

By Mr. MOLLOHAN:

H.R. 13201. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase the amount of outside earnings permitted each year without any deductions from benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MOSHER:

H.R. 13202. A bill to amend the act of August 13, 1946, relating to Federal participation in the cost of protecting the shores of the United States, its territories, and possessions, to include privately owned property; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. PHILBIN:

H.R. 13203. A bill to establish an urban mass transportation trust fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. PODELL:

H.R. 13204. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code in order to prohibit personal investigations by private organizations of congressional employees engaged in the development of legislation affecting the interests of such organizations; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RIEGLE:

H.R. 13205. A bill to establish in the State of Michigan the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. STUCKEY:

H.R. 13206. A bill to provide incentives for the establishment of new or expanded job-producing industrial and commercial establishments in rural areas; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WATKINS:

H.R. 13207. A bill to permit the sale of certain low-rent housing to the Borough of Upland, Pa.; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. WHALEN:

H.R. 13208. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase from \$600 to \$800 the personal income tax exemptions of a taxpayer (including the exemption for a spouse, the exemptions for a dependent, and the additional exemptions for old age and blindness); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BINGHAM:

H.R. 13209. A bill to incorporate the Association of American Law Schools; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BUTTON:

H.R. 13210. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to prohibit the granting of authority by the Federal Communications Commission for the broadcast of pay television programs; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 13211. 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. CELLER:

H.R. 13212. A bill granting the consent of Congress to the Connecticut-New York railroad passenger transportation compact; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 13213. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the establishment of emergency detention camps and to provide that no citizen of the United States shall be committed for detention or imprisonment in any facility of the U.S. Government except in conformity with the provisions of title 18; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCLURE (for himself, Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois, Mr. BUTTON, Mr. DENT, Mr. FISHER, Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania, Mr. LATTI, Mr. MEEDS, Mr. MELCHER, Mr. MINSHALL, Mr. MURPHY of New York, Mr. PEPPER, and Mr. SHRIVER):

H.R. 13214. A bill to authorize the minting of clad silver dollars bearing the likeness of the late Dwight David Eisenhower; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. MESKILL (for himself, Mr. WEICKER, Mr. MONAGAN, Mr. ST. ONGE, Mr. GIAIMO, and Mr. DADDARIO):

H.R. 13215. A bill granting the consent of Congress to the Connecticut-New York railroad passenger transportation compact; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. YATRON:

H.R. 13216. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to double the amount of the basic personal income tax exemption allowed a taxpayer; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mrs. DWYER (for herself and Mr. FOUNTAIN):

H.R. 13217. A bill to provide for the balanced urban development and growth of the United States; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. CRAMER:

H.J. Res. 849. Joint resolution to redesignate the area in the State of Florida known as Cape Kennedy as "Cape Canaveral"; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

By Mr. HARVEY:

H.J. Res. 850. 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. PURCELL (for himself, Mr. HULL, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. CABELL, Mr. RARICK, Mr. HANLEY, Mr. STEED, Mr. FOLEY, and Mr. EVANS of Colorado):

H.J. Res. 851. Joint resolution requesting the President of the United States to issue

a proclamation calling for a "Day of Bread" and "Harvest Festival"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WATSON:

H.J. Res. 852. 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. DENT:

H. Con. Res. 309. Concurrent resolution, second listing of operating Federal assistance programs compiled during the Roth study; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. FINDLEY (for himself, Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania, Mr. McCLOSKEY, and Mr. SANDMAN):

H. Con. Res. 310. Concurrent resolution relating to an Atlantic Union delegation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WOLFF:

H. Res. 504. Resolution urging the President to resubmit to the Senate for ratification the Geneva Protocol of 1925 banning the first use of gas and bacteriological warfare; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

247. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the Legislature of the State of Florida, relative to the redesignation of Cape Kennedy as "Cape Canaveral," which was referred to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. PHILBIN:

H.R. 13218. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph E. Begnoche; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HASTINGS:

H.R. 13219. A bill for the relief of Frank E. Dart; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RODINO (by request):

H. Res. 505. Resolution referring H.R. 13148 to the Chief Commissioner of the Court of Claims; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

198. The SPEAKER presented a petition of the City Council, Boston, Mass.; relative to pollution in Boston Harbor, which was referred to the Committee on Public Works.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

REFUTATION OF THE 1966 FDA DRUG POTENCY STUDY

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, since 1966, a much publicized pilot potency drug study conducted by the Federal Food and Drug Administration has been disputed by the pharmaceutical industry. The essence of the conclusion reached by the FDA in that study is "that one out of every 14 drug units manufactured—in the United States—is violative just

from potency alone." From 1966 to the present, FDA representatives have repeatedly in press releases, statements before congressional committees, and speeches affirmed their support of the 1966 study. Supportive discussion or comment about the study has also appeared in printed congressional hearings and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The industry, I am informed, has sought to obtain for its rebuttal of the FDA study reasonable coverage in congressional publications so that the public, and scientific researchers may judge between the facts as presented by the FDA and the industry and reach their own conclusions as to the validity of the position of either.

Mr. President, I take no position in this matter at this time. I am a newly elected Member of the Senate and newly appointed to the Small Business Committee and to its Subcommittee on Monopoly. Before this subcommittee there have been numerous discussions about the validity of the FDA's pilot potency study. I have not had an opportunity to study fully the comparative positions of industry and the FDA on this matter. I do, however, intend to do so, but believe that in the interest of equity and fair play, industry is entitled to have its position made as fully known as possible.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks in-

dustry's refutation of the 1966 FDA Drug Potency Study.

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

STATEMENT BY C. JOSEPH STETLER, PRESIDENT, PHARMACEUTICAL MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION

Because of FDA's failure to provide meaningful information about its "pilot survey" on drug potency released on January 31, it is impossible to determine its validity or to judge whether it can be used by quality-minded manufacturers to help improve their products.

Certainly it is clear that on the basis of the published information, no valid conclusion can possibly be drawn with respect to relative performance by individual firms or by branded or unbranded drug products. However, the impression created by the study and FDA's release does violence to the proven fact that prescribing without identification of a specific product of a reliable manufacturer is not in the best interest of the patient.

Commissioner Goddard first revealed the same statistics published this week in a speech last June 8 to the Drug and Allied Products Guild. At that time he stated that "We have to conclude that one out of every fourteen drug units manufactured is violative just on potency alone."

In response to this, PMA made the first of a series of requests for further information. On August 22 we asked for "details concerning these generalizations to determine what corrective action, if any, is indicated."

On August 25 we inquired again, asking, among other things, whether there was any difference in evaluation of samples of products of manufacturers with in-house quality control and research facilities, and those without. These letters were acknowledged September 1 by Deputy Commissioner Rankin, who wrote, "We . . . will be in touch with you later."

On October 15 Mr. Rankin repeated the statistics in an address to the American College of Apothecaries which was inserted into the Congressional Record by Senator Hart of Michigan. On October 27, therefore, we wrote once again to the Commissioner, asking for data to back up the repeatedly publicized statistics. We said:

"We believe it is most important to obtain meaningful information on the performance of drug manufacturers of various kinds, so that mutual efforts can be put forth by the industry and the FDA to raise the level of quality of the drug supply as high as possible."

On December 1, we again wrote to the Commissioner, trying futilely to impress him that, as we said, we were "most anxious to submit the (missing) data to careful analysis and at the earliest possible moment because of the serious nature of the conclusions which have been reached by the FDA . . ."

In this letter we asked about:

"1. The nature of the sampling technique or design.

"2. The source of the sample, i.e., retail pharmacy, hospital pharmacy, wholesaler, manufacturer's distribution point or warehouse, reserve samples, etc.

"3. The lot or control numbers of the products found to be subpotent.

"4. In the case of nonofficial assays, the method of analysis used.

"5. The limits of potency of non-U.S.P. or N.F. drugs."

On the evening of January 30 we learned unofficially that FDA had reissued the news published last June 8, for use in the newspaper January 31. On February 1 we received

a brief letter transmitting a list of the products which FDA examined last spring, but failing to answer the questions presented in our four previous letters.

Based on the limited information which FDA has made available, we are requesting our member firms to attempt to identify the lots of their products which may have been involved in the survey, and to make whatever follow-up tests they can on similar samples. And we are asking FDA once again to provide useful data to us about this survey for the very valid reasons stated so often in the past.

PHARMACEUTICAL MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION
NEWS RELEASE

WASHINGTON, D.C., May 11, 1967.—Charging "gross inaccuracies" in a much-publicized Food and Drug Administration survey of prescription drug potency, C. Joseph Stetler, president of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, today demanded that the agency "repudiate the survey outright." Stetler said that "not only the public, but at least four U.S. Senators, several newspapers and the author of a new book about drugs have been misled by the faulty study."

At issue is a survey announced last June 8 by the Commissioner of Food and Drugs. At that time the Commissioner said that his agency had "collected almost 4,200 drug samples" and that "7.6 percent of them deviated to a material extent from declared potency . . . On the average, then, we have to conclude that one out of every 14 drug units manufactured is violative just on potency alone."

Stetler said 49 of PMA's 138 member firms were involved in the FDA's allegations. He said that 40 of them, who responded to an association survey, analyzed their allegedly violative products, finding that only one percent deviated from acceptable potency limits. In a number of instances, Stetler added, the company findings have been confirmed by independent laboratories.

He said four PMA member companies have received letters from FDA in which the agency admitted it was wrong in charging violations concerning their products.

"Public charges followed months later by private apologies scarcely seem appropriate or sufficient. FDA should repudiate the survey outright or conduct an accurate analysis of the samples in question," he declared.

Stetler distributed excerpts from FDA statements concerning the survey, along with copies of five letters PMA directed to the agency between August, 1966, and May, 1967, requesting details of the survey and expressing the hope "that mutual efforts can be put forth by the industry and the Food and Drug Administration to raise the level of quality of the drug supply as high as possible."

"We might expect," said Stetler, "that FDA would at the very least have notified the manufacturers of allegedly deficient drug products so that corrective action could be taken. Yet this was not generally done.

"We might also expect that the laboratory work in support of FDA's very grave conclusions would be accurate. Yet gross inaccuracies by FDA are revealed in the subsequent reanalyses by the companies themselves. FDA's work has been found incorrect—and the product potencies found to be within allowable limits—in at least 80 of 94 violations alleged against 40 of our members.

The industry spokesman said he wished to make clear the drug companies' view that no quantity of subpotent drug products, no matter how small, should be on the market. "This point was made clearly in our correspondence with FDA ever since last summer," he said.

"FDA's failure promptly to notify the companies involved indicates the survey has been

utilized as a vehicle for an unwarranted attack on the prescription drug industry, rather than as a basis for working with producers to correct possible deficiencies. As such, it has offended rather than served the public interest," he declared.

"Once before, in connection with alleged drug advertising violations, an investigation by our association proved that FDA was unfairly indicting the pharmaceutical industry. At that time I raised a question which is worth repeating now:

"Isn't it fair to require that an agency which demands the truth deliver the truth?"

"Among others," Stetler said, "who were misled by FDA's drug potency statistics were Senators Hart, Montoya, Nelson and Russell Long, all of whom have referred to it from time to time in connection with pending legislative proposals or hearings."

Extracts from the statements and publications accompanied the PMA statement.

MARCH 1969.

SUMMARY OF FDA DISCLOSURES

Products of 246 manufacturers were involved in the 1966 FDA survey. Of these, 84 are PMA members. Of the 84, 49 were found to have one or more violative products. (PMA had 138 members in 1966).

FDA reported on tests of 4,573 products. Of these, 1,933 were products of PMA members. Of the 1,933, 119 were found by FDA to be violative.

Overall, 8.2 percent of the products in the survey were reported to be violative.

For the PMA member products, the comparable percentage was 6.1.

SUMMARY OF PMA INVESTIGATION

(Please see attached questionnaire)

Responses to Question No. 12 are the most significant.

Forty-two firms, with 1,382 products in the survey, have undertaken internal reanalyses of their 102 products alleged to be violative. Results from 42 firms show that only 18 of these products were deficient, and that 84 were not.

Seven firms, with 231 products in the survey, have not reported undertaking reanalyses of their 17 products alleged to be violative.

Ten firms so far have reported that their in-house reanalyses were repeated by outside, independent laboratories. Results so far show that of 25 allegedly violative products among these ten firms, 19 have been found not violative, four were confirmed to be violative, and reports were not submitted on two.

Thus, careful reanalyses of the products of 42 PMA member firms, alleged to be violative, show that only one percent did not meet standard potency limits.

Responses to Questions No. 2 and No. 3 are also highly significant.

Only six firms have reported being notified by FDA of alleged violations involving their products in the seven months following completion of the survey in June, 1966. Thirteen companies were suddenly notified in January, 1967, just a few days prior to public release by FDA of the more detailed survey results on January 31.

Responses to other questions reveal that FDA failed to advise 36 firms of the sources of the samples found to be violative. This is important, because it did not afford the firms an opportunity to check whether, for example, unusual storage conditions may have accounted for the potency violations alleged. Similarly, 36 firms were not told when the samples were obtained.

Twenty-three firms state that they have reason to believe there were more samples of their products obtained by FDA during the survey than were accounted for by FDA as either acceptable or violative when the re-

sults were finally published. For example, one company received a report on 79 samples (including four alleged violations found baseless on reanalyses), and has had no information on 36 additional samples obtained from the company by FDA at the same time.

THE 1966 FDA SURVEY OF DRUG POTENCY QUESTIONNAIRE

(NOTE.—This is a copy of a questionnaire sent Feb. 10, 1967, by PMA to the presidents of 49 of its member firms alleged by FDA to have one or more violative products on the market. Replies for each question, supplemented with later information received from the firms, are shown.)

To be answered as completely as possible and returned to P.M.A. no later than Friday, February 24, 1967. Address replies to C. Joseph Stetler. Use additional sheets, if necessary.

1. Did your firm receive any information from the F.D.A. or from an F.D.A. inspector that samples of your products cited in the enclosed list (acceptable or violative) were to be the subject of this study?

Yes 8
No 36

2. Did your firm receive any private communication from the F.D.A. or from an F.D.A. inspector concerning the results of their analysis of your products (acceptable or violative)?

Yes:
Acceptable 1
Violative 22
No:
Acceptable 33
Violative 20

3. When was your firm advised of either (1) or (2) above?

(1) Date¹: Apr. 1966—7; Aug. 1966—1.
(2) Date¹: July 1966—1; Aug. 1966—1; Sept. 1966—1; Oct. 1966—1; Nov. 1966—1; Dec. 1966—1; Jan. 1967—13; Feb. 1967—1; no date submitted—2.

4. Does your firm have any reason to believe that a larger sample of your product(s) than is cited in the attached list was obtained by F.D.A. for purposes of the study? If your answer is yes, list the product(s) and number of excess samples (by lot or control number, if possible) on a separate sheet. You may wish to use a composite sheet for answers to questions 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

Yes 23
No 20

5. Did F.D.A. indicate to your firm the source(s) of it sample(s) of your product(s) (acceptable or violative)? If your answer is yes, list the product(s) and their source(s) on a separate sheet.

Yes 8
No 36

6. Did F.D.A. indicate when the sample(s) of your product(s) were picked up? If your answer is yes, indicate the date(s) on a product-by-product basis on a separate sheet.

Yes 8
No 36

7. Is your firm able to identify either the source(s) of the sample(s) of your product(s) or the date(s) of sampling? If your answer is yes, indicate source(s) and date(s) on a product-by-product basis on a separate sheet. Do not include information on source(s) or date(s) provided by F.D.A.

Yes 18
No 24

8. Did F.D.A. specifically identify the lot or control number(s) of your product(s) (acceptable or violative)? If your answer is

yes, indicate the lot or control number(s) on a product-by-product basis on a separate sheet.

Yes 39
No 7

9. Is your firm able to identify the lot or control number(s) of your product(s) (acceptable or violative) cited in the attached list? If so, please identify by lot or control number on a product-by-product basis on a separate sheet.

10. Please list your products in the attached list which have not been identified by lot or control number by either F.D.A. or your firm. Use separate sheet.

11. Does your firm have any reason to question the validity of F.D.A. methods or the statistical analysis of the results as the latter is related to sampling error or limits of variation? If your answer is yes, please qualify.

Yes 36
No 5

12. Has your firm undertaken an analysis of the product(s) (acceptable or violative) cited in the attached list which you have been able to positively identify? If so, indicate results in terms of percent active ingredient as related to potency declaration in labeling or U.S.P. and N.F. standards on a product-by-product basis on a separate sheet.

Yes 42
No 3

13. Does your firm plan to, or will you be willing to, undertake such an analysis of the product(s) which can be positively identified?

Yes 38
No 2

(NOTE: These two firms had done so prior to receipt of the questionnaire.)

14. Has F.D.A. initiated any action or follow-up on the violative products of your firm?

Additional samples:
Yes 20
No 19
Re-inspection of plant:
Yes 12
No 24
Recall:
Yes 2
No 32
Seizure:
Yes 1
No 32
Citation:
Yes 1
No 32
Other:
Yes 4
No 26

15. Please add any additional comment, suggestion, or explanation which will assist us in the conduct of the project.

Company
Signed

THE 1966 F.D.A. DRUG POTENCY—COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

	FDA results	PMA results ¹
1. Number of PMA firms in study.....	84	84
2. Number of firms with violations.....	49	13/42
3. Number of violative products.....	119	18/102
4. Percent of firms in study with violative products.....	58.3	15.4
5. Percent of violative products (brand and generic).....	6	1
6. Percent of brand violations.....	8.2	1
7. Percent of generic violations.....	7.7	1

¹ Does not include firms or products listed in IV.
² PMA and non-PMA firm aggregate percentages.

II.

	PMA	Non-PMA
1. Number of firms in study.....	84	162
2. Number of products in study.....	1,933	2,640
3. Number of firms with alleged violations.....	49	78
4. Number of alleged violative samples.....	119	257
5. Number of alleged brand violations.....	94	82
6. Number of alleged generic violations.....	25	175

III.

1. Number of PMA firms which reanalyzed samples.....	42
2. Number of products reanalyzed.....	102
3. Number of firms with violations.....	13
4. Number of products found OK on reanalysis.....	84
5. Number of brand products OK on reanalysis.....	71
6. Number of generic products OK on reanalysis.....	13
7. Number of actual violations.....	18

IV.

1. Number of PMA firms which did not reanalyze.....	7
2. Number of products not reanalyzed.....	17

V. LETTERS

Addressee	Date	Reply	By whom
1. Goddard.....	Aug. 22, 1966	Sept. 1, 1966	Rankin.
2. Delmore.....	Aug. 25, 1966	Aug. 31, 1966	Delmore.
3. Goddard.....	Oct. 27, 1966
4. Goddard.....	Dec. 1, 1966	Feb. 1, 1967	Goddard.
5. Goddard.....	Feb. 24, 1967	Mar. 15, 1967	Do.
6. Goddard.....	May 4, 1967
7. Goddard.....	June 1, 1967	June 6, 1967	Goddard.
8. Gardner.....	June 12, 1967	June 27, 1967	Do.
9. Cohen.....	Aug. 28, 1967	Sept. 7, 1967	Coston.

THE LINCOLN-DICKEY POWER PROJECT

HON. WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. MESKILL) for the deep interest in education he expressed in his remarks last Thursday. However, I am very much concerned about his unwarranted attack on the Dickey-Lincoln School hydroelectric project which will be located in my district in Maine.

For the past 5 years this project has been singled out of a multi-billion-dollar public works budget and has been the subject of vicious and unfounded attacks.

The project has always enjoyed bipartisan support in the State of Maine, the other body approved the initial authorization and all subsequent appropriations without dissent and the project has had the support of both parties in the White House. Dickey was developed as a result of a study of Maine's water power potential. This study was first authorized by President Eisenhower. President Kennedy continued the study of Maine's water resources, and President Johnson requested the authorization and the initial funds to get the Dickey-Lincoln School project started. President Nixon has since included an item of \$807,000 in his budget for this project.

The authorization for the project was approved by the House in 1965. The first appropriation for the project was also made that year by a record vote in the House. This appropriation was in the amount of \$800,000. A subsequent appropriation in the amount of \$1,100,000 was approved the following year by a voice

¹ Violative only.

vote. Dickey survived the continuing appropriation in 1967, but subsequent appropriations have been defeated.

The basis for the opposition to further funding has been variously disguised. But the real basis for opposition is the private power interests. There are 175 federally financed power projects throughout the United States. Not one of these is east of the Mississippi or north of the Mason-Dixon Line. Private power interests fought against the funding of the other projects and undoubtedly will continue to fight this one and will fight it especially hard because Northeastern United States is the last bailiwick of exclusive private power control.

Some exponents of the private power block have opposed the project as an economy measure, others have stated that private power can do the job cheaper and still others in apparent desperation have resorted, as the gentleman from Connecticut has done, to disparaging the project by calling it a "boondoggle."

The project has a benefit-to-cost ratio of 2 to 1 which is better than most projects that will be in the Public Works Appropriations bill this year and better than 75 percent of all of the federally financed power projects in the United States. Surely the gentleman from Connecticut cannot be serious in referring to the Dickey project as a "boondoggle" when it will return \$2 for every tax dollar invested.

In addition to bringing low rate power to New England which suffers from paying the highest power rates in the country, the Dickey project would serve as a back stop for power failures. The Dickey project would be primarily a source of "peaking power" the type of power needed in Washington, D.C., and throughout the entire northeastern part of the country 2 weeks ago when this area was threatened with a massive power shortage. Even here in the House we were requested to turn off all unnecessary electrical equipment. Through the Dickey-Lincoln power project, we have the opportunity to prevent reoccurring threats of power failures. It is obvious to me, and to a great many others that private power sources are not prepared or even willing to meet the present and future electric requirements of New England.

MRS. JOHNSON CELEBRATES 100TH BIRTHDAY

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, a 100th birthday is a milestone few people ever reach, and in itself is a remarkable enough accomplishment to merit note. But when a person's 100 years have been spent in as outstanding and full a fashion as have Mrs. Sallie Louise Turner Bond Johnson's, the occasion is worthy of special attention.

Mrs. Johnson, of Royston and Toccoa, Ga., celebrated her 100th birthday on July 15, with a family reunion held near Atlanta. I join the family and the many friends and loved ones of this grand old lady in saluting her on this great moment.

I ask unanimous consent that an article concerning Mrs. Johnson's birthday, published in the Toccoa Record, of July 17, 1969, be printed in the RECORD.

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

MRS. JOHNSON CELEBRATES 100TH BIRTHDAY
JULY 15
(By Ella Cooper Garner)

Sallie Louise Turner Bond Johnson celebrated her one hundredth birthday on July 15. If diplomas were handed out, her's would be marked Summa Cum laude, for the rich, full, cultured and educated life she has lived.

Born soon after the close of the Civil War, she has lived through the most colorful years of the Nation. Abraham Lincoln had been assassinated, and his weak successor, Andrew Johnson, was impeached. (One vote saving his downfall) The North's hero, U.S. Grant had just taken office as president and the South was suffering the hardship of reconstruction following the War in which her father fought as Captain.

It was a hard and cruel world into which this baby girl was thrust, but she was endowed with a serene and loving nature, growing into girlhood nurtured by understanding parents who helped to wipe away the bitterness of a Civil eruption before their daughter realized the situation. These parents were Captain Allen S. Turner and Elizabeth Jane Jones Turner of Hart County, Ga. She was soon nicknamed "Sac", a name which has clung throughout life. Since her birth on July 15, 1869 there have been 20 men to govern these U.S.

In early childhood the family moved into the city of Royston, which she has since considered her real home, although she has resided for some years in Toccoa with her daughter, Mrs. Doyle Moore.

This remarkable woman has reared six children, mostly alone, as her first husband, Charles A. Bond, died before their last child was born. Her second marriage to R. J. Johnson was also broken by death. After adjustment she combined home-making with active interest in her church and town. She was blessed with such excellent health that she has never in these 100 years been confined in a hospital. Her six children were born at home, before the days of hospitals or even labor-pain killing drugs.

Joining the Methodist Church in early girlhood she must be the oldest living member of her denomination today, from point of membership at least, for it has been 90 years since she took that step. For 63 of those years she has been a member of the Royston church. During this time she has held the office of president of the Woman's Missionary Society (WCS) more times than can be remembered. Among other church offices she has filled was teaching in the Sunday School.

Steeped in the atmosphere and vital stories of the Civil War, recounted by her Captain-father, "Sac" was one of the first to assist in organizing the Royston Chapter United Daughters of the Confederacy, which chapter bears the name, "Captain Allen S. Turner". She also carried her part several times by serving as president. This chapter is today one of the largest and most active in the state, proudly claiming the largest

number of "Real Daughters" (daughters of Confederate Veterans) of any of the many state chapters.

Her marriage to Charles Alva Bond, was a social event of note. Both were well-known and loved by hosts of friends. Mr. Bond was graduated from Emory University, becoming a prominent Banker, R.R. Agent and affiliated with the progressiveness of his town.

Six children were born to them, while their cup was overflowing with happiness, and then tragedy struck.

Determined to carry on as they had planned the young Sallie kept the home and, being a great believer in college, she made sure all of her children received a college education. She, herself was an avid reader, devouring every available book or magazine, a habit she has continued always. Today viewing Television has been added to her hobbies. She enjoys the Western pictures, mostly because she loves horses and was a graceful rider in her day. One of her favorite authors in years gone by, was Augusta J. Evans Wilson, who numbered among her popular novels "St. Elmo", which Sallie has read several times.

Reading came only when she had the time as she sewed all the clothes for the household, an art that has been passed down to daughters and granddaughters.

There is no wonder that Royston is dear to Sallie Bond Johnson, for it was her father who laid out and surveyed this interesting city. It was often said that a lawyer could not make a living there because Captain Turner did it all free. She gave two sons to the fighting lines of W.W. I, and two sons to W.W. II (One son served in both wars).

There was never an uneventful day in the life of this woman. Once her house burned to the ground. Not a stitch of clothes did any of them have left. The next morning a trip to town had to be made to buy clothes—but—to everybody's surprise Sallie had saved her love letters! It has never been learned just how this deed was accomplished, but to this day she reads those letters over and over.

Pausing to review the past, one finds that this Centenarian has spent a century in living for others. Not one time has anyone ever heard her say a harm word of a human being. There was always something good to be found. This is attested to by the daughter with whom she lives. Greater words cannot be said of anyone. She would not even understand the word gossip.

Besides her husbands, she has not known death, with the exception of one daughter-in-law and son-in-law. In all her ways she looked well to her household and her days have been good.

All six of her children will be with her when the family gathers at Stone Mountain, the 15th, also many of her ten grandchildren and 32 great grandchildren, who are scattered to the four winds of the nation, from Colorado to Illinois, to Florida, to Tennessee, to North Carolina, to Alabama, California and Georgia.

Her children are Eugene A. Bond, of Denver, Colorado; Ione (Mrs. Doyle) Moore, Toccoa; Lillian (Mrs. Frank) Bunting, Washington, D.C.; Jones T. Bond, Greensboro, Ga.; Miriam (Mrs. Charles C.) Jinks, Atlanta; Charles Allen Bond, Augusta.

The 100 people expected to attend the overnight birthday celebration at Stone Mountain Inn, children, grandchildren, nieces and nephews, are relatives on Mrs. Johnson's "Turner" side of the family.

And so the first 100 years are rounded out for Sallie Bond Johnson. The hills of her yesterdays reminds her friends that every step of the way is important in summing up a life. Every day is an important step to a tomorrow. Blessed memories such as the chil-

den of this woman have, is a challenge for others to live so that, when that all important step is taken into the eternal Tomorrow it will be a pleasant one.

RELIGIOUS, CULTURAL PERSECUTION CONTINUES IN UKRAINE

HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, for the information of my colleagues, I include at this point in the RECORD a letter to me from Dr. Anthony Zukowsky, of Steele, N. Dak., president of the North Dakota branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., together with an article published in the Ukrainian Bulletin of May 1-15, 1969:

JULY 18, 1969.

HON. TOM KLEPPE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KLEPPE: In this letter I would like to bring to your attention renewed religious and cultural persecution in Ukraine.

In the first part of 1969 many American, Canadian, Austrian and Italian newspapers, especially such leading newspapers as New York Times, Washington Post, America, Toronto Telegram and Star and many others reported renewal of religious and cultural persecution in Ukraine.

The dispatch of those newspapers from Vienna reported—the Soviet security police—KGB arrested in Lviv, capital of Western Ukraine, Bishop Vasyl Welychkowsky when he went to confess a sick person. After his arrest, the Soviet secret police made a search in private homes of several priests and nuns in Lviv, and other Ukrainian cities and many were arrested.

It is to be recalled that in 1945-46, when the Soviet troops occupied Western Ukraine, here were three Ukrainian Catholic Dioceses of Lviv, Peremyshl and Stanislaviv, and the territory of the Apostolic Visitor in Volhynia and an Apostolic Exarchate in Lemkivshyna. Together with Carpatho-Ukraine, which was incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR in 1945, this compact Ukrainian territory contained approximately 5,000,000 Ukrainian Catholic faithful, 1 Archbishop-Metropolitan, 10 bishops, 4 dioceses, 2 areas of Apostolic Administration, 2,950 diocesan priests, 520 monastic and religious priests, 1,090 nuns, 540 seminarians, 3,040 parishes, 4,440 churches and chapels, 127 monasteries and convents, 1 theological seminary and 5 ecclesiastical seminaries.

In addition, the Ukrainian Catholic Church possessed a great number of cultural centers, primary and secondary schools, institutes, publishing houses, libraries, welfare and aid associations, orphanages, student and youth leagues, and societies.

All these were ruthlessly destroyed in 1945-46 by the Soviet government, which simply put the Ukrainian Catholic Church outside the law. All the bishops were deported and tried in secret trials as "enemies of the people." Of all the ten Ukrainian Catholic Bishops, only one survived.

The brutal destruction of the Catholic Church in Ukraine was deeply deplored by Pope Pius XII in his encyclical *Orientalis Omnes Ecclesias* (December 23, 1945) and later, in *Orientalis Ecclesias* (December 15,

1952), and by many churches and lay leaders of the western world.

Despite the destruction of the church organization in Ukraine, millions of Ukrainian Catholics remained faithful to their ancestral faith and continued to be Catholics by practicing their religion in secret. There exists an underground Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine, and the aforementioned Archbishop Welychkowsky is said to have been consecrated.

The existence of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine was and continues to be a thorn in the Soviet side, and consequently the Soviet government relentlessly persecutes Ukrainian Catholics more than any other religious groups.

The intensification of religious persecution in Ukraine by the Soviet government was stepped up after the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact forces last August. During the brief period of "liberalization" under Alexander Dubcek, the Prague government had allowed the restoration of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Eastern Slovakia and released the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop, the Most Rev. Basil Hopko, from 13 years of communist captivity. The Ukrainian-language radio broadcasts and newspapers and magazines which were allowed the Ukrainian minority in Czechoslovakia aroused considerable fears and apprehension in Moscow, hence intensified anti-religious and anti-Ukrainian persecution.

Another crime committed by the Soviet government in Ukraine which is the subject of our concern is the deliberate burning of Ukrainian archives, libraries and other centers of documentation of Ukrainian history, culture and ethnic heritage.

On February 20, 1969, *The New York Times* in an article entitled "Archive Fires in Ukraine Stirring Suspicions of a Plot," by Peter Grose, reported extensive fires in the 17th century monastery in Kiev, capital of Ukraine, in which priceless Ukrainian and Jewish archives were destroyed. The same night, as fire swept through the Church of St. George in the Vydubetsky Monastery in Kiev, a mysterious fire was reported to have destroyed the Great Synagogue in the Ukrainian port of Odessa, destroying a library of Jewish documents. The fire at St. George's Church in Kiev was the second time in recent years that archives of Ukrainian history had been destroyed by a large fire of obscure origin. In the first fire, in 1964, documents of Ukrainian history and culture were destroyed in the library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. The official version was that an employee named Pohruzhalsky, an emotionally unbalanced person, set fire to the library; he was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

Dr. George Luckyj, professor of Ukrainian and Russian literature at the University of Toronto, was in Kiev at that time and witnessed the fire, which he subsequently described in the academic journal, *Problems of Communism*, (July-August, 1968) published by the United States Information Agency (USIA). Among the manuscripts destroyed were records of Ukrainian folklore, literature and history, including documents of the short-lived Ukrainian government of 1918-1920.

In the Vydubetsky Monastery fire on November 26, 1968, Ukrainian archives from the Czarist and Hapsburg past, when Ukraine was divided between Russian and Austro-Hungarian rule, were destroyed.

The renewed religious persecution and archive burnings in Ukraine by the Soviet government are another phase of the general assault against the Ukrainian nation to break down its aspirations for freedom and national statehood. In 1965-67 the Soviet

government conducted several secret trials of Ukrainian intellectuals whose calls for cultural freedom are often blended with their pride in the Ukrainian national heritage. Russian Communist masters of Ukraine denounce this interest as "bourgeois nationalism," and incompatible with the Soviet ideology. The existence of nationalist dissent in Ukraine is ascribed by reliable Western observers and analysts as one of the main reasons why Moscow decided to invade Czechoslovakia and suppress the liberalization movement in Prague before its influence and effects spread across the Carpathian Mountains to Ukraine.

Those actions of Soviet government and persecution in Ukraine prompted protest of free Ukrainians in western world. The mass rallies have been held in many U.S. cities including North Dakota, protesting these unhuman acts of Soviet government in Ukraine and since both Soviet Union and the Ukrainian SSR constitutions assure their citizens full religious freedom and the USSR and Ukrainian SSR are also signatories to the United Nations "Declaration of Human Rights" as well as the Atlantic Chapter which expressly prohibit the persecution of religious beliefs.

Also Soviet Union makes massive propaganda drives outside the USSR on basis of "Human Rights" but within its own jurisdiction the Soviet government has been ruthless in eradicating the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church (independent of the Kremlin controlled Russian Orthodox Church); it harasses and persecutes the Protestant denominations, as well as Judaic and Islamic religions.

In Ukraine, where the U.N. *Declaration of Human Rights* is considered to be a subversive and seditious document, where men and women who demand the right of their native language are put behind bars as dangerous criminals—the Soviet government commits enormous crimes against human rights daily and thus is guilty of violation of the U.N. Charter and the U.N. *Declaration of Human Rights*. The cause of international peace and justice would be served if you would look deeply into the matter of Russian Communist colonialism and imperialism in Ukraine.

Therefore, speaking on behalf of over 25,000 Americans of Ukrainian origin from North Dakota, the oldest Ukrainian settlement in the United States, I urge you to bring this deplorable situation of the people in Ukraine to the attention of the U.S. Congress and to advise our Department of State to bring this matter through our U.N. Ambassador to the General Assembly of U.N., since we believe that the force of world opinion can be an important factor toward the end of those inhumane policies and actions of a Communist government and United Nations is the proper place of serving as a forum of world opinion.

Thank you for your cooperation, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

DR. ANTHONY ZUKOWSKY,
President, UCCA, State Branch
of North Dakota.

P.S.—After this letter has been written—the monthly newspaper "News From Rome" in its June 25th, 1969, issue reported that it had received confirmation of the death of Bishop Vasyl Welychkowsky in Russian prison.

The report also indicated that religious persecution in Ukraine has been increasing recently; that religious objects from home of priests, monks and laity had been confiscated and that priests had been arrested for conducting liturgies.

DR. A. ZUKOWSKY.

APPEAL OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF
THE UNITED STATES

We are all familiar with the words of the Divine Savior: "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered," (Mark 14, 27). This precept was followed by the oppressors of the Church of Christ during the first centuries of Christianity, in the past history of the Church, and now when the enemy is determined to strike a death blow to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine.

What fate met our Church in Ukraine where she had been flourishing before World War II, firmly established and well organized, is not necessary to mention, for everyone is aware of this.

When the world was silent about this, His Holiness Pope Pius XII saw, realized, and presented to the world the plight of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in two of his encyclicals in which he revealed to the world the unjust trials of the Ukrainian bishops, their courage and determination during their trials by the Godless ones, their fidelity to God and Church, their heroic readiness to suffer all, even death, for their faith. He alone of all the mighty ones of the world understood the misfortune of the clergy and faithful, their devotion and fidelity to their Church. His Holiness Pope Pius XII presented the suffering Ukrainian Church as a model to all and at the same time fervently implored prayers on its behalf.

It seemed that the voice of protest of the Holy Father touched the conscience of the new persecutors of the Ukrainian Church and in its wake we saw the release from long years of exile of our living confessor of the faith of Christ, the Archbishop of Lviv and Metropolitan of Galicia, a worthy follower of the servant of God, Andrew Sheptytsky, Metropolitan Joseph Slipy who through the efforts of the great Pope John XXIII arrived in Rome in 1963 for Vatican II and was nominated Archbishop-Major and raised to the dignity of Cardinal by Pope Paul VI.

The moments of joy on the occasion of the triumphal journey of Archbishop-Major and Cardinal Josyf and his visits to the Ukrainians in the free world had barely passed when the alarming news reached us that new waves of persecution were sweeping Ukraine and that the Hydubytsky monastery with its valuable books, archives, and works of art fell as a sacrifice—burned in a planned conflagration.

The most recent news report speaks of persecutions in Western Ukraine, where on January 27 Archbishop Basil Welychkovsky was arrested in Lviv, and according to most recent reports was brought to Moscow.

This report brought sorrow to all Ukrainians, regardless of denomination or political affiliation, because in a country, which contrary to reality claims freedom of conscience and dignity for human rights, such events take place.

Dear Brothers and Sisters: In this bitter moment of new sorrow, let us not forget Christ's words which were spoken to the Apostles and through them to all of us: "No servant is greater than his master. If they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also." (John 15, 20)

Let us also not forget that the blood of martyrs, as we know from the history of the Church of Christ and especially from our homeland, always was and will be the seed from which will grow the mighty tree of Faith and Hope, the tree which will not be felled by the human storms of hate.

Therefore, on this day of pain and sorrow which we experience on the arrival of news of the new wave of Communist destruction of our historic monuments and persecution of our clergy and faithful in Ukraine, we, your bishops, appeal to you, dear faithful, and call in the words of James: "Esteem is all joy, my brethren, when you fall into various

trials, knowing that the trying of your faith begets patience," (James 1, 2-3) or as the Apostle Peter says: "Over this you rejoice; though now for a little while if need be, you are made sorrowful by various trials, that the temper of your faith—more precious by far than gold which is tried by fire—may be found unto praise and glory and honor at the revelation of Jesus Christ" (Peter 1, 6-7).

We thank the all-merciful God for giving our Church in Ukraine such great fearless, and holy people in the hierarchy, clergy, and faithful. We should daily implore the merciful God to lead our suffering Ukrainian Church and nation to a glorious and victorious climax.

For this intention we ask the Reverend Fathers in our Archdiocese to celebrate a Divine Liturgy and "Panakhida" on April 20 for the deceased and martyred priests and faithful.

May the grace of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, remain ever with you, Amen!

Given in Philadelphia, Stamford, and Chicago on Holy Thursday 1969.

AMBROSE,
Metropolitan of the Philadelphia Arch-
diocese.

JOSEPH,
Bishop of Stamford.
JAROSLAV,
Bishop of Chicago.

MARK II AVIONICS

HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, today the weapons of defense are a sophisticated affair. Building them, buying them, being trained to use them in defense of the Nation requires an expertise that is outside the competence of the vast majority of Americans. This is not unnatural. Brain surgery is outside the competence of most Americans, yet we appreciate what we understand of it and count the resultant benefits to our general health as one of the blessings of modern medicine.

It has come to my attention, as I have observed the debate on the ABM as well as the singularly vicious attacks aimed at the military and military procurement, that some legislators apparently stray with frequency and with no lack of temerity outside their recognized field of competence.

For my own part, I do not hesitate to admit my ignorance of either brain surgery or the defense systems and materials being purchased for the protection of our Nation. If I have a question, I am frank to say I must depend upon the advice of experts and I seek that advice from many and varied sources. Whenever I come across information that seems to make sense to me, I am inclined to share it with Senators so as, perhaps, to increase their knowledge, too.

Such an article appears in the August issue of Air Force Space Digest and concerns the avionics system of the F-111D attack aircraft. I hold no brief for the manufacturers of this equipment, but I do think that we in Congress are often quick to criticize when we perhaps are

not familiar with all the factors of a particular situation. Therefore I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

THE F-111'S MARK II AVIONICS SYSTEM—
WEAPONS EFFECTIVENESS OR ELECTRONIC
GADGET?

(By Claude Witze)

NOTE.—Under attack on Capitol Hill, as part of the widespread assault that is being made on military spending, is the advanced avionics system for the D model of the F-111. Known as the Mark II, the system promises revolutionary capabilities for the F-111D in navigation, terrain following, and weapons delivery. How much does it cost? How effective will it be? Too often the first question is raised and the second ignored. But from the point of view of men in aerial combat, if the system is effective—if it gets them to target and gets their weapons on target and gets them home—then the cost must be reasonable . . .

The assault on the military spending program, now at a crescendo in Washington, threatens to become the most damaging attack on national security since Senator Gerald Nye fought his own war on the munitions-makers while Adolf Hitler was strengthening the Nazi garrisons.

Newspaper headlines in the nation's capital, as well as many columns of type put in the *Congressional Record*, reflect daily a wide range of misinformation, half-truths, and traces of outright demagoguery. There is no better example than the effort to discount modern avionics.

It is becoming common for the press and many congressional critics to refer to navigation, fire control, and bombing systems as "devices" and "electronic gadgets," much as if an integrated million-dollar fire-control system were nothing more than a high-priced pencil sharpener.

A prime case at hand grows out of concern over the final cost of the Mark II avionics system for the USAF-General Dynamics F-111D attack airplane. Senator William Proxmire (D-Wis.), who has been investigating overruns on many projects launched in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, spent most of an entire committee session recently on the Mark II system. That day's transcript for his Subcommittee on Economy of the Joint Economic Committee is a substantial booklet of questions and answers. Yet nowhere in the record is there evidence that the chairman or any committee member tried to find out what the Mark II system is or what it can do. The members showed intense interest in the cost and no interest in the effectiveness.

The Mark II system still is in development but rapidly nearing production. Tests are underway, and some results have been disclosed. The Mark I inertial navigation system, already being used in the F-111A, is described as the best ever delivered to USAF. Tests so far indicate that the Mark II navigator will operate to a standard four times better than its current predecessor. Its performance, so far, is running twenty-eight percent better than called for in the specifications.

The Mark II's ability to deliver a weapon on target has been tested in sixty flights at Eglin AFB, Fla. Its record there is twenty-seven percent better than called for in the contract specifications and is expected to improve. Major innovation of the targeting system is a radar that can eliminate ground clutter and restrict the image in the cockpit to the "hard targets," such as buildings, bridges, roads, and railways. The pilot can "fix" his

radar on a hard target, and the airplane will automatically drop the bomb at the point he selects. If the target is moving—a railroad car or truck—this still holds true. All of this can be done in blind flight, regardless of weather or darkness.

There is a study available demonstrating that the F-111D, equipped with Mark II, has a cost-effectiveness at least four times better than other current aircraft in the USAF inventory and in use in Vietnam. The cost is high, admittedly, but the performance promised by the Mark II system reaches a standard unheard of until it was built and tested. Four prototypes have been delivered, and last month the first production unit was undergoing reliability tests.

Full appreciation of what is expected from the Mark II system is not possible without lending an ear to F-105, F-4, and A-1 pilots who have served in Vietnam. Aside from their lament over the political restraints placed on their performance, the most common complaint has been about weapon delivery. There has been no improvement since World War II, these men say, in the technique for delivering iron bombs. This is despite the early decision of the Kennedy Administration to forgo the threat of using nuclear power in favor of conventional military weaponry. The pilots feel that reliance was put on conventional bombs at that time, with no effort to update the delivery systems.

There is a form of forced evolution in this kind of air warfare. Improved defenses—such as the Russian SAM and radar-guided anti-aircraft batteries—have forced an improvement in aircraft performance. This, in turn, calls for improved avionics as the speed and maneuverability are upgraded. It is true, as some press reports have indicated, that better-performing airplanes have proved less accurate in Vietnam. The reason is that they have lacked better avionics built to keep pace with high-performance flight characteristics of the basic vehicle.

In radar bombing, there are two basic problems for the pilot. He must be able, first, to separate the target from other ground clutter that may appear on his radar screen. Then once he has found his target, he must, despite his high speed and frequently low altitude, maintain a fix on it, whether he can see it or not. The Mark II system provides this capability.

A second loud moan from veterans of the Vietnam air war concerns the lack of an all-weather capability. Everyone is familiar with the common declaration that airpower has failed in Vietnam. Airpower did not completely stop the flow of supplies from North to South. An important reason was the weather and darkness, which kept USAF grounded and permitted the enemy to move freely and unmolested about sixty percent of the time. It was a cover that ensured the flow of enemy materiel, so long as strategic airpower was denied the right to hit strategic targets. Interdiction, under such circumstances, simply cannot do the job.

More than a year ago, in February of 1968, the Mark II system was described to the Senate Armed Services Committee by Gen. Joseph R. Holzapfel, then USAF's Deputy Chief of Staff for Research and Development. He said the system was planned for both the F-111D and the FB-111, the strategic bomber version, and would incorporate the latest state of the art in microminiaturized digital computers and electronic subsystems. A full list of subsystems adds up to thirty-two. It ranges all the way from the two digital computers, each one no larger than a portable television set, to a camera and a couple of missiles for air-to-air fighting.

The single feat of getting a digital computer into that small a package represents a breakthrough by its manufacturer, IBM. The

computer weighs only forty-seven pounds and occupies less than a cubic foot of space. It provides displayed computations—numbers on a panel in front of the crew—in reply to any question about navigation, weapon delivery, fix taking and steering, with seventy-five percent redundancy. Only a few years ago, a computer with this capability would have filled a fair-sized room and would have weighed several tons.

One digital computer is primarily for navigation and the other for weapon delivery. If one fails, the other can do both jobs. The navigation computer can get its information from the crew in the cockpit, or it can be fed by a magnetic tape, if the mission profile is known before takeoff, making the entire flight automatic.

A feature of the Mark II system, and as new as the computers, is the Horizontal Situation Display. That is an esoteric way of saying the pilot of the F-111D always has a section of the correct aeronautical chart in front of him, about the size of a small radar screen, and that this uncanny mechanism—it is not a device or gadget—shows him where he is every second. At the center of the display glass there is a tiny silhouette of his aircraft. The map moves under the silhouette and it can move in any direction—the full 360 degrees. The tiny airplane silhouette is always at the point where the actual aircraft is, and headed in the same direction, with the bearing clearly marked at the edge of the glass. Different map scales can be used. The computer, of course, is moving the map, and the computer knows the exact position, speed, altitude, and bearing of the airplane at all times. To a veteran who has struggled sweaty hours with charts on a clipboard strapped to his knee, the Horizontal Situation Display is the wonder of the age.

The ability to hit moving targets, automatically, is new with Mark II. It is the Doppler processing system, contained in the Autonetics radar, that makes this possible. It eliminates all fixed targets from the screen, leaving only moving targets on the display. A pilot can, for example, count the cars in a railroad train somewhere within range, pick out which car he wants to hit, and lock the tracking system on that car. The airplane will go to the target, even if it has to turn around, and hit that car, not its neighbor.

In addition to the firms already mentioned components of Mark II are made by the Autonetics Division of North American Rockwell; Kearfott, a division of General Precision Systems; the Norden Division of United Aircraft; Astronautics Corp. of America; and Fairchild Hiller Corp.

In its briefest form, here is what their effort provides:

Increased inertial navigation accuracy and capability.

Increased bombing accuracy.

All-weather, air-to-air capability with the Sparrow missile.

All-weather strike capability, including moving targets.

An essential part of the history of the Mark II is that the concept did not originate with the Air Force alone. It grew out of assessments and analyses made in 1963 and 1964 by the President's Scientific Advisory Board, the Air Force Scientific Advisory Board, and the Defense Department's Office of Research and Engineering. There is no record that the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Research and Analysis lent any substance to the requirements, although the effect of the performance is to enhance the effectiveness of the system.

Why did these scientifically oriented groups grasp the essentiality of the Mark II project? At the time, 1963, it was becoming clear that the "limited-response concept," favored by the political administration, demanded

emphasis on the accurate delivery of conventional weapons. It was a concept most loudly cheered by the same national figures who today are stirring up the most dust about the price of national security, including Senator Proxmire.

There were three competitors for the basic contract, and Autonetics was chosen for having both the lowest bid and the best proposal. At the outset, the Defense Department wanted the Air Force to buy the system and turn it over to General Dynamics as government-furnished equipment, USAF disagreed, holding that the prime contractor was best equipped to "marry the avionics" to the airframe and make sure it would work. Thus, Autonetics is a subcontractor to General Dynamics for the Mark II system, the other firms serving as sub-subcontractors.

Looking forward at this time, all of the contractors and the Air Force, wiser as we all are from the exasperating experience of Vietnam, realize that the interdiction mission has new stature. It must be flown, as the prime Air Force mission, anywhere in the world—possibly including Europe, where visual bombing conditions prevail less than twenty percent of the time—that the United States may have a commitment.

How much does the Mark II cost? In the end, according to knowledgeable estimates, it will be about twenty percent of the total cost of the F-111D system. If the project had not been launched, it is true, we might have saved that twenty percent. With that kind of focus on cost, there would be only minor advances in effectiveness.

AIR FARE CRISIS—HIGHEST VALUE FOR SHORTEST JOURNEY

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, in an address before the Society of Airline Analysts which our colleague Congressman JOHN MOSS inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 22, page 30488, Mr. Richard W. Klabzuba observed that our investment analysts had been experiencing some difficulty in projecting the future earnings of our airlines.

In his prepared remarks he attributed part of their problem to inaccurate input data which failed to disclose an appreciable decline in yield per hour as new jet aircraft were assigned to short-haul flights. At the same time he took the rather unique position that short-haul air services are frequently more valuable to the public than long-haul services because the value of airline service to a businessman is related to time, not distance, and therefore all other things being equal a shorter flight is worth more to such executives.

In support of this position he presented to the group some statistics dealing with the density of airline traffic which disclosed that more than 68 percent of all domestic traffic in the United States flew a distance of less than 800 miles.

During the subsequent question and answer period Mr. Klabzuba expanded his argument that the bulk of airline passenger traffic is concentrated within

the shorter haul markets by pointing out that at least two other gentlemen, a Mr. Lill of the Austrian railways and Mr. D'Arcy Harvey of our own Federal Aviation Administration, had suggested there appeared to be a mathematical relationship between, first, the volume of traffic between two cities, and second, the distance between them and their population. He then went on to point out that since the distance factor had historically been considered to remain relatively stable, projections of future traffic growth had consequently been considered limited to increases in population and/or community of interests. On the other hand, he noted that if the distance element had been considered in terms of travel time, major difference in block speed would have become a significant indicator of the growth which had occurred. As a result, he concluded, because of this compound situation the future growth in earnings would not be as dramatic as in the past.

Now two articles in a leading international aviation publication have been brought to my attention saying substantially the same thing—that airline passenger traffic is in part a function of the time-distance relationship between communities. One of these articles reports on a new book on the subject by Mr. Bjorn J. Ellee entitled, "Issues and Prospects in Interurban Air Transport," which apparently statistically affirms the thesis upon the basis of past performance.

Mr. Speaker, a number of our colleagues including myself have petitioned the CAB to institute a general rate investigation. As a part of that petition we have requested the agency to give consideration to the merits of the time-distance approach. Consequently, for these and other reasons I feel that these two articles may shed some needed additional light on our airlines current fare crisis.

The articles follow:

THE LONGEST QUEUES ARE FOR THE SHORTEST ROUTES

A correspondent in *Flight International* (Capt. G. McCoach, May 3) recently challenged Lill's classical travel law that traffic potential T is directly proportional to the population of the two terminals (P_1, P_2) and inversely to a power of the distance between them (d), i.e.:

$$T = K \frac{P_1 P_2}{d^n}$$

The law was originally put forward in 1889, but was strikingly validated by the experience of the Austrian railways before the 1914 war; though at that time, of course, they had a virtual monopoly of long-distance passenger traffic. In this case, "n" was found to be unity, and Wheatcroft mentions the law in this form in his *Economics of European Air Transport*.

The theorem was advanced by Mr. Gerald Gardiner, QC, at recent appeal hearings, to demonstrate an alleged lack of development of the BEA route from London to Manchester, by making a comparison with rail carryings and the corporation's own London-Glasgow route. Mr. Henry Marking defended BEA's results by making the interesting suggestion that the law only applied to total traffic, and not to the individual components moving by rail, road and air.

This article is an attempt to marshal a few facts on the problem. As usual, the lack

of proper statistical data renders this task difficult, and causes apprehension about the uninformed decisions that must be taken in our major transport undertakings.

The first source of information is a comparison of British and American experience. Fig. 1 (not printed in RECORD) shows the point-to-point air journeys per head of population of the large cities within 500 miles of New York and London, as a function of distance. In the United States, where intense competition has ensured the maximum growth of air traffic, the curve corresponds closely with that predicted from the theory. If d is raised to the power of 1.5, an almost exact "fit" is achieved. But in this country, though the traffic on the Glasgow and Edinburgh routes is commensurate with the analogous American routes, there is less traffic, rather than more, on the shorter routes.

In other words, the results achieved by British airlines are diametrically opposite to those predicted from a study of the country with an overwhelming experience of air transport. Which soldier is most likely to be out of step?

Turning to road movement in this country, Fig. 2 (not printed in RECORD), is a plot of the main results of the survey of origins and destinations carried out by the DSIR Road Research Laboratory to predict the Traffic on the M1 motorway. It gives the daily number of journeys in both directions, for all types of vehicles. Though the populations of the areas are not precisely commensurate, the traffic undoubtedly increases as distance diminishes, and there is every indication that the appropriate value for n is less than unity. Thus the survey provides no evidence that there is an abnormal shift to road transport for the shorter journeys.

The figures given in Table 1 for motor coach traffic tell the same general story:

TABLE 1.—ESTIMATED MOTOR COACH TRAFFIC ON THE TRUNK ROUTES, SCHEDULED CARRIERS

London to—	Road miles	Area population	Passengers per annum
Manchester area.....	184	963,000	127,000
Liverpool.....	197	762,000	150,000
Glasgow.....	394	1,055,000	107,000
Edinburgh.....	373	468,000	79,000

¹ Includes intermediate traffic. Note: There is also heavy non-scheduled traffic notably on the Manchester and Liverpool routes.

The only available evidence on rail movement is the number of rail tickets issued on the London-Manchester, Glasgow and Edinburgh routes, as given at the ATLB 21st meeting. The figures are shown in Table 2: rail traffic in parallel with the three principal air routes appears to follow the "law" quite closely.

Table 3 shows that though air traffic New York-Boston is much greater than that by rail, bearing in mind that connecting traffic may add around 3 per cent to the number of point-to-point passengers, the rail traffic is very similar to that moving London-Manchester, a journey of similar duration.

These estimates for British Railways traffic were challenged by their counsel at the recent appeals hearings, but no other figures were produced. It was said that a special effort had been made to count the number of tickets issued at Glasgow and Euston (Table 2), but that there is no breakdown into single or return. It was agreed also that the reduced-fare tickets, agents' sales, and sales at other stations had not been included in the count.

If the railroads do find that their traffic is substantially less than these estimates, they must surrender their erstwhile position as No. 1 public carrier to the air, at least

on the Glasgow route. This will be sad, because all true Britons love their railway trains. However, to be strictly practical, when did the reader last travel more than 80 miles by train in the UK?

TABLE 2.—RAIL TRAFFIC ON THE TRUNK ROUTES

London to—	Rail miles (d)	Area population (p)	Tickets issued June-December 1960 (t)
Manchester, Salford, Stockport.....	183½	963,000	211,000
Glasgow.....	401½	1,055,000	106,000
Edinburgh.....	393	468,000	60,000

TABLE 3.—ESTIMATED SECTOR PASSENGERS, 1960, BOTH DIRECTIONS (IN THOUSANDS)

Carrier	London-Glasgow	London-Manchester	New York-Boston
Air.....	313	259	1,886
Rail.....	400	750	700
Coach.....	107	150
Car (DSIR survey; Manchester city surveyor).....	175	1,250
Total.....	895	1,410

¹ Point-to-point passengers only.

Thus it is believed that all the available evidence supports the thesis that the longest queues are for the shortest routes—by all modes of transport, individually and collectively.

Britain isn't different after all; the trouble is that British airlines have shown a lack of commercial flair in attacking the short-haul domestic market. Since the DC-3 became available in the UK, BEA have dominated the domestic air transport scene. Until 1958 the corporation effectively discouraged citizens from using internal air services by laying heavy emphasis on centre-to-centre travel, without really checking passengers' true origins and destinations. DC-3 services to Liverpool, Leeds and Newcastle were uniformly successful—once the initial handicap created by the BEA dogma had been overcome. One of the other justifications for this negative attitude, the petrol tax, was nearly balanced by low depreciation charges for the war surplus DC-3s.

BEA have a monopoly of the most important routes, and so far no competitive spur has been applied to them. Having tried to "further the development of British civil aviation" in this important sector, the corporation has not yet displaced British Railways as the foremost public carrier on these routes. If there had been intensive competition, this might well have happened by now, as it has in the United States and Canada. A disastrous consequence has been the Euston-Crewe railway modernisation scheme, where a large part of the £160m total expenditure is needed to rebuild the track to carry express passenger trains at 90-100 m.p.h. This facility may never be fully used—a "Q.3" that Mr. Marples managed to launch while nobody was looking.

LONGEST QUEUES ARE FOR THE FASTEST JOURNEYS

(By A. J. Lucking)

In his recent lecture to the Air Transport Group of the Royal Aeronautical Society, Mr. G. H. G. Threlfall pointed out that jet aircraft had recovered the traffic lost as a result of high-speed rail competition on both the Tokyo-Osaka and London-Liverpool routes. Until recently, however, traffic had been declining on the London-Manchester route, but since BAC One-Elevens were introduced in November 1968 traffic has recovered significantly.

Another interesting point revealed by all three case studies was the approximate doubling of rail traffic—an increase far greater than could be accounted for by gains from air and road. There appears to have been an increase in traffic associated with the shortening of the journey time.

In an article in *Flight*—for August 2, 1962—"The Longest Queues are for the Shortest Routes"—it was pointed out that there seemed to be a mathematical relationship between the air traffic between two cities, their populations, and the 1.5th power of the distance between them. The graph is an updated version of one printed in the original article, illustrating the relationship for the short US domestic air routes.

The theory was developed on the Austrian State Railways in 1891. It has been applied successfully to many transport problems since, though nowadays the presence of a number of competing transport systems complicates the situation. It is not, for example, until one adds together air and rail traffic in Britain that the classical picture begins to emerge.

The interesting problem now arises: what happens if the vehicles become faster? Or even perhaps in the case of air transport, the fumbling formalities become fewer and faster? In each case, the effect to the traveller is similar to reducing the distance between the cities. A London-Newcastle journey by Trident takes as long as a Viscount flight from London to Liverpool; or as British Rail advertisements said after electrification "We've moved Liverpool and Manchester closer to London." So if the graph is taken as being plotted on a basis of time instead of distance, it suggests that chopping 10 min. off the London to Newcastle flight time is going to increase the traffic by about 25 per cent.

RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF TRIPS VERSUS OVERALL DURATION

Duration (hours)	Frequency index	Duration (hours)	Frequency index
1.00	100.0	3.50	6.45
1.25	67.3	3.75	5.17
1.50	46.6	4.00	4.40
1.75	34.1	4.25	3.76
2.00	25.2	4.50	3.18
2.25	19.3	4.75	2.70
2.50	15.1	5.00	2.35
2.75	11.7	5.25	2.00
3.00	9.50	5.50	1.74
3.25	7.82		

"The amount of traffic over a certain distance is determined essentially by how long it takes to cover this distance." This fascinating proposition is developed in an important book by Mr. Björn J. Ellee, *Issues and Prospects in Interurban Air Transport* (Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm, 1968). He develops the table reproduced here from theoretical considerations, and then shows that it fits the frequency of air trips in the USA. The table states, for example, that if a total journey time, door to door, of 3hr is reduced to 2.75, the traffic will increase by a factor of $11.7 \div 9.5$ or 23 per cent.

So perhaps the importance of the jet is not its "appeal" after all. Those few minutes it chips off the flight time are highly significant. And so are the shorter check-in times—the ultimate being the zero check-in time for the Air Shuttle, which boosted traffic in an otherwise stagnant market. On other American domestic routes too, the 1960s have seen a traffic explosion far greater than the 10 per cent "jet stimulation factor" applied by the CAB in the route cases heard at the beginning of the decade.

Soon the theory will be put to the ultimate test by the massive time reductions achieved by the supersonic airliner. Unfortunately, the

mathematical purity of the experiment will be upset by fare differentials—but it may be possible to observe the impact on first-class traffic. To the relatively small number of passengers who stack up a large chunk of the passenger-miles, anything that reduces the boredom may induce them to travel more, rather than finding an excuse to duck out of what has become a chore; a night in a crowded airliner is reminiscent of life in a slit trench.

At last it looks as if airline self-interest, too, may be served by organizing an all-round speed-up. Faster journeys mean more traffic and most well-conducted businesses can convert more turnover into more profit.

COLLEGE PRESIDENT PRESENTS REASONED APPRAISAL OF STUDENT RELATIONS PROBLEMS

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the alienation of young people in our society is of real concern to many, many Americans. It has manifested itself in many forms, not the least serious of which are the problems on our campuses which have resulted in turmoil in the academic community.

I have faith in our educational system to weather this storm, however, for it contains many men who bring wisdom, concern, and knowledge to bear on the current challenges. Out of this confrontation of the young and the old, the status quo and change, there should emerge a higher education system, stronger than before and responsive to the demands of a complex society.

This will come, Mr. President, because of the leadership provided by men like Kenneth E. Smith, the enlightened president of Milton College, in Wisconsin.

In the June 9, 1969, edition of "The Sabbath Recorder," official publication of the Seventh Day Baptist Church, President Smith discussed the problems facing college administrators and how they should respond to them. He views the situation calmly but with concern, and his thoughts are well-reasoned.

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

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

ON TAKING STUDENTS SERIOUSLY

(By Kenneth E. Smith)

Most small liberal arts colleges have professed a special concern for the individual student, and have gone on record as committed to the value of close student-faculty relationships. Recent studies seem to suggest that students of this generation evaluate the worth of a college experience, partly at least, in terms of meaningful relationships at a time when demands upon faculty make such relationships unlikely. The student slogan, "I'm just a number here," is countered by the faculty muttering, "We're not here to hold their hands."

The college must face this issue now. Either the statement of purpose is an inherited stone around the neck, or it is the basis for direction, planning, and action. It

is certainly not unusual to discover a significant difference between the ideal and the functional, but not to be able to reach a stated goal is one thing—not to intend to is something else.

Let me state my thesis early. The strong likelihood is that higher education will become far more impersonal than it is today, and no college will be able to provide "student-faculty relationships" or "individual attention" unless it becomes deeply committed to do so. At the present time there is little evidence that such a commitment exists even in the small, liberal arts colleges.

There are a number of reasons for assuming that the problem will continue to plague higher education. The enrollment growth of colleges and universities is not likely to slow down appreciably, nor will the cost per student. Larger classes, instructional mass media, and all that is implied by the enrollment and cost factors may be anticipated.

The realities of the situation run counter to the hopes and expectations of thoughtful, troubled students who are preoccupied with the existentialist claim to individual importance. Every occasion of being herded, numbered, listed, lined up, and programmed is a personal offense. When the crisis becomes explosive, it is the brightest of the students who attack the system. The dropout of the unable is nearly matched by the dropout of the unwilling.

Not long ago a young man came in to inform me that he was leaving college. There was little doubt in his mind that his decision was right in the context of his view of things. "My classes interfere with my studies," he said. "It's too much like high school. Right now I have to get my ideas about life straightened out." He was reading Camus, Zen Buddhism, Thoreau, Augustine, Sartre, Gandhi, and others, as a personal quest. Getting grades in courses seemed less real, less important. I said all that I thought a dean ought to say. He left.

If any member of the faculty feels inclined to say, "Good riddance," let him read again the college statement of purpose. Despite all that is said about "spiritual values," "cultural enrichment," and "personal relationships," we tend to place more emphasis on grades, attendance, credits, and prerequisites. It's easier to keep records than to keep students.

This is one reason for asserting that if the college really undertook to do what it says it does, it would be one of the more distinctive colleges in America. And, if we carried out the implications of our statement of purpose, who would want to teach here? Perhaps if we try to answer the first question, we can answer the second one for ourselves.

What would happen in curriculum if we were to take the student seriously? The college tends to say: "Here is what is important for you to know. We have had more experience than you have had as to what will best prepare you to face the competitive world. You must face requirements in society, and you might as well begin here. No, you may not take Oriental Art; you must take the Introduction to College Math."

While there are many students who are relieved to know what society demands, there is a growing number who couldn't care less. They would like to discuss with respected faculty members whether, in fact, the system is worth the fig. What evidence is there that the courses deemed significant by the college will even touch upon the crisis of values which preoccupies the student? The sequence as required by most colleges and universities denies the fundamental tenet of educational psychology that interest and motivation should be the prelude to learning.

Let us ask the Committee on Curriculum and Instruction: What educational principles suggest that English, Math and Foreign

Language, accompanied by Physical Education, are better introductions to the college experience than, say, the Problems of Sociology, Ethics, Contemporary Philosophy, or Science and the Modern World? There may actually be some very sound reasons for starting the college experience as much like high school as possible, but such reasons will have to face the fact that as many students drop out of college within the first year as in the other three years combined. And, while there are, no doubt, many causative factors, one of the most pervasive is disillusionment.

If I understand what the student complaint is about, it has to do with the neglect of what are sometimes called the "gut" issues of our time. We are always pointing out how much there is to know—the information explosion, and this is often described in order to urge the student to hurry up and know more. But we are reminded by students that some knowledge is existentially critical, and some appears irrelevant. There is much to know, but there is much to care about. It is not easy to lose oneself in the Peloponnesian Wars when you have a brand new letter from the draft board in your pocket. Surely the college no longer defends the traditional practice of beginning the college experience just as though there was no real world around us.

Taking the student seriously is to know that these are serious students. To know is to be responsible. To know is to decide, to have preferences, to believe or not to believe. It is just such commitments that many teachers avoid.

Certainly the kind of student-faculty relationships that matter to students today may have little connection with traditional advisor-advisee systems. If our contacts are always structured to advising across a desk, the lecture method may be transferred to a small office. The easy assumption that a small college is "small enough to know you" is unwarranted. The key to the matter is the willingness of the faculty to be known as persons, the willingness of the faculty to take seriously whatever concerned students take seriously.

WELFARE ROLE EXPLOSION—END IN SIGHT

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, now that the Constitution has been warped by the judicrats to give a guaranteed right for instant prosperity—not based on any theory of charity at a time of personal catastrophe, but extended to include utter disinclination to provide for oneself and family—the die is cast for a "welfare" roll explosion.

In fact, we already hear the elected officials in various parts of our country complain against public housing affecting school board millage because even if school bond measures are passed there is not enough taxable property in the "public housing" area where the votes are to raise the revenue to provide a workable school system.

Currently, the latest urge of this new parasitical class is to demand free food stamps using as a criterion only the person's current earnings.

Certainly by the wildest stretch of the imagination we have canceled every

conceivable premise on which the theory of welfare or charity was founded.

Failure to give free food stamps does not create malnutrition—because malnutrition is found in all walks of life from the Wall Street banker who fails to eat proper food and use balanced diet to the college professor who substitutes "pot" for food. Malnutrition is due to improper eating habits—not necessarily to an inability to procure the proper foods.

The so-called "Federal aid" which is the backbone of the welfare, relief, or public assistance program is a pure and simple shameless political robbery. It is a good and commendable thing for a person to voluntarily assist his neighbor who has fallen upon hard times. It is an entirely different thing for the character who is too shiftless to work to steal from his productive neighbor. And it is unforgivable for the demagog to acquire power on the votes of the ne'er-do-well, then use the power of Government to "legally" steal from the hard worker and share the fruits of his labor with those too busy feeling sorry for themselves to do any work.

The game is about over. The workers are fed up. Early in the history of this country there was a thing called the Puritan ethic. He who would eat, let him work. Left to such a choice, the free-loaders may complain, but they will not starve.

Mr. Speaker, I include a well-reasoned documentary on one branch of the welfare fiasco contained in the Dan Smoot report for July 28 following my remarks:

THE ORIGINAL SIN IS FEDERAL AID

The Social Security Act of 1935 provides that a woman can get ADC funds (aid for dependent children) only if the father of her children is continually absent from home and contributes nothing to support his offspring.

This provision has encouraged paternal desertion and the breeding of illegitimate children. There are cases of fathers deliberately abandoning wife and children to make them eligible for ADC funds; of women refusing to marry the fathers of their children in order to qualify for ADC funds; of women getting ADC funds for a dozen or more illegitimates.

Twenty states formulated rules to discourage tax-subsidized illegitimacy. Under these rules, a woman could not get aid for dependent children if she lived with a man, whether legally married to him or not. In other words, if a woman kept a "man in the house" who was not the legal father of her children, he was considered a "substitute father" who should help support the children; and the woman was not eligible for ADC.

Federally-subsidized welfare has caused another, and related, social problem of disastrous dimensions: the piling up in big cities of people who do not work because they do not want to work. They go to cities where they can get more welfare benefits for doing nothing, than many self-supporting, tax-paying citizens can earn by working.¹

As the relief rolls grow, the burden on workers who pay taxes becomes crushing. Hordes of idle relievers, demonstrating for bigger handouts, are goaded into hatred of, and outright warfare against, the society which supports them in idleness.

Some 42 states and the District of Columbia, trying to stem the dangerous influx of

relievers, established waiting periods to keep people off welfare rolls until they had resided in the state for a minimum time (usually, one year).

In 1967, the American Civil Liberties Union, several other "liberal" organizations, and poverty war agencies (using tax money provided by the federal government) induced and financed relievers to bring suits in federal courts challenging the "substitute father" rule in Alabama, challenging state residence requirements in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and the District of Columbia.²

A three-judge federal court invalidated Alabama's "substitute father" welfare rule on the grounds that there was no rational basis for denying welfare benefits to children because of their parents' misconduct. The court overlooked the obvious fact that welfare benefits do not go to hapless children, but to mothers—many of whom let their children run wild, improperly fed and clothed, while the ADC funds (taken out of the paychecks of decent parents who support their own children and respect the laws and mores of society) are spent on vices, luxuries, and boyfriends.

Federal courts invalidated the welfare residence requirements of Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and the District of Columbia on the grounds that they violate relievers' rights to travel freely from one state to another, and that they violate the "equal protection" clause of the 14th Amendment by denying some needy persons in the state benefits which other needy persons get.³ Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and the District of Columbia were ordered to provide "instant welfare" for relievers whether they are residents or not.

The "substitute father" case and the three "instant welfare" cases went to the Warren Court on appeal during the term that ended June 17, 1968. The court upheld the lower federal court in the "substitute father" case, and heard arguments in the "instant welfare" cases.

Several of the Justices—especially Thurgood Marshall—sharply questioned attorneys defending the state residence requirements. Marshall twice referred to the requirements as laws which "fence out the poor."⁴

The Warren Court did not, however, hand down a decision in the "instant welfare" cases in 1968, but ordered them held over for the next term.

On April 21, 1969, the Supreme Court, in a 6-3 decision, upheld lower court decisions invalidating residence requirements for welfare assistance in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and the District of Columbia.

Though the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was not involved in the instant-welfare cases—and though the cases affected only two states—HEW Secretary Robert H. Finch ordered all states to abolish residence requirements for welfare, immediately. In doing so, Finch violated federal law. In the statutes authorizing federal funds for state welfare programs, Congress specifically directed that no state welfare plans be disapproved because of residence requirements.

Most states will probably be afraid not to obey Finch's illegal orders, however, because they fear the loss of federal funds.⁵

What were Finch's motives? One seems obvious; and it is, to use a senseless liberal term, "racist."

States like California and New York provide such generous welfare benefits that they lure relievers from other states. The migrant relievers who have caused the most trouble, and added most to the cost of welfare in northern and western states, are Negroes.

HEW Secretary Finch is prominent among northern and western liberals who want to keep indigent Negroes "where they belong" (in the south, that is), by setting up a na-

¹Footnotes at end of article.

tional welfare system that will give relievers in Mississippi as much as they can get in California. State and local governments would have no authority or responsibility in the system.

If Finch's illegal action in ordering all states to provide instant welfare causes a sharp rise in migration of relievers from low-welfare states to high-welfare states, Congress may do what Finch wants: pass another unconstitutional law to nationalize and standardize welfare assistance.

If Congress refuses, Mr. Finch, the entire Nixon administration, and the claue of liberals now applauding the illegal "instant welfare" orders could find themselves hoist by their own petard. It will not take a very big increase in the influx of relievers into northern and western cities to make existing chaotic conditions wholly intolerable.

What will the liberals do then? They will never admit error. They will demand more pillaging of productive citizens to provide handouts for idle hordes—who are idle, primarily, because liberal welfare-state policies deflected them from gainful employment.

Even Earl Warren dissented in the "instant welfare" decision, because of implications in the decision that could affect a "multitude of situations in which states have imposed residence requirements, including eligibility to vote, to engage in certain professions or occupations, or to attend a state-supported university."³

By extending the use of illegal federal guidelines to enforce illegal court edicts, the Nixon administration could be opening a Pandora's box.

Federal courts have illegally banned prayer and Bible reading in some school systems. When will HEW issue guidelines to extend this ban to all schools, threatening to discipline those where children are still permitted to pray and read the Bible?

On July 8, 1969, the Nixon administration threatened to sue the Waterbury, Connecticut, school district if it does not immediately "stop allowing white students to escape its predominantly non-white schools by attending Roman Catholic schools."⁴

If the government closes church schools by prohibiting students from attending them, giving governmental schools an absolute monopoly over children, and then guidelines God out of all the government schools—when will the American Civil Liberties Union and related totalitarian organizations get federal court injunctions against parents for teaching their children about God? A ridiculous question with an unjustified inference? Perhaps.

When will the federal government force states to increase taxes on productive citizens to provide handouts for non-productive citizens? That has already started.

The federal government supplies approximately \$4 in tax money for welfare in Texas to match every \$1 the state puts up. The Texas constitution limits expenditure of state tax money on welfare to \$60 million a year. This means that annual welfare disbursements in Texas are limited to about \$300 million. When Texas (on September 1, 1968) implemented the Warren Court's "substitute father" rule by adding about 30,000 persons to ADC welfare rolls, there was not enough money to go around; so, allotments to all ADC families were reduced from \$135-a-month maximum to \$123 a month.

The Texas legislature proposed a constitutional amendment (on the ballot in November, 1968) to raise the state's welfare-spending limit to \$75 million annually. Texas voters rejected the amendment.

Thereupon, lawyers with the Dallas Legal Services Project (a poverty war agency, financed with tax money from the Office of Economic Opportunity) urged Negro welfare mothers in Dallas to demonstrate and protest. Many of the women were reluctant to participate, but two leaders of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) helped the tax-financed legal agitators win some welfare mothers over. The two SNCC members are both convicted felons—free on appeals bonds after having been sentenced to ten-year prison terms for a destructive raid on a grocery store in Dallas earlier in 1968.

On the morning of November 26, 1968, six members of SNCC (including the two convicted felons) stormed into the Dallas welfare offices, disrupted a staff meeting, demanded to see "the big shots."

The SNCC militants were followed by about 20 Negro welfare mothers. They did not merely protest the reduction in ADC payments. They demanded, among other things, that the welfare department instantly raise ADC payments to \$100 a month for every child in every welfare family (which would give some families upward of \$1000 a month), and that every ADC family be given a special "winter grant" of \$50 per child for clothing.

Mrs. Ruth Jefferson, leader of the demonstrating mothers, has five children, and has lived on welfare for years, though she is young and healthy—and has enough surplus cash that she recently bought an automobile. Asked why she does not work, Mrs. Jefferson angrily replied that she does not have to work, because she has a right to welfare money.

Reinforced by a few white students from Perkins School of Theology at Southern Methodist University, the demonstrators staged a sit-in. The next day, a local court ordered them to leave the welfare offices. They violated the order, but left voluntarily on the evening of November 27. Later, 21 of the demonstrators were given 3-day suspended jail sentences for contempt of court. Some cursed audibly when the court pronounced the sentences, but were not even rebuked for that contempt.

On February 12, 1969, the Dallas Legal Services (using tax money from Washington) filed suit on behalf of three welfare parents: Mrs. Ruth Jefferson, another Negro mother, and a Mexican father. Collectively, these three have 20 children. Their lawsuit claimed that the Texas constitutional limitation on welfare spending violates the federal social security law, and alleged that the reduction in monthly welfare allotments for ADC families stemmed from racial prejudice because most ADC families in Texas are Negroes and Mexicans. The plaintiffs asked that Texas be ordered to "appropriate sufficient funds of money so as not to deny a reasonable standard of living for the plaintiffs and the members of their class."

On July 1, 1969, a 3-judge federal court in Dallas decided this case, rejecting the racial-prejudice allegation, but enjoining Texas from receiving federal funds for welfare after September 1, 1969, unless Texas increases aid to dependent children.⁵

In a referendum election on August 5, 1969, Texans will again vote on a constitutional amendment to raise the welfare-spending limit—this time to \$80 million a year. I hope they defeat the amendment, emphatically.

What I said last week, with regard to illegal federal meddling with school operations, applies to illegal federal meddling in welfare, business, housing, farming: the original sin is the federal aid. The Constitution grants the federal government no power to aid or meddle in any of these fields; and

the Tenth Amendment reserves to the states (or the people thereof) all powers not specifically granted to the federal government.

Unless we stop illegal federal aid, we will never stop illegal federal controls.

FOOTNOTES

¹ *U.S. News & World Report*, July 17, 1967, p. 46.

² *Washington Evening Star*, May 2, 1968, p. B6; *Dallas Morning News*, editorial, Nov. 12, 1967.

³ *Human Events*, June 28, 1969, p. 11.

⁴ UPI from Washington, July 9, 1969.

⁵ All information on the Dallas welfare controversy is from *Dallas Morning News*, Nov. 26, 1968, pp. 1, D8; Nov. 27, 1968; Nov. 28, 1968, p. 1; Dec. 1, 1968, p. 1; Dec. 6, 1968, p. A10; Dec. 7, 1968, p. 1; Jan. 28, 1969, p. 2; Feb. 13, 1969, p. D1; July 2, 1969, p. 1; *Dallas Times Herald*, Nov. 26, 1968, p. 1; Nov. 28, 1968, p. A33; Dec. 5, 1968, p. 1; Dec. 9, 1968, p. A21; WFAA-TV Newscast, Nov. 26, 1968.

MARYLAND ARMY CAPTAIN KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Capt Richard L. Buckles, an outstanding young officer from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I would like to commend his courage and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

CAPTAIN BUCKLES, OF ANNAPOLIS, KILLED ON SECOND VIET TOUR

A 27-year-old Army captain from Annapolis making a second tour of duty in Vietnam, was killed in action Saturday, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

Capt. Richard L. Buckles, whose father is a retired Army lieutenant colonel and whose brother is also in the Army, was killed while defending Tay Ninh, near the Cambodian border.

He was a company commander in the 1st Infantry Division.

GRADUATE OF VPI

A native of Wyoming, Captain Buckles' latest home was Annapolis, where he lived with his wife, the former Judith A. Howell, of Falls Church, Va., and their three young children.

A 1964 graduate of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Captain Buckles entered the army in July of 1964 as a second lieutenant, having completed ROTC courses at college.

He was sent to Vietnam for the first time in January, 1966, and his second tour began five weeks ago.

Upon returning from his first tour, he was awarded the Bronze Star. He had received two Purple Hearts for injuries received since he began his second tour, and he was also awarded the Combat Infantryman's Badge.

In addition to his wife, who lives at 1006 Harbor drive, in Annapolis, he is survived by two daughters, Christine Lee, 4, and Karen Sue, 2; a son, Jeffrey Alan, 2 months; his parents, Lt. Col. Ronald J. Buckles, USA (Ret.), and Mrs. Buckles, of Pacific Grove, Calif.; a brother, Spec. 6 Michael R. Buckles, stationed in Frankfurt, Germany; a sister, Mrs. Roberta Sargent, of Cambridge, England, and his grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd Wilson, of Laramie, Wyo.

NEWSLETTER

HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am today sending to my constituents my latest newsletter. I am including the contents of that newsletter in the RECORD at this point:

SPACE AGE THOUGHTS

Moon flights have focused our attention on the American space program. While some have questioned the money spent on space exploration, few doubt that our spirits have been uplifted and our national pride enhanced by the feats of the astronauts. Even those of us who have never been in a spaceship have had some direct benefits from space efforts—global communications with satellites, improved weather forecasting and advances in medicine to name a few. No one can say what further achievements are in store as the space program moves forward, just as no one could have calculated the developments which arose from the voyage of Columbus. In this decade, a frontier has been opened which will never be closed. Our travel into that frontier can promise not only adventure, but the hope of a better life for all men as well.

CENSUS JOBS

The 1970 Census will be a big undertaking. It will require the hiring of thousands of people across the Nation. Census employment has traditionally been outside the Federal career service. It is subject, however, to qualification tests administered by the Census Bureau. The hiring will get underway in February, and candidates for all jobs must pass the written test and must be available full-time for the period of assignment. District Managers will be obtained through referral sources designated by the Nixon Administration and the balance of the recruitment will be carried out through sources at the county level, supplemented by open recruiting as necessary. Enumerator jobs, averaging only 3 to 5 weeks of full-time work during April and May, will be paid at piece rates averaging from \$200 to \$400. Crew leader assignments, lasting 6 to 9 weeks, will be paid about \$100 per week. Office clerical positions, assignments lasting 12 to 16 weeks, will be paid at hourly rates of about \$2.00. While all positions are relatively low paying, they carry with them very real responsibility. The penalties accruing from a poorly-conducted census can be severe to the community or State involved. On the other hand, the benefits from a good census will be very great.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

As you know, my last newsletter included a twenty part questionnaire. If you haven't seen the results of that poll, I'm sure you'll find them interesting. Some of you probably did see these percentages since many of the local newspapers were kind enough to publish the totals. But even so, I thought you might want to give these results a second look because they seem to me to be a pretty good indication of 16th District thinking on some of the really big issues. They put into specific numerical language many of the feelings that have been conveyed to me in discussions with individuals and groups in recent weeks.

I again want to express appreciation to those of you who were good enough to participate and register opinions with me. These

polls are a valuable aid in my work, so I am thankful that your interest continues to make them a success.

Here is the way the final figures looked:

[Answers in percent]

1. Do you believe that the Vietnam program recently outlined by the President is a reasonable and hopeful step toward achieving peace?

Yes ----- 73
No ----- 20
No response ----- 7

2. Regardless of how you answered the previous question, do you consider the Paris peace talks to be the best means of ending the Vietnam War?

Yes ----- 33
No ----- 58
No response ----- 9

3. Should the power of a President to commit American troops to combat without specific approval of Congress be curbed?

Yes ----- 63
No ----- 34
No response ----- 3

4. Would you favor a tax reform plan that would eliminate most income tax deductions but substantially reduce the tax rates?

Yes ----- 70
No ----- 23
No response ----- 7

5. Viewing the economy as it now stands and figuring in the continued expense of the Vietnam conflict, do you favor extending the 10 percent surcharge beyond its June 30 expiration date providing it is lowered to 5 percent as of January 1, 1970?

Yes ----- 59
No ----- 36
No response ----- 5

6. Regardless of how you answered the previous question, would you favor extending the 10 percent surtax if it was coupled to a spending ceiling on the Federal Government to help bring inflation under control?

Yes ----- 68
No ----- 28
No response ----- 4

7. Do you think that Federal spending should be cut back even if it means reducing expenditures in your favorite government program?

Yes ----- 88
No ----- 9
No response ----- 3

8. Until a settlement is reached in Vietnam, do you think that the present military draft system should be immediately changed to the random lottery plan proposed by the President?

Yes ----- 48
No ----- 45
No response ----- 7

9. Should Congress develop legislation to prohibit strikes by all public employees?

Yes ----- 66
No ----- 31
No response ----- 3

10. Do you believe that the national security factors pointed out by the President justify the \$6 billion expenditure needed to build the modified ABM system he proposes?

Yes ----- 51
No ----- 38
No response ----- 11

11. Do you believe that Congress should develop a code of ethics for the Supreme

Court rather than have the Court develop one for itself?

Yes ----- 60
No ----- 36
No response ----- 4

12. Should the national government step in and standardize welfare programs in States throughout the country?

Yes ----- 46
No ----- 50
No response ----- 4

13. Do you think that the present controversy has justified a reopening of the Job Corps camps ordered closed by the President?

Yes ----- 19
No ----- 72
No response ----- 9

14. Would you agree that disorder on a college campus should be primarily a matter for settlement by college authorities?

Yes ----- 69
No ----- 28
No response ----- 3

15. In your opinion, is it proper for the Federal Government to ban certain types of advertising from television?

Yes ----- 67
No ----- 31
No response ----- 2

16. Generally speaking, are you favorably impressed with the first four months of the Nixon Administration?

Yes ----- 78
No ----- 17
No response ----- 5

17. Do you believe that Congress should grant local law enforcement agencies greater financial support?

Yes ----- 58
No ----- 38
No response ----- 4

18. In your opinion, is the problem of organized crime big enough to demand priority attention by the Justice Department?

Yes ----- 93
No ----- 5
No response ----- 2

19. In the area of electoral reform, do you favor a plan which would provide for the direct election of a President?

Yes ----- 74
No ----- 20
No response ----- 6

20. Do you believe that Federal health, education and welfare grants to the States should be replaced with a block grant system which would permit State and local officials to determine how the funds should be spent.

Yes ----- 61
No ----- 28
No response ----- 11

SMUT MAIL

I have a question for the U.S. Supreme Court. Do the freedoms of speech and press include the freedom to invade the privacy of the home with pornographic literature? American families are being bombarded with some of the most disgusting material imaginable. The U.S. mails today are flooded with offers of hard-core smut, and even this promotional material is obscene by practically every standard of human dignity. Vicious men, who would do absolutely anything to make a few dollars, are using mailing lists derived from innocent sources such as high school honor roll lists to sell smut to young people.

Every week I receive letters from angry parents who are pleading for a way to keep this filth out of their mailboxes. They take the position that the U.S. mails should not be freely available to those who would profit from pandering to the natural curiosity of the young. I agree!

But today, following a series of court decisions, the smut merchants feel free to do as they please with their product. Printing presses and mailing services are being pressed into overtime duty to get out materials that a decade ago would have qualified the sender to a few years in a Federal penitentiary.

In the last Congress we made some little progress toward meeting the problem. We established a means by which a citizen—for himself or his children—could complain about material which, in his or her opinion, is "erotically arousing or sexually provocative." A formal complaint is lodged with a Postmaster and the sender is notified to stop mailing to the citizen's home. Any repetition makes the sender subject to fines and imprisonment.

The form necessary to initiate the procedure is reproduced on this page. [Form not printed in RECORD.] Should you receive unwanted advertising which is, in your own opinion, erotically arousing or sexually provocative, fill out the form and send it, along with the material you received, to your Postmaster.

While this procedure provides a positive way of stopping this disgusting traffic in pornography, I see it as only a stop-gap measure. President Nixon has proposed some stiff standards to control smut. They are standards which deserve Congressional action in the very near future, and which will have my support.

ECONOMIC INDEXES UP

Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud of the vast strides the county in which my hometown of Meridian is located has made over the last 20 years. The following article on Lauderdale County points out increases in population, personal income, manufacturing employment, and other economic indexes. I commend the article to my colleagues:

LAUDERDALE COUNTY GROWTH, INCOME UP

MERIDIAN.—Lauderdale County has experienced steady growth in population, income and employment since 1950, a state survey shows, and the East Mississippi county's progress closely parallels that of the state as a whole.

A survey released by the Mississippi Research and Development center compares the 82 counties in the state.

Lauderdale County's average annual earnings, wages paid to workers covered by the Mississippi Employment Security Law, are about average for the state. And the growth in the period 1958-67 was almost identical with the progress made overall in Mississippi. The average worker in Lauderdale made about \$4,500 annually in 1967, up from about \$3,100 in 1958. The state average during the same period jumped from about \$3,200 to \$4,600.

During the 11-year span manufacturing employment showed a slight gain in Lauderdale, 358 new jobs. But with new industry locating here since 1961, expansions of existing firms and the construction of the Lockheed Aircraft Corp. plant, the next set of figures

should be even more optimistic. Two years ago, the county had 4,488 in manufacturing employment compared with 4,130 in 1958.

One area in which Lauderdale County substantially outstripped all its neighboring counties and the state as a whole was in population growth. All the surrounding counties in East Mississippi lost population between 1950 and 1966, but Lauderdale County was one of seven Mississippi counties gaining more than 100,000 during that span. Lauderdale, which rose from 64,171 to 74,790 was joined by Harrison, Jackson, Hinds, Lowndes, Forrest and Pearl River in the 10,000-plus gains bracket. Overall, Mississippi slightly gained in population with the 1960s reversing the losing trend of the previous decades.

Most of the population gain locally was registered during the 1960s, obviously a result of the location of the Meridian Naval Air Station here in 1961. About three-fourths of Lauderdale's population—74 per cent—is classified as urban, the size of Meridian accounting for this factor.

The neighboring counties all lost heavily population wise during the decade between 1950 and 1960, but several including Neshoba, Noxubee, Clarke, Wayne, Newton, Scott and Leake, registered small gains the past several years to stabilize their population. Kemper, Winston and Jasper, however, continue to lose people.

The surrounding counties showed gains in manufacturing employment and income from 1958-67.

SATURN 5: A NATIONAL RESOURCE WAITING TO BE USED

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, with the outstanding accomplishment of a lunar landing in this decade it is now important that we turn our attention to the future of our national space program. The July 1969 issue of Today discusses the Saturn V rocket and its capabilities. Perhaps the most significant point of this article is the fact we have developed a national resource—one which we can ill afford to ignore or neglect. It is important that we choose our goals carefully and soon so that we will reap the benefits of the vast technology that has been developed from the Apollo program.

The article from the July 1969 issue of Today follows:

SATURN 5: A NATIONAL RESOURCE WAITING TO BE USED

It towers over the Florida landscape and over the next decade of space exploration.

The Saturn 5 rocket is the space truck that delivers Apollo goods to the moon.

It is taller than the Statue of Liberty and slightly smaller than the Washington Monument. Look up at a 36-story building and you'll get the idea.

But its height doesn't really say much about the size of the rocket. One astronaut said the only way to appreciate it is to walk on the metal catwalk toward the spacecraft, stop halfway across and look between your feet at the ground.

From the astronaut's viewpoint with the ground more than 400 feet below, the size begins to take hold.

HAS TO BE SEEN

A space agency official, trying to explain why the agency has difficulty getting money from Congress, contends it is because peo-

ple look at the Saturn 5 rocket blastoff on television.

"On a 20-inch screen you have a 10-inch rocket," the exasperated proponent claims. "How impressive can that be?"

To be appreciated, he is saying, it must be seen in person.

Most visitors to the east coast of Florida get a glimpse of a moon rocket. From heavily-traveled U.S. 1 the launch pads are clearly visible for 10 miles to the east.

At launch time, thousands of people see and hear the rocket, weather permitting. A New York scientist claims its roar is the loudest man-made sound not classed as an explosion.

The closest viewers for a launch are kept three miles away. Any closer and the sound would be painful.

At ignition the noise ripples across the water surrounding the launch pad on three sides, making little waves and knocking birds about in the sky.

An artificial breeze is created which makes light fixtures dance, the material in your clothing flutter back and forth and Walter Cronkite's picture window cave in.

BIG, LOUD AND MORE

But the Saturn 5 rocket is much more than just sight and sound.

What people casually refer to as the rocket actually includes three major rocket stages, a three-foot high "brain," two complete spacecraft and an escape rocket which probably will never be used.

A quick top-to-bottom tour of the rocket would go like this:

The Launch Escape Tower, actually a rocket itself, is more powerful than a Minuteman missile. If something goes wrong early in the flight the escape tower lifts the astronauts in their cabin off the giant rocket to safety.

THE MOTHER SHIP

The Command and Service Modules, frequently called the mother ship, is the main spacecraft. Inside, all three spacemen ride away from earth and into moon orbit. It has the heat shield and parachutes in the upper or Command Module portion and provides the safe ride home.

The Lunar Module, or Lem, rides into space hidden by white panels. It is the two-man Lem that astronauts ride down to the surface of the moon and return to link up with the mother ship, which remains in orbit.

(Together the double-spacecraft, when stacked on the rocket, is almost as tall as the entire rocket John Glenn rode into orbit in 1962.)

North American Rockwell builds the Command and Service Modules and Grumman Corporation builds the Lem.

THE BRAIN

Immediately below the Lem is the Instrument Unit which serves as the electronic brain for the rocket as it flies into space. This "brain" built by IBM, aims the double spacecraft at the proper point near the moon.

The third stage of the rocket, built by McDonnell-Douglas, is the only one which fires twice. During the trip into earth orbit it provides the last needed bit of power with its one engine and pushes the spacecraft and itself into orbit around the earth.

Then the engine fires a second time, sending the astronauts toward the moon. It falls away after its job is done, so it won't interfere with the spacecraft.

The second rocket stage, 81-feet tall and 33-feet in diameter, is made by North American Rockwell. It provides a million pounds of lifting power.

The first stage, or booster, is the most powerful rocket ever built. It has 7.5 million pounds of lifting power even though it weighs less than five million pounds.

A variety of changes are being discussed for the basic rocket so it can be used through the

1970s. One would see solid-fueled rocket motors added on the outside to carry heavier loads into space. Another idea is to use the spent third stage for a space station, leaving it in earth orbit instead of kicking it away into space after it is out of fuel.

"It's not just a rocket," a Kennedy Space Center official said. "It is a national resource waiting to be used."

IN OPPOSITION TO H.R. 255, TO DEDUCT INTEREST IN ADVANCE ON INSTALLMENT LOANS

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, this bill, as reported, would have authorized bankers in the District of Columbia to deduct interest in advance on some classes of loans. The bill does not affect automobile loans, nor loans by licensed lenders, nor credit union loans, nor loans on home mortgages.

The text of the committee's hearings on this bill, H.R. 255, by their inclusions and omissions, indicates why this bill should be rejected.

The present statutory ceiling on the classes of loans for which an effective rate of nearly 16 percent would be authorized, has been 8 percent for 68 years of this century. That ceiling was established when the single payment loan was characteristic, before the retailers' practice of extending installment credit and the Morris Plan Bank method of extending installment loans, had developed, and before the success of such credits had lured the commercial banks into installment loans to consumers. When the banks went into personal installment loans, they charged 8 percent on the original balance, as they would have in discounting a loan repaid by the customer in one payment at the end of the term of the loan. But with repayments in installments, the borrower has the use of only about half of the money over the life of the loan, and consequently the rate of interest or finance charge is about double the nominal rate. The statute authorized 8 percent before installment loans were the common practice; the banks charged 8 percent without specific statutory authorization when they began making installment loans. Now that they are required by truth-in-lending statute to disclose the annual percentage rate on their loans, they want statutory authorization which they have not had before to charge 8 percent on a discounted installment loan. They are following the lead of many other States, which have similarly raised the statutory rate to conform to the practice of bankers.

The personal loan and loans on household goods business of banks in the District is not monopolized, but one bank long has clearly been the leader; the volume of such loans is small at most other banks in the District.

The proposed amendment to the law would benefit primarily one bank, but with some protection for the profits of other banks in the District.

The rate which the bill seeks to make legal is not a truly competitive rate of interest. That is the conclusion to be reached from the fact that the consumer loan business is concentrated in a minimal number of banks, and from the further fact that auto loans, where there is competition among the banks, are made at rates of 4, 5, or 6 percent on the original balance—or roughly 8 to 12 percent on the outstanding balances—not the 16 percent sought for other loans in this bill.

Yesterday, the bill H.R. 255 was considered on the floor of the House. The Members voted to recommit this bill to the Committee on the District of Columbia. This action prevented statutory sanction to lending practices which have not had such sanction in the past, and to finance rates which have not been competitive with credit union rates, or reflected competition among the banks.

TOWARD DRAFT REFORM

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, on July 23, 1969, I joined in sponsoring H.R. 13066, a bill to amend the Military Selective Service Act of 1967. The need for improving our system of military manpower procurement has grown more and more urgent with each passing year.

It is encouraging to note that draft reform is not dead and there is growing interest in correcting inequities both in the administration and the Congress. I wholeheartedly endorse actions taken by President Nixon creating a commission to study the feasibility of an all-volunteer military force after the Vietnam war.

Meanwhile, the demand for draft reform is being voiced throughout the country. Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Hutchinson, Kans., News which is indicative of the support that responsible draft reform legislation is receiving. The editorial follows:

TOWARD DRAFT REFORM

Rep. Garner Shriver has been working with other Republican House members for several years on the problems of military manpower and draft inequities.

He has joined in a new effort to reduce the unfairness of what is called "selective service."

The major changes in this proposal would require uniform standards across the nation in granting deferments, and would permit deferments for students in junior colleges and community colleges—similar to those now given in regular four-year schools.

The timing is fortunate. Congress is showing a new disposition not to take for granted the recommendations of military voices out of the past, including that of Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, and it should grab at this chance to re-study the draft.

Any reform in our present system is welcome. The changes offered by Shriver and others should reduce some disparities, and must be encouraged.

But the basic draft inequity remains. It is simply that, even with these reforms, the

draft will hit the disadvantaged harder than those who can continue their schooling.

The hopeful way out eventually will be the volunteer approach planned by President Nixon.

Meanwhile, wouldn't a lottery really be the equitable course? A lottery, moreover, with deferments virtually eliminated and the call based on the actual needs of the services.

OUTLOOK DIM ON DRUG FIGHT?

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, Saville R. Davis, a staff correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, in a recent article appearing in that publication described President Nixon's narcotic and drug abuse proposal as one that "bristles with handicaps, obstacles, and limitations." The inadequacies of the administration's approach to the problem is further heightened when comparison is made to the proposed "Comprehensive Narcotic Addiction and Drug Abuse Care and Control Act of 1969" which I, 24 other Members of the House and 16 Members of the Senate have sponsored. As criticism of the bill drafted by the Attorney General increases, support and recognition of the validity of our approach is coincidentally on the rise.

I include the text of the Monitor article as well as a relevant letter to the editor of the Los Angeles Times by Dr. William F. Quinn, chairman, Committee on Dangerous Drugs of the California Medical Association, at this point in the RECORD:

NIXON MESSAGE: OUTLOOK DIM ON DRUG FIGHT

(By Saville R. Davis)

WASHINGTON.—The outlook for checking the narcotics traffic is not promising as of now.

President Nixon's new program bristles with handicaps, obstacles, and limitations.

To begin with, the President doesn't have much money to spend on it, yet. He couldn't afford the "massive increases" in police and customs manpower that the experts call for, even if there were ways to train them quickly.

So the message he sent to Congress this week doesn't specify the modest numbers of men that can be hired or transferred to the narcotics front in the near future.

Nor does the President have enough agreed facts about marijuana to launch an all-out educational campaign among the nation's young. All he could do was to instruct his government to "gather all authoritative information" on this and the other extensively used drugs, and to conduct research and "compile a balanced and objective educational program."

MATERIAL UNAVAILABLE

Such material is not now available.

There is a "dearth of scientific information on the subject," the President had to tell Congress. "Different 'experts' deliver solemn judgments which are poles apart. As a result of these conflicting judgments, Americans seem to have divided themselves on the issue, along generational lines."

Presidential frustration showed itself in these words.

Nor can the President be sure that his present program is the best one under the circumstances.

Some specialists in this field think that it will only accomplish the reverse of what is intended, to throw in more police and customs inspectors and narcotics detectives and task forces to tackle the criminal underground and pursue the young "pushers." It could, they say, merely raise the price of drugs across the country, and cause more crimes to be committed by desperate addicts to get money for the new high prices.

LONG-TERM PROBLEM

Nor is this all of the grim picture that hobbles what a President can do. The specialists in this field, and a long succession of depth studies like that of the crime commission under President Johnson, all say that the narcotics problem, just like that of the rising crime level generally, will not yield to any one or two simple methods of attack. To the extent that drugs are part of the general crime problem, and can be dealt with by enforcement, the entire complex of police, court, and rehabilitation programs has to be tackled. This is admittedly a very slow, long-term program.

Without progress on all these fronts together, no one panacea will work.

Finally, the narcotics problem is not just a question of "law enforcement alone"—or in the common language, not just a police problem. The President says this in his message to Congress, although the methods that he proposes are chiefly police methods. Especially with young who are in rebellion against present-day society and willing to take risks to get the "pot" or pills that the laws forbid, there seems to be no assurance that higher penalties will stop them.

With all these disputes and difficulties to right and to left of him, the President's message on narcotics is unable to take the strong, clear line that he might have wished. But time was passing and the President had to act. So he appears to have done what he could under the circumstances, according to his preference for stiffening penalties and law enforcement.

He is asking Congress to raise the penalty for unlawful possession to LSD from a maximum of a year in prison to a minimum of two years and a maximum of 10. This includes the young, to whom he refers with this sentence: "Another estimate is that several million American college students have at least experimented with marijuana, hashish, LSD, amphetamines, or barbiturates."

The maximum imprisonment for the first offense in selling LSD is now five years. The smallest penalty would henceforth be five years and the maximum raised to 20.

The President would also make it a federal offense for anyone to possess or sell marijuana unless he has a state license. He would legalize New York's "no-knock" law which allows police to enter immediately and without identifying themselves so that evidence of drugs cannot be concealed, providing they have a federal court order. Warrants of this sort would only be issued for drug cases.

ITEMS REPEATED

The 10-point Nixon program includes a number of items previously urged by President Johnson: improved state drug laws, efforts to persuade the drug-producing countries to deal with the problem at the source, research and educational programs, enlarged training for enforcement officers, and modern rehabilitation for addicts or sellers.

He adds a number of features to the Johnson program including a comprehensive law, tightening many diverse laws and making them more flexible and bringing them into one package. He also plans to divert manpower from other government activities, create special task forces, and in general tighten both enforcement inside the country

and at the frontiers. There would be federal conferences with state officials.

DOCTOR URGES WAITING FOR FACTS BEFORE CHANGING MARIJUANA LAWS

There seems to be some fuzziness about the marijuana situation when quoting statistics.

Certainly, if there were no marijuana available, we would still have heroin addicts. However, there might be some who would not have become heroin addicts had they not been induced to try it by the permissiveness initiated by marijuana or the fact that the high they got from marijuana no longer was high enough and they graduate to heroin.

One cannot brush under the rug the sheriff's figures. Of those juveniles arrested for a marijuana offense within a five year period—and these are only the ones who got caught—one out of every six was arrested for a heroin offense.

It is, of course, somewhat of a guess as to whether or not they would have gone on to heroin anyway. In talking with many addicts they, in general, feel that they might not have gone to the strong stuff if they hadn't started on the weak stuff.

Having had a hand in writing the LSD legislation, it was felt constructive to make simple possession a misdemeanor rather than a felony, whereas, the penalties for peddling would still be severe. It was recognized that while LSD was stronger stuff than marijuana, it was also felt we need not perpetuate our errors.

Currently, the law seems reasonable in that it gives the judge discretionary powers with first offense marijuana users to make it either a misdemeanor or a felony. Since marijuana was never considered a useful substance by the medical profession, little research was done on it. On the other hand, it was hoped that LSD would be a useful substance and research was done on it, and its potentially dangerous side effects became known and its use was prohibited.

A good deal of research is now going on as to marijuana and it is hoped that those who are for it or against it will wait until the scientific evidence is in before making sweeping statements. Until this evidence is in, there is certainly no point in changing the laws which are constructive and discretionary at the present time, as far as California is concerned.

As to the pusher, there is no problem here since no one has any sympathy for the individuals who would profit on the weaknesses and credulities of the ill-informed.

WILLIAM F. QUINN, M.D.,
Chairman, Committee on Dangerous
Drugs of California Medical Assn., Los
Angeles.

AUSTIN AQUA FESTIVAL INVITATION

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce the Austin Aqua Festival to my colleagues and to extend a nonpartisan invitation to every Member. The Austin Aqua Festival has been established as one of the top six water festivals in America.

If you have grown weary of looking at a Potomac that you cannot enjoy, come to Austin where there still remains an element of purity as the Colorado River flows past the downtown area, just blocks from the State capitol.

If you have grown tired of the foggy bottom approach to sophistication, come to Austin where the people enjoy their heritage and natural beauties with a refreshing frankness.

If you want to grin with honest fun, come to the Aqua Festival. The program is as diverse as are the great people of Texas. We will offer a bit to whet the appetites of all special interests. In abbreviated form, let me outline some of the events; mariachi music, German music, Western music, even some rock music, water ski championships, national sports car races, canoe races, boat races, land parade, lighted night water parade, coronation ball, and beauty pageant.

The atmosphere is infectious, the pleasures genuine, and the time well spent. Mark your calendar for August 1 to 10. I would not miss it.

THERE OUGHT TO BE A LAW

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I want to call the attention of my colleagues to the following editorial from the *Berwick, Pa., Enterprise* of May 31, 1969, which focuses on the matter of trading stamps, a matter of concern to all consumers:

THERE OUGHT TO BE A LAW

How many times have you heard someone say "there ought to be a law" in the past year or so?

Probably many times.

But really—there are too many laws already. The trouble is that the right ones aren't enforced.

In matters dealing with the free market there seems to be a particular mania for passing laws. Those of socialistic trend particularly like to make war against business and its promotions.

For example—there are trading stamps. We save them in our family and we presume most people do, but there are those who regularly come through with suggestions to do away with them by law.

Just why—we don't know, except that it is probably because of an overpowering desire to meddle. If they really want to crusade we can think of a lot of situations toward which they could make much better use of their time.

The meddlers are all over. Some are in Minnesota and there a bill had been under consideration to regulate issuance and redemption of trading stamps. A legislative subcommittee however, after a thorough check, found nothing wrong with the stamps so we presume the efforts there have gone by the board.

If lawmakers would keep away from subjects which the people can regulate themselves—we would all be much better off. For example—if people decide they are against trading stamps they will merely buy at places that do not give them.

But many, many merchants have found that such stamps stimulate sales and the increased sales makes it possible to help hold down prices.

And, another thing—stamps are a form of "savings." After all, they do serve in lieu of cash in "purchasing" a great many articles each year by a substantial percentage of Americans.

ROBERT FROST REMEMBERED—BY
DR. ROY P. BASLER

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, our "national poet," Robert Frost, consultant in poetry for the Library of Congress from 1958-62, once wrote that if he had an epitaph, it might read, "I had a lover's quarrel with the world." And so he did, often insulting, teasing, and then embracing the world he loved so much.

Frost did much to stimulate the establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities and the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, and was the only poet to take part in a Presidential inaugural—J. F. K.'s.

Dr. Roy P. Basler, chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, has written an absorbing and moving account of Frost's years in Washington—years which prompt me to suggest another epitaph from a title of one of his own poems, "Happiness Makes Up in Height for What It Lacks in Length."

I commend the enclosed article from *Voyages* for the attention of my colleagues at this point in the RECORD:

YANKEE VERGL—ROBERT FROST IN
WASHINGTON

(By Roy P. Basler)

*It makes the prophet in us all presage
The glory of a neat Augustan age . . .
A golden age of poetry and power
Of which this noonday's the beginning hour.*

In the spring of 1958, Robert Frost became Consultant in Poetry at the Library of Congress—with a purpose. For many years his poetry had received wide acclaim indeed, but it became increasingly evident to me that he wanted more, and meant to get it. It was my privilege, in a small way, to aid and abet his intent. The role which he conceived for his remaining years—prophet and wiseman to the nation—he developed craftily as the stage widened, and with some luck, good timing, and a fair portion of ham acting, he was able to play out his part, perhaps farther downstage than he had ever suspected possible.

He came to discuss the terms of his appointment with the Librarian of Congress, L. Quincy Mumford, on May 1 and on May 12 his appointment was announced. Interest generated in the press exceeded expectations, and arrangements were made for a press conference on May 21, to be followed by a gala reception. At the press conference, Frost was in good form. After a brief reference to his pleasure in being appointed to follow Randall Jarrell, whom he described felicitously and tartly as "one of the most pronounced literary figures in America," reporters from the national wire services, as well as the Washington, New York, and Philadelphia (but oddly not Boston) papers, CBS, the U.S. Information Agency, and Telenews, among others, plied him with questions.

Would he continue "Jarrell's policies?" He would if he "knew what they were."

What did his position consist of? "Making the politicians and statesmen more aware of their responsibility to the arts . . . And I

wouldn't have much confidence in myself that way if I hadn't been so successful in Washington lately in a law case. (Ezra Pound's release, for which Frost and others had petitioned, had been cleared on April 18.) But, I surprised myself, I wish—Kipling has a poem that begins 'I wish my mother could see me now.'

How did he intend to make politicians and statesmen aware of the arts? "I guess we'll have to ask them to dinner once in a while. And then, you know, you can keep giving them your books . . . I've got one with me for somebody very high up right now—very, very high up—about as high as you can get." What would he inscribe in it? "I hadn't got as far as that, but it'll be as far as farmer . . ."

Did he discuss the Pound case with the President? "No . . . the Attorney General . . . It started with Mr. Brownell, but Mr. Rogers got promoted the day after I saw him as Assistant. See, I got him promoted."

Within a few minutes, the scope of the Consultanship in Poetry at the Library of Congress had expanded beyond anything heretofore contemplated, by anyone other than Frost, at least. The questions, answers, and badinage continued for an hour, covering the Pound case as well as the only other time Frost had anything to do with the law—"for punching somebody once years and years ago."

Why? "That's too delicate a matter. I can't go into that."

President Eisenhower's fondness for a painting by Anders Zorn, Theodore Roosevelt's appointment of Edwin Arlington Robinson to a job in the New York Customs House, and Coolidge's acquaintance with the poet Dennis McCarthy, who wrote for the *Boston Post*, came in for comment.

Dwight Morrow had tried to get President Coolidge to invite Frost to the White House, and all Coolidge had replied was: "There used to be a poet by the name of Dennis McCarthy, hanging around the State House in Boston."

It was Frost's opinion that we should "do something about this, bringing poets and presidents and things together. Wouldn't it be terrible if this country went down in history, like Carthage, without anybody to praise it . . .?"

As the conference went on—covering such divergent topics as socialism, the need for more study of the humanities as opposed to science, and the need for political leaders, as a reporter phrased it, "to have religious faith—everyone participating had a most enjoyable time, but Frost obviously the most enjoyable of all. He was being consulted!"

The reception that followed the press conference was lavish by Library of Congress standards, since Frost's publishers, Henry Holt and Company Inc., were co-hosts. Many distinguished Washingtonians were invited, and most of them came, but in view of later developments it is interesting to note that neither of the Senators from Massachusetts was on Frost's guest list, although both the New Hampshire and Vermont delegations were invited and came.

The news stories concerning Frost's appointment elicited general praise and approval, but lest it be thought that any poet, no matter how distinguished or venerable, can be appointed to this quasi-public office without becoming the subject of attack, a letter signed "Veteran," published in *The Washington Daily News* on June 4, protested:

"Personally, I never could understand why the taxpayer had to hire a consultant in poetry, since most taxpayers' interest in versification seldom goes beyond Edgar Guest or Ogden Nash. As a veteran of W.W. II, it's disappointing to me that Mr. Frost was appointed. How can a man, who brags about this campaign to get Ezra Pound out of St.

Elizabeth's, be 'cleared' for a position with the Library of Congress? . . ."

"Veteran" was mistaken, as are most critics of the Consultanship, in assuming that the taxpayer's money pays the consultant's honorarium, when in fact a modest endowment, given to the Library of Congress by the late Archer M. Huntington, provides the means for this unique post.

II

During the summer months, preparations were made for Frost's assumption of his official duties in October. Requests for appointments, as well as letters enclosing manuscripts for the consultant to criticize and asking all kinds of advice, became so numerous that it was necessary to devise form replies explaining why the consultant could not personally reply to all. But when Frost arrived on October 12 to spend his first week in residence, both his office schedule and his social schedule were full. He was consulted officially by State and Army, as well as by professors, students, and poets. He read his poems in the Library's Coolidge Auditorium to an invited audience of high school honor students and their teachers, and again held a press conference, this time sparsely attended. When told that President Eisenhower had called a press conference at the same time, he remarked, "First things first . . . I'll have to say something to him about that when I see him." When introduced to the reporters by the Deputy Librarian of Congress with an explanation that the conference had been called because the consultant's crowded schedule could not accommodate all the requests for individual interviews, he protested with good humor. "Now you decided all this. I ought not to be called poetry consultant. I ought to be called poet-in-waiting." He remarked that "one reason I'm here is my ambition . . . to get out of the small potatoes class." He wanted "Somebody in the Cabinet for the arts . . . just to have the state recognize the existence of the arts."

This conference rambled over American poetry, with pungent comment on Pound's *Cantos*, as well as American painting, especially Frost's liking for the work of Winslow Homer, Andrew Wyeth, Thomas Eakins, and James Chapin. He had a painting by each in mind that he thought would suitably decorate the walls of the consultant's office. But he wouldn't want to have too sumptuous working conditions. "If I had a beautiful studio, I'd never paint. I'd have ladies visiting."

In reply to a question whether the world did not operate too much on the basis of "You know me, Al," he agreed. "The whole human race is . . ." How else could it be? Would I approve somebody I knew nothing about? This reminded him of the story of a man who supported a friend for appointment to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court and was told "I don't know him. I know you. How about you taking the job?" As events were to develop for Frost, this comment had more point than anyone could then have surmised.

If his schedule did not keep him busy enough in October, it can be said that it kept several members of the Library staff busy more than enough, but to the delight of all. When he returned for his tour of duty in December, an equally hectic schedule was observed, with a public lecture and reading, "The Great Misgiving," interviews, conferences, luncheons, dinners, and by Frost's request, another press conference.

As reported in the newspapers with the headline "Frost Complains of Lack of Work," he began, "I summoned you." He wondered if he had not come to Washington on a misapprehension, to be consulted not only about poetry but about politics, religion, science—anything. "But I've been consulted only three times by the White House, only once by the Supreme Court, and not at all by Congress. I think something out to be done about it."

¹ Robert Frost, "Dedication: For John F. Kennedy His Inauguration." The lines from Robert Frost's poems are quoted by permission of the publisher, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

What did the Supreme Court want to know? Something he had once said to the late Justice Cardozo: "The Supreme Court will bear watching because it might lose the distinction between being a referee and being a handicapper." The obvious relevance to the integration question was not lost as Frost went on, "I think the legislative department has been delinquent. The legislative department should have been tending to what the Supreme Court in desperation had to do."

He confessed that he would like to be a senator. "I wish some good senator would resign about six months before the end of his term and let me finish it out." But that was Truman's idea, too. "Then he stole it from me." His first bill to be introduced would be "to give this office of mine a real standing in the government."

He admitted to being an expert on education. "I have long thought our high schools should be improved. . . . A lot of people are being scared by the Russian Sputnik into wanting to harden up our education or speed it up. I am interested in toning it up at the high school level. . . . I would rather perish as Athens than prevail as Sparta. The tone is Athens. The tone is freedom to the point of destruction. Democracy means all the risks taken, conflict of opinion, conflict of personality, eccentricity."

Did he feel the present Administration sympathetic to the arts? It was "much more so before a recent sad event." Sherman Adams had departed from the White House. About his old friend he said, "He really cares about the arts."

His December week in Washington was made notable by the negotiation for presentation to the Library of Congress, at Frost's request, by his friend and long-time correspondent Louis Untermeyer, of several hundred letters (since edited by Untermeyer and published by Holt), which are in effect a large slice of Frost's autobiography. The promised gift was appropriately but quietly celebrated at a luncheon in honor of the two poets, but the actual deposit of the letters was not to take place for some months and would not be announced until two years later, on December 11, 1960.

Frost's complaint that Congress had not taken sufficient note of his presence had borne fruit when he returned to the Library for his week at the end of March. A Senate Resolution, sponsored by 62 senators, extended birthday greetings on his 85th anniversary. The language of the Resolution reminded him that the Senate had in a similar Resolution extended greetings on the occasion of his 75th birthday, and apologized that "although compelled by the necessities of our time to concentrate its attention on things material, nevertheless (the Senate) is fully cognizant of the value and importance to our citizens as long as our Nation shall endure of things of the spirit contained in our national literature, art, and culture."

His birthday was celebrated with fanfare, not in Washington, but in New York, where his publishers arranged a dinner to which were invited the literary lights of the nation and not a few political figures, many of whom were unable, because of public business, to attend. Among those who sent their regrets along with birthday greetings were Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts.

Frost had formed a high opinion of Kennedy and believed he was a man to watch. In our occasional discussions of men in politics during the next few months, Frost was on the whole most perceptive. He had his prejudices, but he was singularly free of the all too common intellectual contempt for politicians—especially politicians who fail to see things in the intellectual vogue of the moment. He could even make allowances for some of the practical political facts which inhibited the public expressions and acts of certain Southern politicians whom he held in considerable respect. When I once teased

him, however, about Kennedy's rather aloof record during the McCarthy outrage, he would not defend this failure to take a stand, as he would defend certain Southern senators whose constituencies would not permit them to espouse the Supreme Court's decision, in *Brown et al.* He merely shrugged off the challenge.

At the press conference held in the New York offices of his publishers on the morning of his birthday, March 26, Frost quickly and deliberately got into politics: "Somebody said to me that New England's in decay. But I said the next President is going to be from Boston." When pressed to name the man, he replies, "Can't you figure it out? It's a Puritan named Kennedy."

Although the poet's other comments made interesting news, it was this that made the headlines across the country, as well as in New York.

Frost's week at the Library began on March 30. It included his usual public lecture and reading at the Library as well as one at the Folger Shakespeare Library, a seminar for graduate students from the local universities held in the Wilson Room of the Library of Congress, several luncheons, one at the Federal Trade Commission, and one in the Whittall Pavilion of the Library of Congress, to which came President Eisenhower's Special Assistant Frederick Fox, Senator Thomas C. Hennings of Missouri and Representative Frank E. Smith of Mississippi, among others. But not Senator Kennedy.

A few days after Frost's departure for Cambridge, however, a letter addressed to the Consultant in Poetry arrived at his office. In it Senator Kennedy expressed gratification "to be remembered by you on the occasion of your 85th birthday," but regretted that "the intrusion of my name, probably in ways which you did not entirely intend, took away some of the attention from the man who really deserved it—Robert Frost." The politics of art was becoming scrambled with the art of politics, apparently unknown to the Senator!

Frost's final week as Consultant in Poetry at the Library of Congress began on May 18, with a talk and reading that night to which only members of the Library staff and their families were invited. The limited seating capacity (c. 500) of the Library's Coolidge Auditorium had been inadequate for every public reading Frost had given, and it was felt that at this concluding performance the staff, many of whom had not been able to hear him at all, should be given priority. The auditorium was filled to overflowing again, and Frost received an ovation to which by this time he was, of course, far from unaccustomed. The usual heavy schedule of interviews, conferences, luncheons, and dinners obtained, and a reception was held in the Library's Whittall Pavilion on May 20, recorded in my diary with considerable understatement, as "a pleasant social affair which very fittingly wound up his stay at the Library in so far as the public relations aspect is concerned."

For Frost, this reception achieved the recognition of his consultantship by the largest turnout of dignitaries and wives yet seen—Ambassadors, White House officials, Supreme Court Justices, Representatives and Senators—among the latter John F. Kennedy, who almost "slipped" in, and out, after the briefest of handshakes, so that few in the crowded Pavilion besides Frost would remember later on, just when it was that the two men first met.

In view of later developments, an extremely important event took place on the night of May 19 when Frost accepted the invitation of Representative and Mrs. Stewart L. Udall to dine at their home. Frost appreciated this invitation highly, and it marked the beginning of a friendship which he renewed whenever he came to Washington. As he had observed concerning the principle

of "You know me, Al," how else could it be that a poet should get selected for special recognition?

On Frost's last night, May 23, a group of the Library's staff who had worked most closely with him gave him a dinner at the Hay-Adams. It was an occasion for congratulations all around the table, not the least sincere of which were Frost's own. He was especially pleased when the Librarian suggested that he continue the next year as "honorary" consultant. Four days later I wrote him proposing that he serve the Library in this new capacity with the title "Honorary Consultant in the Humanities." His reply was, "Won't it be capital for us all to get together next year?"

III

It was agreed that the first week in May 1960 would be the most suitable for Frost's initial visit as honorary consultant, and preparations were made accordingly for a talk and reading on the night of May 2, preceded by a luncheon in his honor in the Whittall Pavilion and a press conference as usual. His own party for friends would be on the next day, and on the night of May 4, a special talk and reading for Members of Congress, Senators and their families. On May 5, he would testify before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee on Senator Francis Case's bill to establish a National Academy of Culture. His interest in another piece of legislation would not require testimony: on April 28 Senator Saltonstall had introduced for himself, Senator Aiken, and Senator Prouty S. 3439, a bill authorizing President Eisenhower to award Frost a gold medal in recognition of his poetry.

For his talk and reading on the night of May 2 he wanted the printed program to carry a special device—"The Pasture Spring" in facsimile. For this he copied the poem in very clear hand and scribbled a note to accompany it. The title as well as the poem itself he wrote down from memory which perhaps accounts for the fact that the little poem which appears in his *Complete Poems* as simply "The Pasture," is here entitled "The Pasture Spring." Here is his note:

"DEAR ROY: The idea was to make the program something to read besides titles. You are so generous about complying with suggestions. But disregard the above if it comes too late. Just have it in print like the other quotations. I'm looking forward to renewals. And I'm not afraid of the reporters unless they stay away and accuse me of things I don't think. I am ready for them on segregation, Romanism and Russia.

"I'm here where we last saw each other in Amherst.

"ROBERT."

All in all, things appeared to be picking up just where they had left off a year before, for a week of Frost as usual. As things turned out, however, there was one near fiasco and one unprecedented but quirky stroke of good luck, along with the usual round of excitement which accompanied his visits. The near fiasco was brought about by protracted debate in the House of Representatives, with numerous quorum calls, on the Area Redevelopment Act. That this should have occurred on the night of May 4, set aside for Frost's specially prepared talk and reading for Members of Congress and Senators, was most lamentable.

Although responses to invitations had brought sufficient requests for tickets to fill the auditorium, when Frost took the stage he faced only a scattered few wives and families. Some wives were still waiting outside for their husbands. As Frost proceeded, obviously a bit miffed, he warned to his task and gave a very fine performance, and as he talked and read, a few more wives and substitute friends and relatives began drifting in. By the time he had concluded and every-

one had repaired to the Pavilion for the reception that was to follow, there were perhaps a hundred and fifty present, among them half a dozen Senators and Members who ducked in to apologize and explain the dire necessities of legislation, and then ducked out.

The theme of his remarks, chosen for the historic occasion, was "anxiety," the anxiety of nations, with special reference to the U.S. vs. Russia, Israel vs. the Arab nations, etc., parallel with allusions to history, Athens vs. Persia, Rome vs. Carthage, England vs. the Continent: "I suppose this has been going on a long time, and I suppose that is what lies ahead of us—the championship." But he cut it short, after some wandering, and began to "say" his poems. For those who came, if not for him, the evening was a success.

The luncheon on May 2 was another matter—something no one who was present will be likely to forget.

Carl Sandburg was in town to receive on the same evening a silver laurel wreath from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce—its "Great Living Americans Award." Carl's long and friendly "official" association with the Library of Congress dated from 1946, with his appointment by then Librarian Archibald MacLeish as a Fellow in American Letters. He customarily stopped by whenever in the city, to visit and chat with me, or David Mearns, Chief of the Library's Manuscript Division, or both. I had enjoyed Carl's friendship and personal encouragement as a student of Lincoln, dating from the early 1930's. At the very time in 1958 when I had been negotiating with Frost to become Consultant in Poetry, I had also signed Carl up to deliver an address on Abraham Lincoln in the Library's Coolidge Auditorium on the night of February 12, 1959. I had taken this precaution so far in advance, because Carl would be in great demand in the Lincoln Sesquicentennial year. As things turned out, this was most fortunate, for his commitment to the Library was ultimately expanded by an invitation to address a joint session of the Congress at noon on the same day. Both his address before Congress and his talk that night at the Library were moving and memorable performances, but it was the former, of course, which captured the headlines from all other Lincoln Day observances, partisan or otherwise.

That the Lincoln Sesquicentennial should have enabled Carl's brief preemption of the poet's spotlight in the nation's capital during Frost's year as Consultant in Poetry was perhaps an inevitable accident. Even though it came during Frost's absence from the Library, it did not pass unobserved by Frost, as I learned when he returned for his week in residence at the end of March.

It will come as a surprise to no one who knew Frost at all that Sandburg was neither his favorite poet nor his favorite historian. Nevertheless, when I learned that Sandburg was in town on the day of our luncheon for Frost, the opportunity to bring the two together seemed just too good to miss. Although there was no love lost on Sandburg's side of this rivalry either, he good humoredly gave in to my persuasion that he join us.

As Carl came into the Pavilion, a wool scarf about his neck and a black fedora on his head, he paused at the threshold. I greeted him and turned to Robert who, with his back toward us, was chatting with a semicircle that included the Librarian of Congress, Quincy Mumford.

I said, "Robert, here's Carl Sandburg come to lunch."

Frost turned, a glint in his eye, and grinned without moving or offering his hand. "Don't you know enough to take your hat off when you come in the house?"

Carl's throaty chuckle accompanied the exaggerated flourish with which he doffed his fedora. The familiar silver Sandburg forelock fell over his eye.

Frost: "Don't you ever comb your hair?" Another Sandburg chuckle, as he reached into his coat pocket, brought out a comb and lifted the silver lock into place, where it stayed only for a moment. He proffered the comb to Frost. "You could use a comb yourself, haw, haw, haw!"

This broke the slightly awkward silence with a good laugh all around, for Frost's silver head was as tousled as usual.

Reaching deep in his trousers' pocket, Frost brought up the most snaggle-tooth comb I have ever seen, and ran it through his hair, with some difficulty but without much effect, to everyone's laughter. Then finally they did shake hands.

The luncheon group of about 25 persons, including members of the staff, the Consultant in Poetry Richard Eberhart, as well as two visiting poets, Oscar Williams and Hy Sobloff, was fortunately large enough for each of the two elder statesmen of letters to have his own semicircle, and when, after a brief libation and some photographing, we sat down to eat, the two were placed on either side of the Librarian, Frost to the right, Sandburg to the left, near enough to each other by all odds, but with myself and Oscar Williams seated facing them, to keep the quips flying without any absolute necessity of smashes or kills at the net. For as they broke away from their initial greeting, Frost had brushed off his well-worn witticism to humph, "I'd as soon play tennis with the net down as write free verse."

During the prandials, both pre and post, Carl maintained his good humor and refused every opportunity to thrust in reply as Frost became more and more obviously, but still not impossibly, tetchy in his sallies, not too *sotto-voce*, either. Perhaps the most uncalled for, or as it seemed to me, dragged-in-by-the-heels, was Frost's atrocious pun on the title of one of Sandburg's books of poetry, when he remarked his dislike for "slobs of the sunburst west."

Oscar Williams, seated opposite Frost, egged him on, though Frost needed no encouragement, while I, opposite Sandburg, kept Carl's attention directed, as much as possible, toward his acolytes at our half of the table, and Carl was a sublime egoist, wholly indifferent to, if not wholly unaware of, the display of sparks that Frost's terrific if pettily competitive instinct was generating. The hilarity was immense because everyone as aware of how close we were skating to the thin ice that might break and dunk us from exhilaration into dismay.

When the Librarian finally tapped his glass with his spoon and made his customary announcement—that while this was a merely social occasion, if either of our distinguished guests felt any compulsion to speak, he was sure there were those who would be glad to listen—Frost said, "Let Carl pay a tribute to me. He oughta praise me, my poetry."

Everyone roared and Carl shook out his throatiest prolonged guffaw to decline this gambit. Whereupon the Librarian adjourned the affair, Frost repairing to the Poetry Office for his press conference, and I taking Sandburg in tow to return him to his hotel with my profound gratitude, and relief.

I have heard others tell of times when Carl displayed a petty or nasty disposition toward persons he held in small esteem because of their pretensions or their pompous flatulence, but in my many times with him I never saw this happen. In a necessarily competitive argument he could be as rough as his competition, especially after a copious libation, but I never saw him betray a hint of jealousy or upstaging. Robert, on the other hand, was not just a born competitor, he was sometimes competitive when he need not have been, because he really couldn't help it.

This episode reinforced my observation that poets on display, like children and people in general, will show their essential natures rather than their manners, on oc-

casional, and when reproved, as Frost was later, by a person who knew how to and could do it, they can pretend penitence they do not really feel. "Was I really bad?" he asked, not the least bit contrite.

iv

Senator Saltonstall's bill authorizing President Eisenhower to award Frost a gold medal was passed and became Public Law 86-747 on September 13, 1960, obviously too late for its provisions to be carried out before President Eisenhower would leave the White House, but the possibility that a President of Frost's own choosing might do the honors was becoming more likely day-by-day as the Presidential campaign developed. When election day provided the fulfillment of Frost's prediction, rumors began to fly that Frost would participate in the Inauguration of John F. Kennedy in January, and on December 18 the fact was announced in the Washington *Evening Star*, with the comment that "In a sense, Senator Kennedy will be paying off a campaign debt too. All through the primaries he quoted from one of the venerable New England poet's most celebrated lyrics, 'Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening.' Inevitably, in Wisconsin and West Virginia and points West, he bade farewell to his audience with these lines:

"But I have promises to keep
And miles to go before I sleep.
And miles to go before I sleep."

To this account it should be added that Kennedy's choice for Secretary of the Interior, Stewart L. Udall, had proposed Frost's participation in the inaugural ceremony in the first place.

On Thursday, January 19, Frost came to the Library for the luncheon we had arranged to honor his triumphal homecoming. When he came into my office, after the briefest of greetings and felicitations, he announced forthwith that he was going to see to it that President Kennedy appointed me to a position of importance somewhere. Dumbfounded, I began to explain the facts of my limited bureaucratic existence in plain terms, and when he chided my political innocence from his now political eminence, I became aware that he was talking rather too loud, and shut the door, but not before he had impatiently and hurtledly exclaimed, "Don't shush me!"

He meant to do something for me and was obviously chagrined that I didn't want him to. He had achieved a position of influence, and he meant to use it, for me. How does one gracefully resist a benefactor who is used to having his own way? Especially when the improbable comes wrapped in the slightly ridiculous. His acquiescence left me with the feeling that I had let him down, in being less than a true competitor, after his own heart.

When we joined the other members of the staff gathered in the Whittall Pavilion to honor our something more than poet laureate of the United States, I was glad I could merge my feelings in the general sentimentality of the occasion.

Inauguration day dawned bright and exceedingly cold, with the national capital muffled in the heaviest snow in several years. As I looked out the window at my sugarloaf Chevy, I yawned, "That's that!" I was devoted to Robert Frost, but not that devoted! Unfortunately, my wife, a late riser, was not only devoted to Robert Frost but also as infatuated as any wife of any New Frontiersman with J.F.K. When she woke me from my second sleep, I merely turned over. I wouldn't have gone to see Lincoln inaugurated on such a day, and anyway we could see it better on TV.

"Get up, it's ten o'clock and there's barely time!" I couldn't believe it, but I did.

Once I had shoveled out, we munched the Chevy to the highway and as near Capital

Hill as we could get, then booted and thick as two bears in all the outer garments we could stretch over all the inner garments we could stuff under, we heeled and toed the rest of the way with our camera and flask, to stand among the thousands and await the opening of the New Frontier.

I shall not attempt to describe what everyone, especially those who stayed snug at home before the TV, saw better than I did, for my eyes were watered and blurred, not merely from the cold and the glare of sun on snow either. But I can state that the history made before the eyes of one observer carried an emotional wallop that rose from a slough of long-winded preliminary piety to a crescendo of something I had never quite experienced before. When Robert was led to the microphones, I nearly wept. When he began stumbling through the opening lines of the new poem which he had written, "For John F. Kennedy His Inauguration," but which he couldn't "say" as he customarily did, but had to read because it was so new that it was unfamiliar even to its author, my throat simply closed. When he admitted his defeat in the glare from God on high and launched his counterattack to "say" the poem his President had requested, "The Gift Outright," only a school girl's phrase can name it. I was thrilled nearly to death. Even the President's exceptionally fine Inaugural Address was merely denouncement, preoccupied as I was with my own thoughts. Robert had made it, as he so wanted to.

Among my thoughts was the whimsical reflection, which I voiced as we trudged away to watch the parade: "I guess it was a good thing Adlai was defeated in 1952, or Carl might have been the Prairie Vergil of the 'next Augustan age.'" My wife could never have agreed to my premise, but she got the point of my conclusion. The only precedent in American history, so far as I know, for a poet's elevation to the inaugural platform was Adlai Stevenson's selection of Carl to perform the ancient duty of the ruler's chosen bard, at his inauguration as Governor of Illinois in 1948. That happened to be, likewise for personal reasons, the only other inauguration I ever attended.

v

Although he returned to the Library in May for his tour of duty as Honorary Consultant, Robert no longer belonged primarily to us. The date for his now established annual reading was shifted to permit his prior appearance on the night of May 1 in the State Department Auditorium, under the sponsorship of the President's Cabinet, the first of a series of such presentations by the Cabinet of eminent literary figures. He continued to be generous in sharing his time, however, and for the next two years made the Library headquarters for his increasingly numerous visits to Washington. His honors continued to accumulate, including the introduction of a House Resolution that he "should hereafter be known as the National Poet of the United States." Plans were made for the greatest birthday dinner yet, on the night of March 26, 1962, but almost prevented by his serious bout with pneumonia early in February. When Mrs. Basler and I visited him briefly later that month at his cottage in Florida he was shakily recuperating, but indomitable. "I was not ready to die yet." Alluding to this illness a month later, when President Kennedy finally presented the gold medal so long in the making, he paraphrased the concluding lines of his poem "Away!"—"I went right up to the grave and was so dissatisfied with what I saw that I came back." He just could not afford to die and miss getting that gold medal, or his resplendent 88th birthday dinner, at which the great and near great of his own country, ambassadors from abroad, and assorted friends whom he never forgot, would assemble in the Pan American Union to praise and honor him. Nor could he forgo his trip to Russia and meeting with Khrushchev

during August and September, first broached in May, at a dinner with Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin in the home of Secretary of Interior Udall, (an account of this trip by F. D. Reeve appeared in *The Atlantic*, September, 1963), nor his principal role in the National Poetry Festival held at the Library of Congress in October. If anyone present had doubts that Frost was *the national poet*, his talk and reading on the night of October 24, in the midst of the Cuban Crisis, dispelled those doubts in the moment.

While Frost's proposal for a Cabinet post for the Arts seems never to have been given serious consideration, his presence on the Washington scene from 1958 through 1962 lent considerable impetus to the movement culminating in the establishment of the Kennedy Center and the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, helped bring about the continuing series of Cabinet-and-White-House-sponsored literary and performing arts presentations in the State Department Auditorium, and the White House receptions, dinners, presentations of awards, and festivals honoring prominent figures in the arts and humanities which became—until the debacle of the Arts Festival in June 1965—something of an established pattern in the national capital. Even that somewhat desiccated federal branch, the Smithsonian Institution, began to send forth cultural blossoms—concerts, lectures, and whatnot—in a variety unprecedented, and the Library of Congress no longer held its unwanted distinction of being a very modest literary and musical oasis in the federal cultural desert.

Not many lobbyists have ever achieved more for whatever cause, and none, so far as I know, has ever achieved a comparable national public image in the process. It is no denigration of the cause of the arts and humanities at large, in my book at least, to recognize that Frost's ego was his primary motivation.

He would have liked to live forever, I feel sure. If pneumonia, "the old man's friend," as he had affectionately dubbed his ailment, quoting somebody or other, when I had seen him convalescing in Florida almost a year before, had not finally persuaded him to give up on January 29, 1963, I truly believe he would have done as he threatened:

And I may return
If dissatisfied
With what I learn
From having died.

OMAHA GIRL ATTENDS GIRLS NATION

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege today to visit with Ellen Alston of Omaha, one of two Nebraska representatives to the 1969 Girls Nation in Washington.

Ellen will be a senior this fall at Omaha Central High School and president of its student council. She was elected lieutenant governor of Nebraska Girls State held earlier this year at Lincoln and plans to major in languages in college.

Miss Alston was appointed secretary of housing and urban development at Girls Nation and was on the platform at its inauguration ceremonies today.

This young woman is the daughter of Mrs. Henrietta Alston and the late

Charles W. Alston. An older brother, Charles, is a senior at Stanford University and she has three younger sisters.

Mr. Speaker, Ellen Alston typifies the fine young men and women who annually attend boys and girls Nation activities sponsored by the American Legion and its auxiliary.

PLEA FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN RUMANIA

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, under normal circumstances I would employ the normal channels of communication in order to solicit the support of my colleagues in a matter of importance. However, inasmuch as President Nixon will shortly be in Rumania, I am using the *RECORD* in order to reach my colleagues and all concerned parties about a matter which I consider to be of the utmost importance and which must be acted upon immediately if we are to be effective. I am of the hope that my colleagues and friends will join me in sympathetic support of this cause by communicating their desires to the President on behalf of the imprisoned hundreds in Communist Rumania who have been and continue to be persecuted for practicing their beliefs and faith. Time is short and we cannot afford to delay. My letter to the President follows:

JULY 30, 1969.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I would like to congratulate you on behalf of myself and my constituents for the exemplary manner in which you are representing the United States on your tour around the world.

As you journey to Communist Rumania, I feel it is my duty to apprise you of a situation of which you are probably already aware, but I, nevertheless, am compelled to reiterate.

The Reverend Richard Wurmbrand is a Christian pastor and a native of Rumania. He was imprisoned after the Communist takeover of Rumania for practicing his religious convictions and was released in 1964 as part of a general amnesty, after having spent 14 years in prison. He bears 18 ugly scars on his back as proof of persecution not only of himself and his church, but of all religions—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and Orthodox—in Rumania.

In sworn testimony before a Congressional committee on August 10, 1967, Reverend Wurmbrand documented numerous instances of brutal Communist persecution of religious freedom in Rumania. Augmenting his personal experiences with quotes from the official Communist press, Reverend Wurmbrand cited the following examples of religious persecution:

1. Persons are imprisoned for showing films of a religious nature to children, distributing religious magazines, baptizing children and teaching religion to children. Parents found "guilty" of such offenses are denied parental rights, and their children are placed in state schools.

2. The Communists make no distinction between different faiths. Reverend Wurmbrand had been imprisoned with clergymen

of the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths. "With us," he testified, "nearly all the Catholic bishops have been killed under tortures. Two or three, perhaps, have escaped." "In Rumania," he goes on to say, "I have been in prison with Jewish rabbis."

3. Charitable work in Rumania is strictly forbidden and the sale of Bibles is considered illicit commerce. Bibles are confiscated and condemned as "poison."

Reverend Wurmbbrand names names of religious leaders in Rumania who have been arrested and cites the existence of suppressed "underground" churches—Orthodox, Baptist, and Presbyterian. Unitarian pastors are also in prison for their religious beliefs. Reverend Wurmbbrand recounts a case in Rumania where seven boys and three girls were arrested and sentenced to 5-6 year prison terms for having publicly sung Christian hymns—this he documents further with an article from the Communist press.

Mr. President, you are the head of the greatest and freest nation in the world. One of our most jealously guarded freedoms is that of freedom of religion. You have the responsibility—nay, the duty—to use your vast influence and prestige to effect the release of the hundreds of people who are being tortured and imprisoned in Rumania and whose only crime is the wish to worship their God.

Mr. President, this is not a political request, but a moral one. On behalf of America and free men everywhere, I urgently request that you do everything in your power to convince the Communist leaders in Rumania to have mercy on those of all faiths imprisoned and persecuted in that country. In the name of humanity, I remain

Sincerely yours,
M. GENE SNYDER,
Member of Congress.

THE APOLLO 11

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in the national spirit of pride and respect which our Nation has demonstrated for the achievements of the Apollo 11 flights, I am pleased to insert into the RECORD a poem composed for this occasion by one of my constituents, Mr. Roy J. Ebben of Alsip, Ill.:

THE APOLLO 11
(By Roy J. Ebben)

Armstrong, Aldrin and Collins,
Wondrous men are they:
Flashing smiles, rugged faces,
Uncle Sam's top Astro Aces.

Strong of body, brilliant minds,
The kind of men our space school finds
With plenty of courage, nerves of steel
They challenged the moon to a showdown deal

Cape Kennedy was the launching site
For Apollo Eleven's great space flight
"We've got a job to do," they said,
And up the towers lift they sped

All buttoned up, all systems go
The countdown started with cadence slow,
A mighty blast and the Saturn rose
Into orbit Columbia goes!

Proudly perched the Eagle module
High on the moon, right on schedule
The Astronauts put on a show,
Those men of Destiny,
As they walked upon the Tranquil Sea
To change the course of history

EX-POSTMASTER GENERAL DAY DISCUSSES POSTAL REFORM

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service has been holding full committee hearings for more than 3 months on the various proposals for reform of the postal system.

The public hearings are scheduled to be concluded this week. Since April 22 we have had a large number of witnesses, all of whom have contributed in their individual ways to our consideration of this all-encompassing matter.

There is no disagreement about the need for reform of the postal system. The main question is whether it should be done within the present Department, as I have proposed in H.R. 4, or whether it should be done by converting the Department into a public corporation, as provided in several bills. Whichever way we go, there will, of course, be many details to be worked out in executive session.

Today's hearing was another excellent session in which the first witness was a former Postmaster General, J. Edward Day. As a former executive in a major business and as a former Postmaster General, he gave the committee the benefit of his observations from his broad background.

Mr. Speaker, I also would like to commend Mr. Day for his attendance at our hearings. Few, if any, have been more faithful in their attention to the diverse views which have been presented.

As a part of my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I am including the text of Mr. Day's statement to our committee today:

STATEMENT OF J. EDWARD DAY

I appreciate the invitation from the Committee to appear today to give my views on the proposals for post office reorganization and for a postal corporation.

First, I want to bring the Committee up-to-date on some of my background, so far as it bears on this subject, and on some of my current activities.

When I resigned as Postmaster General in August 1963 I became a partner in the law firm of Sidley & Austin. This is a large Chicago corporation law firm with which I began practice 30 years ago, and I am in charge of their Washington office.

On July 1, 1968, our firm began representing as one of its clients the Associated Third Class Mail Users and I am the General Counsel of that organization. However, many of the points I will touch on today are of no direct concern to ATCMU as such.

Since my opinions on each of the endless separate points involved in these far reaching proposals of course could not be passed upon by the ATCMU Board of Directors, the views I will give today should be treated as my personal opinions.

Many of the members of the Associated Third Class Mail Users might be expected to agree, in general, with my views on the postal reorganization proposals.

However, it is difficult for an organization with a diverse membership of people who cannot follow all the details of postal legislation to be expected to have an agreed position on each of the many separate features

of a complicated proposal such as the postal reorganization and postal corporation plans.

OPPOSED CORPORATION EARLY

In April 1967, when Larry O'Brien first announced his proposal for a postal corporation, I wrote a nationally syndicated article at the request of the North American Newspaper Alliance explaining the reasons why I opposed the idea. That was a year before I or our firm had any connection with ATCMU. That article started out as follows:

"With all due respect to my good friend Larry O'Brien, I feel that his much publicized speech about turning the Post Office over to a nonprofit government corporation revives an old and unrealistic suggestion at a very bad time.

"The impending lengthy discussion and study of this plan will, in my opinion, only postpone facing up to some urgent but achievable needs of the Post Office. In addition the speech has provided ammunition from a surprising source for those who delude themselves by believing that business has a monopoly on brains and efficiency and that government employees and managers are lazy incompetents.

"The fouled-up Post Office Mr. O'Brien describes in his speech is a Department I never knew."

North American Newspaper Alliance republished the article in an up-dated form a year ago when the Kappel Commission Report was first issued.

OPPOSITION GETS LITTLE NOTICE

To me, it is quite remarkable that, in spite of the many objections which can be made to the corporation proposal, there has been very little published notice of these objections.

On the contrary, there has been a barrage of one-sided propaganda and Chamber of Commerce slogans put forward in support of the Kappel proposal, much of it—I am afraid—by people who have limited qualifications as experts on the Post Office or even as experts on operation of large organizations generally.

To qualify myself a bit, I might mention that prior to my 929 days as Postmaster General, I was for eight years one of the top senior officers of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, which, in terms of assets, is the largest private corporation in the world.

In a remarkable number of respects, Prudential is similar to the Post Office. Both have offices and personnel in every part of the country; both have a need for giving good service and establishing favorable relations with the public; both have regional offices with continuing problems of the degree of autonomy to give the regions and to local offices; both have major real estate responsibilities in building or leasing buildings large and small; both handle large amounts of money; both have employees who are organized in highly aggressive unions; both are basically paperwork operations; both have an inspection service; both have complex problems of levels of management, chains of command, and internal communications; both are highly regulated as to their policies and operations by detailed legislation; both are faced with problems of turnover and the necessity of competing in the labor market for rank and file personnel (in contrast with earlier years when there was a situation of highly stable and dedicated employment of people for whom employment security was the major incentive).

BOTH HAVE HAD HEADACHES

In addition, both organizations have for years experienced the headaches associated with attempting to automate and mechanize operations. Both have even had several changes in the top chief executive just in the past 8½ years.

I may seem to be overdoing the close comparison between these two giant organiza-

tions, one public and one private, but it is a fact that when I came from Prudential to the Post Office in 1961 I often felt that I had merely moved to a different desk in the same organization.

As a matter of fact and only partly in jest, I have frequently pointed out that a very large private bureaucracy even has another feature which is often thought of as associated only with government. This is illustrated by an apocryphal story about a top officer of a large life insurance company who was asked to run for United States Senator. After thinking it over, he declined, saying, "I don't want to leave the Metropolitan Life. I like politics too much." It is definitely a fact that there is a certain amount of politics in all large organizations, public or private.

HAVE BEEN ON BOTH SIDES

I mention all this background because of the fact that I did have an unusual experience in acquiring a top level inside familiarity with one of the largest private organizations in the world and one of the largest public organizations. This is important because too many of the editorials and columns commenting on the postal corporation idea have indicated that—

(a) Anyone who understands business management will necessarily be an all-out advocate of the postal corporation idea, and
(b) That business management is *a fortiori* better than government management.

There are thousands of pages in the Kappel Commission Report and its supporting volumes and thousands more pages have been written about the Report and about related or alternative proposals. Therefore, in a statement of this kind, one can only touch on some of the highlights.

I agree with most of what appears in the statement made before this Committee by Mr. Fred Belen on this subject on May 20. I am convinced that even if the post office—corporation or not—could pay six figure salaries, they could not get a better executive than Fred.

It is regrettable that he was not even consulted before the postal corporation proposal was launched by Mr. O'Brien in April, 1967. It is equally regrettable that someone with his long and deep knowledge of postal problems was not a member of the Kappel Commission.

The members of the Commission were, of course, all important men. However, I think it a remarkable fact that not one of them had any background in postal matters.

I doubt if the President of Campbell Soup Company—who was a member of the Commission—would have been impressed by the results of a critical survey of his company by a group that did not include even one person with the slightest experience in the food business.

The same can be said about the President of General Electric, of the Bank of America, and of Cummins Engine Company—all members of the Commission.

COMPARE WITH A.T. & T.

The same is even true of AT & T—a company for which I have the most intense personal and professional respect. Some might think that there are many parallels to the Post Office in a telephone system because both involve communications. However, electronic communications are, by their nature, readily susceptible to a most far-reaching degree of standardization and automation.

Electronic switching makes it possible to have the customer get his individual call through to its destination without any direct participation by a telephone company employee.

On the other hand, regardless of all the superficial ideas that some may have, any postal system will necessarily remain to a large degree of manual operation.

As one example, 42% of Post Office cost is for delivery service and it is certainly never going to be possible to have mail delivered door-to-door by a clanking robot.

Similarly, there are over 30,000 post offices and only 200 or 300 of them at the very most are large enough to justify a high degree of mechanization.

BUDGET BUREAU IS PROBLEM

Although no person having any post office background was included on the Commission, one of the 10 commissioners was a former Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

I have no hesitancy in saying that I think the Bureau of the Budget is the No. 1 enemy of the Post Office and accountable more than any other one reason for Post Office difficulties.

Federal money generally is handed out to the glamorous or politically potent agencies, such as Defense, Space and Welfare. Nearly all of the old-line, non-glamorous agencies such as the Post Office, Customs Bureau and the regulatory agencies, are strangled to death for funds to try to do a decent job.

The Post Office problem is lack of money and that problem can't be solved by reshuffling the organization chart or giving new titles to the people in charge.

KAPPEL GROUP PREMISES

My objections to the Kappel approach largely relate to the premises and assumptions on which the proposal is based. I disagree with nearly all of them. Some of these premises and assumptions, which are either explicit in the Report or implicit in its tone and recommendations, are as follows:

- (1) The Post Office generally is a mess.
- (2) The difficulties in the Chicago Post Office in October 1966 were a symptom of an approaching catastrophe in the Post Office generally.
- (3) Participation by Congress in postal policy, postal rates and postal pay represents intolerable interference and has fouled up the Department's operations.
- (4) Huge savings on the order of \$1 billion a year can be achieved by adopting the Kappel recommendations.
- (5) There is some magic of efficiency, economy and error-free management in a corporate form of organization. (I might mention here that it was not a federal department that brought out the Edsel automobile, or the Convair 880 airplane, or that hired the private detectives to tail Ralph Nader.)

(6) An organization is political only when Congress has a major say in its affairs and is pure and pristinely non-political when presidential appointees run things.

(7) The first and foremost goal of the Post Office should be a break-even operation.

(8) There is a better chance of continuing the Post Office's long history of strike free labor management relations by halting the program of having postal pay set by Congress and to, instead, have it determined by collective bargaining. In my opinion, this collective bargaining would, at best, end up almost every time with arbitration and a decision by one or two men on the pay level of over 700,000 employees.

(9) Postal employees can and should be separated from and treated differently from other federal employees on job status, fringe benefits and other features of employment.

BREAK-EVEN OBSESSION

To go back to number 7 on this last of premises, I feel that the greatest flaw in the Kappel approach is the adoption of what I call the break-even obsession about the Post Office.

If a state university were run on the philosophy that its educational program was limited to what it could pay for out of tuition it collected, it wouldn't be expected to be much of a university. The goal of a great public university is to provide an educational

program of top quality. Consideration of the relationship of financial outgo to amounts collected from the students is purely secondary.

The same should be true of the Post Office—and will be if historical policy is followed in setting Post Office goals and priorities. The Post Office receives part—at the moment a very large part—of the amount it needs to pay its costs from charges by users. But since it serves all the people—and since those users are taxpayers—there is no objective reason why it should retrieve all of its costs from postal charges.

POSTAGE JUST ANOTHER TAX

Charges for postage are really just another tax. Taxpayers are already paying for government services. The Post Office provides one of the most vital and widely needed and used of government services. It is entirely appropriate, therefore, the federal tax revenues should provide a significant part of the postal budget.

Chamber of Commerce groups, conservative newspaper editorial writers and others, have talked for years about the need for a break-even operation in the Post Office.

Their speeches and articles assume that the desirability—even the necessity—for a break-even operation needs no proof, in fact does not even leave room for argument.

They talk as though the proposition were carved in stone on Sinai. A remarkable job has been done of turning slogans for a particular point of view into something approaching gospel.

All of this talk, usually unanswered talk—has tended to balloon the break-even philosophy into a break-even obsession.

From time to time certain postal officials, nearly all Budget Bureau officials and many so-called analysts of the Post Office, fall victim to this break-even obsession and come to regard it as the be all and end all of postal goals and thinking.

POST OFFICE LIKE TRANSIT SYSTEM

From a financial standpoint the Post Office is much like a metropolitan public transit system. Since nearly everybody uses it, it makes little difference whether it is paid for by user charges or, to a substantial degree, by general tax revenue.

The fact that the Post Office has a so-called deficit is no more relevant to judging its effectiveness and goals than the "deficit" of the Department of Commerce, the Veterans Administration, or the Department of the Interior.

Yet the reason the Post Office has this so-called deficit is purely and simply because its costs continue to go up with all other costs and Congress has used common sense and regard for the public interest in avoiding overly frequent and overly precipitous rate increases.

Nonetheless, the existence of the so-called deficit is used in the Kappel Report and by others as supposed proof that the Post Office is archaic, inefficient, poorly managed and all the rest.

This is perhaps understandable in view of the fact that we live in an age where scoffing, criticism, carping and cynicism are the order of the day.

HARD TO SEE GOOD SIDE

It is not fashionable to see the good side of much of anything or to be understanding about work situations where occasional human errors make it difficult to achieve 100% perfection.

In our frenzied, impersonal society it is popular to find fault, and the Post Office and its employees are natural targets.

Add to this the human quality of nearly all of us to think of his own problem as the really big problem, so that every mistake or delay as to his own mail by the Post Office, no matter how isolated or infrequent, is magnified into a sweeping generalization

that the Post Office is poorly organized and poorly run.

It is hard for any individual to think of the occasional delay in one of his own letters in the context of delivering 80 billion pieces of mail a year—which number is considerably more than the number of seconds which have ticked by since the death of Julius Caesar.

My principal argument, therefore, with the Kappel proposal is its top priority emphasis on the break-even goal, rather than on service as the top consideration.

POSTAL RATES WOULD DOUBLE

If the corporation were established, as proposed, with the rigid break-even requirement, with participation by Congress in the rate-making process diluted almost to the vanishing point, and with the proposed bond issue authority, the result would be that rates for all classes of mail would have to go up as much as 100%.

We have seen what has happened to the parcel post system as the result of giving rate-making power to the Executive Branch, rather than to Congress.

The rates have been raised so frequently and so precipitately that the whole system is on the verge of being wrecked and parcel service at moderate costs is no longer available to the general public from the Post Office.

I feel that the Kappel predictions of savings which can be achieved by adopting its recommendations are so unrealistic as to be strictly of an ivory tower nature.

The biggest single saving is to come from mechanization for superseding certain activities of city letter carriers. The Report says that 15% of the cost of delivery operations can be saved by this means. This figures out to about \$450 million in view of the fact that the delivery operation accounts for 42% of Post Office costs.

ANOTHER OLD IDEA

This idea of trying to mechanize the change of address and casing work which the latter carrier performs when he first comes on duty is an old idea. It has been thoroughly tested in the past and found to be completely unworkable.

If it would work, it could be instituted immediately and certainly would not have to wait for reorganization of the Department. This, and other suggestions relating to increased mechanization, cannot fairly be described as savings related to having a corporation take over.

Unrealistic statements by study committees that the Post Office could save hundreds of millions of dollars a year are nothing new.

Back in 1954 a 10-member Advisory Council appointed by the Senate Post Office Committee claimed that "economies totaling hundreds of millions of dollars are possible" in the Post Office.

Mr. Summerfield had a detailed analysis of this Council's recommendations made by the Department and by outside experts including Mr. Maurice Stans, and issued a 350 page report which, among other things, demonstrated in detail that any claim of great potential short term savings was totally unrealistic.

SAVING ONLY BY RATE BOOSTS

Since I am convinced that no one billion dollars of real, near term savings, or anything close to it is possible, it seems clear to me that the break-even policy prescribed by the Administration Bill could be carried out only by financial shock treatment in the form of drastic rate increases and continuing cutbacks in service.

As a lawyer I believe that radical general rate increases could, under this Bill, be made entirely by administrative action by the Corporation and could then remain in effect for two years or more, without any power in either the Congress or the courts to veto or

even modify the increases during those two or more years.

This is possible under the temporary rate authority in Secs. 1253(d) and 1257(e) of H.R. 11750 and is something new the Kappel Report did not recommend.

I think the Post Office Department is realistic in recognizing that if break-even is to be achieved the Corporation must have this unprecedented, unrestricted "temporary rate" power.

This one feature of H.R. 11750 alone dramatizes how the whole concept of postal policy would be dislocated by this proposal.

MEMORANDA ON BONDS, RATES

I am offering for the record legal memoranda our law firm has prepared, one containing an analysis of Chapter 10 of H.R. 11750 on the bond issuing authority and the other on Chapter 12 on Rates and Rate-making.

(My work on this statement and our firm's work on these memoranda is covered by our retainer from ATCMU which, of course, has an interest in seeing that these reorganization proposals are carefully analyzed.)

In these memoranda we summarize some of the highly objectionable and questionable features of the proposed bond issuing authority and the proposed career Rate Commissioner set up.

PREDICTS 12-CENT RATE

My prediction is that adoption in toto of H.R. 11750 would bring us a 12 cent first class rate in just a few years and enormous rate increases for each of other classes too.

Here are just some of my reasons for this prediction:

1. Despite all the glowing statements about the saleability of the proposed non-government-guaranteed bonds, I am convinced they would be saleable only at sky high interest rates—10 or 12 percent—and even then only with extremely generous sinking fund and mortgage lien provisions.

Even now the commercial mortgage rate for fully secured loans to profitable corporation is 9.5 per cent. Sound business concerns are paying an effective rate of 10.4 per cent for bank loans.

I would expect the servicing—combined interest and principal amortization—of the projected \$10 billion of postal bonds to cost the Corporation as much as \$2 billion a year. This would be an entirely new direct cost to the postal service to be paid for from postal rate increases.

(It must be borne in mind that a general rate increase affecting first, second and third class, such as is now being proposed by the Post Office Department, brings in about \$660 million a year, assuming no loss in volume.)

REGARDING PROMOTIONS

2. The backers of the corporation proposal say much about the lack of opportunities for promotion for rank and file postal employees. I would assume that these backers therefore contemplate tens of thousands of new higher level jobs. This could cost a hundred million dollars or more annually.

3. The Department has committed itself to an improved cost ascertainment system. This is bound to show that too much postal cost is now being assigned to some of the non-priority classes of mail. This would mean a further increase for first class.

I am not so naive as to think that a corporation or Congress or anyone else is going to institute these staggering increases for first class mail without increases at the same time for other classes, regardless of what proper cost ascertainment shows.

When I predict 12 cents for first class, I am assuming huge increases for other classes too.

4. Mr. Blount has pointed out quite realistically in testimony just a few weeks ago to the Subcommittee on Postal Rates, that the Post Office "faces the loss of some of

its more lucrative third class mail business" to private carriers.

He then stated: "Loss of third class mail [volume] ultimately works to increase the postage required of first class mail."

This is just what I contemplate would happen as a result of the drastic rate increases for all classes which I foresee resulting from the career Rate Commissioner set up and bond financing proposal.

CUTTING PUBLIC SERVICE SHARE

5. The public service allowance would, under the Administration Bill, be sharply reduced. This means rates would have to go higher.

6. The special carrying charge and imputed charge features for parcel post rate making included in Section 1203 of H.R. 11750 is bound to mean even further acceleration of rate increases for that class, further cream skimming by competitors and more huge losses of the profitable portion of parcel post volume.

Parcel post makes a big contribution to post office institutional cost. When parcel post volume plummets, this institutional cost has to be picked up by the other classes.

7. The Kappel Commission (Report, p. 82) recommended that "the Corporation fix its rates to earn its projected costs, including interest and appreciation, plus about 3 to 5 percent to cover unanticipated costs."

This is a recommendation that would in all likelihood be followed by a postal corporation determined to meet a break-even goal, and, particularly, to try to provide adequate support for servicing its bonds.

Sec. 1201 of H.R. 11750 says that "costs", which, with limited exceptions, are to be covered by postal revenue, shall include "a reasonable provision for contingencies." Five percent of postal costs would come to several hundred million dollars.

8. Section 1201 of H.R. 11750 also says that "costs" to be covered shall include "depreciation on capital facilities and equipment." The Kappel Report Annex material indicates depreciation should be \$35 million per \$1 billion of capital investment. (Annex I, Sec. II, p. 30.)

WILL THEY SAVE DOLLARS?

9. It is unrealistic to assume that all or even the major part of projected capital improvements to be acquired with the bond proceeds are going to save dollars, particularly on a near term basis.

If a postal building is antiquated and poorly ventilated and crowded it should be replaced regardless of whether a dollar saving can be claimed.

If the capital improvement program is well balanced and service oriented, it should include many facilities directed toward faster delivery which facilities could not be expected to result in significant saving in operating costs.

Hamburg, Germany, has a three foot diameter large capacity pneumatic tube system for carrying mail under its streets. London has a special subway system just for carrying mail.

New York City, Chicago, Boston and eventually Washington should have hundreds of millions in federal money spent on adaptation of the subway systems for carrying mail.

A mail truck can't move any faster in Manhattan cross-town traffic snarls than your taxi can.

10. One of the earliest and most prestigious backers of the postal corporation plan, Mr. Gronouski, told you last week: "I support the postal corporation idea, also, because * * * I would look for a substantial improvement in postal worker wages and fringe benefits" under that system.

I doubt if that prediction was foremost in the minds of those who gave overwhelming support to the corporation proposal in the U.S. Chamber of Commerce membership poll.

But because of Mr. Gronouski's experience and good judgment, we must accept this pre-

diction as at least a possibility and it certainly would not result in dollar savings for the corporation.

FIRST CLASS IS MONEY SOURCE

These are just some highlights of why first class rates would, in my judgment, skyrocket under the corporation proposal. First class is where the money is—particularly in view of the very real competitive situation which must be faced in pricing other classes of mail.

In my opinion the break-even policy and the break-even obsession would also result in service curtailment by the Corporation.

Just in the past six months we have seen repeated announcements of reduced service by a highly capable but definitely break-even oriented postal administration.

For example, in these six months there has been announcement (a) of abandonment of the ABCD program for same day delivery in business areas, (b) of reduction of weekday business area deliveries from three to two, (c) of reduction of Saturday business area deliveries from two to one, (d) of curtailments of special delivery service and (e) of proposals to require detached address cards for merchandise samples.

It also seems a near certainty that under the pressure of the break-even obsession the Corporation would drastically curtail rural routes and rural post offices.

CONGRESS WOULD LACK VETO

Under H.R. 11750 Congress would have no veto power over this. The story of what happens to service to less densely populated areas when an intense cost squeeze is on can be seen in the recent history of REA.

I mentioned in my list of premises behind the Kappel Report the great emphasis in that report on the problems in the Chicago Post Office in October 1966, which have been picked up and magnified by many of the columnists and editorial writers as though that one situation showed that the entire Post Office was on the verge of collapse.

The fact is that there was just one big problem there which resulted from a well-meaning but disastrous error in management decision making.

A new postmaster had taken over at a time when an unusually heavy volume of mail hit the office. He needed overtime to cope with the work load. It was denied him. That was the whole trouble.

NO ONE CHECKED CHICAGO STORY

It is a really remarkable fact to me, and an indication of a pre-judgment of the Post Office problem by the Kappel Commission staff, that even though this 1966 Chicago problem was used as the lead off horror story in the Kappel Report, no one on the Kappel Commission or staff ever sat down with that new Postmaster of Chicago and got his explanation of what the problem really was.

To me, that is just as unfair as it would be to take the isolated case of the Consolidated Edison power blackout in New York a few years ago and to conclude from that that the entire privately operated electric utility system in the country was poorly managed and on the verge of catastrophe.

During the hearing on June 5, 1969, before this Committee on the postal corporation plan recommended by the Kappel Commission, Mr. Kappel insisted that because the Post Office Department does not operate in the black, business is being "subsidized."

But would he feel that the businessman who goes to the Department of Commerce for advice or information is being subsidized because the Department does not make him pay a fee?

Of course not. Mr. Kappel would readily recognize that service from the Department of Commerce is something he pays for with his tax money and is entitled to get as a taxpayer.

A man who takes his family to Yellowstone National Park is certainly not being "subsidized" merely because the entrance fee he pays is small in relation to what it costs the government to make the facilities available.

REGARDING SUBSIDIES

The simplistic talk about subsidies to users of the mail is based entirely upon the unproven and unprovable assumption that the taxpayer is entitled to nothing whatever for his tax money where the Post Office is concerned, but is entitled to all kinds of free services—very often much less essential—from other federal agencies.

The Post Office furnishes a service which practically everyone wants and uses and is glad to have. Because of this, taxpayers today should, more clearly than ever before, be entitled to have their taxes pay for some of the service they get from the Post Office.

With taxes at sky high levels many taxpayers are getting less and less what they really want for their tax dollars. They are getting Viet Nam. They may, according to a high administration source, be paying for a trip to Mars.

Many of the things the rank and file taxpayers pay for never come to them at all: farm price support payments, foreign aid grants, rent supplements, and much, much more.

WHAT TAXPAYER REALLY WANTS

Let us first ask ourselves what per cent of the total federal spending is for things the average taxpayer really wants and would ask for if the government weren't already providing them. It could be a rather modest per cent.

The service provided by the Post Office would, however, certainly be included in this percent, even if it were small. And yet there are those who say this average taxpayer is not entitled to have his tax dollars pay for any part of his postal service.

It is a strange thing now, in the eyes of many, delivery of a letter is a "business" type activity for which a taxpayer should pay in full through user charges, while other types of government activity, even when performed by the Post Office, is a service which a taxpayer is entitled to get for his tax dollar.

For example, if a householder complains to the Post Office about receiving an advertisement for obscene material he is not expected to pay the Post Office for its efforts—often extensive—in investigating the case.

If a businessman asks the Post Office to check into and prosecute a scheme to use the mails to defraud, no one thinks he is being subsidized because he does not reimburse the Post Office for the expense it incurs.

WHY PAY FULL COST?

So what is it about the government delivering a piece of mail which is so different? Nothing but custom. It has been traditional to make a charge. But there is nothing in logic that decrees that that charge must pay the full cost.

There is certainly nothing in common sense or orderly thinking that compels the conclusion that, if that charge does not pay the full cost, the agency handling the transaction is archaic, inept, inefficient, unmanaged, or unmanageable.

There are other things done by government for which it is easy to make a charge, but which by equally accidental custom, no charge is made.

Public libraries could easily charge everyone a rental fee. But they don't. They operate as a service to taxpayers. True, they may charge a daily fee for certain much-in-demand recent books.

But the fact they obtain some of their revenue from user charges certainly isn't used by the editorial writers to "prove" that public libraries are unbusinesslike and poorly managed because they do not set their charges so they will operate in the black.

It is easy to assign a user charge for sewer service or trash collection service. But most cities don't. A few do.

TOLL ROADS ARE EXCEPTION

It is easy to charge for use of highways. We have some roads for which a toll is charged, even though the motorists using them have already paid gasoline taxes for road building. But toll roads are the exception.

There is a simple explanation for all these examples. All levels of government are hard up for money. They have tapped nearly every source of tax revenue. They like to call taxes by euphemistic labels.

But nonetheless user charges, such as tolls for using highways, or monthly fees for sewer service or trash collection service, or tuition for attending state colleges, are merely different forms of taxes.

It is really immaterial—from the standpoint of showing whether or not the activity is "efficient"—that a user charge pays all, or only a part, or none at all of the cost to provide the service to taxpayers.

Some of the statements which are made about how much prouder the postal employees will feel, and how much higher their morale will be, if user charges pay the full costs of the Post Office, are of doubtful validity.

Does anyone really think crews who work on repairing toll roads are happier and prouder than crews that work on roads that have no user charges?

STOP ACENTING MESS

A positive thing that could be done for the morale of postal employees is to stop the endless sloganeering about how the Department is supposedly a mess because it doesn't operate in the black.

Once it is frankly and clearly recognized that the Post Office provides a service to taxpayers the cost of which should be paid in part by tax dollars, the so-called "deficit" of the Post Office will be as irrelevant as the deficit of the Department of the Interior or of the Veterans' Administration.

There are many things which should be and are being done to improve the Post Office. But "total" reform—if it means embracing the break-even obsession—will mean regression rather than improvement.

"Piecemeal" is not a popular word. People want instant solutions to every problem. But piecemeal progress is what reasonable men learn to hope for. This Committee has certainly shown a willingness over the years to try to help the Post Office do its job better.

WHAT I FAVOR

I favor many parts of the postal reform proposals. I favor greater continuity in the top positions at the Department—I was myself part of the problem on that score.

I favor taking postmaster appointments out of politics.

I favor generally the provisions on postal transportation in both the Administration Bill and H.R. 4. I personally favor most of the employee relations provisions of H.R. 4. I favor strong provisions for control of pornography.

I favor more opportunities for advancement of postal personnel—such as having most of the regional directors and the chief postal inspector come from the career postal service. I favor sensible, proven mechanization. I favor better, larger, cleaner, more modern postal facilities.

But I don't think any of this should come through the stranglehold of a rigid break-even policy.

I don't think it should come about with post office assets turned over at an artificially low original cost figure to a new corporation while onerous postal liabilities would be left behind for the general government to bear.

BUDGET BOOST NEEDED

I feel the Post Office needs a 15% annual increase in its budget to be earmarked for

acquiring modern buildings and mechanization.

The money should best come from a re-assessment of our national priorities. But until that happens, any indebtedness resulting should be part of the overall federal debt.

In an effort to be helpful to this Committee I want to make a suggestion as to a major step you should consider taking before making a decision on any of the variations of the major postal reform bills.

This suggestion applies not only to the bills, such as the Administration Bill, which would turn the Post Office over to a corporation, but it also applies to any of the bills which provide for the setting of rates by an agency other than the Congress or which provide for the issuance of a large amount of bonds, the interest and principal of which would be payable out of postal revenues.

PROBLEMS ARE COMPLEX

It is impossible for me to convey to you adequately what complex problems are involved in consideration of these rate-making and bond issue provisions. You have an unusually capable staff working for this Committee.

However, even in a large law firm such as ours where we have specialized familiarity with problems of public utility rate-making and corporate bond financing, we have found the attempt to adequately analyze these provisions of the pending bills so overwhelming that we feel we have only been able to scratch the surface.

I feel that you need the services of both a qualified and well staffed law firm and a qualified and well staffed investment banking firm to assist in analyzing these provisions.

I hasten to take our law firm out of the running so that no one might think I am trying to propose that we get in on something.

We already have enough to do and because of our representation of a major segment of business mailers and our work on parcel post rates and various postal problems for some of our other clients, someone might claim we could not be completely objective—although in the legal memoranda I am filing we certainly have tried to be.

NO SHORT-TERM STUDY

This isn't a proposal for a two or three weeks job from each of these specialized firms resulting in a brief opinion of law or financial analysis.

This will require the same type of extensive and in-depth study by specialists which the Kappel Commission obtained on a great variety of points from other types of specialists: principally accountants and management consultants.

The Congress of the United States has recently undertaken to pay to a large New York City law firm hundreds of thousands of dollars as a fee for representing Congress in connection with an unusual and complex case.

Similar use of outside firms—legal and financial—is needed here in order to see where these unprecedented proposals for non-Congressional postal rate setting and for issuance of huge amounts of postal bonds would lead us.

No one can now do any more than speculate as to what would happen if the postal corporation or the postal authority were unable to meet the interest on the bonds.

Would major postal buildings actually be foreclosed and taken over by the creditors to be used as bowling alleys and warehouses? If that happened, where would the mail be handled?

If there would not be actual foreclosures, under what law would there be a bankruptcy proceeding or a reorganization plan? Could the postal corporation, and the government, lose control of Post Office finances and facilities?

TO MAKE BONDS SALABLE

To make the bonds salable, what would the provisions of the proposed bonds have to be as to interest rate, redemption penalties, sinking fund, liens on specific properties and other features? What would be the remedies available to bondholders in case of default?

Who are the investment banking firms which are said to have expressed the opinion the bonds would be salable? I have a recent letter from a top partner in one of the largest and most prestigious investment banking firms in New York and here is what he says:

"I have talked over the Post Office bond situation with several of my partners and we are rather amazed that anyone contemplates selling such bonds to the public unless they were guaranteed as to principal and interest by the government. As we understood the situation, the government itself was going to buy the entire issue and then possibly at some later date have a public issue. We see no good reason for an institution or an individual buying the bonds without as mentioned, some form of guarantee."

In my opinion, government guarantee of the bonds would not help because that would mean, under other laws, the Secretary of the Treasury would have control over whether the bonds could be issued and I am convinced he would conclude he could not give his consent.

However, in the meantime, in the hope of making the bonds acceptable, postal rates would have been raised to sky high levels.

MUST KNOW IT WILL WORK

It simply isn't sound business judgment to move ahead with something this monumental on the basis of statements that if it doesn't work, we won't be any worse off than we are now.

My conviction is we would be many, many times worse off and that no one would know how to untangle the mess.

The expense to the government of hiring experts at such a time of possible financial disaster would, in my opinion, be many, many times what the expense would be now to get an objective, deliberate, expert look at the legal and financial aspects of just these two particular aspects of the proposal: rate-making and bond financing.

Various ones of you gentlemen may or may not be enthusiastic about the efforts and methods of large law firms and investment banking firms.

However, the fact is that there are certain types of situations, much less complex than proposed here, where it takes literally years to work out all of the legal and financial ramifications.

A merger of two major railroads takes six or eight years of legal proceedings before it can be consummated.

A bankruptcy reorganization of a major corporation often takes years of the work of lawyers and experts.

Government agencies and departments cannot be expected to do the technical analysis job required here. The President has endorsed this proposal. How could his subordinates presume to pick it apart?

LEGAL AND FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

The mammoth size and variety of the legal and financial problems involved in these proposals cannot be exaggerated.

Our law firm has tried to make a start on at least sorting out the questions, but it has not been possible for us to take the time or assign the staff required to get to the bottom of these thorny issues.

There have been dozens of references in testimony before this Committee to the TVA, for example. Yet the differences are far greater than the similarities.

Neither the TVA nor any of the other government type corporations were set up to take over an existing government agency.

They have all been set up from scratch

to start something new. TVA is basically just another electric utility and electric utilities have been operated both by private corporations and by government agencies—such as the consumer power districts in Nebraska—for decades.

There is no great problem in an electric utility producing revenue to fully cover cost.

Electric utilities are not labor intensive and cost of electricity is one of the few items in our list of goods and services that have actually been holding still or going down during these years in inflation.

TVA HAS RATE CONTROLS

TVA has rate escalation covenants in its bonds and automatic rate increase provisions in its contracts with its power customers.

We are filing legal memoranda on the rate-making provisions and on the bond issuing authority provisions, proposed in H.R. 11750 and other bills, for the assistance of the Committee.

But I think when you examine them you will see they only make a start on analyzing the innumerable tricky problems involved.

Therefore, I urge the Committee to retain the two types of top experts I have referred to and to have them make full-scale, in-depth studies before any action is taken on these "total reform" proposals.

I am honored by the opportunity to testify today.

DESPERATE STATE OF ECONOMY IN NORTHWEST

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, we in the Northwest are again feeling the credit crunch. It seems that the principal response to the problem of inflation always seems to be tightening the money supply and increasing interest rates. We have been through this many times before. Everyone in this country suffers to an extent when this happens. We in the lumber and plywood producing States suffer much more, and we do every time. Tight money, high interest rates, mean fewer and fewer new housing starts and less construction. Timber products being the backbone of our economy, we face the closure of more mills, more unemployment, and economic chaos.

The key to the battle against inflation should be reduction of Federal Government spending. For this compelling reason and because I believe strongly that our spending priorities must be reordered, I have voted to reduce and finally against passage of the space program, the present agricultural appropriations, and foreign aid, among other efforts to economize.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I herewith present a detailed account of the hardships in our area caused by the present credit crunch:

MAKING THE DOLLAR: CREDIT SQUEEZE FELT BY LUMBER INDUSTRY (By Gerry Pratt)

Perhaps this is a case history of how you break inflation. If it is, it is a hard way to go.

At the close of this week, with the industry feeling the pinch of Treasury Secretary David Kennedy's tight money policy, sanded plywood on a quarter-inch index list was down to \$58 a thousand feet. The lowest that list has been in the entire history of the industry is \$54 a thousand, maybe \$56, in the

depths of the 1966-67 credit crunch. In that year the industry production shut down drastically and those who did stay in business lost their shirts.

Now looking at sheathing. It is a little more complex than a straight comparison with sanded, but worth following for an illustration of how tough things are. In June of 1966 there was a sheathing price list on a half-inch basis of \$74 a thousand. Today, in 1969 with a whole new set of cost factors, we are already down to a \$70 list.

A 1966 DOWNWARD SPIRAL TRACED

Trace what happened in 1966 as things progressed much as they are moving under today's credit crunch: In July, '66, the price of half-inch sheathing was \$71 a thousand; in August and September it slipped to \$68 and then fell to \$64 a thousand in October. It dropped more than 13 points to \$58 and \$60 a thousand before things turned around in the first quarter of 1967.

If we are to have anything like a repetition of the 1966 crunch, and so far we have, then the figures from that year indicate the sheathing market could slip another \$14 before the January-February turn-around of next year. If that happens, there will be blood in the streets of the timber towns.

In Roseburg, Charlie Gardiner, general sales manager of Roseburg Lumber Co., admits at the close of this week: "This industry could be described as a bum just out of a fight, sitting in the gutter, he is bleeding and unless he gets some help, he could bleed to death. This thing is bad."

Two years ago, maybe 18 months ago, the industry was working with a different timber cost, a cost most operators put at \$50 a thousand less than what they must pay for logs or have paid for timber they have waiting to go into their mills.

Two years ago there was a wage scale that did not include the major pay increase of this year, a wage-scale operators estimate has increased the cost of plywood on a three-eighths basis by \$2.80 a thousand. There was also a smaller increase in wages last year.

Over-all, with the \$50 increase in stumpage prices and the wage costs figured through on a three-eighths basis complete with overrun recovery factors, men such as Charlie Gardiner claim you can figure the cost of finished plywood has increased since 1966-67 by at least \$30 a thousand.

OPERATORS KEEP RUNNING

"Those are composite figures, figures no one could argue with or seriously dispute," Gardiner maintains of the \$30 estimate.

Other factors have changed since 1966. When that credit crunch came there was very little fat in the manufacturing industry. This time there is the residue of the 15 months of juicy profits the industry enjoyed before things collapsed last spring. Operations as of this past week, with some operators cutting \$150 and \$70 stumpage in this market, would indicate they are prepared to keep on running until there is nothing left. They cannot help but lose money. Most of them are just now getting into their high-priced timber.

"Where are they going? We are going to have some high-classed funerals; they can't do otherwise," comments one major operator.

In lumber, where specialties such as Oregon's choice clears or long dimension items have kept a modicum of profit, the price lists are also getting serious. Green fir studs, which peaked around \$125 to \$130 a thousand, are down to \$68 or \$69 this week. Random length two by fours that topped out at \$140 are down to \$73 and \$74.

Those prices are not as bad as the historic lows of '66 when studs went to a miserable \$50 or \$52. Chances of seeing anything like that again with today's costs are very remote.

But with the \$100 and more log costs going into the mills, operators cutting even at today's prices are losing money. And when

the random prices come down as fast as they have, the specialty items are bleeding off so that even the last refuge of profits will soon be eroding.

The conclusion?

In an industry where the unions demanded and got \$1-an-hour wage increases in their last contract, the question has to be how much can the economy carry?

Nobody is talking wage or price controls. But as long as Mr. Kennedy keeps squeezing down on the availability of money, the economy is providing its own controls. The plywood industry, for one, will not long continue paying \$10,000-a-year labor costs to mill workers in a market as lean as this. Nor can they pay these raw material costs and keep prices down.

WATERFOWL HEARING

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, August 11, 1969, my Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries will hold hearings on migratory waterfowl regulations as they might affect the forthcoming season on ducks and geese. The hearings will be held in room 1334 Longworth Building, beginning at 10 a.m.

One of the functions of my Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation is to provide legislative oversight of the Interior Department's administration of the Migratory Bird Treaty Act. The administration of the act has been the subject of considerable controversy in recent years, particularly as to bag limits, among sportsmen and conservationist groups. I consider the annual hearings that have been conducted by my subcommittee during the past few years an essential part of the subcommittee's supervisory function.

The purpose of the subcommittee hearings is to provide an open forum on the complex issues involved in setting bag and season limitations. In the past, the hearings have brought out information which has been most helpful to the Secretary and it is my intention to see that the subcommittee continues to provide this service. My goal is to insure equitable and fair decisions which will protect the interests of the sportsman as well as the conservationist.

I hope all interested parties will avail themselves of the opportunity presented by the hearings to express their opinions so that the Secretary of the Interior will have at hand all available information upon which to base his decisions. The regulations will be issued by the Secretary on Friday, August 15. A notice of the hearings has been sent to all State fish and game directors, sportsmen's groups, conservation organizations and other interested parties.

As chairman of the subcommittee, I just recently received information from representatives of the Department of the Interior of a botulism outbreak in the Tulare Lake Basin of California's San Joaquin Valley. Already 8,000 of the

30,000 pintails and other waterfowl that summer at Tulare Lake have died of this deadly disease. The Tulare Basin has a long history of botulism outbreaks, the last being in 1967 when some 40,000 birds perished. The Interior Department is now devising emergency plans for keeping botulism losses at the lowest possible level.

In carrying out its legislative oversight responsibility, my subcommittee will be briefed in open session tomorrow morning by representatives of the Interior Department on the recent botulism outbreak. The meeting will be held in room 1334 Longworth House Office Building at 10 a.m. I would like to extend an invitation to all Members of the House and their staffs to attend this special briefing.

OREGON FIRMS CONTRIBUTE TO SUCCESS OF APOLLO MOON MISSION

HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the great accomplishment of the Apollo 11 team in reaching the moon and returning safely to earth has the admiration of us all. The citizens of the State of Oregon join with all Americans in saluting the Apollo astronauts and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for this triumph of technology and will. Oregon has cause to be doubly proud of the success of the moon mission for its industry and labor provided many of the parts, instruments, and materials that were vital to the project.

The involvement of 10 Oregon firms in the moon project is described in a recent editorial column in the Daily Journal of Commerce of Portland, Ore., by its editor Robert G. Swan. Under unanimous consent I submit this editorial for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

TEN OREGON FIRMS FILL APOLLO ROLES

(By Robert G. Swan)

Few states can claim the distinction of Ohio in the Apollo 11 moon mission. The Buckeye state contributed one of its native sons, Neil Armstrong, as commander of the mission and as the first to set foot on the lunar surface. Few states, however, can justifiably show more pride than can Oregon for its part in the mission from earth-to-moon. There were over two million separate pieces to the mission's hardware—the Saturn V rocket which launched the Apollo spacecraft with its command-services and lunar modules down to the space suits with the life support systems which made possible the stroll on the moon. A surprising number of the pieces of Apollo hardware are stamped "made in Oregon" . . . In all there are 10 Oregon firms we could find which contributed directly to the overall effort for Downey, Calif., was the prime contractor which North American Rockwell Corp. of which principal help from Grumman Aircraft (the LM), Boeing (1st stage of Saturn V), IBM (instrument unit) and McDonnell Douglas Aircraft (3d stage of Saturn V) . . . Three major Oregon contributors were the Portland Division of Electronic Specialty Co., 18900 NE Sandy Blvd.; Wah Chang Co. of

Albany and Oeco Corp., 712 SE Hawthorne Blvd. . . . Six other Oregon firms were listed by North American Rockwell as hardware contributors, and all are from Portland. There are the manufacturers' agents, Arva, Inc. at 2034 SW 58th; Doug Strain's Electro Scientific Industries at 13900 NW Science Park Drive; Portland Metals' pioneer Esco at NW 25th & Vaughn; D. R. Reece's National Appliance Co. at 10855 SW Greenburg Road; Robert Ledgerwood's Rol-Away Truck Mfg. at 6143 SE Foster Road, and Ruson Laboratories at 3434 SE Milwaukie Ave., headed by Rollin Emerson. . . . Then there were the oscilloscopes of Tektronix in Beaverton. These cathode-ray tube devices of Tek's are virtually everywhere in space work, including the flight center in Houston.

RELAYS PERFORM CRITICAL SWITCHING FUNCTIONS

While not on the moon mission itself, vertical gyroscopes from Electronic Specialty's Portland production played a major role in helping to ready Astronauts Armstrong and Lunar Module Pilot Edward (Buzz) Aldrin for the mission. ES gyros were used on the Lunar Landing Test Vehicle flown before the mission by Armstrong and Aldrin at the Space Center in Houston. This trainer prepared them for the manual landing it was necessary to make at the last minute just a few hundred feet above the moon's surface.

Thirty ES relays perform critical switching functions in the command module Columbia's communications with earth and in the voice recorder system which transcribes all voice communications and conversations within the spacecraft. . . . Electronic Specialty's Portland facility has developed unique capabilities for manufacturing electronic components to rigid specifications for critical applications and operation under severe environmental conditions. Its products are marketed to foreign as well as U.S. aerospace industries.

EXOTIC MODULE METALS FROM ALBANY TO MOON

More than 100 vital parts were supplied for the mission by Oeco, starting with ground support equipment used during the countdown. Most of the Oeco contributions were tiny transformers, reactors and inductors no bigger than the tip of one's little finger, according to Robert E. Mitchell, president of the 23-year-old electronics firm. The miniaturized pieces supply the power for communications systems.

Wah Chang was responsible for some of the exotic metals used in constructing the space vehicles. Control of the module in space was through jet thrusters made of Wah Chang columbium. And, when the LM dropped to the moon's surface, the "soft" landing was assisted by columbium alloy turned out by Wah Chang in its plant alongside Interstate-5 in northeast Albany. The only fully integrated producer of rare metals in the nation, Wah Chang produced the skirt of the main descent engine on the LM. The skirting of paper thinness was designed to withstand temperatures to 2,700 degrees, and, if necessary, crumple on impact to help absorb landing shock.

OVER 12,000 UNITS TO OVERALL APOLLO EFFORT

Sixteen different parts from Oeco were in the life support packs worn on the backs of Armstrong and Aldrin during their walk on the moon, which we all followed step-by-step through the miracle of live television from a quarter of a million miles away. . . . Sensors built into the landing pads on the LM to record data about the moon's surface and subsurface were dependent upon units from Oeco.

The clarity of voices from deep in space was partly from the quality of Oeco engineered transformers, according to firm Vice President Edward G. Welch. "The transformers are engineered for zero maintenance,

light weight, small size, minimum heat generation, absolute reliability and minimum noise. They represent a significant advance in the state of the art of solid state circuitry," Welch reported. . . . In the past eight years, Oeco supplied about \$1.5 million worth of units, some 12,000 by count, to the overall Apollo project.

SLEEPING BEAR: DUNELAND COUNTRY

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, last week I was pleased to join with my good friend, PHIL RUPPE, in sponsoring H.R. 12935, a bill to establish the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore. Our bill is an identical companion to H.R. 12230, the bill earlier introduced by GUY VANDER JAGT, who represents the area involved.

The Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore is long overdue. It is urgently needed and simply cannot be long delayed. The area involved, some 61,000 acres of unique dunes and their forest setting on the Lake Michigan shoreline, is now threatened as never before by encroaching forces which will soon degrade and destroy this special area unless we act now.

Mr. Paul W. Thompson, research associate at the Cranbrook Institute of Science, points out the unique features of this area in an article in the summer issue of the Explorer magazine. He warns, too, that—

With the pressure of present commercial interests, many of the unrecoverable features of this duneland country are rapidly disappearing. If immediate action is not taken by those interested in the continued enjoyment of its scenic and scientific resources, we shall soon lose for all time one of the unique native landscapes of the nation. Concerted action, on the other hand, can preserve a portion of typical duneland country so that present and future generations may know its attractive natural charm.

I include Mr. Thompson's article at this point in the RECORD:

DUNELAND COUNTRY

Many different native landscapes, each with its own distinctive features, are to be found throughout the various regions of the nation. Along the Atlantic seacoast, where man has not yet fully disturbed the natural features, are broad stretches of sandy beaches; inland are still to be found extensive areas of rich forest characteristic of the eastern United States. On the flat or gently rolling plains of the Midwest lie the vast prairielands. To the westward is the land of mountains typified by rocky, rugged terrain where the high peaks are often covered by snow and the varying altitudes lead to a wide variety of plant and animal life. In the Southwest the hotter temperatures and the lack of rainfall result in an unusual desert environment. The steep bluffs along parts of the Pacific coastline create a picturesque and interesting seascape.

Bordering much of the shoreline of the Great Lakes is another type of distinctive American landscape known as the duneland country. Hundreds of square miles of this country have been radically altered by man's

recent activities through manufacturing and commercial and real estate developments; but in the Sleeping Bear Dune region along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, one can still view many of the original features of this fascinating landscape.

This is a land the glaciers spawned. The imprint of the Wisconsin Glacier, the last of several mammoth ice masses that sculptured the land several thousand years ago, is boldly incorporated into the rugged terrain that characterizes this region. The tremendous, unbelievable mass of ice not only gouged out ancient valleys to form the basins of the Great Lakes, but fingers of ice spread out in all directions to push up gigantic mounds of debris that eventually formed strong morainal hills in the Sleeping Bear area. As the ice melted and the glacier retreated, tremendous volumes of melt waters further shaped the landscape to create vast glacial lakes and ancient rivers; these in turn left their imprint on the terrain in the form of extensive outwash plains, broad sweeping embayment plains, river beds, old beaches, deltas, and steep bluffs eroded by glacial waters. Isolated blocks of ice, buried in the masses of debris, upon melting formed numerous potholes, some of which eventually resulted in lakes, ponds, and bogs. Through these many glacial features, the post-glacial history of the Sleeping Bear section has been written into the present landscape.

The broad plains now occupying former bays are flanked along the present Lake Michigan shoreline by steep, prominent headlands which originally steered the ice flows into the valley sectors. Typical embayments of this kind are found adjacent to Platte Bay, Sleeping Bear Bay, Good Harbor Bay, and Empire. Each of these areas now possesses a number of scenic inland lakes left when glacial waters retreated to lower levels in the Lake Michigan basin. The best known are Glen, Platte, Traverse, and Lime Lakes.

One of the largest concentrations of the nation's dunes exists along the Lake Michigan shore west of Glen Lake. The name "Sleeping Bear" has been applied to this group because a conspicuous perched dune located here has the sloping contours of a reclining bear. The early French fur traders and explorers, paddling their canoes along the shore, could observe the distinctive dune from a considerable distance and gave it a French name with a similar meaning. The northern portion of the area contains dunes formed at the Lake Michigan level; however, the southern sector was originally covered by a massive glacial moraine which now forms the steep rampart-like bluffs, several hundred feet in height, that border the shoreline. At Sleeping Bear, the western shore of South Manitow Island, and along a strip of lakefront south of Empire, wind activity has formed gigantic "perched" dunes on the tops of prominent moraines. Dunes devoid of vegetation are termed "active" or "moving" dunes, as the sand continues to move slowly to new locations. Others, covered with excellent forests and vegetation, are now "fixed" and are often referred to as "covered" dunes. Perched high above the waters of Lake Michigan these dunelands create a scenic landscape that in many parts resembles that of the Pacific coastal country. Dunes in these locations are among the best perched dunes of the nation.

Several square miles of dunes in the Sleeping Bear section give it a desert-like aspect. All of the common duneland features are found here: small dunes, huge sand mountains, dune cliffs and bluffs, long massive sand ridges, sand valleys with a multitude of shapes and sizes. Where wind currents are strong, huge sand barriers are formed. On the lee side of these massive mounds are very steep slopes known as "slides," so-called because once the sand is piled up steeper than

the critical angle, the topmost layers slide to the base to reduce the slope below this angle. Innumerable persons have viewed the giant slide, several hundred feet high, located at the western end of Glen Lake.

In certain localities one can view the ancient "tree cemeteries" typical of larger dune-land areas. The moving sand slowly, year by year, covers forests in its path until the trees are completely buried. Years later, when the sands have been carried by the wind to new locations, the bleached skeletons of these dead trees are uncovered and exposed to the elements. Often these "cemeteries" occur on dark layers of soil now covering large masses of sand and represent ancient ground surfaces from one time covered by very old forests.

Dune formation in the Great Lakes region is the result of wind and wave action. Millions of sand particles, washed up on the lake shores (primarily along the eastern sides), are later piled up into dunes by wind activity on land bordering the beaches. If the area was covered in the past by glacial lakes, then larger quantities of sand are available to produce bigger dunes. Sand dune formation in the Sleeping Bear section has been particularly favorable because of past geological activities.

During the period following the Wisconsin Glacier, although ice was melting in the Michigan region, several low-level drainage channels to the east were still blocked by the glacial ice. Consequently, lakes formed in the Lake Michigan basin had higher water levels, and lake waters extended considerably farther inland than the present shoreline of Lake Michigan.

As the ice to the northeast continued to melt, new drainage channels were opened one by one. With each new outlet the glacial lakes sought a lower level, leaving embayments as sandy plains covered with former beaches and bars. In these locations where quantities of sand were available, ancient dune systems resulted, each associated with one of these former stages of glacial lakes. These relic dunes can still be seen just below the mouth of Otter Creek and in the vicinity of Platte Point. Crystal Lake, once a bay of one of these more extensive, post-glacial lakes, became a separate body of water when the mouth of the bay was blocked by dunes. Ancient dunes of the Lake Algonquin, Lake Nipissing, and Lake Algoma stages in glacial history can now be found at this location in addition to present-day dunes.

Dune country has its own distinctive flora—a flora exposed to the elements, enduring the full heat of sunlight during the day and rapid cooling at night, having no protection from strong winds, and often existing in quite sterile soil. Plants living in this environment are adapted to its rugged conditions; for example, sand flora often have a heavy covering of hairs. To exist, pioneer plants must possess the ability to put out new root growths rapidly and at various levels. This prevents uprooting of the plant if strong wind action removes sand from the roots, or smothering if sand is deposited too thickly over the root system. Since beach grass, sand reed grass, and the cottonwood develop new root systems rapidly, these plants frequently serve to stabilize the sand dunes. Once these species have retarded sand movement, many other types of sand flora can gain a foothold.

Despite these prevailing adverse conditions the plants that inhabit the dunelands and sandy beaches are often interesting and some are quite colorful. Among these are the brilliant orange milkweed, colorful blue beach pea, rich wine-red Hudsonian anemone, bright orange Philadelphia lily, yellow puccoon, and an interesting purple-flowered sea rocket that grows along the beaches just out of reach of the waves. Of interest, too, are the white-flowered lyreleaf mustard, green lilies, false heather, and a small maroon

parasitic plant that grows on the roots of the dune wormwood. Sand cherry, bearberry, low juniper, and the delicate bluebell are all inhabitants of the sand dune country.

On the sandy plains of the ancient embayment sectors one finds these sand-flora close to the border of the beaches. However, as one moves inland one encounters a number of zones of vegetation, each with its characteristic and distinctive collection of species, each different from the other.

Adjacent to the sand-flora zone one frequently finds a conifer zone where scattered red, white, and jack pines predominate. The individual pines here are often well separated from their nearest neighbors but are surrounded by clumps of low juniper and long streamers of horizontal juniper which, with the bearberry, extend out in all directions over the sandy openings between the pines. Sand cherry, buffalo berry, and choke cherry are common shrubs of this area.

A savannah-like band of scattered oaks consisting mainly of the white and red oak species typifies the next inland zone of vegetation. Characteristic shrubs of this habitat are witch hazel, shadbush, pin cherry, bush honeysuckle, and the low blueberry. Often the more open areas of sandy soil are thickly covered with reindeer lichen, xeric mosses, and other forms of lichen.

The next vegetational zone on the inland side of the oak savannah is the aspen woodland dominated by the large-toothed and quaking aspens. Mixed with these are a few pines, red maples, and red oaks. The ground layer is often covered with bracken fern and Canada mayflower. During the spring season the wood betony and the showy, orchid-colored fringed polygala lend color to the area. Over the years, as decaying humus improves the richness of the soil and its moisture conditions become more favorable, one notes a gradual invasion of the beech-maple climax forest that blankets many of the moraine hills and the valleys where the land has a moderate amount of moisture. This type of woodland is known for the richness of its spring flora, for at this period of the year the forest floor is carpeted with thousands of blossoming wildflowers. During the summer months the heavy foliage of beech and sugar maple produces a deep shade that creates a wilderness atmosphere. With the advent of autumn, however, these woodlands take on an entirely different aspect, for the foliage becomes a mass of color—bright scarlets, brilliant yellows, and oranges against the rich bronzes, browns, and purples. This vivid seasonal display is a major attraction for many visitors to the area.

In contrast to the beech-maple hardwood forests are the white cedar swamps that thrive in the wet valleys. Here the cedar is often mixed with balsam fir, tamarack, and yellow birch. These swamplands form an almost impenetrable thicket that is common on low wet ground.

In a duneland valley along the western portion of South Manitou Island is a unique ancient cedar forest. This virgin stand of giant cedars, many measuring from four to six feet in diameter, is located on the high moraine that dominates that section of the Island. However, the trees are protected by high perched dunes that surround the area. A ring count of a huge windfall cedar shows that the older trees were in existence before Columbus discovered America.

Of interest to the botanist and the ecologist is the occurrence, in this valley of giant cedars, of four different species of ferns which are non-existent elsewhere in this part of Michigan. The most common of these is the northern holly fern growing by the thousands along the wooded banks of the dunes under the shade of the cedars. Others are the Braun holly fern, the green spleenwort, and the walking fern which grows here on dead logs.

The combination of rugged terrain,

numerous lakes, rich, forests, and varied vegetation has played an important role in the past history of this region. The abundance of fish, wild fowl, and game attracted several different Indian tribes before the days of the white man. Later, the wealth of animal life generously contributed to the fur trade, bringing many trappers and traders into the area. When the settlers began to move into the Midwest, land travel was difficult through this wilderness and much of the transportation was by water routes. Both North and South Manitou Islands were fueling stations for wood-burning steamers and the forests of these Islands furnished many thousands of cords of wood for steamer fuel. Still later, the dense forests supported a vast lumbering industry for several decades. With the depletion of virgin timber, however, the region has gradually become more dependent on the tourist trade, and the wealth of natural features has been an important factor in its economy in recent years.

Sandy-shored lakes, many bordered by woods, have created a northland atmosphere which lures many visitors to the dunelands. Long strips of white sandy beaches along the Lake Michigan coast make it one of the foremost freshwater swimming localities in the world. Superb natural scenery is enhanced by an unusual combination of vegetation, sand, water, forests, and glacial topography. Consequently, people with a wide range of interests have been attracted here: artist, photographer, hunter, fisherman, boater, hiker, scientist, canoeist, resorter, and vacationer. All have enjoyed their specific activities in pleasant settings that have added much to their satisfaction. In turn, these visitors have contributed substantially to the economy of the region.

However, with the pressure of present commercial interests, many of the unrecoverable features of this duneland country are rapidly disappearing. If immediate action is not taken by those interested in the continued enjoyment of its scenic and scientific resources, we shall soon lose for all time one of the unique native landscapes of the nation. Concerted action, on the other hand, can preserve a portion of typical duneland country so that present and future generations may know its attractive natural charm.

Mr. Speaker, this article testifies eloquently to the splendid natural resource of the Sleeping Bear Dunes landscape. What remains to be done is to insure this precious resource sufficient and timely preservation—and this is the purpose of our bill.

The bill Mr. VANDER JAGT, Mr. RUPPE, and I have introduced is largely identical with that sponsored by Mr. NEDZI, Mr. O'HARA, and Senator PHILIP A. HART. The few differences are clarifying and technical, but include a significant refinement of land acquisition procedures. The intent is to preserve the national lakeshore, but also to protect local property owners in a balanced program. I am hopeful that the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs will give this new language favorable consideration.

What must be emphasized, however, is that the differences between these two bills are minor when set beside the significance of their close similarity. It should now be clear—as it has never been before—that the concept of a Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore in all of its fundamental features has the united and urgent support of the Michigan congressional delegation. I know that the people of Michigan and throughout the Lake States area support this project, as does every major conservation group in

our State and nationwide. In a recent speech to the Michigan United Conservation Clubs convention, Gov. William Milliken made a strong statement of support and urged immediate action:

The time has come, for the good of all of the people of Michigan, for decisive action on the long-sought objective of preserving and developing this resource. We need a decision, and I, for one, intend to work for an affirmative one.

In my view, now is the time for all of us to begin to pull together and make the Sleeping Bear National Lakeshore a reality.

BRING AID PROGRAMS INTO THE SPACE AGE

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, as one who shares the concern of the gentlemen from Delaware (Mr. ROTH) about the desirability and need for a complete and up-to-date catalog listing all Federal aid programs and who has joined in sponsoring legislation to bring this about, I was particularly gratified to note the editorial appearing in the Wednesday, June 23d edition of *The State Journal*, Lansing, Mich., endorsing this project. I commend to the attention of my colleagues, and particularly the House leadership, the request to "Bring Aid Programs into the Space Age."

The editorial follows:

BRING AID PROGRAMS INTO THE SPACE AGE

There's no telling what can happen in this fast moving space age, but U.S. Rep. William V. Roth Jr., R-Del., deserves a pat on the back for his efforts.

Roth is sponsoring a House bill designed to create a government-wide catalog of all federal aid programs which would be kept updated on a monthly basis. It has been sitting around for some time but now appears to be moving forward with an endorsement from the Bureau of the Budget.

The congressman said he decided to introduce the measure last year after an eight month study showed that no one, anywhere in government, had any idea how many federal aid programs existed.

Nor was there any single agency anywhere in which local and state officials could quickly obtain the information they need to deal with the aid programs.

Roth noted, for example, that one federal agency dealing with aid projects listed fewer than 600 programs while his own survey revealed more than 1,000.

He said if his study could do a more complete job of cataloging in eight months than the federal government could do in several years, "the problem is obviously one of will-power, not manpower."

But there will be a rocky road ahead in the slow moving bureaucracy of Washington.

Roth reported that the Bureau of the Budget, while agreeing with objectives of the catalog bill, wants what the congressman calls an "evolutionary approach." This means the catalog would be updated yearly instead of monthly.

The congressman prefers the revolutionary approach so that people know immediately about new guidelines, changed money figures and programs. Without this, he said, the catalog would be valueless and "will lie unused on some shelf."

Roth, it appears, has tackled a problem almost as complicated as the Apollo space missions. He'll need all the luck he can find to pull the bureaucratic jumble into the computer age.

WHOSE "MORONIC BABBLING"?

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, it seems to be the time of year when segments of the political society again start harping on gun control. I would think that by now even they would have seen the glaring holes in their theories and moved on to the important question, crime control; but no, the drivel continues.

Only days ago the President's Commission on Violence recommended that all Americans be required to surrender their hand guns to the Government. The absurdity of this position is surpassed only by a recent resolution of the Americans for a Democratic Society. This calls for totally disarming all citizens.

An editorial in the August edition of the *American Rifleman* treats the ADA position with all due generosity and points out the flaws and I include it in the *Record* at this point:

WHOSE "MORONIC BABBLING"?

The shallowness of the preposterous organized attacks on legitimate firearms ownership was never better exposed than recently in the words of one anti-gun organization itself, meeting in Washington, D.C.

Termining public safety "too important to be left to reactionaries and bigots," the self-styled "liberal" Americans for Democratic Action adopted a resolution demanding that Americans "be totally disarmed." This would apply in due course to police as well as private citizens.

By a remarkable feat of mental acrobatics, the resolution, drafted by the ADA's State and Local Policy Commission, had as its title: "A comprehensive program to fight crime without compromising individual liberty."

As usual among unrealistic thinkers, it is all apparently a question of whose individual liberty is to be sacrificed. In this instance the ADA chose to ignore the widely-recognized civil and constitutional rights of American gun owners.

The liberalistic ADA lightly dismisses the whole concept of the right to bear arms with one impolite sentence in its resolution: "It is time for Congress to stop listening to the moronic babbling of extremists and gun worshippers and pass effective gun control."

In a preamble to that intemperate comment, the ADA resolution correctly states: "No Nation can survive which cannot protect the personal security of its citizens. And America must do so without eroding the Constitutional protections which are our most precious values."

The ADA then proceeded to approve a course which in the opinion of many millions of Americans would knock out the broad and long-accepted meaning of the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and casually trample on the "personal security" of multitudes who are not so situated that they can obtain police protection in time to save them from robbery, mayhem, rape, or murder.

To add further irony to its ridiculous line of reasoning, the ADA resolution asserts that

"our domestic arms race is out of control" at the very time that new Federal and local laws have burdened and repressed gun ownership by honest citizens. Certainly if laws can control firearms, there should be few or no domestic arms problems. Where this does not hold true, it may go to show that the "pass a law" philosophy of the ADA and others does not hold true. To take one prize example:

Chicago adopted citywide firearms registration April 15, 1968, and also came under the Illinois I.D. card system July 1, 1968. Some 384,000 firearms have been duly registered by law-abiding Chicagoans. A police spokesman proudly says that shootings during the first part of this year were fewer than in the corresponding period last year—conveniently overlooking the fact that riots and disorders last year ran up the 1968 shooting score abnormally.

Yet 51 shootings including 5 homicides were reported in Chicago in one May weekend this year, gun laws notwithstanding. Nearly all were committed by organized gangs of law-breakers, prompting *The Chicago Tribune* to editorialize (May 28, 1969) "This gang warfare must stop." It cited the case of one brazen juvenile gang leader, acquitted of murder last year and himself wounded this year, who refused to identify his assailant and told police, "We'll take care of it ourselves." Evidently the Federal, State, and local anti-gun laws have not succeeded in disarming this one ruthless young man. But the ADA seems to believe a Federal law could banish guns from the entire Nation. Its intolerant attitude on firearms is sadly typical of those who befog the real issue—crime control—by supporting mistaken legislation that would do little or nothing but disarm honest citizens.

(For those unfamiliar with Americans for Democratic Action, the organization was founded in 1947, tried to ditch Harry Truman for Henry Wallace (no kin to George C. Wallace) in 1948, and spent some of "the largest sums" reported in the 1952 and 1956 Presidential campaigns as a policy group supporting Adlai Stevenson (according to Alexander Heard in *The Costs of Democracy*, 1962). A recent letterhead lists such notables as David Dubinsky, Walter P. Reuther, and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., among ADA vice chairmen and Bayard Rustin and Dorothy Moon, both much identified with far-left causes, and former U.S. Sen. Joseph S. Clark, Richard N. Goodwin, Daniel P. Moynihan, and Mrs. Benjamin Spock among national board members.)

BLESS THOU THE ASTRONAUTS

HON. ED FOREMAN

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, when Congress is in session, and my family and I are living in the Washington, D.C., area, we attend church at the Cherrydale United Methodist Church in Arlington, Va. Rev. Ernest K. Emurian is the very fine, capable minister serving this church. Undoubtedly, Mr. Emurian is one of the most popular, best accepted ministers with his congregation that I have ever witnessed. His timely sermons are unusually interesting, educational, and useful—in fact, I just do not want to miss a single one of his excellent messages if I am within this area and can possibly be in his church on Sunday mornings.

In addition to being a most capable, understanding, hard-working minister of, for, and to the people, Mr. Emurian is an accomplished writer and composer. Last week, following the successful completion of man's first visit to the moon, Mr. Emurian wrote a very impressive, thought-provoking hymnal which I submit for your review and enjoyment as follows:

BLESS THOU THE ASTRONAUTS
(By Ernest K. Emurian)

1.

Bless Thou the astronauts who face
The vast immensities of space;
And may they know, in air, on land,
Thou holdest them within Thy hand.
O may the small step each doth take
Aid others giant leaps to make.

2.

How excellent in all the Earth
Thy Name, O God, Who gave it birth;
When first upon the Moon man trod,
How excellent Thy Name, O God.
The heav'ns Thy glory doth declare;
Where'er we are, Lo! Thou art there.

3.

We still upon Thy laws depend
As our dominions thus extend,
While from the nations triumph rings
When we mount up with eagle's wings.
Grant on each planet, far and near,
To all Thy glory may appear.

4.

Give all men, for all time to be,
The blessing of tranquility,
As galaxies and quasars share
The knowledge that our God is there!
May future aeons call to mind,
"We came in peace for all mankind."

(NOTE.—Stanza 1 contains a poetic paraphrase of the first words spoken by the first man to set foot on the moon on Sunday night, July 20, 1969. Stanza 2 is suggested by Psalms 8, 19, and 139. Stanza 3, line 4, is taken from Isaiah 40:31, a favorite passage of the late President Kennedy, who set in motion our successful space program. Stanza 4 ends with the phrase on the plaque left there by the first men to reach the moon.

The hymn tune "Melita," composed in 1861 by John Bacchus Dykes, is the tune to which the Navy Hymn, "Eternal Father Strong To Save," is universally sung. It is No. 553 in the Methodist Hymnal.)

TRIBUTE TO THE ASTRONAUTS

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with the gentleman from New Mexico (Mr. FOREMAN) in calling the attention of the Members to the thoughtful and moving tribute to the Astronauts penned by Rev. Emurian. My wife and I, when we first arrived in this area, happened to locate in the neighborhood served by Cherrydale Methodist Church. For us it has been a very happy circumstance because we have had the opportunity to hear Rev. Emurian's sermons and to learn to admire and respect this very unusual and talented person. The tribute referred to is but typical of his perception and talent.

THE POPULARITY OF FOREIGN AID

Hon. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, there has been speculation again this year that foreign aid is "in trouble" in Congress. There are those who claim that this is so because the people back home which we represent are increasingly doubtful about the value of our foreign aid programs.

A recent poll clearly indicates that the public does believe in foreign aid. The following article from the Washington Post of July 27 gives a summary of the findings of the poll, conducted by the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan:

FOREIGN AID SCORES IN NEW POLL

(By Carroll Kilpatrick)

With foreign aid programs extremely unpopular in Congress, a new opinion poll shows wide public support for this country's foreign assistance efforts.

A study by the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan shows not only strong support for aid but an overwhelming opposition to a go-it-alone foreign policy.

Perhaps the most surprising finding is that there is support for aid even though a majority of those interviewed had a highly exaggerated idea of its cost.

About half of those interviewed guessed that foreign aid spending amounted to between 15 and 40 per cent of the Federal budget. Some thought it cost even more.

Only 3 per cent said that it was about 2 per cent of the Federal budget, which it is, exclusive of Vietnam military aid costs.

Even with this exaggerated notion of the cost (and interviewees were not told what the correct figure was), 46 per cent said they supported the aid programs, 32 per cent said no and 22 per cent expressed varying degrees of support and opposition.

The strongest support was found in the Northeast (49 per cent) and the weakest support was found in the West (40 per cent). College-educated persons favored aid by 58 per cent to 18 percent, with 24 per cent expressing reservations.

Democrats generally support aid programs more vigorously than Republicans. Among those interviewed who considered themselves strong Democrats, 52 per cent said the United States should continue to give aid to other countries. Among those who considered themselves strong Republicans, 42 per cent favored the aid programs.

On the question of whether the United States would be better off to stay at home and not concern itself with the problems of other parts of the world, 76 per cent said no. Only 24 per cent approved the proposition that we should not concern ourselves with the rest of the world.

Among those with a college education, the opposition to an isolationist role was 88 per cent. Of those with a grade-school education, the opposition was 60 per cent.

These figures would indicate stronger support for President Nixon's controversial speech last month at the Air Force Academy in which he attacked the new isolationists than the outcry from some members of Congress would suggest.

The figures also would indicate much stronger support for aid than the critics in Congress would have anyone believe.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, once again this month we have joined to commemorate Captive Nations Week. And on the 11th anniversary of this significant occasion we have the sad but proud privilege of reaffirming the dedication of the American people to the cause of the peoples of east and central Europe who hope and strive for freedom despite years of subjugation and oppression.

Americans believe in independence and self-determination for nations throughout the world, and in my own State of New Jersey there are many thousands of citizens who through nativity or ancestry share the vibrant cultures and heritage of liberty of the peoples of Europe who now lie captive under the yoke of Communism.

Last year we witnessed with sadness the brutal power of Soviet military force crushing the enlightened and brave political and intellectual movement toward freedom in Czechoslovakia, a setback to the struggle of all the east and central European peoples for independence and human dignity. Particularly tragic, Mr. Speaker, is the continued suppression of religion in the captive nations, and in this connection I insert an excellent article describing the situation, "Religion Under Communism" by the eminent clergyman, Msgr. John Balkunas, in the RECORD at the end of my remarks.

Political freedom, intellectual liberty, and the opportunity to demonstrate faith in God have been denied. But the courage and perseverance of the peoples of east and central Europe still prevail. Persecution and terror have not succeeded in stamping out their will and determination to ultimately achieve the freedom with which Americans and other peoples are so blessed. So on this anniversary of our original dedication to the restoration of freedom in the captive nations we pay tribute to the undaunted spirit of their people and affirm again our support and admiration for their unconquerable determination to win liberty.

The article follows:

RELIGION UNDER COMMUNISM

(By Msgr. John Balkunas)

(NOTE.—The author is a noted American clergyman and lecturer. Monsignor Balkunas is also a cultural and civic leader of the American-Lithuanian community and President of the Conference of Americans of Central and Eastern European Descent, CACEED.)

The story of Communist persecution of religion in East-Central Europe is a sordid drama of hate and violence. Yet, even today, we see and hear reports by touring Westerners, including in some cases clergymen, who declare: "I have seen the crowded churches, the religious services, the priests and ministers." On the basis of a superficial glance, these tourists thus conclude that there is real freedom of religion in the Communist states.

Ideologically the Communists cannot permit loyalty and faith in a Divine authority. To do so would threaten the very foundation of the official materialistic philosophy. Athe-

istic communism cannot view man as an individual value possessing an immortal soul.

Although the Communists cannot succeed in rooting out a man's yearning for religion, they seek to replace faith in God with a secular cult dominated by the Communist ideology.

The Communist attack on religion and churches is generally carried out in four forms. First, terror and violence are employed against the clergy and the faithful. Second, religious groups are deprived of their newspapers, publications and books. Third, organized religion is either suppressed or is dominated by the Communist regime. Fourth, indoctrination of youth in Communist ideas is given top priority.

But despite these maneuvers, religion continues to exist and in some areas it even prospers. Parents give secret religious instruction to their children. Young people are insisting upon Church weddings and baptisms for their children. Feast days and religious festivals continue to be observed in spite of regime pressures.

ALBANIA

The Moslem and Orthodox Churches were purged and their hierarchy "nationalized." The Roman Catholic Church, which accounts for 10 percent of the population, was persecuted by mass arrests of the clergy. All in all, however, the anti-religious campaign has not fulfilled its objective. In June 1967 a meeting of the Party Committee of Gjirokastra dealt with the questions of youth education and stated that it was not justified to assume that religion did not exist any more in Albania because churches and Mosques were closed. On the contrary, religion was still alive among the people, including the youth.

BULGARIA

The Bulgarian Orthodox Church was transformed into a "people's Church," serving State interests. The regime created an Exarchate and Patriarchate in order to break off all external connections. According to an article that appeared in the April 18, 1968 issue of *Rabotnichesko Delo*, the percentage of Orthodox believers declined from 84.89 in 1948 to 75.25 in 1962. This could be attributed to the docility of the Orthodox leadership vis-a-vis the Communist regime. Although there was no official Catholic Church in Bulgaria, the number of Catholics doubled between 1934 and 1962. In the same period the number of Protestants quadrupled. The Muslims increased from 13.51 in 1945 to 18.88 percent in 1962. Only ten thousand Jews remain in the country. Some 40,000 took advantage of the opportunity to migrate to Israel.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

After January 1968 the relations between the State and the Churches improved. The churches were permitted to submit their grievances and demands to the newly appointed special rapporteur of the cabinet for ecclesiastical affairs, the then Deputy Premier Dr. Gustav Husak. A procedure for rehabilitation of church leaders unjustly persecuted in the past was initiated. As a result of this new atmosphere, negotiations between the Holy See and Prague regarding normalization of their mutual relations are now taking place.

All Christian churches and religious communities rallied in support of the liberal Communist leader Dubcek and President Svoboda during the seven months of the "Czechoslovak Spring" (January-August, 1968) and, in particular, during the August invasion and later under the Soviet occupation. This move was spontaneous and sincere, since for the first time after twenty years of oppression the Churches enjoyed relative freedom.

At present, parents reportedly do not have to fear harassment for sending their children to classes of religious instruction. Nor is there yet any visible anti-religious prop-

aganda, even though the Soviet and the Warsaw Pact countries' newspapers and magazines repeatedly stress the need to improve atheistic education and propaganda to ultimately eradicate all religions.

ESTONIA

The Soviet press is usually silent on the question of churches. Therefore little information is available on Church-State relations. For example, the Lutheran Church of Soviet-occupied Estonia was granted membership in the Lutheran World Federation at the Helsinki Conference of August 1963. The meeting was attended by the Archbishop of the Estonian Church, Jaan Klivit. Obviously the Church could not apply for membership in an international organization without the approval of Soviet authorities. Despite this, the Estonian papers did not mention the admission of the Soviet Estonian Lutheran Church into the World Federation.

HUNGARY

A new situation has developed in the wake of last year's negotiations conducted in Budapest and at the Vatican. On January 23, 1969 Pope Paul VI filled ten Church posts in Hungary in one of the most sweeping moves to restore Church life in the country. The appointments ended a five-year deadlock between the Vatican and Budapest and affect the government of eight of Hungary's eleven dioceses. However, a Vatican announcement made clear that the two sides were still at odds over the status of Jozsef Cardinal Mindszenty, who has been in self-imposed asylum in the American Embassy in Budapest since Soviet tanks crushed the 1956 uprising.

The Protestant Churches also had to face regime attacks. In 1967 the Reformed Church worked out a new constitution. Only persons approved by the regime belong to the new leadership. The Lutheran Church is headed by Bishop Ottlyk, whose direct contacts with the Party are generally known in Church circles.

LATVIA

Latvia is a predominantly Lutheran country. Of the 287 Evangelical Lutheran Churches in service in 1937, only 86 remained open in 1968. According to the regime-supported Church Yearbook for 1968, published in Riga, only 32 pastors are permitted to perform their duties. Others are forced to do manual labor. The Latvian Baptist Church is still administered by 60 pastors. Latvia's half a million Roman Catholics are serviced by only 70 percent of the prewar clergy.

Latvian clergymen who are allowed to go to international gatherings in the free world do so as a part of Soviet delegations. The separation from the free world is so hermetic that theology students are never permitted to study abroad, and only in a very few cases have Western clergymen been permitted to officiate at church services.

LITHUANIA

Eighty percent of Lithuania's 3,096,000 people are Roman Catholics. Police action against the clergy and the faithful continues. Churches have to pay high taxes. For example, the Cathedral of Kaunas has to pay an annual tax of 6,000 rubles. All Church buildings and chattels are property of the State for which the faithful must pay high rents. Every clergyman must register with the Council of Church Affairs. Priests are forbidden to communicate with the lay people or to teach children religion; they are ridiculed in the press and have no civil redress.

According to the law of May 20, 1966 parents guilty of any effort to educate a child religiously are liable to three years imprisonment. On June 29, 1968 a new family law was promulgated in Lithuania, requiring parents to bring up their children according to the Communist moral code. In the event they do not fulfill this obligation, the children may be taken from them, and they would lose their parental rights. A student accused

of practicing religion or being a believer finds it extremely difficult to continue his studies in the universities. All government employees, teachers and students are under constant surveillance.

POLAND

The Roman Catholic Church in the course of Polish history has always identified itself with national ideals and has been considered a symbol of Polish freedom. Under the pressure of the events of October 1956, the Communist regime agreed to improve the situation of the Church. The Catholic Primate, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, reached a new agreement on Church-State relations. The agreement, while recognizing the lay character of the schools, provides for religious teaching for children who have their parents' consent.

Ever since 1957, the State—by means of administrative measures—has been trying to whittle away these advantages. Nevertheless, the relations between the Gomulka regime and the Church are probably better now than they had been during the past few years. Evidence of this is the granting of a passport to Cardinal Wyszynski for his visit to Rome. Suddenly it is not quite as difficult to get a permit to construct a new church; it is not as difficult to get a permit for public processions on holy days. In fact, at a Corpus Christi procession in a village outside of Warsaw, the militia were even directing traffic.

But the Communist regime has not withdrawn from the battle. The regime has recently given considerable publicity to what is believed to be the first civil "christening" of a child in a civil registry office, with the authorities bestowing the name on the child in a completely civil ceremony. The same is true of marriages—efforts continue to make more of the civil signing of the registry book and thus denigrate marriage ceremonies in church.

RUMANIA

The era of open religious persecution came to an end a few years ago. The general amnesty of 1964 set free a great majority of political and religious prisoners. The octogenarian bishop Iuliu Hossu, the only survivor of the suppressed Catholic Church Hierarchy of the Byzantine Rite, is still incarcerated. Otherwise, only sporadic arrests and trials on religious grounds have been staged during the recent years.

Both the State and Church contributed to bringing about the uneasy, but relatively quiet coexistence. The clergy and faithful have painfully learned to limit their activities to strictly religious functions on the premises of the churches, and to individual pastoral guidance. Sermons must follow certain pre-established norms. Even anti-religious propaganda and indoctrination have changed their tone by being more subtle and more persuasive. Churchgoers continue to be tailed, but more discreetly. Children and youths generally are kept busy on Sundays with "voluntary programs."

RELIGION AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Since religion is one of the factors in the formation of man's convictions and disposition, and the Church is a repository of his trust and devotion, the resolute efforts of the Communist system to divert the action of religion and church to the service of its cause is understandable. Church and religion must either serve the Communist system, as in the case with the Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and Rumania, or the Church must be completely eliminated from social life.

One-third of the world's population is living under an atheistic system which is applying every possible means to destroy Christianity as well as other religions. This is undoubtedly the most dramatic struggle ever witnessed in the world's history of religion. Yet the situation of Christianity in the countries within the Communist orbit is not without hope.

Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights declares: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practicing worship and observance."

With this in mind, we hope and pray that the time will come when the free nations will effectively help make the Declaration applicable in the full sense of the word for all peoples. Our efforts and energies should be directed toward this aim. All freedom, it should be remembered, are secure within the freedom of thought and conscience.

A TIME TO CONSIDER

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the Screven County News of my hometown, Sylvania, Ga., had an editorial on July 24 entitled, "A Time To Consider." I feel that you and my other colleagues will concur with that caption after reading the well-written and provocative article which follows:

A TIME TO CONSIDER

In the last six months we have seen nearly every kind of demonstration. The point has now been reached at which attempts by the demonstrators to display ingenuity have lost their novelty and have simply become disgusting. We have had enough.

Burning one's draft card is ridiculous. Self-immolation is insane. Sit-ins are so common as to be old-fashioned. Chanting and snake-dancing in the streets is laughable. Smearing blood, or red ink, on draft board records shows the mentality of children, as does the scrawling of peace symbols on walls and buildings. These are the acts of the immature.

We have no quarrel with the peaceful picket. We respect every man's right to be wrong. As Jefferson said: "Error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it."

But the recent trend toward abuse of the rights and feelings of others does not fall into the category of "error of opinion". It is rather a lack of respect for the nation and its citizens. Anyone who would start a disruption on the lawn of the White House deserves the maximum penalty under the law. The Chief Executive's home should be shown the respect it deserves.

The Tomb of the Unknowns is not fair game for a band of placard-wavers or loud-mouthed poets. Millions of people visit this hallowed spot to pay silent tribute, not to be treated to the amateur poetry of a peace demonstrator.

The Senate chamber is not the proper place for the reading of Bible verses aloud. The use of the holy scriptures as a tool of disruption is sacrilege. Bible reading is for church and individual study.

The activities described above have taken place in just the last few weeks, all in protest to our involvement in the war against the communist Viet Cong. Commenting on the recent reading, on the US Capitol steps, of the names of American men killed in the war, a Georgia mother, whose son died in Vietnam, wrote: "Since these demonstrators could not give full support to our men while they were on the battlefield, they have no right to use their names now to further a cause of their own."

CKV—1356—Part 16

TRIBUTE TO REV. L. B. REYNOLDS

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to pay tribute to a man on his 80th birthday, a man who has had a long and distinguished career as a minister, attorney, and civic leader; the Reverend L. B. Reynolds of Hermosa Beach, Calif.

Reverend Reynolds has a long list of accomplishments during his 40-odd years in the South Bay area. He has been an attorney for 44 years; also served with the Southern California Automobile Club; and served as president of the board of the American Saving & Loan Association; among others.

He received his license as a minister of the Assemblies of God in 1932, being ordained in 1933, and becoming an executive presbyter at about the same time.

When, shortly after, the district was divided into sections, he became the sectional presbyter and has remained in this office. He has been a board member of Southern California College since 1933 when the board was first formed; and has been parliamentarian for the Southern California District for 28 years, pastored the Hermosa Gospel Tabernacle from 1932 to 1942; founded the Ambassador Christian Schools in 1958 and has been president continuously.

Rev. LeRoy Benton Reynolds, son of John Terry Reynolds and Deborah Ann (Spencer) Reynolds, was born August 5, 1889, at Roodhouse, Green County, Ill. Of a farming family, schooling was difficult for young LeRoy as he could only attend when not needed on the farm. He managed to get a few months in high school, but when 18, decided to complete his education, entering Tobin College where he finished high school training in 2 years. This was followed by 1 year at Highland Park College, Des Moines, and then the University of Iowa.

As the United States entered World War I, he interrupted his education and enlisted in May 1917. His B.A. degree was conferred on him while he was at Fort Snelling, Minn. He was discharged in January 1919, with the rank of first lieutenant. He promptly made a late entry into the University of Chicago Law School and in June 1920, received the degree of doctor of jurisprudence. During this time he led the Delta Chi Fraternity as "A" man. While there, he met Miss Elizabeth Levitt, a cataloger at the University of Chicago Libraries, whom he later took to be his wife. He immediately took the bar examination and was admitted to the Iowa State Bar. After several positions, he came to California in 1923 where he accepted a temporary position in a bank in Hollywood until he joined a law firm in Santa Monica, but shortly moved to Redondo Beach, Calif., where he opened his own law practice and bought a home. Reverend Reynolds had 11 children and is blessed with 17 grandchildren.

HUG-THE-COAST HIGHWAY ASSOCIATION

HON. ELIGIO de la GARZA

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, down at Brownsville, Tex., in the 15th District, the Louisiana-Texas-Mexico Hug-the-Coast Highway Association met recently and acted to spread the scope of their efforts to include Canada. News accounts of the meeting are interesting, forecasting highway travel that will beckon anyone who wants to see a large part of this continent from his automobile. The vision of the dedicated civic workers who make up this association is inspiring. Their efforts should be successful. Thinking my colleagues might want to read about the association's meeting and respectfully asking my colleagues for any aid or intercession in behalf of this endeavor, I submit the following:

HUG-THE-COAST HIGHWAY ASSOCIATION

BROWNSVILLE.—Efforts to establish Highway 11 as the longest intercontinental highway route in the northern hemisphere—from Canada to the Caribbean—took on international scope Sunday as officers and directors of the Louisiana-Texas-Mexico Hug-the-Coast Highway Association voted to admit Canada to membership at the final day of their convention in Brownsville.

The association has been active in promoting new highway construction in Louisiana and a part of Texas to bring coastal highways up to U.S. Highway standards and secure extension and designation of Highway 11 from New Orleans to Brownsville over scenic coastal routes in both states. The present designation on travel maps is from Montreal to New Orleans.

President of the association, E. E. Dough- tie of Bay City, Texas, said the Canadians have evidenced a keen interest in the proposed international route and have asked that a delegation visit Montreal to discuss their membership.

Only a small portion of highway westward from New Orleans to Port Arthur remains to be brought up to U.S. Highway standards before Highway 11 is designated as an international route down the coast to Yucatan. The scenic route down the coast of Texas already meets U.S. Highway standards and would only have to be re-numbered Highway 11 officially.

The counterpart of the association in Mexico had five directors named to the international board. They are Frank Vallado Peniche, Merida, Yucatan; Ruben P. Rojas, Xalapa, Veracruz; Maria B. de Barcena, San Luis Potosi; Gilberto G. Rodriguez, Ciudad Victoria, and Gustavo Verdales, federal tourism delegate from the state of Quintana Roo.

Fernando Heftye Flores, director of Tourism for the state of Tamaulipas and a vice-president of the La-Tex-Mex. association, has announced that the highway from Matamoros, across the river from Brownsville, is now 95 per cent complete down the coast to Vera Cruz. The remainder of the coastal route to Coatzacoalcos, southernmost seaport on the Gulf, and up the coast of Yucatan to Merida has been linked with a new roadway across the peninsula to Port Juarez on the Caribbean.

In addition to becoming the longest intercontinental highway in the hemisphere, travelers arriving at Port Juarez will be able to make connections with a sea-going ferry ship to Key West, Fla. Vallado, delegate from

Yucatan state, announced. The ferry operation is expected to start in September, he said, with a three-days-a-week schedule. Estimated time of the trip is approximately 20 hours to Key West, he said.

Mexico members of the Hug-the-Coast association and two other Mexico highway organizations attended the convention. In their convention in Matamoros the previous day, the Gulf and Caribbean Association and the Short Route to Mexico City group, voted to ask the Secretary of Public Works to designate the Mexico route coastal route "11" and also will request the Secretary of Communications and Transport to issue a postal stamp commemorating the event when Highway 11 is re-designated from Canada to the Caribbean.

New Orleans has been selected as the next convention site on February 21 and 22, president Doughtie announced.

GUAM

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, as a Member of this body consistently interested in our Nation's stake and position in the Pacific Basin, I think it appropriate to bring the attention of the Members to the island of Guam. It is particularly a timely consideration when one realizes the interrelationship between our country's posture and activities on this small island as against the winds of change which may be blowing across our base activities in Okinawa. I think it is safe to predict that in the dialog and discussions which will surround the renegotiations between Japan and the United States in 1971, when our existing treaty is up for renewal, the present arrangement on Okinawa will loom large. Informed minds would logically anticipate that Guam could serve as a next logical point of operation for any activities ruled out in the renegotiations involving Okinawa. It is important, therefore, that there be a thorough understanding of the potentials and limitations of this island as affectively serving the kind of needs and security aspects presently filled by our presence militarily on Okinawa. A look at any map would indicate that the landmass is severely limited on the island of Guam and the scope of activities would thereby equally be limited.

Locationally, Guam is roughly the same latitude as the Philippines and the same longitude as Japan. It lies 6,000 miles west of San Francisco, approximately 3,000 miles from Hawaii. It is 1,350 miles south of Tokyo and 1,800 miles east of Hong Kong.

Geographically it represents one of the most important points of intrusion of U.S. interests in the Far East. The present population is about 100,000, of which one-third are military personnel and dependents. The population has recently been growing very rapidly. Its government has included a local unicameral legislature and a Governor ap-

pointed by the President; however, under terms of agreement with the people of Guam and the Government of the United States they will be electing their own Governor as of 1970. When they have concluded this election with the inauguration of their popularly elected Governor, the highest U.S. Government official will be the government Controller who is appointed by the Secretary of the Interior and whose duty it is to audit the finances of the government and report to the Governor of Guam and the Secretary of the Interior. Presently, Federal income tax is collected on the island with the total amount returned to the government of Guam to augment their local taxes and service the public requirements of the island.

Presently, the United States has a SAC base and a naval base on Guam and up until quite recently there has been no announced plan of major Federal changes. However, Guam is almost inevitably going to be affected by the present administration's policies and positions in the Pacific since Guam plays an important role as a logistics support base for the war in Vietnam. Deescalation of that activity will lower the level of such support requirements. On the other hand, if in the renegotiations with Japan, use of Okinawa is restricted, some expansion of activities would most certainly be seen then on Guam. As a landmass Guam has few natural resources. The mainstay of the economy is tied to military installations and government activities.

Since 1962 Congress has appropriated \$10 million a year for grants and loans for public works in Guam to help that island recover from the effects of World War II and the disastrous consequences of the 1962 hurricane. There was in the last Congress authorizing legislation projecting \$5 million of Federal help for private industry expansion but funding of that program has not yet been appropriated. More recently tourism has expanded substantially on the island. Many visitors from Japan have increased the requirements for hotels and restaurants and recreational facilities. The Guam Economic Development Authority has a 20-year-tax incentive program including a 75-percent income tax rebate. A 1966 Department of Interior economic report suggests that there are promising potentials in three major areas of private investment on Guam—tourism, agricultural products for local markets and light manufacturers specializing in the use of cheap imported raw materials or semi-finished products which can be completed for export. This is attractive because of tariff advantages Guam can offer as a free port for the importation of raw materials and because they are part of the U.S. tariff zone with special exportation privileges to the United States.

It would be well to keep one's eye on Guam. It will have a key role in the evolving, ever changing, very important position of the United States in the Pacific Community.

SUCCESSFUL NICKEL, DIME, AND QUARTER DIPLOMACY

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

STATEMENT OF CUNA INTERNATIONAL, INC. TO COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES BY J. ORRIN SHIPE, MANAGING DIRECTOR, JULY 30, 1969

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I am J. Orrin Shipe, Managing Director of CUNA International, Inc., a worldwide confederation of credit unions and credit union leagues in the United States, the Provinces of Canada and in some 70 other countries of the Free World. At the end of 1968 there were approximately 51,430 credit unions throughout the world with some 36 million members. Of this number, 23,700 credit unions were in the United States with a total membership of approximately 20.8 million.

CUNA International, as you know, is a contractor under the technical assistance program of the Agency for International Development (AID). As a contractor our job is to provide technical assistance for the development of credit unions in certain nations of Latin America, Africa and in Korea. I am here today to report to this Committee in broad general terms regarding our activities in these areas. We welcome the opportunity to give to you an accounting of our stewardship and accomplishments with the dollars you have committed to our care as an AID contractor.

Credit union development has been part of AID programs in developing countries since 1962 when CUNA signed its first contract.

In 1968 there were 16 countries involved in our CUNA/AID technical assistance programs—12 in Latin America, 3 in Africa and 1 in Southeast Asia.

Through credit union activity in these countries, ordinary people have been exposed to both financial and technical expertise. The credit union program has attracted the interest of local governments to a marked degree in many of these nations. The program has been praised by national leaders, international agencies and the Organization of American States.

The credit union program emphasizes self-help and democratic organization and is focused on four principal objectives:

1. Building capital through mobilization of local savings.
2. Increasing production through low cost credit, especially for agricultural production.
3. Developing human resources locally through credit union training programs.
4. Building democratic institutions at local and national levels.

I would now like to call your attention to some of the specific accomplishments in these countries in which CUNA provides technical assistance under its AID contract. The 12 countries in the Latin American program now have 2,651 credit unions with 745,782 members. They have accumulated savings of over \$57 million, and their cumulative loan total to date is \$209.3 million.

In Africa, the three countries of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda have over 280 credit unions with 40,000 members who have accumulated savings in excess of \$1.5 million with over \$1 million in loans outstanding.

In the past year a CUNA/AID program was initiated in the Republic of Korea. Prior to that time, there were some 150 credit unions in existence there. During the year the number of credit unions was increased to 241. These now have over 31,000 members and cumulative savings of \$345,000 with outstanding loans of \$330,000 at the end of the year.

These statistics in themselves are not nearly as revealing as the fact that in Latin America average savings of each credit union member amounted to approximately \$80—a figure which by American standards seems comparatively insignificant. But the average individual annual income is slightly less than \$100 a year, especially in many credit unions whose members generally come from the very financially deprived classes. If the people of the United States equalled this record, I am sure you would agree that we would have far fewer problems about inflation and tight money!

In Africa credit union membership nearly doubled in 1968, while savings increased by over 100%. In the three countries in which CUNA/AID programs operate the per capita income is even lower than that in Latin America, so the average savings per credit union member of approximately \$40 is even more astounding.

The Korean program has been marked by a 50% gain in credit unions during the past year with corresponding gains in membership, savings and loans. Major efforts are now under way toward the development of national credit union legislation and the establishment of a supervisory agency in that nation.

The statistics which I have just cited are given in more graphic detail in charts which are appended to my statement and in CUNA's 1968 Progress Report on CUNA/AID programs entitled "The New Life" which is being furnished to this Committee. This latter report has also been furnished each member of the Congress in a mailing from my office some weeks ago.

These advances in Latin America, Africa and Korea have been made by people whose incomes were so low that they were not thought to have a potential for saving. In fact, most of the economic and political leaders throughout the world accepted the age-old myth that "poor people cannot save money." In the past, this myth had never been really tested.

Credit unions have now proved that the failure of poor people to save has been largely due to the fact that there have not been institutions which could provide them with the opportunities and incentives to save. Credit unions have repeatedly demonstrated their capacity to reach these people, and to mobilize their savings. Regardless of how small the individual savings may be, they add up to significant amounts of money when thousands participate in the savings process.

Thus credit unions not only meet a basic need of poor people, but they also give fresh hope that the less developed countries can mobilize domestic savings to meet a larger proportion of their capital requirements. The potential for saving of low income groups is an invaluable resource of every developing nation. Like other resources, however, it is of little value until it is converted into an active institutional force benefiting both the individual who saves and the country of which he is a citizen.

Credit unions make this conversion—a conversion that requires the integrated services of credit union organizations at the local, national and international levels. The process of saving starts at the local level in the individual credit union where credit union members pool their savings. With these savings the credit union makes loans to its members for "provident and productive purposes." But even these loans are used to encourage and increase savings for, in order to obtain a loan, a credit union borrower

must agree to save while paying off his loan. This induces borrowers through their own self-help efforts to pull themselves out of debt—a great achievement for a man who has long been burdened by high cost loans from usurious money lenders. From the standpoint of the credit union as a mobilizer of savings, this practice has the effect of putting credit to work in generating additional savings. Such a use of credit has provided much of the motivation for the surprisingly large ratio of savings as noted previously.

At an early stage of their operation, local credit unions recognize the need for a national "service" organization. When 15 to 20 credit unions have been started, their leaders usually proceed to organize a credit union federation at the national level. Membership in the federation is open to all credit unions in the country. Those who join it finance its operation with dues. The federation then begins to furnish its member credit unions with such services as the training of local officers and members, bonding, insurance, and most importantly, "interlending."

In some countries, this interlending has already established a flow of unloaned capital from credit unions of wage earners in urban areas to credit unions in rural areas which are unable to meet the loan requirements of their farmer members. This flow in time helps a nation provide more of the domestic capital it needs for agricultural development.

It will interest the members of this Committee, I believe, to know that right now we are in the process of laying the foundation for the organization of a Latin American Confederation of Credit Unions which will be comprised of the 12 nations in which CUNA/AID programs are operating, plus a few other Latin American nations which have credit unions and with which CUNA maintains a close relationship. Included in this confederation is a provision for a central financial institution which will provide interlending services for credit unions in the nations which will form the confederation. With very little imagination one can see the potential for international friendship and cooperation which such a federation will undoubtedly foster.

In Africa this international cooperation based on the credit union movement resulted in the formation last year of the Africa Cooperative Savings and Credit Association (ACOSCA) which we consider a major breakthrough in mobilizing savings in the nations which participate in that Association. Incidentally, I have provided the Committee with copies of a CUNA publication, "World Reporter" for May 1969 which has a comprehensive account of ACOSCA and its formation.

Beyond the tremendous benefits which we derive from CUNA/AID programs in these developing nations by mobilizing savings and producing more consumer and production credit resources, the credit union program is providing a unique form of training for approximately 40,000 people who serve as officers, board members, and committee members of credit unions in these countries. These individuals are elected to official positions in every credit union through the democratic process of one member, one vote. Normally these individuals have had no experience and little training for their responsibilities. However, their election gives them the incentive to develop their potential for effective service. This is strikingly shown by their eagerness to participate in various study programs and training workshops which are conducted to increase their skills. Oftentimes credit union activity is their first and only experience in even the most elementary forms of financial operations and in the process of handling the government of their credit union.

The spin-off benefits of this credit union training are equally valuable. As directors and officers they not only develop the skills necessary to operate their credit union suc-

cessfully, but in so doing they also prepare themselves for positions of responsibility and leadership in other organizations and institutions as well as in local civic affairs. Their training not only increases the skilled manpower pool in each country but it also is a major contribution to a more enlightened citizenry who are educated in democratic governing processes.

We are looking ahead to the objectives: first, to the overall improvement of credit unions to increase their effectiveness; and second, to the establishment of national credit organizations in these countries to help provide the necessary expanded resources for the continued growth and strengthening of their credit unions. And, finally, we are beginning the groundwork for the organization and development of credit union federations composed of international membership. Our ultimate objective is to build the credit union movement in these developing nations into a completely self-sufficient status so that it will not be dependent upon outside technical assistance.

At this point I should like to advise the Committee that the guaranty loan program which has been written into the Foreign Assistance Act is now operative within the credit union movement. In the past year the first loan from a United States credit union to a credit union in Latin America was consummated under this guaranty program. We are having some problems in developing efficient machinery for processing such loans but we are now at the stage where I think that the program will soon move into high gear. At this time we are processing applications for some \$100,000 in loans from Latin American credit unions and we have high expectations that the program will continue to expand as a people-to-people international effort. We are most grateful to this Committee for writing the guaranty program into the Act.

This statement is but a brief summation of the highlights of the CUNA/AID programs and the significant developments which have taken place during the past year. While the accomplishments in terms of dollars and numbers of individuals and credit unions are noteworthy, they in themselves are not the truly significant factor in the AID technical assistance program of which we are proud to be a part.

The real achievement of the technical assistance CUNA/AID program is the fact that it is reaching the common man, mobilizing his meager financial resources and putting them to work for the economic welfare of the people themselves. We are developing economic know-how for people who have never had the financial resources to break the economic bondage which chains them to a substandard way of living.

We are teaching them how to manage their own financial resources and how to do it in a democratic manner. The principle of one man, one vote is inherent in credit unions. Every shareholder has as much to say in the government of his credit union as any other shareholder. Thus the credit union member learns a vital principle of democracy—a principle which is making him a more intelligent, independent freedom-loving citizen.

The legislation proposed by the Administration provides a two year authorization in technical assistance activities in order to facilitate long-range planning. CUNA strongly supports this concept because it will be of material assistance to us as an AID contractor in planning our programs and developing longer-range objectives. We feel that this approach will permit us to do a better job in acquiring and training the technical and managerial personnel essential to an efficient operation.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, in CUNA International we sincerely and thoroughly believe that the technical assistance program of the Foreign Assistance Act is making a major contribution to the

solution of problems which have prevented the full development of many of our sister nations. The program is bringing hope to people who were hopeless; it is bringing economic independence to people who were chained to dire poverty; it is bringing train-

ing in democratic experience to hundreds and even thousands of our fellowmen; it is opening doors to greater international cooperation and understanding by building lasting human institutions which help create and accelerate the momentum of development

and progress. It is a true contribution to the advancement of the welfare of our fellowmen.

We in CUNA strongly support the AID technical assistance program. We respectfully urge you to continue this humanitarian effort.

CUNA/AID CREDIT UNION DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM IN LATIN AMERICA, AS OF DEC. 31, 1968

Period ending—	Total progress	Gain (percent)	South America						
			Bolivia	Brazil	Colombia ¹	Ecuador	Peru ¹	Venezuela ¹	
Credit unions.....	December 1968.....	2,651	6	217	142	585	234	641	172
	December 1967.....	2,496		169	135	577	198	641	154
	December 1966.....	2,163		156	113	519	190	550	143
Memberships.....	December 1968.....	745,782	18	83,069	69,350	80,215	39,200	359,362	23,895
	December 1967.....	630,357		72,985	55,000	79,915	30,504	300,000	17,300
	December 1966.....	574,332		57,705	52,500	78,300	27,000	282,495	15,222
Member savings.....	December 1968.....	\$57,008,312	16	\$6,937,100	\$1,705,600	\$3,499,600	\$3,969,400	\$31,368,750	\$2,426,360
	December 1967.....	48,881,972		5,834,165	1,500,000	2,834,033	2,293,322	30,000,000	1,623,997
	December 1966.....	39,877,263		4,244,386	1,068,181	2,671,819	1,311,111	26,970,900	1,339,210
Loans outstanding.....	December 1968.....	60,178,057	15	7,426,600	1,440,600	3,462,100	4,901,400	34,348,100	2,057,907
	December 1967.....	52,291,557		6,266,084	1,300,000	2,501,251	2,716,380	33,707,800	1,475,997
	December 1966.....	37,207,272		4,602,754	1,045,454	2,477,746	1,400,000	23,324,900	1,144,280
Cumulative loans.....	December 1968.....	209,374,265		20,023,000	9,900,000	18,626,000	15,601,000	111,237,670	7,767,016
Reserves.....	do.....	874,960		193,650	98,000	79,850	157,860	131,842	75,240
Assets.....	do.....	66,696,529		8,388,000	1,905,000	3,816,200	5,873,000	36,000,000	2,520,000
Dues paid to federation.....	do.....	173,376		22,196	25,000	(^c)	16,501	66,113	(^c)

Period ending—	Total progress	Gain (percent)	Central America						
			Costa Rica	El Salvador	Guatemala	Honduras	Nicaragua	Panama	
Credit unions.....	December 1968.....	2,651	6	150	85	105	100	100	120
	December 1967.....	2,496		140	93	102	96	80	111
	December 1966.....	2,163		116	83	88	72	53	80
Memberships.....	December 1968.....	745,782	18	23,000	8,200	16,900	19,500	9,855	13,236
	December 1967.....	630,357		16,396	9,089	14,559	14,496	7,887	12,226
	December 1966.....	574,332		15,149	8,113	12,028	9,908	5,750	10,162
Member savings.....	December 1968.....	\$57,008,312	16	\$2,300,000	\$320,000	\$360,141	\$1,900,000	\$737,488	\$1,483,873
	December 1967.....	48,881,972		1,794,422	183,160	251,542	930,582	470,600	1,234,334
	December 1966.....	39,877,263		1,175,360	95,972	185,897	490,532	327,018	996,937
Loans outstanding.....	December 1968.....	60,178,057	15	2,400,000	274,000	295,276	1,650,000	642,878	1,278,196
	December 1967.....	52,291,557		1,696,214	127,827	207,601	768,433	434,800	1,089,170
	December 1966.....	37,207,272		1,429,625	52,000	144,576	382,437	248,076	817,461
Cumulative loans.....	December 1968.....	209,374,265		7,500,000	1,110,000	1,030,212	5,750,000	2,571,107	8,258,260
Reserves.....	do.....	874,960		128,300	6,000	13,535	15,000	3,090	72,593
Assets.....	do.....	66,696,529		2,500,000	340,000	410,529	2,650,000	793,737	1,500,000
Dues paid to federation.....	do.....	173,376		9,000	8,722	(^c)	10,350	6,570	8,924

¹ No CUNA/AID program in these countries.

² Not available.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND BUSINESS LEADERSHIP PROVIDED BY NEW JERSEY UNIVERSITY

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the Graduate School of Business Administration of the State University of New Jersey has dedicated itself to working with minority groups of entrepreneurs.

The school of business administration, under the leadership of Dean Horace J. De Podwin, has been enormously successful in providing technical assistance and business leadership to aspiring black businessmen.

Under unanimous consent I submit several newspaper articles for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

[From the Newark Sunday Star Ledger, July 13, 1969]

BLACK CAPITALISTS FIND IT REWARDING IN NEW PROGRAM

(By William Harvey)

Black capitalism is beginning to take root in Newark, largely due to the foresight and imagination of a Rutgers University business professor and a desire by black citizens to improve their lot in life.

Within the past two years, Professor Louis German has helped to establish 11 black-owned business concerns in the greater Newark area, and six more applications for

loans are on file with the Small Business Administration.

This year, with the aid of a \$65,400 grant from the Ford Foundation, to the Rutgers Graduate Business School in Newark, Prof. German plans to initiate an expanded program to assist 25 minority group members in opening their own businesses.

The program is the outgrowth of work started after the Newark riots in 1967 by Prof. German and Dr. Horace J. De Podwin, dean of the graduate business school. They worked closely with the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity and the SBA.

SEMINARS SERIES

Prof. German gave a series of 10 seminars to minority group people to give them a grounding in the rudiments of profitable small business operations and accounting. To encourage participation, a certificate of attendance was offered to those persons who were present at eight of the ten meetings.

In addition, he helped some promising students to get special training, assistance and financing to start or expand businesses. None of the applicants had adequate financial resources and some of them were flat broke.

Nevertheless, local banks and the SBA made loans available on little more than the borrower's display of ambition to go into business and some indications of ability to make a go of it.

GOOD RESULTS

With the help of Prof. German, and a financial base of support, the new businessmen began their operations. "Not everyone was an overnight sensation, but the high degree of success is extremely gratifying," said Prof. German.

"We give the guys a chance if they have the incentive and a little gumption to do something on their own," he added. "More than that, we give them encouragement and show them there is a void they can fill."

Prof. German views black-owned shops and markets as "the way to get real progress in the inner city."

Among some of the successful graduates of Prof. German's lecture series are a factory worker who, trained as a mortician, converted the first floor of his house into a funeral chapel; an upholsterer who formerly worked as a stevedore, and a dry-cleaner who was burned out during the 1967 riots, but now has three stores.

After their first year of graduate school, Rutgers business students are permitted to work with black entrepreneurs through the school's minority group business program to get firsthand experience concerning the problems of a black or Puerto Rican businessman.

"The students see if they can help the business to increase sales by putting into operation certain business techniques they have learned," Prof. German said.

"We want the student to benefit himself and the merchant he is working with, and we also want them to see how poor people live and how things are in the real world."

"With the Ford Foundation grant," he continued, "we can make some studies and improve our operations. Also we can ask some of our former students to come back and join our board of directors where they can make suggestions and contribute their ideas."

In addition to the Ford Foundation grant, a \$5,000 grant has come from E. I. duPont de Nemours & Company to support the same program. Additional aid from industry is in prospect, Dean De Podwin said.

"These grants will permit Rutgers University to work more effectively toward the solution of the most critical problem facing the nation—helping minority group members break out of an economic cycle which generates so much misery and despair," concluded Dean De Podwin.

[From the Camden (N.J.) Courier-Post,
July 11, 1969]

FORD FOUNDATION GIVES GRANT TO RUTGERS

NEWARK.—The Ford Foundation yesterday granted \$65,400 to Rutgers University's Graduate Business School in Newark to expand to go into business and be profitable.

The grant will support a comprehensive program at the business school that links minority group businesses with students and faculty, according to Dr. Horace J. De Podwin, dean of the school.

The program, he said, has already helped ambitious persons with small businesses including a laundromat, a television repair service, a fish market, a funeral home, a meat store, an upholstery shop and a dry cleaning chain.

MANAGEMENT ADVICE

The objective for 1969-70 is to help establish 25 new minority group businesses.

The grant will allow the school to expand its program of management advice and technical assistance to minority businessmen in Newark, Camden, and Paterson.

Faculty members of the Graduate School of Business will offer courses in these cities, supplemented by technical assistance to new and existing enterprises. The school will work closely with the Newark Chapter of the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity and the Small Business Administration.

GRANT OF \$5,000

A \$5,000 grant has come from E. I. DuPont de Nemours & Company to support the same program. Additional aid from industry is in prospect De Podwin said.

"These grants will permit Rutgers University to work more effectively toward the solution of the most critical problem facing the nation—helping minority group members break out of an economic cycle which generates so much misery and despair," he said.

[From the Newark (N.J.) Evening News,
July 10, 1969]

MINORITY AID: \$65,400 TO RUTGERS

The Rutgers University Graduate School of Business has been awarded a \$65,400 grant from the Ford Foundation to expand its program of helping minority group persons get into business, it was announced today.

The funds will be used to help establish 25 new minority group businesses, according to Dr. Horace J. De Podwin, dean of the school.

Under the program which was started in 1967 after the Newark riots, the university offers management advice and technical assistance to minority businessmen in Newark, Camden and Paterson.

The original program was developed by Dean De Podwin and Prof. Louis T. German in conjunction with the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity and the Small Business Administration.

The new grant is in addition to a \$5,000 grant recently received from the E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co. to support the same program.

[From the Newark Sunday News,
July 20, 1969]

BLACK-OWNED BUSINESSES NO LONGER JUST A DREAM

(By Chester L. Coleman)

To be black and own a business in the Greater Newark area is no longer just a dream. Such a vision has become a reality

for nine aspiring minority group entrepreneurs.

The potential of black capitalism is at hand and its growth is, in some cases, due to the foresight of the Rutgers Graduate Business School.

Rutgers hopes to establish a minimum of 25 minority group businesses each year for the next three years, at an annual cost of \$50,000, according to Dr. Horace J. DePodwin, dean.

Last week the school was awarded a \$65,400 grant from the Ford Foundation to expand its program of aiding black and other minority group members to go into business. E. I. duPont de Nemours and Co., recently gave a \$5,000 grant to support the same program.

The original program was developed by De Podwin and Prof. Louis T. German two years ago in conjunction with the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity and the Small Business Administration.

SEMINARS HELD

The program is the outgrowth of work started after the Newark riots in 1967, German started a series of seminars for minority groups where the rudiments of operating a small business and accounting were discussed.

Among those who have already established businesses, some in areas where the rioting occurred, is Willie Pool, 40, and Wilbur Richardson, 31, partners of the Sky-View Radio and TV Co., 708 Springfield Ave., Newark.

Pool said he was inspired to go into business 12 years ago when he could not get a "break" while employed at a factory in Lancaster, Pa. "I was limited," says Pool, "but in my own business I can push myself and if I fall it's my own fault."

Pool and Richardson, who is married and the father of two children, repair television and radio sets and electrical appliances. They also buy sets in need of repair, recondition them and offer the sets for sale as used equipment.

HELPED WITH LOAN

The two men attended the Rutgers seminar on small business and worked with German in September, 1968. The next month the school helped them obtain a bank loan for \$2,500. Together, they applied for a \$20,000 Small Business Administration loan and now gross \$45,000 a year, after being in business 20 months.

In another case, a man who had a persevering, though unsuccessful record operating small window washing and porter service, was drawing unemployment insurance, but also had his eye on a grocery business.

The man, William O. Wright, an Air Force veteran, attended the Graduate Business School's seminar, and in October of last year he became the proprietor of a grocery-delicatessen at 537 South Orange Ave., Newark.

"I just couldn't get ahead," Wright said, "and I never had money to save for those rainy days."

German estimates that in the first year Wright's income will be approximately \$10,000. Wright, 31, said that the food stamp program recently started in Newark, is a "great asset" to his business.

Benjamin Joseph, a 32-year-old Newark fireman, said he had dreamed of owning a small business for years so he decided to attend the lectures.

Joseph was able to purchase a laundromat at 139 Belmont Ave., Newark, for \$20,000 in July of last year entirely on borrowed money.

"I just walked up to the owner one day and made him an offer for the business . . . I didn't have a dime in my pocket at the time," Joseph explained.

SUCCESSFUL LAUNDROMAT

Today he estimates that his business will produce a net income of \$25,000 in its second year. The coin-operated enterprise is de-

scribed as the largest in the city, with 46 washers and 15 dryers. The firefighter supervises the operation, when he is off duty. He employs one other person.

A highly-motivated entrepreneur had started several small businesses, but saw them go up in smoke in the Newark riots of 1967.

This serious-minded person is John Mitchell, 32, of South Orange.

However, following German's counselling, Mitchell was granted a loan and started a cleaning business at 120 W. South Orange Ave., South Orange. He now has two other stores, one in Newark and another in Westfield.

Mitchell said that by attending the lectures he was taught how to make money and how to spend it wisely. "I was given the strength to help myself and others too," explained Mitchell.

He employs 10 persons and operates the only black-owned business in the South Orange shopping center.

LeRoy Brickus, a trained mortician, had once been a factory worker. He now operates his own funeral chapel at 183 Littleton Ave., Newark.

Brickus, 40, said that by attending German's course, he obtained knowledge that was the "key" to his success. "It had been but a dream so long," Brickus admitted, "but I had the desire to have something of my own."

He received his training at the American Academy in New York and has been in business since April, 1968. His wife, Marie, who is active in civic and social organizations, said, "It's hard work, but the benefits are rewarding."

Another Newark resident who has established his own business under the Rutgers program, is Freeman Thomas, a skilled refrigerator and appliance repairman who obtained a loan to expand his operation at 504 Springfield Ave., Newark.

He received bank financing that helped him provide storage facilities for some 3,000 refrigerators, air conditioners, stoves and washing machines.

"WASN'T MAKING IT"

Norris Knott, a Montclair fish merchant, had been in business for a little over a year but "wasn't making it."

He was ready to close his shop at 154 Bloomfield Ave., and seek employment, but instead Knott decided to attend the Rutgers course and he gained advice on better management and purchasing policies.

Knott had purchased the business in November, 1967, and his volume was approximately \$200 a week. German said his prices were too high and his volume too small because he purchased fish from a wholesaler who would make deliveries and carry the accounts receivable week-to-week.

Knott needed a truck, but he did not have the cash. It would have enabled him to go to New York to buy fish more cheaply.

German assisted Knott in getting a small business loan for \$8,000 and with this money he purchased a truck. The professor said it is estimated that Knott's income will now be approximately \$10,000 per year.

John Cheatam, father of 10, was referred to Rutgers by Knott. Cheatam is an assistant shop steward with a stevedoring company and had been doing upholstery work from his home, 579 Orange St., Newark, on a part-time basis.

He received a \$1,000 loan from a Newark bank with the assistance of the school and has opened a small upholstery store in Newark.

German said that a program to offer classes for minority group persons who are interested in learning "how they can help themselves" is now under way in Paterson, Camden, New Brunswick and Newark.

Associate Dean David W. Blakeslee said, "We want them to learn how they can help

themselves in the approach to government agencies and banks, and ways and methods to improve their businesses."

Benjamin Zwerling, a consultant to the Rutgers business school, said: "This is a program whereby black people with no assets except their initiative and drive can build a business and eventually hire workers of their own race."

AMERICANISM IS NOT DEAD—IT IS ALIVE AND WELL IN LOUISIANA

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, one of the occupational hazards of representing our constituents here in Washington is the danger of feeling that what goes on in this city—what we are told here—represents the thinking of the people at home.

Ben Garris, himself an embodiment of the qualities which have made our country great and free, recognizes real Americanism when he sees it. He captured such a real life portrait in his column last Thursday. I am privileged to represent many such people in the Sixth District of Louisiana.

I include the column from the Denham Springs News:

GIVE THANKS FOR PATRIOTIC YOUTHS

For ten long years we have watched with disgust and considerable misgiving the downgrading of patriotism in this country. First, the "beat generation," as they aptly termed themselves, talked of placing self above country.

Then came the hippies, wallowing in filth and self love, who spat upon the flag and called it "doing their thing."

Next were the "students," bless their ignorant, yellow little souls, who mouthed four letter words at any square who spoke well of God or Country. They gathered themselves together in motley little crews called "SDS," and cursed the "Establishment," which paid for their food, clothes, schools, and foolishness.

Colleges were taken over, and the gutless members of the faculty joined the whine against ROTC and any research which the students didn't like or didn't understand.

Somewhere along the line, colleges had neglected to impart to the students the simple fact that it is the armed services of his country which have guaranteed all the freedoms which the students now abuse. Perhaps the professors have not imparted this because they do not understand it themselves.

The wire service stories in the daily papers and the articles in national news magazines devoted their space to meticulous, blow by blow descriptions of flag burning, draft board burglaries, troop train protests, and defense contractor harassment. They have avoided the word "patriotism" like the plague, but they have not hesitated to take the protestors' side against the hard-pressed police and soldiers.

Remember, during past wars, returning troops were greeted by cheering throngs, who grinned and threw kisses? Now, returning troops are greeted by jeering throngs who grimace and throw bricks.

Patriotism is out and "protesting" is the "in" thing.

But, thank God, not everywhere—yet. Over the weekend we met a lady who is a patriot

and proud of it, and one who has brought up her only son to follow in her footsteps.

We were in New Orleans to visit friends, eat seafood, and drink Big Oranges, in that order. The wives wanted to see a stage play, so down to the Civic Theater we went.

We got there a mite early, and looked around for a watering hole. The nearest place was Turci's, which bills itself as "New Orleans' Oldest Italian Restaurant."

The head waiter said, yes, we might go back to the little bar just off the kitchen and grab a quickee before curtain time.

Back there, handling the cash register, keeping the orders straight, and bossing the kitchen mechanics was a nice looking lady, who quickly, and in no uncertain terms, let us know that she was Mrs. Tom Gregory Serwiche, who has a vested interest in the restaurant and in America in general.

On the wall was a picture of a nice looking young man in a crew cut and a white Navy uniform. Mrs. Serwiche immediately introduced him as Tom Gregory Serwiche III. He is now on a Navy cruise in the Mediterranean.

Come September and he will be back in the Naval Academy in Annapolis. He gained this honor the hard way—by joining the submarine service, just out of high school, working his way up through the ranks and scoring very high on the competitive exams.

We mentioned the student protests against servicemen, and the lady's face became as hard as nails. "As much as I love my son," she said, "if he did something like that, I would not claim him. Her face softened, and then she added, "But he won't—he is a man."

As we paid and turned to leave, Mrs. Serwiche said, "Remember that name now, Tom Gregory Serwiche III—he may be an admiral some day!"

Funny thing about it. I believed her.

As we were leaving, she added another PS: "He is quite a normal young man, too. First, he visited Greece and wrote me that Grecian girls were very beautiful.

Next, he visited France, and told me that the French girls were very beautiful. Lately, he went to Italy and the first letter spoke of the beautiful Italian girls."

I asked her if she thought on his next leave home we would find New Orleans girls beautiful. She grinned, and said, "Yes, and I have three of them lined up for him."

I asked her why, and she answered, "You don't think I'm going to sit by and let him marry someone from Wisconsin or Seattle, do you? I mean for my grandchildren to be close around so I can play with them."

That lady gave me a good feeling somewhere around the heart. I'll think of her pride in her country and her boy the next time I boil about some anti-ROTC "protest" or watch the TV news pictures of a kookie bunch tearing down the American flag in the name of Ho Chi Minh.

Drop in Turci's Restaurant, 916 Poydras Street, the next time you are in the Crescent City. You will be eating with people who are proud to be Americans, and that, in itself, is getting to be a novelty. Go back to the bar, get yourself a Big Orange, and meet the picture of Admiral To Be Tom Gregory Serwiche III.

While you are at it, give thanks to the good Lord if you have a son like this.

STATE FINANCES IN MISSISSIPPI

Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to point out to my colleagues that it is possible for government to

operate within the confines of a budget and even end up with a surplus at the end of the fiscal year as evidenced by my home State of Mississippi. I commend the following article on State finances in Mississippi to all Members of the House:

BUDGET SURPLUS OF \$30 MILLION

JACKSON, MISS. (AP).—State Budget Commission officials report the general fund surplus reached \$30 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, \$15 million over the expected level.

Francis Geoghagen, commission director, said "we now estimate the general fund collections in the next 12 months will be almost \$300 million," which represents \$1.7 million more than had been predicted earlier.

Geoghagen said collections in the 12 months totaled more than \$285 million while earlier commission estimates had the state's general fund income at \$270.3 million.

Over \$134.3 million was collected in sales tax last year, he said, which was \$10.2 million more than the commission had estimated when the 5 percent rate became effective last August.

Income tax collections were \$2.4 million more than earlier estimates totaling \$53.35 million.

The general fund budget opened the year with nearly \$19.5 million cash balance, he said, and increased the surplus to more than \$29.8 million by June 30.

MARYLAND GI DIES IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Kenneth J. Cymbalski, a fine young man from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I would like to commend his courage and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

ROCKVILLE GI DIES IN VIETNAM

A 21-year-old private from Rockville who enlisted in the Army after he was promised training in computers or supply management, but who ended up serving in the infantry, was reported killed in Vietnam July 10, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

PFC Kenneth J. Cymbalski, was killed during an attack on his base camp, located near Phan Thiet, a coastal city on the South China Sea.

FAR-FETCHED OFFER

A 1965 graduate of the Robert E. Perry High School, in Rockville, Private Cymbalski had been in Vietnam for five weeks. He had enlisted in the Army a year ago.

According to his father, Julian Cymbalski, of 13426 Justice road, Rockville, Private Cymbalski joined the Army after recruiters promised him an assignment with career potential. "Those offers are always made on the posters," Mr. Cymbalski said. "But they're rather far-fetched."

Private Cymbalski wanted to become a sports writer. He played the outfield in high school baseball, but concentrated on bowling and golf when he entered the University of Maryland in the fall of 1965.

He had planned on entering the University of Maryland's School of Journalism.

According to his father, Private Cymbalski felt that "what we are doing in Vietnam was right, but the way we are conducting it, we would never win the war."

Mr. Cymbalski said his son felt that "we should be fighting the war on our own terms, by bombing the right places."

Private Cymbalski is survived by his parents, two brothers, Michael and Steven Cymbalski, both of Rockville; and his grandmothers, Mrs. Olga Cymbalski, of Brigantine, N.J., and Mrs. Minarose Pardum, of Clarion, Iowa.

MINNESOTA EXPERIMENTAL CITY—I

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, an exciting new venture is being formulated at the University of Minnesota. It is a project to study the concept of an experimental new city in the 250,000 population range, in which the human condition would be improved significantly and where, as a national proving ground, technological innovations could be demonstrated and evaluated.

The Minnesota Experimental City (MXC) is to be built in the geographic center of the North American continent—at a location in Minnesota 100 to 150 miles from St. Paul and Minneapolis. The city is to be completed by the year 1976 to commemorate the Nation's 200th birthday and to dramatically introduce the city of the future in just a few short years.

Unlike the model city program—which is basically an extension of the urban renewal program—and the new town concept—which is a real estate development primarily in the private sector—the experimental city project is a cooperative venture of the public and private sectors in planning and building a city without any of the inhibiting restrictions of present cities.

The following tentative schedule of work has been established:

NATURE OF WORK AND DATE OF INITIATION

Phase 1: Background studies, concept formulation, 1967.

Phase 2: Experimental, development work, design or alternative comprehensive development programs and plans; operations planning, 1969.

Phase 3: Design of rezoned and community program and plans; implementation and affectation, 1971.

Phase 4: Development of the city, 1973. Heading a 24-member steering committee is Mr. Otto A. Silha, who is executive vice president and publisher of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune.

With the completion of phase 1 of this project, Mr. Silha made the following statement which was contained in the Minnesota Experimental City Progress Report, dated May 1969:

STATEMENT BY MR. SILHA

For almost three years a great many prominent Americans have been working on what I consider to be one of the most significant, far-reaching endeavors ever launched in this country—an Experimental City for the United States.

Since mid-1966, when Dr. Athelstan Spilhaus, former University of Minnesota Institute of Technology Dean, first proposed an experimental city, we have harnessed the

energies of the University, the State and Federal governments, and the business community in developing the theoretical underpinnings of an entirely new city which would serve as a national proving ground for social, economic and technological innovation.

Perhaps the key phase in describing the Minnesota Experimental City (MXC) is that it will comprise an "overleap" in research and in seeking more alternatives for dealing with urban problems. The most significant operational factor this experimental overleap would offer would be an opportunity to start anew without those entangling restrictions which impair the viability of our cities today. In short, for the first time in the history of man, we are seeking to build a whole new city from an ecological base.

This is a project that challenges management—both corporate and governmental—to transform research and technology into reality. It can be the vehicle by which we overcome today's technological, physical, social, and economic impediments to a much healthier urban environment.

Briefly, the Experimental City could serve to demonstrate the value of changing social patterns and would underscore that all technology must truly serve people, that a city must be able to change the unworkable, and that any institution must be responsive to the evolving needs of those for which it exists. As a center of experimentation, the MXC would become a world-wide mecca for urban planners, developers, industrialists, educators, students, and the general public.

With the completion of this progress report on Phase 1, we now move into Phase 2 of the project, designed to evaluate untried concepts and systems in a laboratory environment, experiment with scale models and investigate anticipated problems, including the site location and corporate structure.

As Chairman of the Steering Committee, I am indeed encouraged by the progress achieved to date and by the tremendous enthusiasm and support the MXC has attracted from all sources. The release of this report is an auspicious beginning in creating further understanding and support of our efforts in the future. The success of Phase 2 will be determined by the degree to which we can build upon the generous support accorded the MXC during Phase 1.

The Minnesota City could well become a major factor in helping to solve America's staggering urban problems and we eagerly look forward to continued progress toward our goal of building the City.

BUCK ROGERS WAS NOTHING

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the trip to the moon by three American astronauts was an achievement of mind-boggling immensity, the scope of which no single man can hope to embrace. Perhaps only the liftoff of the giant rocket from Cape Kennedy, at once a fearful and awe-inspiring sight, can give the human intellect an idea of the tremendous effort which went into this space flight. Men and women from all over the world worked for years to attain this goal. They deserve our thanks and our highest praise. In this spirit, I enter into the RECORD a tribute to the Foxboro Co., one of those groups of people who made the trip to the moon possible. The following editorial appeared in the Foxboro, Mass., Reporter on July 23, 1969:

BUCK ROGERS WAS NOTHING

Like Buck Rogers—only more fantastic!

Our congratulations are extended along with those rushing in from all corners of the globe to the first men to set foot on the Moon—Neil A. Armstrong, Edwin E. "Buzz" Aldrin Jr. and Michael Collins.

Congratulations must go out with equal enthusiasm to the thousands of people involved on the ground floor, both at the Cape Kennedy and Houston centers and at technological industrial firms throughout the country.

The combination of efforts put forth by all of the participants in the Apollo program has brought about this most amazing step in man's continuing attempt to broaden his physical and intellectual sphere of activities.

With special pride we congratulate The Foxboro Company, builders of a multi-million dollar ground support installation which controlled the temperature of the giant Saturn V launch vehicle during the loading of liquid hydrogen and liquid oxygen fuels.

It's a truly giant step in the progress of man which has made truth more fascinating and stranger than fiction by a celestial long shot.

OUR SPACESHIP EARTH—STANDING ROOM ONLY

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the House Republican task force on earth resources and population, I was very interested in reading a newsletter by Congressman UDALL of Arizona. The newsletter is extremely well written and discusses many of the problems being investigated by our task force. These thoughts on the population problem will be of interest to all Members of Congress and I offer the newsletter for the RECORD:

OUR SPACESHIP EARTH—STANDING ROOM ONLY (By Congressman MORRIS K. UDALL)

In January, I sat in the House chamber when Tucson's Colonel Frank Borman and his two companions of Apollo 8 told a joint session of the Congress of their pioneering adventure to the moon. They described a space that is black, lifeless, hostile, desperately cold—a kind of celestial desert in which man would perish instantly were it not for the complex life-support systems of the space capsule. Those of you who followed the adventure on television remember this event: As the capsule rounded the dead, white face of the moon last Christmas Eve, Captain James Lovell looked from it back to the bright blues and rich browns of our little planet riding through the emptiness and said:

"It's awe-inspiring. It makes you realize just how much you have back there on Earth. The Earth from here is a grand oasis in the blackness of space."

His words led me to reflect on our country and our world, and prompted me to write this essay.

PESSIMISM ON THE RISE

One of America's great strengths has been the fundamental optimism of its people, a kind of national "can-do" attitude about any problems the future might hold. The difficult is done now; the impossible takes a week or two. It is this attitude that might explain, more than anything else, the \$500 billion gross national product when I came to Con-

gress and the \$900 billion GNP we expect this year.

Yet, for the first time since the early 1930's, America seems to have a serious crisis of the spirit. Large numbers of people are dubious and skeptical, if not pessimistic, about the years ahead. Despite all our material prosperity, there is real questioning about whether life is really going to be better or more tranquil next year, in the next decade, or for our children.

My work takes me to various parts of the country each year. It's often inspiring and rewarding, but gloom and pessimism are much in evidence. The numbers of people jammed into our large cities are increasingly ominous; courtesy is a rarity between strangers; few stop to aid the victim of a robbery or a heart attack. I see long lines at ticket counters, restaurants and rest rooms, and I have sweated out a two-hour holding pattern above Chicago's airports. But what I see is the obvious. The problem, we all know, is much deeper.

Crime rates soar, and no one really has a solution. Most major cities have schools on double sessions. There is scant progress toward a racially-integrated society. There aren't enough facilities for college applicants. Anarchists threaten the very existence of universities.

In just one year, sanitation workers, teachers, subway workers and police strike or go on slowdown protests in New York. Experts question whether the city is "governable" any longer.

At a time when Americans haven't even begun to bring under control the pressing problems of the people already crowded into cities, we have triggered continuing social and economic forces which will shortly jam even more millions into those cities.

Every major river system in the country is polluted with debris, topsoil, chemicals, pesticides and partly-treated or raw sewage. Lake Erie has been all but choked to death on the pollution of our prosperity. The thin and precious blanket of air that makes Captain Lovell's oasis possible is pumped full of foulness from our automobiles, factories and generating plants.

The people of Los Angeles, already paying record property taxes, were told recently that the rate would triple in five years, lacking tax reforms. A "taxpayers' revolt" is talked about as Federal, state and local outlays for schools, hospitals, roads, sewage treatment plants and other basic services are overwhelmed with growth. Traffic on a major downtown freeway in Chicago was so great that it came to a standstill the day after the new highway opened. In Los Angeles cabbies make better time leaving the freeway and picking their way through local streets to the airport.

I have seen fishing streams and beaches where one had to stand in line or elbow somebody out of the way to get to the water. I have known farmers and cattlemen who once took a host's pride in allowing their lands to be used for hunting, picnicking or camping survey the trash and damage left behind and tack up "no trespassing" signs. There's more privacy at Kennedy Airport than at a campground I visited on a North Carolina beach last summer.

This isn't the whole story of America today. There are still many places of beauty, quiet and tranquility. There is still a strong feeling of goodwill, and many "welcome" mats are still out. But the things I outlined do exist. They are the symptoms of a fundamental disease which must be recognized and treated or it will get far worse.

A PLAN OF ACTION

If you don't like the picture I have just painted, try this one. Suppose I told you that I have a plan which would guarantee to New York and Los Angeles within a few years:

Reduced local, state and Federal taxes; less crowded streets, freeways and hospitals; room at the beaches, streams and ski slopes; single session schools and shortened waiting lists at colleges; some genuine hope for lowered crime rates, some measurable progress against pollution.

You'd be interested, of course. Now, suppose I told you that it would do these things not just for New York and Los Angeles, but for Phoenix, Houston, Chicago and every other area in the country. Suppose I told you further that the plan would cost almost nothing in public spending and involve absolutely no governmental controls, and very little legislation. Furthermore, under my plan you might wake up each morning to a newspaper filled with heartening progress rather than the calamity of the day.

Well, I have such a plan. I can't be optimistic that it will be adopted very soon. It's entirely voluntary and it runs counter to some basic attitudes built into our culture. But it ought to be adopted and soon, because it is directed at the basic, underlying causes of nearly all the problems that trouble America as we move into the 1970's.

Let me say it another way: Livestock ecologists long have been guided by the concept of the "carrying capacity" of a given tract of land. They know that a certain acreage will support 10 cattle. Up to that number, the grass will be lush, trees will thrive, water will be produced. Animals and plants are in balance. But put 20, 50 or 100 cattle on that land and the grass goes and the topsoil erodes. The cattle die; the plants die; the productive land itself dies.

The Earth has a maximum carrying capacity too. Science does not yet know precisely what it is, but some experts believe that our numbers already exceed the critical point. Let me give you an indicator.

We Americans comprise 6% of the world's population, yet, because of our wealth, technology and enterprise, we use almost 40% of the world's resources. Suppose we could magically bring all the people of the world up to our living standards by tomorrow. A scientist recently computed that the world would then consume about 20 times the iron, copper, sulphur, timber, oil and water it consumed in 1969. Well, the rub is that the planet does not have 20 times its present usable store of resources. In many instances, the margins are very slight. If all the people of the world suddenly began using the same amount of petroleum products used by each American, all the known petroleum reserves in the world would be gone in about six years.

A GROWING AWARENESS

The situation I describe is critical, but is it hopeless? I talk about it because I think something can be done. A start has been made.

What was once a subject off-limits to public discussion has been brought in the past few years into the open air of legitimate and free debate. Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy both expressed concern. "Second only to the search for peace," said President Johnson in 1965, "it is humanity's greatest challenge."

Some experts, although they admit to their own optimism, are beginning to detect progress. The birth rate in the United States certainly is dropping dramatically. There are signs that the birth rate is falling off in some Asian and Latin American countries. There is no reason to relax, but there is some room to hope.

A giant step in the area of public debate was taken in 1965 when former Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska, a courageous man, opened Senate hearings on his bill to establish offices of population in both the Department of State and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

I introduced a companion bill in the House and, although the bills did not pass, both

departments reacted by getting deeply involved in the question of population.

Although there is no way to measure the actual effect of the coordination and spending that resulted, the hearings did accomplish that all-important first step: To identify the problem and bring it into the open.

The discussion continues:

In January, the President's Committee on Population and Family Planning recommended that the Federal government expand its family planning services to all American women who want them by 1973. It also recommended that Congress create a permanent Presidential Commission on Population.

The much-publicized debate within the Roman Catholic Church about Pope Paul's continued ban on artificial means of birth control, despite the severity and divisiveness of the debate, is a healthy sign.

What can I do, what can you do, and what can government do about this sensitive and essentially private matter? I don't believe that government can solve this problem, but it can help. I have introduced a bill that would do these main things:

1. Have the Congress and the President declare that it shall be the goal of the United States to encourage, by decent, humane and voluntary means, a stabilized United States population. This may sound like meaningless words when actions are needed, but no goals can be reached until a problem is identified and a goal determined.

2. Authorize a new presidentially-appointed Assistant Secretary of the Interior to coordinate research and programs having to do with the relationship of population growth and its impact on the natural environment.

3. Create a two-year Commission on Population and the Environment, composed of our most distinguished citizens in private life and public officials, which would, in an impartial, nonpartisan and scientific manner, tell the American people the facts about population growth and its implications, and offer detailed recommendations.

Furthermore, bills introduced by colleagues who share my concern—bills that would increase foreign aid for birth control programs and enable every American, without regard to his religious convictions, to have the means to voluntarily limit his family through birth control—will have my support.

OLD ATTITUDES PERSIST

I've talked about some limited things government can do. But no government will, or should, ever undertake to tell people when to have, or not to have children. The solution, if there is one, must come from individuals. If you believe, as I do, that this problem is our chief concern, that it underlies most of the world's major problems, begin to talk about it. You can help change some basic attitudes, for this is where the ultimate answer lies.

Experts whose judgment I trust believe that nothing we can do in terms of increased food production will avoid widespread famine in Asia in the next two or three decades. More recently, we have been told that a "green revolution" now going on has so increased crop yields in some of the areas thought to be in danger that it is outdated to speak of famine in the 1970s. Well that is good news, but if the "green revolution" is not accompanied by dramatic progress in lowering the birth rates in those countries, the problem has only been delayed, not solved. No one can predict what political consequences will arise from this. As for me, I cannot conceive of millions of people—people who through mass communications have been given a new, deep thirst for the quality of life you and I enjoy—resigning themselves to starvation without making a fight for life.

THE ECOLOGY OF MAN

Man is much more than the other animals. His brain is so much larger; he has a soul and a conscience. But man, like the other animals, is a product of Earth, subject to her laws, and he must have a continuing relationship with the outdoors, with nature, or he loses sight of his place on Earth. He *must realize* that he can tinker only so much with the delicately tuned machinery of this planet, or he will destroy himself, and the planet.

Here is my plan:

Americans, voluntarily and openly, must face the fact that most of our tensions and our failures are directly due to an unrestrained, spiraling population growth. Every family with two or more children would make a personal, voluntary decision to have no more children. Every couple with no children or one child would voluntarily agree to stop with the second.

Having done this, we would use science and technology and the resources of government to thin out the cities by making it attractive for industries and people to voluntarily relocate in smaller, middle-sized communities, where people still can be a blessing, not a burden. We would do for this country the one thing which I believe would bring back tranquility and a permanent strength: Stabilize Our Population.

My plan would be helpful on the international scene as well. Our ambassadors abroad tell us that it is hard to sell U.S.-supported birth control programs to other nations. One of the criticisms they get from foreign governments is that the U.S. hasn't done very much to solve its own problem—so why should it be peddling programs for others? If we were to stabilize our population, we would be the first nation to show the world that the problem can be solved—and that, it seems to me, would give a tremendous uplift to other nations which are approaching the population problem half-heartedly, if at all.

EFFECTS OF OVERPOPULATION

The dreary statistics of the population explosion have been repeated many times. Some of them were covered in my 1965 newsletter, "A Time Bomb Called Population." Since I wrote that newsletter we have added to our population 9.5 million more Americans. Last year alone there were 3.5 million births and 440,000 additions through immigration, more than offsetting 1.9 million deaths, for a net increase of 2 million in our population. This is easy to write, but difficult to comprehend. These Americans are not just statistics; they are people. They have children and build houses. They want to go to the mountains or the park and on the same day that you do. They take the freeway to work in the morning and their children want into the same colleges and schools as yours. They get sick, and need doctors and hospitals and at the same time as you do. Each adds 120 gallons a day to the local sewage treatment plant and four pounds of solid wastes to be disposed of and 1.9 pounds of air pollutants. Each throws away 250 cans and 135 bottles or jars a year, and you see some of this production every time you go to a beach or walk in a neighborhood park. You wait for some of them at the golf course, the national park, the local lake, the bus stop or the local supermarket.

Individually, they are mostly fine people. But you never get to know them as friends. They are in your way; they make life a little more difficult. And you and I get in their way and cause them inconvenience in return.

Some scientists are beginning to suspect that dangerous and unknown stresses occur on human beings when they are overcrowded and subjected to the strains of complicated overlapping relationships. They know what happens to animals when they overpopulate their habitat, and the implications for man

are ominous. There is reason to believe that much of the increased crime, mental illness and some of the other things I have talked about may be products of an overcrowded and overcomplicated existence.

And the total population spirals upward at an ever accelerating rate. It took us 180 years to go from four million Americans to 200 million. By the year 2000 we will have hit 318 million. Since 1950, the world has added *one billion people*. And since I wrote that 1965 newsletter, the world's population has increased by at least 250 million, or, put another way, by a number greater than the 1965 population of the Soviet Union, or all of Africa, or all of Latin America.

There was no political reason for comparing four and one half years of growth to the Soviet Union—the two numbers happened to be convenient comparisons—but in looking back over the preceding sentence, I think it does more than I first intended it to do.

It suggests the truly frightening course down which we humans are hurtling.

If an ultimate calamity were to befall mankind—and in nuclear weapons we have the tools to manufacture such a calamity—chances are it will be population, not politics, that will have to be blamed. In short, of the two problems, population and the Soviet Union, population scares me more. If the world could solve, somehow, the problem of overpopulation, our problems with the Soviet Union, or any other country or ideology, would be more easily coped with.

I believe, as a matter of fact, that virtually all of our problems either stem from or are intensified by the sheer numbers of people that are now crowded into the limited living spaces of our Earth. For example:

It does not take such imagination to see that the foundation of war can be laid in the Asian mud of prospective famine.

The specter that Latin America's hundreds of millions will double *within the next generation* cannot spell anything but turbulence and misery—the very atmosphere that invites the spread of Castroism—for decades to come.

It is obvious to me that the destruction of wilderness and natural beauty and the pollution or poisoning of soil, air and water are caused by man's numbers overwhelming, at the very time he needs it most, the delicate base of nature that sustains him.

In America, the problems of poverty, racial strife, transportation; the rotting of our central cities and the formless and ugly sprawl of urbanization—all so debilitating to the individualism that our country cherishes—can be traced directly to the problem of overpopulation.

Yet, while the United States spends billions of dollars at all levels of government and in foreign aid programs in an attempt to grapple with individual problems, we still are doing little to get to the basic problem. I take that basic problem to be:

How can we—humanely and with a regard for basic human rights—stabilize the world's population?

For, if we do not, it will surely stabilize itself through catastrophes that may threaten the very existence of all mankind. One thing is certain: *The world's population cannot continue to grow at its present rate.* We are not going to put more people on Earth than the Earth can sustain. If birth rates do not fall, death rates will rise.

There are those who say that science will rescue us, that the world can support almost unlimited numbers of people. Although modern science has done fantastic things, I would answer that there are things it can not do and will never do: Science cannot add one square foot to the surface of this planet; nor can it add a ton of coal, a pound of uranium, a barrel of oil, or a glass of water.

We are faced with a formidable set of hostile attitudes. First, we deal with an extremely personal and sensitive area of hu-

man relationships, traditionally outside public concern. There are religious attitudes, also, and this is an area I decline to enter. Each American is entitled to be respected for his individual beliefs. Until and unless Catholic doctrine on this subject changes, we can only encourage Catholics to use church-approved methods of birth control and direct some of our research to improving and making more reliable those methods that are sanctioned.

Other people, particularly black militants, see the population movement as "genocide," directed at minorities. The fact is that uncontrolled population growth will eventually wipe us all out, black, white, yellow and brown. Besides, most of the U.S. population explosion is the result of 180 million whites having *two or three* children too many rather than 20 million blacks having *three or four* too many. Indeed, one of the myths recently exposed is that of the "unwanted child." Planned parenthood movements worked for years on the premise that a solution would occur if we could just insure that every child born was a *wanted* child. We now know that even if that goal were achieved, the population explosion would not be checked. It is the *wanted*, sometimes badly wanted, fourth, fifth or eighth child that makes up the bulk of our annual population increase. In fact, an organization called Large Families of America, Inc., actually boasts that 23% of America's family raise over 66% of America's children.

For reasons that are simple and understandable, the large family has a firm place in our history and folklore. As one of six children—and the father of six more—I know the special delights and satisfactions of multiple brothers and sisters, especially in a rural environment. Until this century, the nation was underpopulated. Empty lands awaited exploration and exploitation. When my grandfather first came to Arizona, a family desperately needed a home full of growing boys and girls; a small community grew stronger and better with more people. New settlers and large families were welcomed, encouraged and honored. Our scripture, our literature, our culture—and our tax laws—urged us on.

But, recognizing all of this history, we must also face the fact that the time is rapidly approaching when a large family, whatever its comforts to the home or the ego, may be a disaster to the community, the nation and the world. As James Reston said some years ago, "*The history of mankind is strewn with habits and creeds and dogmas that were essential in one age and disastrous in another.*"

We face another fundamental American attitude also: the myth that growth is good business. For 150 years more people truly meant more prosperity, more markets, more opportunities for everyone. Businessmen and their communities were built on the doctrine that *bigger is always better*. If Arizona with two million people is good, the reasoning goes, Arizona with 20 million people will be ten times as good. In terms of quality of life, this kind of thinking is dangerous nonsense. The kind of informal, outdoor, neighborly, spacious kind of life which brings so many people to our state would be an inevitable casualty of unlimited growth. There would be in Arizona more signboards than saguaro, more cars than cottontails, and neon will long have replaced starshine in the desert.

LIFE IN A "CLOSED SYSTEM"

In the last 10 years, the great conservation movement has really come alive. A national wilderness system has been established. We've added millions of acres to our national parks. Seashores and lakeshores have been set aside for recreation and wildlife. A huge Federal fund now helps cities and states buy park and recreation lands before they are bulldozed. We have saved a few wild rivers. Despite all

this, future generations may never find the outdoor areas every man needs for solitude and recreation and self-awareness—unless we somehow bring this population growth to a halt. Perhaps the world can find space for some kind of existence for 10 or even 20 billion people instead of the 3.5 billion we have today. But what of the quality of that life? And the relationship of those people to the Earth that supports them?

Which brings me back to Colonel Borman and Captain Lovell and their spaceship to the moon. Scientists call such a craft a "closed system," meaning that everything needed for a long voyage must be carried on board. Nothing can be thrown away. On long voyages everything—even human wastes—must be recycled and reused. The Earth is a closed system too. It is our spaceship, and it has everything on board that we will ever have—all the air, water, metal, soil and fuel. Unlike Apollo 8, however, our spaceship Earth takes on more passengers all the time. At some point, it's got to stop taking on passengers, or the trip is going to be a lot shorter than any of us believed.

Somehow, I can't help but believe that if all mankind could see the Earth as Lovell saw it from the far side of the moon last Christmas Eve, we'd change our attitudes and our policies.

We would again realize that here, on our "grand oasis in the blackness of space," it is man's relationship to his environment and to all other living things that will determine our survival and our happiness.

THE PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to honor the memory of Miss Mary Fackler of Redlands, Calif., who was the first teacher to have her classes salute the flag on a daily basis in our schools. Her tremendous patriotism is to be commended and admired in her memory.

The idea of the salute of the flag was started as part of the celebration of Columbus Day in Boston in 1892, the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America.

A man named Francis Bellamy, who was on the committee of arrangements for the celebration, originated the salute and used it as part of the Columbus Day celebration.

Someone sent a program of the affair, which included the salute, to Miss Fackler, a teacher of the primary grades in Redlands. She was deeply impressed with the significance of the salute and taught it to her pupils. She used it as an incentive to good behavior, having the children give the salute at the end of a day when no one had been absent or tardy; and a child who had done especially well in his work was allowed to hold the flag.

Among the pupils in the school were the three children of Lt. Col. H. W. Lawton. On one occasion their friend, Gen. Joseph C. Breckenridge, was with the Lawtons in Redlands and Mrs. Lawton took him to visit the children's school.

General Breckenridge was much impressed by the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag as Miss Fackler had her pupils do it. And on his return to Washington, D.C., he introduced it to the Sons and Daughters of the Revolutions at one of

their conventions. Mrs. Lawton wrote to Miss Fackler, describing the first time the pledge was given in Washington:

All the distinguished men and women in the East were there and he (Gen. Breckenridge) had the children give the salute, which was beautiful and impressive and created much praise, enthusiasm, and applause. It was mentioned as coming from the California children. I thought you would like to know it, since it is all owing to you.

Thus the imagination and devotion of one faithful schoolteacher led to the custom of pledging allegiance to the flag on all patriotic occasions.

This daily pledge gave the children of Miss Fackler's classroom and those children who have followed the respect due to this country through its flag. By the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag in the classroom, children across the Nation became aware of our country's greatness, a greatness which allows them to live in freedom and gives them a right of a good education. It was through the efforts of Miss Fackler that these children have been made more aware of their great country. It is a privilege and an honor for me to acknowledge Miss Fackler's achievements and I do so with great pride.

TIBOR BARANSKI AND THE 1968 VALLEY FORGE TEACHERS MEDAL OF THE FREEDOMS FOUNDATION

HON. JOHN WOLD

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge is one of the foremost defenders of our national history. Each year the foundation makes awards to citizens who have made outstanding contributions to that defense. In 1968 one such coveted award, the Valley Forge Teachers Medal, was presented to Tibor Baranski of Albany, N.Y.

Mr. Baranski teaches Latin at Albany Academy and he brings to that role a background which few Americans share, a perspective which uniquely qualifies him to instill in his students a love of liberty which many people of the world share, but few have the high privilege of realizing.

Of Polish extraction, Tibor Baranski was nonetheless a native Hungarian. At an early age he was both poet and Boy Scout, a combination extremely rare; but then Mr. Baranski is a rare man. During World War II, he helped more than 3,000 Jews to escape from the Nazis. At the end of the war he himself was taken prisoner by the Soviet Army. Released, his freedom was short lived.

In 1948 he was arrested by the Communists and sentenced to 9 years in prison, of which he served 5. In 1956 he joined with his fellow Hungarians in their gallant effort to cast off the Soviet yoke. Mr. Baranski was sent abroad to secure help for the freedom fighters—help which did not come. The valiant attempt failed and Mr. Baranski could not return to his native land.

Going to Rome, he started a camp and

school for Hungarian refugees. In 1961 he and his wife arrived in the United States where he has taught American children with a rare perspective, for Mr. Baranski knows how priceless is freedom. He knows how sustaining religious faith can be. He knows how tenuous is the veneer of civilization. It is important that America's youth be aware of this and it is startling how many are not.

To his students and to the people of the Albany area, Mr. Baranski brought that awareness. He brought it through his classroom work, through a radio program, and through his poetry. One such poem was "The New American Creed." He composed this fine tribute to America and used it on his radio program of July 4, 1968. It is primarily this which brought him to the attention of the Freedoms Foundation. I would hope that it would bring him to the attention of all Americans. His very life is a symbol of religious faith and devotion to liberty. In and of itself, it should inspire us all.

I include in the RECORD that poem, an article from the Knickerbocker News of February 22, 1969, and a copy of the citation awarded Mr. Baranski by the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge:

NEW AMERICAN'S CREED

(Written and read to the public by Tibor Baranski, on the WKOL radio, Amsterdam, N.Y.)

I believe in God, our Heavenly Father, Father of each individual and of every nation.

I believe that the United States of America was founded by God and by the people which represented divine principles, namely the principle of freedom, equality, justice, humanity, and the most important principle of individual and human life: LOVE.

I believe that God wanted the American Forefathers to establish this nation to become an outstanding example for the world by realizing the above principles.

I have to believe by the enormous number of the daily crimes and treasons committed by several members of our society that we are on the way to destroy our nation by becoming faithless to the ideas and practice of our Forefathers.

But I just believe firmly that by the help of God and the responsible citizens we can stamp out the crimes and wrongdoings, the treasons and crooked actions of educators, politicians and of others, and we can become again a free nation in spirit and atmosphere . . . We can become equal in rights and duties . . . We can practice justice and humanity in divinely human sense, and become protectors of our principles here in the United States and in the entire world, among ourselves and among all nations!

Albany, New York July 4, 1968

[From the Knickerbocker News, Feb. 22, 1969]

ALBANY EDUCATOR GIVEN FREEDOMS AWARD
VALLEY FORGE, PA.—An Albany, N.Y., private school teacher who was a Hungarian freedom fighter in the 1956 revolt is among winners of awards announced here today by Freedoms Foundation.

Tibor Baranski, 46, of 5 Ten Eyck Avenue, a Latin teacher at the Albany Academy, was honored for his "New American's Creed."

Annual announcement and presentation ceremonies are conducted here on George Washington's Birthday. This year is the 20th anniversary of the national and school awards program of citations for "outstanding achievement in bringing about a better understanding of the American way of life."

Mr. Baranski was named winner of a Valley Forge Teachers Medal Award.

He first aired his creed of goals for Americans July 4 on WKOL radio station in Amsterdam, where he broadcast a summer program.

For Mr. Baranski, today's award is not the first. He holds a special commendation letter from the Vatican City diplomatic representative to Hungary for his work as executive secretary of the Jewish protective movement in Budapest. The citation credits him with helping to protect more than 3,000 Jews from Nazi forces during World War 2.

In November, 1948, Mr. Baranski was arrested by Hungarian Communist forces and sentenced to nine years in prison for spying and conspiracy. Of 30 imprisoned at the time, two were executed and another died.

Mr. Baranski entered prison speaking eight languages and understanding five others. But no foreign languages were permitted during his five years of incarceration. Today he retains speaking knowledge of four languages and understanding of two others. He was released after the death of Russian Premier Josef Stalin.

In 1956 came the abortive Hungarian revolution.

Mr. Baranski commented on his role: "A man who comes from afar can say anything, but this is the truth . . . I was not a leader, but I was in a very serious position about three blocks from the center of the revolution in Budapest."

He later went abroad to seek foreign assistance for the revolutions, was notified that the attempt had failed, and eventually came to the United States. Translation is now underway on his book: "Twelve Years of Hungary in the Mirror of My Life."

Mr. Baranski's family lives in Buffalo and he visits them on weekends. He explained that his wife's work on anti-cancer research as an enzyme chemist at the University of Buffalo keeps them separated.

FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT VALLEY FORGE

A noble task chosen by free men and women is the self-effacing strenuous work of teaching with humility and enthusiasm the tenets of individual responsibility, personal liberty, and love of country.

Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, at the instruction of its distinguished Independent Awards Jury, for high devotion to our Republic's heritage, hereby confers the 1968 Valley Forge Teachers Medal on Tibor Baranski.

Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge is privileged to convey this recognition to one who has made a notable patriotic contribution to youth leadership in the highest tradition of our free Nation.

The dogwood design, emblematic of the profound teachings of the Father of our Country, George Washington, at Valley Forge, symbolizes fidelity to constitutional principles so dramatically illustrated in the life and works of this honored teacher.

Long after this medal is laid away and the language of this citation forgotten, the values of this teacher's work in behalf of the American Way of Life will live for the future through the lives and actions of boys and girls grown taller and older.

Dr. KENNETH D. WELLS,
President.

FLAGS FOR PARENTS OF SERVICEMEN KILLED IN COMBAT

HON. JAMES F. HASTINGS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill which would

amend a section of title 10 of the United States Code pertaining to the presentation of U.S. flags to the next of kin of servicemen killed in battle.

Recently I had the sad duty, as we all have, of providing a U.S. flag for the widow of a soldier from my district who lost his life in combat in Vietnam. Desirous of presenting a second flag to his bereaved parents, I found that there are no provisions for this under the current law. It merely says that a flag shall be presented to the surviving spouse or nearest kin. My bill would amend this rule so that a second flag would be provided for the parents, stepparents, or person who has acted in a parental capacity.

The flag, especially during those tragic days which follow the announcement of a serviceman's death, serves as a meaningful token of our Nation's deep gratitude for the sacrifice made on the field of battle. It has a precious meaning for the parent as well as the wife and I like to think that in some small way it demonstrates they are not alone in their grief and that all of us throughout the Nation share in their mourning and prayers.

More than 50 of my colleagues have joined me in the cosponsorship of this proposed amendment and I would earnestly ask for your support in seeking quick approval of the change.

ARTHUR QUESINBERRY ENDS DISTINGUISHED NAVAL CAREER

HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday a distinguished career in the U.S. Navy will come to a close when Master Chief Boatswain's Mate Arthur Quesinberry retires after 30 years service to his country.

The U.S. Navy has always been a strong and viable force because of men like Chief Quesinberry. His love of country and devotion to duty have served as an inspiration to literally thousands of young men who have followed his lead and joined the Navy. His final tour of duty was as a recruiter for the Navy in Columbia, S.C., which is in my congressional district, and his success at recruiting has already become legendary in the Navy.

I am proud that Arthur Quesinberry has decided to spend his retirement in Columbia. Like so many of our brave servicemen who retire, Chief Quesinberry will not have too much time for relaxation because he feels that the public can still benefit from his experience. He is going to work for the city of Columbia immediately after being "piped off" board.

I salute Chief Quesinberry on this momentous occasion in his life. Our Nation stands stronger this day because of his patriotism, courage, and devotion to freedom.

Mr. Speaker, as a part of my remarks, I would like to include an article from the Columbia, S.C., Record, written by Mr. Ray Benson, as follows:

TOP NAVY RECRUITER IN AREA WILL RETIRE
HERE NEXT WEEK
(By Ray Benson)

The United States Navy loses its No. 1 recruiter in these parts July 31 when Master Chief Boatswain's Mate Arthur F. Quesinberry retires after 30 years service.

During the last fiscal year, ending June 30, Quesinberry's Columbia, S.C. District was first in all naval recruiting for the southeastern states, "selling the navy" to 2,500 enlistees. "Of course, this was the greatest year this area has ever had," he said.

Quesinberry's rank is equal to sergeant major in the U.S. Army, "or E-9 in military jargon," and following his being "piped off" the federal courthouse steps on Thursday, he will go to work in the city engineer's office as a file clerk.

"Normally, you are piped off a ship, but since I don't have one, it will be on the courthouse steps by my relief, MCBM Robert M. Meek Jr. All of my family will be there, dressed in red, white and blue."

Quesinberry, who has "dealt with a lot of public relations while in the Navy," is 49 years old, "so I got in fairly early in life." A native of Hillsville, Va., he enlisted in Richmond early in 1940 and saw service in both the Atlantic and Pacific.

While in the Atlantic, he participated in the first amphibious invasion of North Africa.

"I lost my ship, the USS Edward Rutledge, off the coast of Casablanca. It was torpedoed. In 1943 I went to the Pacific on a tanker and spent the rest of the war in that area. I've been on more than a dozen ships, and three staffs. I've also served under five different commanding officers while in Columbia."

Quesinberry, who has been with the U.S. Navy Recruiting Service in Columbia for nine years, first came to the capital city in 1957 for a four-year stay. He was assigned to Mine Squadron 10 in Charleston in 1961 and was a commander of a sub-division of mine-sweeping vessels.

"My ship was the escort of the battleship North Carolina when it was enshrined at Wilmington. I went with two other ships before coming back to Columbia in 1964 with the recruiting service again. The last five years I have been the 'sales manager' for selling the navy. I have 37 men working in that field, so I've done very little recruiting myself in recent years."

As chief recruiter for the Columbia station, he was in charge of branches in Florence, Greenville, Greenwood, Rock Hill, Spartanburg, Charleston, Asheville, N.C., and Augusta and Savannah, Ga.

Quesinberry, father of four, says, "Columbia is a good place to retire. My family has been in South Carolina, either here or in Charleston, since 1952."

REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, in an effort to keep constituents informed of congressional activities, I send a monthly report to all residents of the 8th District of Virginia who indicate a desire to receive it.

It may be that the membership of the House will be interested in our August

issue which will be mailed later this week. A copy is inserted at this point in the RECORD for their information:

YOUR CONGRESSMAN BILL SCOTT REPORTS

Census bill favorably reported: The full Committee on Post Office and Civil Service favorably reported H.R. 12884 which would remove the penalty of imprisonment for failure to answer or to falsely answer a census questionnaire, while, at the same time, increasing the penalty on any government employee disclosing information obtained through the Census. These provisions of the bill will be effective when the measure is signed by the President. However, the bill also provides that subsequent to the 1970 Census, the Secretary of Commerce must submit all questions contemplated to be asked in the future to the Congressional committees having legislative jurisdiction over the Census for their approval, rejection or revision. Inasmuch as the forms for the 1970 Census are already being printed, and definite plans made, the Census Bureau strongly urged that no change be made in the questions this year. The Committee also felt that it would disrupt orderly procedure and be very costly to insist upon a change in the questions at this late date. As you know, extensive hearings were held by our subcommittee, including one in the town of Vienna, and there has been a difference of opinion expressed between the population generally and those who utilize the census statistics for governmental and business purposes. The bill, as reported, is somewhat of a compromise between the different points of view and is aimed at protecting the privacy of the census questionnaire and having the Congress oversee the questions asked. It is expected that this measure will come before the House very shortly under suspension of the rules.

Jerry Ford luncheon: About 35 business and civic leaders from the Eighth Congressional District recently joined me for lunch with House Minority Leader Jerry Ford and a representative of the White House. These men expressed concern about taxes, the economy and the rapidly shrinking American dollar. In a two-way exchange of views, they were not only able to learn administration plans but to convey their own views on current problems to a number of Congressmen.

A recent bill: Recently I joined with a number of members in co-sponsoring H.R. 12899 to prohibit a federal judge from practicing law while serving on the bench or receiving compensation of any kind for services performed by him other than his judicial salary or those approved by the Judicial Council of the Circuit within which he serves. In order not to unduly restrict him, however, the Judicial Council could approve his performing and being paid not for services under exceptional circumstances determined to be in the public interest and which would not interfere with his judicial duties. The measure also provides that all federal judges shall file annually a statement of their investments and other assets as well as a statement of income and liabilities. This bill is an attempt to restore complete public confidence in the integrity of all our federal judges.

White House Service: Inez and I attended worship services at the White House recently. As you know, President Nixon initiated these services for persons in the Washington area and invites various government officials to attend. It is comforting to know that a religious atmosphere prevails in the White House and to hope that it will be an influence for good throughout the country.

Credit cards: Many citizens have complained that unsolicited credit cards are coming through the mail. While credit cards are a part of American life, no one should be burdened with receiving and having to destroy or return cards and other documents

they have not ordered and do not wish to use or keep. Mailing unsolicited credit cards to persons who have not requested them appears to be contrary to public interest and, therefore, I have joined in co-sponsoring a measure providing that unsolicited credit cards and similar documents shall be considered nonmailable by the Post Office Department and shall be withdrawn from the mail under such regulations as the Postmaster may prescribe.

House passes retirement measure: The government employees' Retirement Bill H.R. 9825, was passed by the House on July 23 and the following day the Senate Subcommittee on Post Office and Civil Service approved an identical bill. So the prospect of the measure becoming law this year is very favorable. The primary purpose of the bill is to stabilize the Retirement Fund so that money will be available when needed to provide annuities to retirees. In order to make the fund financially sound, the government will pay interest on the unfunded liability and the contribution of both government and employees will be raised from 6½ to 7% effective January 1, 1970. Had no action been taken, the Civil Service Commission estimated that the fund would have become bankrupt in 1987. The act also provides for annuities to be computed on the basis of salaries for the highest 3 consecutive years of service rather than the highest 5 years of service; that an employee who meets the age and service requirements for immediate retirement will be able to add unused sick leave for the purpose of computing his annuity; that when cost-of-living increases are granted to retirees, an increase of 1% will be added to the annuity to compensate for the lag between the time when the increase occurs and the time it is actually paid; and permits a widow or widower of a retiree to remarry without losing his or her survivor annuity. These are measures long desired by federal employees.

Publications available: We have the following Agricultural bulletins available for distribution. Please let us know the names of any you would like to receive.

Home canning of fruits and vegetables.

How to make jellies, jams & preserves at home.

Planning your home lighting.

Mildew.

Home heating.

Family fare.

How to buy beef roasts.

Food guide for older folks.

A guide to budgeting for the young people.

District office: From time to time we mention visits to the district office located in the Fredericksburg Post Office and I plan to be there all day on Friday, August 22 to see constituents. This district office is open from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. each weekday and staffed by Mrs. Pearl Hancock, a long-time resident of the Fredericksburg area. She will, of course, be glad to assist you and to refer any matter that requires personal attention to the Washington office at 1217 Longworth House Office Building. While the District Office is of material help in meeting people who live in the lower end of the district and find it inconvenient to come to Washington, mention of it in the newsletter has led some to believe that my home is in Fredericksburg. However, we still live in the same home in the Centreville District of Fairfax County as we have for the past 23 years.

Presidential message: The President recently advised that although the Congress imposed a ceiling on federal spending of \$191.9 billion for this fiscal year, it has so far failed to cut the budget to fit within this ceiling. Mr. Nixon indicated his approval of a budgetary ceiling but suggested that Congressional restraint be exercised in appropriating funds for specific purposes. He stated that no federal program was above scrutiny and said that some highly desirable programs would have to be stretched out or

reduced if the government lives within its self-imposed ceiling. Certainly most people were glad to see the budget surplus of \$3.1 billion for the fiscal year ending June 30. There are programs of vital concern to our district and the country at large which we would hesitate to reduce. But I want to cooperate as fully as possible with the President in his effort to continue a balanced budget and still meet the essential needs of the country.

Academy appointments: Recently, 16 young men who had been nominated and accepted to enter our service academies this year visited the office with their parents. Certainly, I am pleased that we were able to place this large number from our district although it will further limit appointments for the next few years. However, if someone in your household is interested in being considered for the Army, Navy, Air Force and Merchant Marine academies, please let us know promptly so that we can send you an application to be filed before September 1, 1969 for the school term beginning in June 1970.

Something to ponder: These days a child who knows the value of a dollar must be mightily discouraged.

TWO BUFFALO, N.Y., AREA MEN RECEIVE CITATIONS FOR HEROISM

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, as the longest and most costly war in the history of this Nation lingers on, we must not forget that hundreds of thousands of our brave men risk death daily in defense of our national policies. The fact that there are as many critics of our involvement in Vietnam as there are supporters only underscores the difficulties that confront our soldiers. Still these men fight on with the courage and conviction that has been the mark of America's fighting men since the founding of this Nation. Western New Yorkers have long been known for their promptness in responding to the call to duty and their exemplary performance in our Armed Forces.

Two Buffalo area men who reflect this spirit are PO Kevin F. Gillotte, engineman third class, U.S. Navy of Cheektowaga, N.Y., and Sgt. Terry A. Strassburg, U.S. Marine Corps of North Tonawanda, N.Y.

Petty Officer Gillotte received the Navy Cross citation, the Navy's second most honored award, for his heroism behind enemy lines in the Republic of Vietnam. When his riverboat was attacked suddenly, he managed to throw off the mooring line, even though he had already been wounded. He then rescued and protected a seriously wounded shipmate. He then entered the engine room despite the extreme danger of explosion and kept the engine operating until his boat reached safety. Every American must admire his courage and devotion to duty.

Sergeant Strassburg was awarded the Silver Star for his gallantry in action. In repelling an enemy attack on Hill 689 near Khesanh, he fearlessly attacked a fortified position and with personal action and leadership helped drive the

enemy out of marine lines. His daring and initiative deserve the highest praise.

In recognition of their exemplary courage I am including copies of their citations in the RECORD:

The President of the United States takes pleasure in presenting the Navy Cross to Kevin F. Gilotte, Engineman Third Class, United States Navy, for service as set forth in the following Citation:

For extraordinary heroism on 11 January 1969 while serving with United States forces engaged in riverine assault operations against enemy aggressor forces in the Republic of Vietnam. With Petty Officer Gilotte embarked as engineer, Assault Support Patrol Boat (ASPB) 92-8 was assigned as a participating unit of Operation GIANT SLING-SHOT. The craft had moored in a night defensive position alongside an Army LCM-8 Mobile Fire Support Base on a shallow, narrow canal when ASPB 92-8 came under sudden mortar attack, finding itself in the center of the impact area. Although wounded in the leg, Petty Officer Gilotte responded immediately to the seriousness of the situation by assisting the boat captain in rousing the crew to man their stations, and then made his way forward to throw off the entangled mooring line. Standing exposed to incoming mortar rounds on the forecastle of the boat, Petty Officer Gilotte was again wounded by shrapnel, but eventually succeeded in freeing the fouled line. Upon hearing the cries of the machine gunner, he climbed on top of the gun mount, removed his seriously wounded shipmate, rendered immediate medical aid, and threw his own body over the incapacitated victim to shield him from further injury. After ASPB 92-8 cleared the kill zone, Petty Officer Gilotte risked harmful burns when he entered the engine compartment to work on an engine damaged by shrapnel that caused extreme overheating. He remained at his station tending the damaged engine until the boat secured alongside a landing ship on the main river, only then allowing himself to be relieved in order to seek medical attention. His inspiring courage and selfless dedication were in keeping with the highest traditions of the United States Naval Service.

For the President:

JOHN H. CHAFEE,
Secretary of the Navy.

The President of the United States takes pleasure in presenting the Silver Star Medal to Sergeant Terry A. Strassburg, United States Marine Corps, for service as set forth in the following Citation:

"For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action while serving as Squad Leader with Company A, First Battalion, First Marines, First Marine Division in connection with operations against the enemy in the Republic of Vietnam. On the night of 7 July 1968, Company A was assigned to counterattack a large North Vietnamese Army force which had penetrated the battalion's defensive perimeter on Hill 689 near Khe Sanh. As the Marines advanced on the hill, they came under intense automatic weapons fire from numerous fortified positions and sustained several casualties. Reacting instantly, Sergeant Strassburg, then a Corporal, fearlessly crawled forward to the first hostile emplacement, boldly threw several hand grenades into the structure and then fired his rifle into the emplacement, killing five hostile soldiers and capturing two weapons. Completely disregarding his own safety, he courageously moved about the fire-swept terrain, shouting words of encouragement to his men and directing their fire on the North Vietnamese positions. Seizing a machine gun, Sergeant Strassburg aggressively led his men in a determined assault on the enemy defenses, destroying fortifications as they advanced and accounting for nine additional North Vietnamese soldiers killed. His dar-

ing initiative and heroic efforts inspired all who observed him and contributed significantly to the accomplishment of his unit's mission. By his courage, superb leadership and unwavering devotion to duty in the face of great personal danger, Sergeant Strassburg upheld the highest traditions of the Marine Corps and of the United States Naval Service."

For the President:

H. W. BUSE, Jr.,
Lieutenant General, U.S. Marine Corps,
Commanding General, Fleet Marine
Force, Pacific.

RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT

HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, when President Nixon signed a supplemental appropriation bill July 22 and thus made another \$25 million available for emergency loans to farmers, James V. Smith, Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration, struck another blow for the economy of rural America.

Since taking office on January 30, our former colleague, Jim Smith, has worked many long hours to keep funds flowing to farmers and rural communities.

The morning he walked into his new office Jim found the funds for emergency farm loans had been exhausted and the loan applications were piling up on his desk at the rate of \$1 million a day. He rounded up \$81 million, enough to keep 16,000 farmers who needed the money badly, in business.

Then Jim worked on Congress to get another \$25 million in the Supplemental Appropriation Act. This gives him something to start off with in fiscal 1970.

But digging up loan funds for hard-pressed farmers has only been one small part of Administrator Smith's activity in behalf of his beloved rural America. As soon as he had patched up the broken-down machinery for providing farm loans he found another credit well had run dry.

By far the bulk of the funds provided through the Farmers Home Administration come from private investors on an insured basis.

By midspring this source of funds was pretty well exhausted. Investors could do better elsewhere.

Smith faced a tough problem. His farm background made him instinctively opposed to having anything to do with raising interest rates. Yet unless he offered investors more, the funds for the rural housing program, the farmowner-ship program, and the building of rural community water and sewerage systems would not be forthcoming.

In the end he took the only course he could take and keep the credit flowing to rural America. He conferred with Treasury officials, pointed out his needs, received directions to raise the rates paid private investors. As a result, more than \$400 million of private funds were placed in rural area development projects between January and June.

In addition, Jim Smith has put in a

12-hour day, 6 days a week, streamlining and sharpening the efficiency of his agency's operations.

As a first step toward improved administration, shortly after he assumed office he queried all his staff asking them to tell him how agency operations could be improved.

More than 3,000 suggestions were received. These are now being evaluated and by September those meriting adoption will be accepted and implemented.

Already more than 150 additional positions have been allocated to field offices where an excessive amount of overtime had been required and loanmaking and servicing were running far behind schedule. Approximately 300 electric typewriters have been purchased as a first step in modernizing loan office operations.

Jim Smith proudly bears the label of conservative. He considers his philosophy consistent with the objectives of the Farmers Home Administration which he describes as "helping people to help themselves."

He also considers his efforts to strengthen the agency's personnel and supply funds for farmers and rural communities as not inconsistent with the Administration's efforts to make the wisest use of every tax dollar.

He points out:

There is a lot of difference between plowing resources into a rural community when these funds are paid back with interest and plowing in government funds when there is no possibility of repayment.

Jim Smith, the Oklahoma farmboy who came to Congress, is now off and running in his new career as a Federal Administrator. The country will be hearing more about this young man in the months and years to come.

NOTIFYING RELATIVES OF THOSE KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. FRED SCHWENDEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. SCHWENDEL. Mr. Speaker, it has recently come to my attention that an intolerable situation exists with respect to the system used to notify the relatives of those killed in Vietnam. When these young men have given that ultimate sacrifice for their country, it seems to me, that we must spare no effort to ease the suffering by their loved ones.

This problem first came to my attention through the editor of the Muscatine Journal, Mr. Gil Dietz. He reported to me that the parents of Lt. Jerry Bunn of Muscatine, Iowa, were notified of his death by means of a telegram delivered by a cabdriver. To use the phrase of one of my constituents:

Crude errors such as this are inexcusable. The general disillusionment with the war will be increased by such errors.

Since the shameful episode with the Bunn family came to light, I have learned of two other cases in my district where the same thing has happened.

Upon checking with the Department of Defense, I was informed that normal procedures had been followed in the Bunn case, inasmuch as the man's wife was personally notified of the death. It seems that the Department of Defense policy allows the Vietnam-bound serviceman to designate only one primary next of kin who would receive the personal notification of death. He then lists a number of secondary relatives, such as brothers, sisters, aunts, and where there is a wife the parents, who would receive just a telegram notifying them of the death.

In these days when we are all so cost conscious, and trying to assist the President in his fight against inflation, we must be ever mindful of the budgetary effect of any action we take. However, I for one, would hesitate to put a dollar sign on the grief caused by the parents of a man who has lost his life in Vietnam, when they are notified of his death by a cabdriver delivering a telegram.

It is obvious that all relatives of a serviceman killed in Vietnam cannot be personally notified by the Department of Defense. However, there is no excuse for failing to notify the next of kin personally, and the parents where they survive the serviceman. I am calling this matter to the attention of Secretary Laird with the request that he act with the utmost speed to change the present policy with respect to notification of parents.

TWO VIEWS OF U.S. AID IN SOUTH VIETNAM

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 18, 1969

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues "The American-Made Millionaires in Vietnam" by Jack Anderson which appeared in the June 8 edition of Parade. In view of a task force having reported to the President that South Vietnam will need at least \$2.5 billion in foreign aid to recover from the war, Mr. Anderson discusses the current operation of some of AID's programs in South Vietnam including the commodity import program.

Given the conclusions reached by Mr. Anderson, I requested AID's views the following day.

In a letter of July 15, Matthew J. Harvey, Director, AID congressional liaison, transmitted to me "Facts From the Agency for International Development Correcting Erroneous Statements in Parade Article of June 8, 1969."

The article, letter, and response follow for each Member to draw his own conclusion:

THE AMERICAN-MADE MILLIONAIRES IN VIETNAM

(By Jack Anderson)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A task force has reported to President Nixon that South Vietnam will need \$2.5 billion in foreign aid to recover from the war. This is reassuring news

to the Saigon war profiteers, who are accustomed to a rich diet of American greenbacks. With the prospects for peace improving, they were beginning to worry over where their next greenbacks would come from. The task force estimate on postwar spending has done marvels for their morale. They are relieved to learn that there should be plenty of peacetime graft to replace the wartime graft. If past experience is any criterion, disposal of the vast military surplus alone ought to make hundreds of South Vietnamese millionaires.

An alarming percentage of American spending in Vietnam has been siphoned off by South Vietnamese entrepreneurs, who now expect to continue picking the American taxpayers' pockets after the war is settled. From the highest officials to the withered old lady peddling PX items in a Saigon street stall, almost everyone has his palm outstretched. By the most conservative estimate, at least 1000 American-made millionaires are now living the good life in the salons of Saigon. The true figure is probably more than twice that number. Those who have hit the million-dollar jackpot, moreover, have cashed in on an array of illegal practices that stagger the imagination for their intricacy and ingenuity.

That the South Vietnamese have been gorging upon greenbacks may not be exactly news to the discerning reader. But the extent of the corruption has never been fully revealed. What percentage of the American contribution to the Vietnam War finds its way into the secret bank accounts of South Vietnamese financiers? How much military hardware is diverted to the Viet Cong for use against American troops? How vast is the black market that thrives on the streets of Saigon, openly selling government issue?

After searching under the carpets in both Washington and Saigon, PARADE has begun to find some answers. Since the early 1950's, the United States has poured money into South Vietnam in a cornucopian flow: economic assistance, military assistance, agricultural and commodity imports, government loans and outright grants. Official estimates—which vary according to the official—indicate that the United States has spent more than \$8 billion to bolster the South Vietnamese economy. This, of course, doesn't count the billions that have gone into the military effort.

How much of this money has been illegally diverted into private pockets? Government investigators have given PARADE estimates ranging from 5 to 50 percent. Taking the lowest estimate, at least \$400 million intended for South Vietnam's economic welfare have wound up instead bettering the economic welfare of a few corrupt officials and businessmen. Yet this is small change compared to the vast sums that have been scooped up by Vietnamese from our military programs.

CONSTANT GRAFT

Corruption is as integral a part of the Vietnamese folkways, apparently, as the siesta. The civil servant, the tax collector, the dock foreman count upon kickbacks to make ends meet. With this illicit income as the bait, jobs are bought and sold. A province chief's job, for instance, goes for around \$25,000. The new chief knows he will collect enough graft to make a substantial profit. He sells the positions below him, and his subordinates sell the jobs below them. Military payrolls are padded up to 30 percent with soldiers who are dead or never existed. The commander happily draws their salaries.

To understand how corruption flourishes in South Vietnam, it may be instructive to focus on one of the 80 economic programs: the Commodity Import Program. "Its main purpose," explain U.S. AID officials, "is to control inflation." The idea is to flood the South Vietnamese market with enough commodities to "sop up" excess currency. The more products that are available, so the

theory goes, the lower retail prices will be. This is supposed to hold down inflation.

The program, however, has proven to be an economic Edsel. Prices almost doubled in 1965, shot up 71 percent in 1966, jumped another 47 percent in 1967. And economists are still trying to figure out the damage wrought by the Tet offensive in 1968. The program is so shot full of corruption that the American imports wind up on the black market where they stimulate prices. Thus the program tends to feed, rather than dampen, the fires of inflation.

KICKBACKS GALORE

Since 1962, AID has funneled more than \$1.3 billion into South Vietnam under the Commodity Import Program. Asked how much of this money has gone into kickbacks, one AID investigator estimated: "I would say it runs anywhere from 10 to 50 percent per transaction."

His lowest estimate would place the fraud in this program at \$130 million, which could have made approximately 100 black market millionaires. However the program has also made a number of "legitimate" millionaires. Harold Levin, the program director, told Parade: "About 900 Vietnamese importers who are licensed have done business in the millions in Uncle Sam's commodities."

After reviewing the computerized list of commodity importers, Parade has determined that half, or 450 of them, have probably made at least \$1 million in profits. Yet CIP is just one of 80 AID programs, whose sum total is merely a small fraction of all U.S. expenditures in Vietnam.

Said director Levin apologetically: "We don't intend to make millionaires out of the Vietnamese. It's just part of the overall effect of stabilizing South Vietnam's economy." He added defensively: "It's no coincidence that South Vietnamese importers are some of the same names listed in the high ranks of government. After all, they are the men with training and background."

On the military side, South Vietnam's armed forces draw everything from bombs to boots from the American Military Assistance Program. Evidently a number of profiteers draw supplies from the same source and dispose of them through Saigon's back alleys. Almost every time Viet Cong are captured, combat gear intended for South Vietnamese soldiers is found—stacks of American-made arms, also radios, gadgets, PX items and other goods that had disappeared from the Saigon docks.

AID handled military assistance until 1966 when the program was turned over to the Pentagon. The MAP money then became difficult to trace in the ant bed of defense budgetary. Insiders claim, however, that South Vietnam got over \$1 billion in military assistance from AID from 1962 to 1966, another \$3.3 billion from the Pentagon thereafter. Grand total: approximately \$4.3 billion.

WE DON'T KNOW

How much of this went to line the pockets of the money grabbers? A Pentagon spokesman insisted: "There simply doesn't exist an official Department of Defense percentage for the amount of diversion." Unofficially, Parade was told that 5 to 35 percent "sounds pretty close." Again taking the lowest possible figure, the Military Assistance Program contributed at least \$215 million toward enriching South Vietnamese wheeler-dealers.

By Parade's arithmetic, these two programs alone—AID's CIP and the Pentagon's MAP—must have made millionaires out of at least 800 South Vietnamese citizens. Thus the estimate of 1000 American-made millionaires in South Vietnam would appear to be on the low, low side.

According to sworn congressional testimony, some of the get-rich-quick stories to come out of Vietnam are classics. There was the case, for example, of Dinh Xuan Thao, as delightful a rogue as ever skinned Uncle

Sam. He advertised his services as an "importer" for American companies wishing to do business in South Vietnam. His ads caught the eager eye of Thomas Edison Higgins of St. Petersburg, Fla., who had developed in his garage a product he thought could help win the war. He described it grandly as a "ten-year battery additive." The only trouble was that it didn't add anything to a battery.

After contacting Thao, however, the once penniless Higgins was inundated with orders for his battery juice. Thao not only arranged the necessary South Vietnamese import licenses but produced an endorsement from V. A. da Cruz, a Portuguese diplomat, who solemnly recommended "this excellent product to every car owner, for its efficiency and its certain effect."

Higgins suddenly was able to move out of his garage into more pretentious quarters, thanks to a quarter of a million dollars in letters of credit payable upon shipment. All he had to do was kick back 56 percent to his benefactor, who split the money among government officials. Thao quietly deposited the bulk, however, in secret Account No. 690265 of Geneva's Swiss Credit Bank.

ANOTHER DUD

When AID finally got around to barring Higgins' battery additive as worthless, he came back with a rust inhibitor for automobile radiators. But like the battery additive that didn't add, the rust inhibitor didn't inhibit. Nonetheless, the same Higgins-Thao team did another \$126,186.19 worth of AID business. All told, the Higgins ventures cost the American taxpayers \$356,186.91 of which \$140,050 went into Swiss Account No. 690265. Indeed, the ubiquitous Thao handled AID-financed business for 29 American firms.

Another South Vietnamese fixer, La Thanh Nghe, opened his secret account in the Union of Swiss Banks. Account No. 391702. He specialized in bringing pharmaceuticals into South Vietnam. For his services, he collected payoffs from many of America's leading drug firms. His total take exceeded \$800,000.

Other South Vietnamese, who have made their fraudulent millions courtesy of the American taxpayers, include: Tran Dinh Binh, who was arrested in 1967 for taking kickbacks, illegally depositing payments in a Swiss bank account and trading currency on the black market; Madam Nguyen Thi Hai, owner of an importing company, who has demonstrated extraordinary influence with government officials in obtaining import licenses for preferred customers; La Thanh Trung, who manages a business that has grown fat on U.S. tax dollars; Le Thi Luong, who has helped Linh Xuan Thao skin Uncle Sam out of millions, and Phan Van Nham, brother-in-law of pharmaceutical wizard La Thanh Nghe. The most intriguing rumors, which abound in Saigon, is that the vivacious wife of Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky has turned a fancy profit in real estate transactions. Reticent U.S. officials refuse to comment, however, beyond a simple: "I know nothing."

MORE MANEUVERING

To curb kickbacks, AID has now ruled that all importers placing orders in excess of \$5000 must invite bids in its small business circular. If this has cut down on shady transactions, it has also produced a sharp increase in the number of orders under \$5000.

The Saigon government has also established an "inspectorate" which is supposed to rid the government of corruption. So far the inspectorate has investigated more than 200 cases of suspected corruption, some involving highly placed officials. Not one case has been prosecuted, not one official purged, not one fine levied.

Washington worriers have been concerned over the fate of the South Vietnamese if the Communists ever take over. They don't have to worry, at least about the millionaires. These American-made millionaires have

taken the precaution of depositing their under-the-table profits in foreign banks. This, of course, adversely affects the U.S. balance of payments. In case of a Communist takeover, the war profiteers have also arranged to follow their profits out of the country. There will be a mass exodus of South Vietnamese millionaires, for example, to Paris, where other rich refugees from Saigon fled after the downfall of past South Vietnamese governments.

Meanwhile, the pursuit of the American dollar continues to be South Vietnam's favorite game. With the prospects of \$2.5 billion in postwar aid, it probably will be played with abandon for years to come.

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

Washington, D.C., July 15, 1969.

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON: Thank you for your inquiry of June 9 regarding an article by Jack Anderson in Parade Magazine.

We were asked about the article during a recent hearing before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. I am enclosing a copy of A.I.D.'s response, which will appear in the record of the Hearings. Please let me know if you wish further information.

Sincerely,

MATTHEW J. HARVEY,
Director, Congressional Liaison.

FACTS FROM THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CORRECTING ERRONEOUS STATEMENTS IN "PARADE" ARTICLE OF JUNE 8, 1969

1. The article refers to Commercial Import Program commodities winding up in the black market. This is not true. Commodities under the Commercial Import Program are imported through commercial channels for sale in the commercial market. They are paid for by Vietnamese importers who import them for commercial resale.

2. There may well be people who have made an unreasonable profit out of the war in Vietnam—this is true of other wars as well. It seems totally unreasonable to assume that 450 people have made \$1 million or more profits out of the A.I.D.-financed Commercial Import Program. Profits on sales of A.I.D.-financed imports in Vietnam in the past three years are estimated on the basis of market information to have averaged about 8-10% of costs, before income taxes. Total plaster profits of importers on the A.I.D.-financed Commercial Import Program of about \$500 million over the three-year period have been the equivalent of \$40 to \$50 million, divided among about 600 active importers. Moreover, a few big firms, like the oil companies, receive a significant share of the total amount of funds available. Obviously this would not permit the making of 450 millionaires.

3. It should be pointed out that A.I.D. greatly tightened the administration of the Commercial Import Program two years ago. The cases cited in the "Parade" article all arise prior to this tightening up. A.I.D. has taken a series of steps to reduce diversion to a minimum, including:

- Reduction and precision in the list of commodities eligible for financing;
- prohibition of a multitude of small transactions which were the source of abuses because they were too numerous to police adequately;
- careful advance checking of suppliers, importers, and prices in each transaction;
- restriction of dollar commission payments to sales agents who are citizens and residents of the United States.

Each import license application since early 1967 has been carefully reviewed by both Vietnamese and American officials in Saigon against the eligible commodity list, the lists of eligible suppliers and importers, for reasonableness of price, et cetera. In addition,

A.I.D./Washington conducts a prior review of commodity and supplier eligibility and in certain cases a review for compliance with A.I.D.'s price rules. American customs inspectors check arrivals in Saigon. Various post audits are conducted in both Washington and Saigon, including end use examination of commodities to the point of consumption or retail sale.

As a result of these strict controls, losses of commodities financed under the Commercial Import Program have decreased from an estimated 2 to 5% in 1966 to an estimate of less than 1% in 1968.

4. The present Vietnamese Government has removed several officials from office on the basis of corruption, and some have been tried and convicted. Businessmen have been suspended or barred from access to the import market, and in some cases have been jailed for their actions. Here in the United States there have also been cases of violations of A.I.D. rules by suppliers under the A.I.D. program that have resulted in conviction and punishment.

5. It is, of course, still possible to make substantial profits through the Commercial Import Program since it does involve imports by businessmen into an inflationary, wartime economy. One way of controlling profits is through taxation. While Vietnam, like all less-developed countries and even some developed ones, is faced with real problems in the administration of direct taxation such as income taxes, its record is improving. The Ministry of Finance is pushing improvements in tax collections as well as other measures in order to increase government revenues by at least 40% this year. The results for the first four months of 1969 are encouraging—internal revenue collections have risen 43% over 1968.

6. The Commercial Import Program has not been an "Edsel" (as charged in the "Parade" article)—it has, in fact, substantially helped to keep inflation in rein in Vietnam. Price rises have varied from 51% in 1966 to 34% in 1968, but in contrast in Korea they advanced 300-400% per year during the war there. The import price index has, in fact, risen only 15% since the beginning of 1968, indicating that price rises occur primarily with respect to domestic goods and services. An import program such as the one we are funding can by its nature affect only indirectly the prices of locally produced goods and services.

7. Inflationary pressures persist in Vietnam because of the heavy wartime budget expenditures and deficit. The general mobilization decreed in 1968 by the Vietnamese Government which is placing Vietnam in a position to begin the replacement of American troops adds to those pressures. The A.I.D. financed Commercial Import Program is thus an essential element in the policy for reduction of U.S. troops in Vietnam. Its present tight management is designed to keep irregularities to a minimum.

In summary, the article unfairly implies that the A.I.D. program has been riddled with graft and corruption, and that this state of affairs prevails in the present and will continue to do so into the future. This is simply not so. There was maximum exposure of the A.I.D. program to fraudulent exploitation during the chaotic 1965-66 period of rapid military build-up, but corrective measures have been taken to reduce such exploitation to a minimum.

K.J.T. CZECH DAY IN TEXAS

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, on August 3, the Catholic Union of Texas—the

K.J.T.—will celebrate its 10th annual Czech Day in Ammansville, Tex., with the entire K.J.T. membership in attendance.

The Czech influence has been profound in Texas. A hardy band of immigrants arrived early in our State's history and they have endured, grown, and prospered. Ours is a much better State because of their impact—socially, economically, and morally.

The Czech Day festivities will be a robust celebration, yet it begins with solemn recognition of the deep religious faith of these people. The opening procession will be to the St. John's Church where the holy sacrifice of the mass will be offered in the Czech language by Rev. George Tydlacka, pastor of St. Cyril and Methodius Church of Granger, Tex., and the Czech sermon will be delivered by the Very Reverend Monsignor A. W. Nesvadba, the supreme chaplain of the K.J.T.

From this foundation, the ceremony moves outdoors to a picnic, songfest, and renewal of friendships. There will be a bountiful supply of good food, cold drinks, and just plain fun.

Mr. Speaker, the Czechs are some of the most delightful people in the world. Many towns of the 10th District have majorities of Czech descent. I never miss a chance to visit in these communities with these delightful people. They work hard, they are industrious, they are frugal—and they are prolific.

In the 1930's there were only an estimated 300,000 Texans of Czech extraction. Today, there are three times that many—nearly one-tenth of our State population is Czech—proof enough they are, indeed, prolific.

These good friends also play hard in a wholesome and invigorating manner. I told a group last year that one of my associates once told me that if he had it to do all over again, he would come back to Texas somewhere in Granger, Ammansville, Louise, Schulerberg, or La Grange; then he would find himself a cute little Czech girl and settle down to enjoy life—in the specific order. That's the way we feel about the Czechs in Texas.

If a person felt it necessary to get away from the Potomac and go back to meet with the people, the best tonic available would be a visit in a Czech community.

I have been invited by R. J. Bartosh, president of the K.J.T., to attend the Czech Day celebration and I would not miss it.

County Judge Ike Petras is just as serious as I am about this meeting. At this time I include his proclamation declaring August 3 as Czech Day:

PROCLAMATION

Whereas the fraternal society of Czech Catholic Union of Texas, the K.J.T., will hold its Tenth Annual K.J.T. Czech Day at Ammansville, Fayette County, Texas on the third day of August, 1969;

Whereas in the 80 years of its existence the Czech Catholic membership of the Society, has contributed greatly to the agricultural, industrial and overall cultural development of Fayette County, and our great state of Texas;

Whereas during all this time the members of the K.J.T. were outstanding citizens of Fayette County and the State;

Whereas it is the desire of all the citizens of Fayette County to honor the entire membership of K.J.T. on this day;

Now therefore I, Ike Petras hereby proclaim and designate August 3, 1969 as the K.J.T. Czech Day of Fayette County, Texas.

IKE PETRAS,
County Judge.

FAYETTE COUNTY, TEX.

Mr. Speaker, I want to recognize our heritage made even more colorful by the Czech in Texas. They came to us with a desire for honest work. The oldest Moravian settlement in Texas is at Cat Springs in Austin County. The Reverend Arnost Bergman brought his family there in March of 1849. His descendants and thousands more of like background will gather next month and I would honor them on this occasion with a simple salute—S Bohem na sledanou—God be you.

VIETNAM COMMEMORATIVE PROGRAM: JULY 20, 1954

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, July 27, I was privileged to attend a program commemorating the 15th anniversary of the partitioning of Vietnam into north and south—the north under Communist totalitarianism, and the south under freely elected representative government.

The presentation, offered by the Vietnamese Association of Washington, was a display of Southeast Asian culture, depicted in traditional song and dance coupled with speeches affirming the political aspiration of those countries to be free.

Joining the Vietnamese in their pageant of the ancient Asian civilizations were costumed performers of Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, and other friendly countries.

I only wish that more of the American people could have seen this moving dramatization of another inspiring culture, which so compellingly brought into focus the reason we should appreciate and respect our differences from others in custom and mores, but to recognize and affirm our similarity in the basic drive of all peoples to be free.

The songs and performances were a little melancholy, deeply yearning, but stressing an abiding determination to overcome tyranny, free their land and govern it, representative of the wants of their people.

The centuries-old struggle for freedom by our Vietnamese ally was best expressed by the opening remarks by Dr. Nguyen Tien Hung, president of the Vietnamese Association. I include the text of his speech:

STATEMENT BY DR. NGUYEN TIEN HUNG

The Ambassador of the Republic of Vietnam, the Chaplain of the United States Senate, distinguished members of the United

States Congress, the Assistant Secretary of Defense, the Assistant Chief of Staff of the United States Army, ladies and gentlemen,

On behalf of the Vietnamese Association, I welcome you to our cultural program. The meaning of this program is to express the aspirations of our people for peace and freedom as these values are culturally reflected in our native songs and dances. We are privileged to be joined in this program by representatives of other nations which are now standing beside us to defend the common cause of freedom.

You have come here today, not only to meet the Vietnamese in Washington, but, through them, to join the people whom they represent—the people who at this moment are standing at the frontier of the free world.

As we join our American friends and the world to celebrate the great achievement of mankind—the moon landing of last week—we cannot help, at the same time, to remember another event carrying the same date, July 20, of fifteen years ago.

The date July 20 brings to the Vietnamese people memories of a sad period of history, a period which has produced the tragedy of a nation divided by artificial barriers, fragmented by conflicting ideologies, tormented by suspicion, and impoverished by destruction. It was on July 20, 1954, that our country was partitioned by the communist party and by outside powers—contrary to the desires of the people of Viet-Nam.

This division has solved none of the pre-existing problems and has actually created several new ones with much greater dimension.

A quick glance at the history of modern Viet-Nam brings us the explanation of the cause of the current conflict. It all began with the national movement to achieve independence from colonial rule. The whole nation had been engaged in that effort ever since 1884 when colonial rule was established. Toward the end of this struggle, however, the communist party capitalized on the efforts of the entire population in order to steer the country toward the communist orbit. Instead of going forward to independence from foreign rule, the communist party has moved the country backwards—closer to the days of Chinese dominion.

We remember the false picture of peace which the Geneva Accord created: The partition was meant to bring about peace. But it was a false peace—a peace which has resulted in another war far more destructive than the one preceding 1954.

Most significant, however, the Geneva Agreement of 1954 also shed some light on the search for a solution to the current problem: *First*, it offered a real test of free choice for the people between a free Viet-Nam and a communist Viet-Nam. *Second*, it offered a test of sincerity on the part of the communist leadership to comply with their written commitment to permit the execution of that choice. The Agreement provided for complete freedom of movement between the people north and south of the 17th parallel within a period of three hundred days. In spite of limited transportation and in spite of severe obstacles posed by the communists, one million Vietnamese—or about 9 percent of North Viet-Nam's 1954 population—left their property and even their ancestors' tombs to flee to the south. In contrast, less than eighty thousand people left the south to go to the north. This 8 percent ratio between the votes for freedom and communism was a result of a test of election in 1954. People voted for freedom—not by ballot—but by foot. I believe that, if another free choice were offered today, the actual result would be very close to the 1954 precedent.

During the post-Geneva period, the communist party also failed to carry out its written commitment to permit freedom of move-

ment for the people of North Viet-Nam; they imposed restrictions on the access to the points of departure in the north (the cities of Hanoi and Haiphong). I myself among many others in this audience—one of whom was with me on that dark and rainy night when we escaped—still recalled vividly how hard it was for us to march on the road to freedom.

As we reflect on the partition, however, we want very much to forget the awful past and to look forward to a brighter future. As a private citizen, I join another 37 million people, 20 million in the north and 17 million in the south, to express our desire and impatience for a free and peaceful Viet-Nam. Together with them, I wait for the day when other people will no longer have to refer to us as "North Vietnamese" and "South Vietnamese," but as "Vietnamese"—a day when our country may cooperate with other nations in the Southeast Asian community to march along the road of development and prosperity.

Let all those who claim to fight in the name of the people listen to the voice and aspirations of the people. Let all the leaders put forward their platforms to the people and allow them to decide for themselves; What system of government—how much of that government—and who is going to govern. A people who have made sacrifices beyond imagination for nearly one century in order to defend the principle of self-determination deserve the right to choose and to have that choice respected by their leaders. In my opinion, there is no other way more reasonable for this right to be exercised than through a genuinely free and orderly election for the entire population of Viet-Nam.

This road, which may be very long and difficult, is the only road which will eventually lead to a peace which will endure and to a country which will prosper. We seek, therefore, *not just a peace—but a just peace.*

MARYLAND SOLDIER KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Lt. James P. Ward, an outstanding young officer from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I would like to commend his courage and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

BETHESDA MAN IS KILLED IN VIET ACTION

An Army lieutenant from Bethesda, Md., was killed in action in South Vietnam last Friday, the Pentagon reported yesterday.

First Lt. James P. Ward, 21, an adviser for a unit of the South Vietnamese Army, was killed in Phu Yen province when the unit was attacked during a night patrol.

Lieutenant Ward, the son of a Foreign Service officer, attended schools all over the world, including Southeast Asia and some Communist countries. He graduated from Walt Whitman High School in Bethesda.

He attended Montgomery County Junior College briefly before enlisting in the Army. Lieutenant Ward graduated from Officers Candidate School at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and then was assigned to the 82d Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, N.C.

He was sent to Vietnam 10 months ago and served as a paratrooper there with the 173d Airborne Brigade.

He recently joined the Military Adviser Team as an adviser to the South Vietnamese Army. He was scheduled to come home in six weeks.

A SKI ENTHUSIAST

Lieutenant Ward was a ski enthusiast and was interested in automobiles. While he was at high school, he was the night manager for a Bethesda service station.

Survivors include his parents, Mr. and Mrs. James R. Ward, of 6429 Earham drive, Bethesda; and two sisters, Sara K. Ward of Bethesda, and Mrs. Mary Ann Burrow, of Bainbridge, Md.

Lieutenant Ward's father said of his son's attitude about the Vietnam war: "He understood why we were there."

BLOOMFIELD'S NONAGENARIAN

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 30, 1969

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the town of Bloomfield, N.J., has been blessed with the presence of Mr. Frank Masinda since 1905. He has recently celebrated his 93d birthday and I want to join all his many friends in wishing him many many more.

I include an article about Mr. Masinda from the Bloomfield Independent Press of July 24, 1969, at this point in the RECORD:

NONAGENARIAN'S RECIPE FOR LONGEVITY IS TO BE HAPPY

Frank Masinda of 227 Broughton avenue, Bloomfield, observed his 93rd birthday on July 19. Helping him celebrate at a family fete held at his home were his 85 year old wife, Monica, and many children, grandchildren and immediate members of the family.

Masinda was born in Austria. He came to this country in 1893. He settled in New York and was employed by General Electric Co. In 1904 he married the former Monica Menchek of Czechoslovakia. The couple met in

New York. A year after their marriage, the couple moved to Newark.

After saving up enough money in 1905, Masinda bought a piece of land in what was referred to, at that time, as the "country." The land that Masinda purchased had only a dirt road. There were only three houses in the area. Masinda built a home on the acquired property and has lived there ever since. Today, the "country" land that Masinda purchased is known as Broughton avenue, Bloomfield.

During his lifetime, Masinda built four additional homes on neighboring properties. He gave these houses to two of his three sons and to two daughters. His sons are Richard of Cedar Grove; William of Bloomfield, and Frank of Los Angeles, Calif. Masinda's daughters are Mrs. Lois French of Bloomfield, and the late Mrs. Elsie Visakay, who was also of Bloomfield. He has six grandchildren and two great-grandchildren.

Masinda worked for the Consolidated Safety Pin Company, Bloomfield, 17 years. While employed at this concern, Masinda assisted in the development of automatic pin-making machines. When the concern moved its operations to Massachusetts in 1943, Masinda went into business for himself. He operated the sheet metal firm called Bloomfield Manufacturing. The firm is now located in Fairfield and is being operated by Masinda's son, William. The company employs 85 workers.

During the 1920's, Masinda's wife, Monica, tended the dairy cows on the Masinda homestead. She delivered fresh milk throughout Bloomfield for approximately eight years. Mr. and Mrs. Masinda both sold a variety of fruits and vegetables which they grew on their farm.

For his own pleasure and enjoyment, Masinda tends a small garden on his property. An active individual, Masinda rises each morning at 6 a.m., and retires around 9 p.m. He enjoys watching TV.

Commenting on the astronauts landing on the moon, Masinda stated "that he feels the money that was spent on the moon landing could have been spent better here on earth."

Masinda has been smoking cigars for 70 years. Lately, he has been thinking about giving up his 70 year old habit. Masinda stated the health advertisements regarding smoking are not influencing him in any way. "I'm just loosing the taste for cigars," said Masinda.

Masinda, who still enjoys his daily glass of wine, said that he has lived a "good, full life" and that he has no regrets. "I have never tried to be rich, just to be happy." Masinda has no fear of death and he says that he is ready to go whenever his time comes.

For a long life, Masinda advised, "A person must favor his body. Do not do anything that you think is not good for your body, such as overeating or over indulgence in alcoholic beverages. Physical exercise is also very good. I have always worked outside and have had plenty of exercise. I have always tried to take good care of myself."

SENATE—Thursday, July 31, 1969

(Legislative day of Wednesday, July 30, 1969)

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a.m. on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by Hon. HARRY F. BYRD, JR., a Senator from the State of Virginia.

The Reverend Douglas G. Ebert, pastor, St. Andrew's Methodist Church, Alexandria, Va., offered the following prayer:

Almighty and eternal God overflow our hearts with thanksgiving and praise as

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you have overflow our storehouses with blessings. It is reassuring to realize that we can rely upon Thy steadfast laws. By means of the vast knowledge that man has acquired from Thee, he has been capable of journeying to another realm of Thy creation. We thank Thee for these dedicated men of faith and discipline. May their efforts be rewarded through unity and peace for all of Thy creation.

Help us, even in our amazement of man's ingenuity, not to lose sight of the power that hath made and preserved us a nation.

We are grateful for the opportunity to live in a democratic nation, for sincere and dedicated officials of Government, and for a nation seeking for peace and good will for all mankind. We pray Thy strength, courage, and divine guidance