connecticut: | |
| Bridgeport | 066 |
| Hartford | 061 |
| New Haven | 065 |
| Stamford | 069 |

*Statistics of income—1966 supplement, ZIP code area data from individual income tax returns, list of the 199 zoned cities in the ZIP code system, by State*—Continued

| State and zoned city: | ZIP code prefix |
|---|---|
| Delaware: Wilmington | 198 |
| Florida: | |
| Fort Lauderdale | 333 |
| Jacksonville | 322 |
| Miami | 331 |
| Orlando | 328 |
| Saint Petersburg | 337 |
| Tampa | 336 |
| Georgia: | |
| Atlanta | 303 |
| Augusta | 309 |
| Macon | 312 |
| Savannah | 314 |
| Columbus | 319 |
| Hawaii: Honolulu | 968 |
| Idaho: Boise | 837 |
| Chicago | 606 |
| Evanston | 602 |
| Oak Park | 603 |
| Peoria | 616 |
| Rockford | 611 |
| Springfield | 627 |
| Indiana: | |
| Evansville | 477 |
| Fort Wayne | 468 |
| Gary | 464 |
| Indianapolis | 462 |
| South Bend | 466 |
| Iowa: | |
| Cedar Rapids | 524 |
| Davenport | 528 |
| Des Moines | 503 |
| Sioux City | 511 |
| Waterloo | 507 |
| Kansas: | |
| Kansas City | 661 |
| Shawnee Mission | 662 |
| Topeka | 666 |
| Wichita | 672 |
| Kentucky: | |
| Lexington | 405 |
| Louisville | 402 |
| Louisiana: | |
| Baton Rouge | 708 |
| Shreveport | 711 |
| New Orleans | 701 |
| Maine: Portland | 041 |
| Maryland: | |
| Annapolis | 214 |
| Baltimore | 212 |
| Silver Spring | 209 |
| Washington, D.C.[1] | 200 |
| Massachusetts: | |
| Boston | 021–022 |
| Brockton | 024 |
| Springfield | 011 |
| Worcester | 016 |
| Michigan: | |
| Detroit | 482 |
| Flint | 485 |
| Lansing | 489 |
| Grand Rapids | 495 |
| Minnesota: | |
| Duluth | 558 |
| Minneapolis | 554 |
| St. Paul | 551 |
| Mississippi: Jackson | 392 |

*Statistics of income—1966 supplement, ZIP code area data from individual income tax returns, list of the 199 zoned cities in the ZIP code system, by State*—Continued

| State and zoned city | ZIP code prefix |
|---|---|
| Missouri: | |
| Jefferson City | 651 |
| Kansas City | 641 |
| St. Joseph | 645 |
| St. Louis | 631 |
| Springfield | 658 |
| Montana: Billings | 591 |
| Nebraska: | |
| Lincoln | 685 |
| Omaha | 681 |
| Nevada: | |
| Carson City | 897 |
| Las Vegas | 891 |
| Reno | 895 |
| New Hampshire: | |
| Concord | 033 |
| Manchester | 031 |
| New Jersey: | |
| Atlantic City | 084 |
| Camden | 081 |
| Elizabeth | 072 |
| Jersey City | 073 |
| Newark | 071 |
| New Brunswick | 089 |
| Paterson | 075 |
| Trenton | 086 |
| New Mexico: Albuquerque | 871 |
| New York: | |
| Albany | 122 |
| Binghamton | 139 |
| Buffalo | 142 |
| Elmira | 149 |
| Hicksville | 118 |
| New Rochelle | 108 |
| New York: | |
| Manhattan | 100 |
| Staten Island | 103 |
| Bronx | 104 |
| Long Island City | 111 |
| Brooklyn | 112 |
| Flushing | 113 |
| Jamaica | 114 |
| Far Rockaway | 116 |
| Niagara Falls | 143 |
| Poughkeepsie | 126 |
| Rochester | 146 |
| Schenectady | 123 |
| Syracuse | 132 |
| Utica | 135 |
| White Plains | 106 |
| Yonkers | 107 |
| North Carolina: | |
| Asheville | 288 |
| Charlotte | 282 |
| Durham | 277 |
| Greensboro | 274 |
| Raleigh | 276 |
| Winston-Salem | 271 |
| North Dakota: Fargo | 581 |
| Ohio: | |
| Akron | 443 |
| Canton | 447 |
| Cincinnati | 452 |
| Cleveland | 441 |
| Columbus | 432 |
| Dayton | 454 |
| Mansfield | 449 |
| Springfield | 455 |
| Toledo | 436 |
| Youngstown | 445 |
| Oklahoma: | |
| Oklahoma City | 731 |
| Tulsa | 741 |
| Oregon: Portland | 972 |
| Pennsylvania: | |
| Allentown | 181 |
| Erie | 165 |
| Harrisburg | 171 |
| Lancaster | 176 |
| Philadelphia | 191 |
| Pittsburgh | 152 |
| Reading | 196 |
| Scranton | 185 |

*Statistics of income—1966 supplement, ZIP code area data from individual income tax returns, list of the 199 zoned cities in the ZIP code system, by State*—Continued

| State and zoned city: | ZIP code prefix |
|---|---|
| Pennsylvania—Continued | |
| Wilkes-Barre | 187 |
| York | 174 |
| Rhode Island: Providence | 029 |
| South Carolina: Columbia | 292 |
| South Dakota: Sioux Falls | 571 |
| Tennessee: | |
| Chattanooga | 374 |
| Knoxville | 379 |
| Memphis | 381 |
| Nashville | 372 |
| Texas: | |
| Abilene | 796 |
| Amarillo | 791 |
| Austin | 787 |
| Beaumont | 777 |
| Corpus Christi | 784 |
| Dallas | 752 |
| El Paso | 799 |
| Fort Worth | 761 |
| Houston | 770 |
| Lubbock | 794 |
| San Antonio | 782 |
| Waco | 767 |
| Utah: | |
| Ogden | 844 |
| Salt Lake City | 841 |
| Virginia: | |
| Alexandria | 223 |
| Arlington | 222 |
| Newport News | 236 |
| Norfolk | 235 |
| Portsmouth | 237 |
| Richmond | 232 |
| Washington: | |
| Seattle | 981 |
| Spokane | 992 |
| Tacoma | 984 |
| West Virginia: | |
| Charleston | 253 |
| Huntington | 257 |
| Wisconsin: | |
| Green Bay | 543 |
| Madison | 537 |
| Milwaukee | 532 |
| Racine | 534 |

[1] The zoned city of Washington, D.C., which includes suburban areas in Maryland, is shown as part of the Maryland tabulation.

NOTE.—The boundaries of the zoned cities are not always identical to those of the corresponding political units.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
*Washington, D.C., April 29, 1969.*

Hon. DAVID M. KENNEDY,
*Secretary of the Treasury.*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am transmitting the *Supplemental Report, Statistics of Income—1966, Zip Code Area Data from Individual Income Tax Returns,* prepared in partial fulfillment of the requirements of section 6108 of the Internal Revenue Code. This report contains heretofore unpublished statistics related to the operation of our tax system in small geographic areas throughout the country.

The present report was prepared in response to the increasing demand for small area data by users of *Statistics of Income.* Previously, this demand could not be met because of the limitations of the relatively small number of returns in the sample used for the annual *Statistics of Income* reports. However, with the expansion of the Internal Revenue Service's Master File for 1966 to cover all taxpayers, it became possible for the first time to obtain income and tax data from all individual income tax returns and to classify them into small geographic units. The taxpayer's Zip Code, which was included in the Master File, was used as the means of classifying the data into postal sectional centers and zoned cities. This report marks the first time in the Federal Government that the postal Zip Code has been used as a means of geographic classification in publishing financial statistics for small areas.

RANDOLPH W. THROWER,
*Commissioner of Internal Revenue.*

INTRODUCTION

Zip Codes, first introduced by the U.S. Post Office Department in 1963, have been gaining increased acceptance as a logical system for subdividing the country into small areas for the purpose of economic studies, especially for market analysis. Since a Zip Code was included as a part of every taxpayer's return record, it presented a unique opportunity to produce small area data from individual income tax returns.

In producing data for such small areas, the sample of returns used in producing the annual *Statistics of Income* reports would have been inadequate. With the completion of the Internal Revenue Service Master File of all individual income tax returns for tax year 1966, an alternative source of tax data became available, and relatively precise measures of small area data became possible for the first time. However, it should be noted that the definitions and procedures used in Master File processing, and thus reflected in this report, differ in some particulars from those generally used in IRS statistical processing.

In this volume, data are shown for all 3-digit Zip Code areas in the United States, as defined by the Post Office Department. These 837 areas,[1] identified by the first three digits of the Zip Code, are the basic subdivisions below the State level in the postal system. Each has a central (or "hub") post office, in which the mail is sorted for distribution to the surrounding post offices, branches, or stations, which are in turn identified by the last two digits of the Zip Code.

Since these areas were set up to facilitate the movement of mail, they tend to reflect the transportation patterns, and thus the patterns of commerce, in a given region. For this reason, they have been found to represent meaningful economic areas, which can be used to approximate marketing or commuting areas. As a rule, they do not reflect previously established political boundaries, such as county or city lines.

The 3-digit Zip Code areas are of two basic types: sectional centers and zoned cities. Sectional centers consist of a "hub" city and surrounding smaller towns and rural areas. In the case of zoned cities, on the other hand, a 3-digit code simply identifies one large city (although it should be noted that the boundaries of the zoned city do not necessarily conform to those of the corresponding political unit).

A slight variation of these two basic types of 3-digit areas occurs when the hub city of a sectional center is also a zoned city. In these cases, the sectional center assumes the shape of a ring around the hub city, while the latter is identified by a separate 3-digit code.

For further details on the Zip Code system, see the "Explanation of Classifications and Terms" (appendix A).

[1] There are 552 basic areas ("sectional centers") in the Zip Code system. However, some of these areas are further subdivided into two or more portions, each identified by a unique 3-digit code.

ORGANIZATION OF THIS REPORT

Data for each of the 837 3-digit Zip Code areas are shown in Zip Code numeric sequence in the basic tables. For further convenience, the tables have been arranged into 10 sections, each representing one of the Post Office Department's National service areas. National service areas are identified by the first digit of every Zip Code.

The National totals for these data are shown on the first page of the basic tabulations. Preceding every section of tables is a set of maps for each of the States in that particular National service area. These maps show the approximate boundaries of the sectional centers and the location of the zoned cities.[2] State totals, which include data for a few returns which could not be classified by Zip Code, precede the Zip Code data for each State.

Some of the limitations of the geographic classifications used in this report are explained in appendix B.

RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER REPORTS

In contrast to other reports in the *Statistics of Income* series, this supplemental report is not based on a sample, but on the complete Master File of individual income tax returns for 1966. Therefore, unlike the other *Statistics of Income* reports, data in this report are not subject to sampling variability.

Although there are some differences between State totals as shown in this report and State totals in the regular *Statistics of Income* report for 1966, the difference in U.S. totals is less than 1 percent with respect to number of returns, adjusted gross income and total tax.

In most cases, the differences are due to the differing methods applicable to Master File revenue processing operations and to regular *Statistics of Income* processing. In addition, the definitions of adjusted gross income, taxpayers' exemptions, and tax used in this report differ somewhat from those used in the regular *Statistics of Income* program, as is explained in appendix C.

JUNE 7, 1969.

RANDOLPH W. THROWER,
*Commissioner, Internal Revenue Service, U.S. Treasury Department, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. THROWER: I have examined with great interest the "Zip Code Area Data/Individual Income Tax Returns" recently published by the Internal Revenue Service.

A careful reading of this document, along with the accompanying press release, raises some serious questions about this project and its implication concerning the protection of privacy of citizens and the confidentiality of individual income tax returns.

It is my opinion that if the ultimate plans of the Internal Revenue Service are carried out—with statistics published for every zip code area in the nation—the IRS will have drawn statistical bullseyes around areas of affluence for the benefit of direct mail advertisers and door to door salesmen.

I seriously question whether personal income tax data should be used for this purpose. I question whether it is the business of the Internal Revenue Service to draw targets for commercial interests who then can proceed to invade the privacy of citizens who happend to live in moderate or relatively high income areas, as identified by the IRS statistics.

At the outset, let me state that I have no objection to the collection of information for legitimate governmental uses. Since statistics

[2] For more detailed information on the configuration of Zip Code areas, contact the Customer Relations Division, U.S. Post Office Department, Washington, D.C. 20260

generally serve as the basis for wise planning of necessary governmental services, there can be no argument that collection of certain information is to the benefit of our citizens.

While the publication of the IRS tax data may be of some use to governmental agencies, I note that you state in the opening sentence of your introduction to the document that a major potential use of the information will be "for the purpose of economic studies *especially for market analysis.*" Those final four words leave little doubt in my mind that the major customers for this booklet will be those who can use it commercially.

This is the basis for my concern:

I seriously question whether it is the business of the Internal Revenue Service to provide tax data for commerical use. In fact, I have serious reservations about the use of tax data for governmental use, but that is not at issue here.

I realize that in the past the IRS has customarily prepared its "Statistics of Income" which have been used by both government agencies and private business for area analysis. However, this statistical data focused on relatively large population units—each state and the nation's 100 largest standard metropolitan areas.

The use of the first three zip code numbers reduces the population unit somewhat, but I recognize that it still comprises relatively large areas.

However, I note with extreme concern that the IRS is proceeding with plans to publish income and tax data for every zip code area in the nation.

In effect, these IRS statistics will focus in on areas so small that they can be measured in terms of city blocks, rather than by city or metropolitan statistical area.

Direct mail advertisers equipped with a copy of your publication will deluge the best potential customers, as determined by the IRS, with promotional material. I predict that homeowners in these favored neighborhoods will have to buy mailboxes with the capacity of wheelbarrows to contain the daily delivery of junk mail.

Door to door salesmen will no longer have to cruise the city looking for a likely neighborhood. The IRS will have told them where the most lucrative areas are located, and street maps will probably be included in the publication.

In short, it appears that this project—questionable at best—should be carefully reconsidered. If there is no greater purpose than to assist commercial interests in doing business, then it should be abandoned.

I would urge an immediate halt in work being done to publish this material by zip codes, while this consideration is underway.

It is widely felt that the business of the Internal Revenue Service is to collect taxes—period. Granted, a section of the Internal Revenue Code whose provisions date back to 1916 gives the IRS authority to publish "pertinent and valuable" facts from income tax statistics. The determination of what is "pertinent and valuable" is left to the discretion of the IRS.

In the case of zip code area data, I acknowledge that it is pertinent and valuable—but pertinent and valuable to the wrong people for the wrong purpose.

Again, I strongly urge you to reconsider plans to publish statistical information for each of the 35,000 zip codes in the nation.

To my mind, it would lead to gross invasions of privacy, while distorting the responsibilities of the IRS.

I look forward to your response.

Very truly yours,

JAMES G. O'HARA,
*Member of Congress.*

## A TRIBUTE TO SPACE EXPLORERS

(Mr. TUNNEY asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, in a decade marred with violence and corrupted by hate, we are frequently frustrated with our seeming inability to achieve man's great capabilty for progress.

We have seen the products of advancing technology transformed into weapons of death and destruction—and have watched our fellow men and our great leaders martyred by this perversion of progress and technology. We have shared the futility of being so close to the answers—yet always finding them just beyond our grasp.

Man, however, is not morally crippled, and his will is not broken. When our frustrations sometimes seem greatest, there occurs an event to give buoyancy to our hopes that man can surmount even the most difficult feats.

Such an event is scheduled to occur this month. Man is going to set foot on the moon, and we will all be fortunate enough to witness this culmination of one of man's greatest quests. Thanks to our communications capability, we will be witnessing a triumph of technology "qua non."

It will be an American who first treads on the moon's surface—but this is by no means solely a provincial triumph. This is one of the rarest of rare occasions when all men will stand together—when all men will revel in a glory that only man can feel.

Progress is never an easy or painless process—and ours in space exploration has certainly been neither easy nor painless. Yet, as in all of mankind's great explorations down through the centuries, the triumph of a single feat is but a steppingstone to greater advancement.

So it is with conquering the moon. Though it is the culmination of one phase of space exploration, it is—in a broader sense—merely a way station for man's eventual quest for knowledge of his universe.

At the same time, man's setting foot on the moon should give rise to the realization that we can achieve our capabilities here on earth as well as among the heavens. A renewed vigor and a strengthened commitment to all of man's duties—terrestrial and celestial—should be derived from this milestone.

There can be no doubt that in space exploration, man has progressed. And this last, yet at the same time this first step should be singled out for its unique addition to the history of mankind.

The resolution that I am proposing will do just that. It will single out this momentous day in the history of America and mankind, and will reaffirm our commitment to all men in the name of progress.

This resolution will establish "Space Exploration Day" as a national holiday on the anniversary of man's first lunar landing. It authorizes the President to issue an annual proclamation for observing this day with appropriate honors and activities. And, it calls upon the Postmaster General to issue an appropriate stamp, commemorating this historic achievement.

Mr. Speaker, I call upon all of my colleagues in Congress to join with me in supporting this resolution.

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## PRIDE IN AMERICA

(Mr. RANDALL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, on the Fourth of July our senior Senator, STUART SYMINGTON, appeared on the annual program at the Truman Library in my home city of Independence, Mo.

Earlier in the morning a parade had formed at a point south of the Courthouse Square and proceeded on past the home of former President Truman. It was my privilege to ride in the same open convertible with my Senator, and to pause to pay our respects to President and Mrs. Truman as we passed their home on North Delaware en route to the library.

Although his health would not permit Mr. Truman to be present at the library, Senator SYMINGTON appeared as the speaker at the personal request of our former President. Because of the lengthy program the remarks of the Senator were brief. However they were so well chosen and so very appropriate for the observance of Independence Day that I thought these remarks should be shared with my colleagues and with all who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The Senator chose as his subject, "Pride in America." The text of his speech follows:

PRIDE IN AMERICA

On this anniversary of the birth of our nation, let all citizens take quiet pride in its history, its present position of world leadership, and the boundless hopes it has for the future.

It is not difficult, in these days of rapid change at home as well as abroad, to at times question the road ahead.

But we believe in America; and we know that we have both the skill and the determination to continue building this great nation.

Nearly always, when the times become difficult, our country has been blessed with great leaders; and with that premise, it is my privilege to pay tribute to the American all of us respect the most, and to whom we are the most devoted—Harry S. Truman.

The decisions President Truman made changed the course of history. It was his courage and determination which checked the advance of totalitarian aggression during the dangerous Stalin years of the cold war. And it was his wise and compassionate interest which laid the groundwork for legislation designed to grant a productive life of dignity to all Americans.

Woodrow Wilson conceived the League of Nations. Harry Truman carried through to reality the United Nations, a place where men, in this nuclear space age, can gather in effort to wage the peace, realizing how little of anything will be left if there was general war.

I worked for Mr. Truman in the long trying years from 1945 to 1952, and know that his most cherished ideal was to further the cause of every citizen's right to freedom.

In recent years many of the goals of this great man have been realized, including the extension of voting privileges to all Americans, a health-care program for the aged, aid to elementary and secondary education, and a strong America in and out so that we can remain a free America.

Mr. Truman once said "I have boundless faith in the common sense and ultimate fairness of the American people." Let us say Amen to that wise statement. Let us re-dedicate our nation to the kind of constructive forward-looking action which was always so characteristic of his own service to his country.

This July observance at this Library was inaugurated by our former President who until 1967 has made the address at every observance since 1958. How proud I am to talk where my former boss has spoken so often before. All Missourians, all Americans, will join me on this great national day in paying tribute to the nation's number one citizen, a man who is such a glorious inspiration to all those who desire to serve.

## LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows to:

Mr. ASPINALL (at the request of Mr. ROGERS of Colorado), on account of death in family.

Mr. MANN (at the request of Mr. MCMILLAN), for today and July 9, 1969, on account of official business.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for July 9 through 21, on account of official business.

Mr. WOLFF (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for today, on account of illness.

## SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. CAMP), to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. HALPERN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MCDONALD of Michigan, for 10 minutes, on July 9.

Mr. SAYLOR, for 15 minutes, today.

Mr. MICHEL, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. BURLISON of Missouri), to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. MCCARTHY, for 60 minutes, today.

Mr. ASPINALL, for 10 minutes, today.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts, for 15 minutes, today.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. RANDALL in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. CAMP), and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. ZWACH in two instances.

Mr. WEICKER.

Mr. KUYKENDALL.

Mr. RIEGLE.

Mr. SCOTT.

Mr. LIPSCOMB.

Mr. ASHBROOK.

Mr. TAFT.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio.

Mr. WYMAN in three instances.

Mr. ESHLEMAN.

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho.

Mr. MICHEL in two instances.

Mr. REID of New York.

Mr. COUGHLIN.

Mr. BROTZMAN in three instances.

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona in two instances.

Mr. HOSMER in two instances.

Mr. SNYDER.

Mr. QUIE.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. BURLISON of Missouri) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. RODINO in two instances.

Mr. FASCELL in four instances.

Mr. JACOBS.

Mr. EILBERG.

Mr. CLAY in six instances.

Mr. OTTINGER.

Mr. GIAIMO.

Mr. LONG of Maryland.

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington.

Mr. GILBERT.

Mr. KEE in two instances.

Mr. RARICK in four instances.

Mr. NATCHER in two instances.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama in two instances.

Mr. MURPHY of New York.

Mr. CONYERS in two instances.

Mr. PICKLE in three instances.

Mr. NEDZI in two instances.

Mr. KYROS in two instances.

Mr. STEPHENS in four instances.

Mr. BENNETT.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey in two instances.

Mr. FRASER.

Mr. MOORHEAD in two instances.

Mr. RIVERS.

Mr. BROWN of California in three instances.

Mr. TIERNAN in two instances.

Mr. BURTON of California.

Mr. OBEY in two instances.

Mr. O'HARA in two instances.

Mr. PEPPER.

Mr. GONZALEZ in two instances.

Mr. RYAN in two instances.

Mr. ICHORD in two instances.

## ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BURLISON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 58 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, July 9, 1969, at 12 o'clock noon.

## EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

933. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on selected aspects of payments and charges to Job Corps members, Department of Defense, Office of Economic Opportunity; to the Committee on Government Operations.

934. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on U.S. financial participation in the United Nations Children's Fund, Department of State; to the Committee on Government Operations.

935. A letter from the Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Social Security Act to limit Federal financial participation under the public assistance and medicaid laws with respect to individuals in mental institutions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

936. A letter from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to extend and improve the Federal-State unemployment compensation program; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

## REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. STAGGERS: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. H.R. 10105. A bill to amend the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 to authorize appropriations for fiscal years 1970 and 1971, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 91-350). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MADDEN: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 472. Resolution providing for the establishment of a Committee on the House Restaurant (Rept. No. 91-351). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 473. Resolution for consideration of H.R. 4018, a bill to provide for the renewal and extension of certain sections of the Appalachian Regional Developing Act of 1965 (Rept. No. 91-352). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 474. Resolution for consideration of H.R. 8261, a bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, as amended, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 91-353). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. PEPPER: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 475. Resolution for consideration of H.R. 10878, a bill to authorize appropriations for activities of the National Science Foundation, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 91-354). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. YOUNG: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 476. Resolution for consideration of H.R. 7491, a bill to clarify the liability of national banks for certain taxes (Rept. No. 91-355). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. MAHON: Committee of conference. Conference report on H.R. 11400 (Rept. No. 91-356). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. TAYLOR: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 11609. A bill to amend the act of September 9, 1963, authorizing the construction of an entrance road at Great Smoky Mountains National Park, in the State of North Carolina, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 91-357). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

## PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANNUNZIO:

H.R. 12624. A bill to permit officers and employees of the Federal Government to elect coverage under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MILLS (for himself and Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin):

H.R. 12625. A bill to extend and improve the Federal-State unemployment compensa-

tion program; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ASHLEY (by request):

H.R. 12626. A bill to provide a Federal subsidy for small family farms; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BENNETT (for himself, Mr. SIKES, Mr. HALEY, Mr. FASCELL, Mr. ROGERS of Florida, Mr. PEPPER, Mr. FUQUA, Mr. GIBBONS, and Mr. CHAPPELL):

H.R. 12627. A bill to prohibit the dissemination through interstate commerce or the mails of materials harmful to persons under the age of 18 years, and to restrict the exhibition of movies or other presentations harmful to such persons; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COLLINS:

H.R. 12628. A bill to amend section 3148(1) of title 18, United States Code, in order to authorize the denial of bail to certain individuals who are charged with crimes of violence and who have previously been convicted of similar crimes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DIGGS:

H.R. 12629. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 so as to prohibit the granting of authority to broadcast pay television programs; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DUNCAN:

H.R. 12630. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide, in certain instances, up to 18 months of additional educational assistance for graduate or professional study; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 12631. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to permit, for 1 year, the granting of national service life insurance to certain insurable war veterans; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 12632. A bill to extend health insurance benefits under title XVIII of the Social Security Act, without regard to age or entitlement to monthly cash benefits, to individuals over 21 who are disabled; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 12633. A bill to permit officers and employees of the Federal Government to elect coverage under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ESHLEMAN:

H.R. 12634. A bill to amend section 8(e) of the National Labor Relations Act with respect to its application to labor agreements relating to construction; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. FOLEY:

H.R. 12635. A bill to provide for the more efficient development and improved management of national forest commercial forest land, to establish a high-timber-yield fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 12636. A bill to expedite delivery of special delivery mail, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. HATHAWAY:

H.R. 12637. A bill to amend the Library Services and Construction Act, as amended, to include State archives; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 12638. A bill to provide for the mailing of letters and parcels at no cost to the sender to members of the U.S. Armed Forces in combat areas overseas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 12639. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to encourage higher education, and particularly the private funding thereof, by authorizing a deduction from gross income of reasonable amounts contributed to a qualified higher education fund established by the taxpayer for the purpose of funding the higher education of his dependents; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HORTON (for himself, Mr. ADDABBO, Mr. BARING, Mr. BARRETT, Mr. BEALL of Maryland, Mr. BELL of California, Mr. BIAGGI, Mr. BLACKBURN, Mr. BROCK, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina, Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts, Mr. BUTTON, Mr. CAHILL, Mr. CLARK, Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN, Mr. CLEVELAND, Mr. CONABLE, Mr. CONTE, Mr. CORMAN, Mr. COUGHLIN, Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey, Mr. DAWSON, Mr. DELLENBACK, and Mr. DERWINSKI):

H.R. 12640. A bill to incorporate Pop Warner Little Scholars, Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HORTON (for himself, Mr. DEVINE, Mr. DONOHUE, Mr. DUNCAN, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. FARBSTEIN, Mr. FASCELL, Mr. FINDLEY, Mr. FISH, Mr. FISHER, Mr. FLYNT, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. FREY, Mr. FRIEDEL, Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania, Mr. GALLAGHER, Mr. GARMATZ, Mr. GAYDOS, Mr. GIAIMO, Mr. GOODLING, Mr. GUBSER, Mr. HALPERN, Mr. HANLEY, Mr. HAWKINS, and Mr. HELSTOSKI):

H.R. 12641. A bill to incorporate Pop Warner Little Scholars, Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HORTON (for himself, Mr. HOWARD, Mr. HUNT, Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania, Mr. JOHNSON of California, Mr. KLUCZYNSKI, Mr. KUYKENDALL, Mr. LIPSCOMB, Mr. LONG of Maryland, Mr. MCFALL, Mr. MCKNEALLY, Mr. MADDEN, Mr. MAILLIARD, Mr. MANN, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. MESKILL, Mr. MIKVA, Mr. MINISH, Mrs. MINK, Mr. MOLLOHAN, Mr. MONAGAN, Mr. MOORHEAD, Mr. MORGAN, Mr. MORSE, and Mr. MOSS):

H.R. 12642. A bill to incorporate Pop Warner Little Scholars, Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HORTON (for himself, Mr. MURPHY of New York, Mr. MURPHY of Illinois, Mr. NICHOLS, Mr. MIX, Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts, Mr. OTTINGER, Mr. PATTEN, Mr. PEPPER, Mr. PETTIS, Mr. PIRNIE, Mr. REID of New York, Mr. RODINO, Mr. ST GERMAIN, Mr. SANDMAN, Mr. SISK, Mr. SMITH of California, Mr. STEIGER of Arizona, Mr. STRATTON, Mr. TEAGUE of Texas, Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia, Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey, Mr. TIERNAN, Mr. TUNNEY, and Mr. VAN DEERLIN):

H.R. 12643. A bill to incorporate Pop Warner Little Scholars, Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HORTON (for himself, Mr. VANDER JAGT, Mr. WALDIE, Mr. WATSON, Mr. WHALLEY, Mr. WHITEHURST, Mr. WIDNALL, Mr. WOLFF, Mr. WYATT, Mr. WYMAN, Mr. MCEWEN, Mr. PELLY, Mr. POLLOCK, Mr. GUDE, Mr. STAFFORD, Mr. ROTH, Mr. WHALEN, and Mrs. DWYER):

H.R. 12644. A bill to incorporate Pop Warner Little Scholars, Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 12645. A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code to require the presentation of military honors at the burial of certain former members of the Armed Forces; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 12646. A bill to amend the International Travel Act of 1961 in order to promote travel in the United States; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 12647. A bill to provide for the consideration and disposition of certain applications for adjustment of status filed with the Attorney General under section 245 of the Immigration and Nationality Act before December 1, 1965; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NEDZI:

H.R. 12648. A bill to provide for public disclosure by Members of the House of Representatives, Members of the U.S. Senate, justices and judges of the U.S. courts, and policymaking officials of the executive branch as designated by the Civil Service Commission, but including the President, Vice President, and Cabinet Members; and by candidates for the House of Representatives and the Senate, the Presidency, and the Vice-Presidency; and to give the House Committee on Standards of Conduct, the Senate Select Committee on Standards of Conduct, the Director of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, and the Attorney General of the United States appropriate jurisdiction; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 12649. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that the special monthly benefits which are payable thereunder to certain uninsured individuals at age 72 shall be payable in the case of a widow without regard to the time at which such age is attained; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 12650. A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code to allow wounded members of the Armed Forces to inform their families of such injuries by telephone at Government expense; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. PELLY:

H.R. 12651. A bill to amend title I of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 (78 Stat. 897), and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. PIRNIE:

H.R. 12652. A bill to amend the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 to provide for annual reports to the Congress by the Comptroller General concerning certain price increases in Government contracts and certain failures to meet Government contract completion dates; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. PODELL:

H.R. 12653. A bill to provide for a coordinated program to improve the level of human nutrition in the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 12654. A bill to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964, and other acts, to provide adequate food and nutrition among low-income households, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 12655. A bill to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964 to authorize elderly persons to exchange food stamps under certain circumstances for meals prepared and served by private nonprofit organizations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 12656. A bill to authorize the Federal Trade Commission to set standards to guarantee comprehensive warranty protection to the purchasers of merchandise shipped in interstate commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. QUILLEN:

H.R. 12657. A bill to prohibit the dissemination through interstate commerce or the mails of materials harmful to persons under the age of 18 years, to restrict the exhibition of movies or other presentations harmful to such persons, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RIVERS:

H.R. 12658. A bill to revise the laws relating to post offices and post roads, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 12659. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act so as to liberalize the conditions governing eligibility of blind per-

sons to receive disability insurance benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROBISON:

H.R. 12660. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a deduction for contributions to candidates for elective Federal office or to political parties; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROSENTHAL:

H.R. 12661. A bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act, as amended, to authorize the Secretary of State to participate in the development of a large prototype desalting plant in Israel, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SAYLOR:

H.R. 12662. A bill to provide for the establishment of a lifetime fee for persons 65 years of age or over for admission to outdoor recreation areas administered by certain agencies of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 12663. A bill to continue the Golden Eagle program established under the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. SHIPLEY:

H.R. 12664. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the mailing of obscene matter to minors, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TAFT:

H.R. 12665. A bill to adjust agricultural production, to provide a transitional program for farmers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. TALCOTT (for himself, Mr. BEALL of Maryland, Mr. COUGHLIN, Mr. MCKNEALLY, and Mr. WILLIAMS):

H.R. 12666. A bill to amend the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 to provide for the inclusion of certain cost estimates of certain measures reported by the standing committees of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey:

H.R. 12667. A bill to amend the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, so as to make it an unfair labor practice to employ aliens whose principal dwelling places are in a foreign country during a labor dispute; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. ZWACH:

H.R. 12668. A bill to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1921, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. COLLINS:

H.R. 12669. A bill to amend chapter 223 of title 18 of the United States Code to provide that confessions shall be admissible in U.S. courts; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CONYERS:

H.R. 12670. A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide work clothing for postal field service employees engaged in vehicle repair or maintenance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. DIGGS:

H.R. 12671. A bill to amend the act of May 29, 1928, to facilitate and encourage the employment of minors in the District of Columbia between the ages of 14 and 16 during the summer and other school vacation periods, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. EVANS of Colorado:

H.R. 12672. A bill to provide for the more efficient development and improved management of national forest commercial timberlands, to establish a high-timber-yield fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. FUQUA:

H.R. 12673. A bill to authorize the transfer by licensed blood banks in the District of Columbia of blood components within the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. HOWARD:

H.R. 12674. A bill to amend the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act to require the disclosure by retail distributors of unit retail prices of packaged consumer commodities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LEGGETT:

H.R. 12675. A bill to amend subchapter III of chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code, relating to civil service retirement, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. MILLER of Ohio:

H.R. 12676. A bill to permit the President to authorize the sale of savings bonds yielding not more than 6 percent per annum; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. STEIGER of Arizona:

H.R. 12677. A bill to authorize the Commissioner of the District of Columbia to lease to the Jewish Historical Society of Greater Washington the former synagogue of the Adas Israel Congregation and real property of the District of Columbia for the purpose of establishing a Jewish Historical Museum; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H.R. 12678. A bill to increase to 5 years the maximum term for which broadcasting station licenses may be granted; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON:

H.R. 12679. A bill to provide cost of living adjustments for employees in the postal field service; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. EVANS of Colorado:

H.J. Res. 808. Joint resolution to authorize the President to award appropriate medals honoring those astronauts whose particular efforts and contributions to the welfare of the Nation and of mankind have been exceptionally meritorious; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

By Mr. STEIGER of Arizona:

H.J. Res. 809. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TUNNEY:

H.J. Res. 810. Joint resolution designating the day which man lands on the moon, and the anniversary of that day each year thereafter as a national holiday to be known as "Space Exploration Day," and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WEICKER:

H.J. Res. 811. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim annually the week beginning on the first Sunday after Labor Day as "National Beach Cleanup Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAWKINS:

H. Con. Res. 299. Concurrent resolution relating to an Atlantic Union delegation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MADDEN:

H. Res. 472. Resolution creating a select committee to be known as the Committee on the House Restaurant; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. BURTON of Utah:

H. Res. 477. Resolution seeking agreement with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on limiting offensive and defensive strategic weapons and the suspension of test flights of reentry vehicles; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

## MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

234. By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to the high lumber costs; to the Committee on Agriculture.

235. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to soil grants for recreation; to the Committee on Agriculture.

236. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to equalization of the compensation of retired members of the uniformed forces; to the Committee on Armed Services.

237. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to the retention of judge advocates and law specialist officers for the Armed Forces; to the Committee on Armed Services.

238. Also, memorial of the speaker of the house, General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, relative to House Resolution D.R.H.R. 11, withdrawing its concurrence in a 1965 resolution of the North Carolina General Assembly, which memorialized Congress to call a constitutional convention to propose an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to apportionment of State legislatures; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 12680. A bill for the relief of Dr. Rustico C. Polutan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DOWNING:

H.R. 12681. A bill for the relief of Kenneth L. MacLeod; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mrs. HANSEN of Washington:

H.R. 12682. A bill to provide for the conveyance of certain real property of the United States; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts:

H.R. 12683. A bill for the relief of John Meyer; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KEITH:

H.R. 12684. A bill for the relief of Jose Antonio; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 12685. A bill for the relief of Ryoichi Sawai; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 12686. A bill for the relief of Teresina Mancini Pantanella; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PURCELL:

H.R. 12687. A bill for the relief of Robert Franklin Moon, his wife, Irene Flora Moon, and their minor children, Debra Anne Phillips Moon, Stephen Robert Moon, Michael Robert Moon, and Marilyn Heather Moon; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ZWACH:

H.R. 12688. A bill for the relief of L. M. Mulder; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

169. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Montgomery County Council, Rockville, Md., relative to a regional rapid rail transit system; to the Committee on Appropriations.

170. Also, petition of Wm. Penn Washington I, Antigo, Wis., relative to establishing a U.S. Astronauts Corps; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

171. Also, petition of the City Council, Lawndale, Calif., relative to taxation of State and local government bonds; to the Committee on Ways and Means.