

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

By Mr. BOGGS:

H. Con. Res. 311. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the future exploration of space frontiers jointly by the United States and other technologically advanced nations of the world; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H. Con. Res. 312. Concurrent resolution to invite members of the Supreme Soviet to visit the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:

H. Con. Res. 313. Concurrent resolution to encourage displaying the flag of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BIAGGI:

H. Res. 506. Resolution creating a select committee to conduct an investigation and study of all aspects of crime and disorder on U.S. military installations; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. ASHBROOK:

H. Res. 507. Resolution amending rule

XXXV of the Rules of the House of Representatives to increase fees of witnesses before the House or its committees; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. KLUCZYNSKI:

H. Res. 508. Resolution providing funds for the Select Committee on the House Restaurant; to the Committee on House Administration.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. BURTON of California:

H.R. 13262. A bill for the relief of Vasilios Stavropoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HORTON:

H.R. 13263. A bill for the relief of John R. Groves; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 13264. A bill for the relief of Leda Kemmet; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 13265. A bill to confer U.S. citizenship

posthumously upon Lance Cpl. Frank J. Krec; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 13266. A bill to provide for the free entry of one electron spin resonance spectrometer for the use of the University of Rochester, N.Y.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MIZE:

H.R. 13267. A bill to direct the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain lands in Geary County, Kans., to Margaret G. More; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BIAGGI:

H.R. 13268. A bill for the relief of Agostino D'Ascoli; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

199. The SPEAKER presented a petition of the Board of Supervisors, Los Angeles County, Calif., relative to the Interstate Taxation Act, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### GOOD SENSE ON THE CAMPUS

#### HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, we have had a plethora of advice from the left informing us that unless there is a great deal of change toward accommodating student dissidents there will be disorder and chaos. News reports of campus violence and recorded instances of administrative backbone turning to quivering jelly in the face of unthinking, nonnegotiable demands coupled with the threat of violence as well as actual violence, has led many members of the academic community to think that "the sky is falling."

Nowhere has controversy swirled with greater rage than in those locations where "defense research" was being conducted. The first silly outbreak of this kind of action occurred on campuses where Dow Chemical recruiters were working. Because this company makes, among many other products, a part of the weaponry called napalm, it has become a convenient target for campus radicals, spurred on by professional reactionaries and revolutionists.

These "third world" people cry on their beads and in the beards about burning babies with napalm and conveniently ignore the deliberate rocket attacks the Vietcong mount, aimed strictly at the civilian population. In instance after instance, brutalities, atrocities, and arms caches designed for civilian mayhem have been discovered and documented—but these bearded bleeding hearts look the other way. South Vietnamese civilians apparently do not feel pain, are not subject to atrocities, have no place in the third world dreams of these "great unwashed."

When I recently ran across a cogent and clearly stated document detailing

the activities of these antiwar protesters it was like a breath of springtime. I wish to share it with the Senate and ask unanimous consent that an address by Charles A. Anderson, president of Stanford Research Institute, Menlo Park, Calif., given on June 6, 1969, before the Commonwealth Club of California meeting in San Francisco, be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### DEFENSE RESEARCH AND THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY

(By Charles A. Anderson)

(NOTE.—SRI is a nonprofit organization, performing contract research for industry, government, and foundations in the United States and abroad. Its fields of interest are in the physical and life sciences, economics, management sciences, system sciences and engineering.)

Here and there throughout the country, news stories have cropped up in recent months, stories that are very similar and, to some people, rather disturbing. To a few others, they are good news. But, like most news items, they disappear the next day or the next week and there really hasn't been any real impact on the general public.

I am talking about the news story not long ago that Massachusetts Institute of Technology would not for the time being accept any more classified research programs in two of its affiliated laboratories. More recently, a faculty-student committee urged a cutback in military research at MIT.

There was a story some time ago that the Institute for Defense Analysis had ended its ties with a number of major universities that had sponsored it.

American University has ended all classified research for the government.

Here at home the faculty Senate of Stanford University voted not to engage in classified research after the sit-in by dissident students at the Applied Electronics Laboratory on campus.

And, of course, Stanford Research Institute has had its share of attention lately, most of it unwanted. It has been decided by the Trustees of Stanford University that the formal ties between Stanford University and SRI will be determined. Meanwhile, various

campus groups, led mainly by the radical Students for a Democratic Society, have been demanding that SRI stop certain kinds of national security research.

If all these separate actions had happened on the same day, or if we saw them all as part of a national problem, we might look at them more soberly. Indeed, many of our citizens might be alarmed.

Put all these isolated incidents together and think about what's happening in America. We have a small but very active population of dissidents who have told us openly that they disagree with the national goals of the majority. They tell us openly they will destroy us by destroying our institutions and our ability to defend ourselves and our country, and that they will use violence and bloodshed when necessary. Recently, I was told that personally by a young SDS leader who was shaking his fist under my nose at the time. And then these revolutionaries go out and do exactly what they said they would do. They have succeeded on campus after campus and they are doing serious harm to America's research for national security. They get away with it, usually. I think it's high time for people of this country to be alarmed at this situation.

I should make it clear that I mean no special criticism of the Stanford University administration or faculty. We have had some 23 years of pleasant and mutually beneficial relationships with the University and we look forward to many more years. The academic community, however, has a difficult problem in dealing with violence and law-breaking on the campus.

I can understand the argument that classified research should not be carried out by a university. The university must keep in mind its purpose to make its knowledge known to the general public—in particular, to its students. SRI, on the other hand, was formed as an independent contract research organization that could work on projects resulting in classified and proprietary information for both government and industry.

College faculties over the years have demanded for themselves a great deal of authority in the government of the campus but they have never before been faced with conditions such as they face today. In their efforts to protect the campus tradition of academic freedom and freedom of dissent—and harassed as they are by the inevitable minority of faculty members who belong to the radical fringe—they find it very difficult

to exercise the authority they have won. Ironically, they sometimes end up doing serious damage to the very ideas they seek to protect.

A faculty friend of mine said this about the recent radical activities on the Stanford campus: "These tactics are alien to the community; it remains to be seen whether they can be countered through means which themselves do not destroy the essence of the University."

He made another interesting point I would like to quote. He said: "I have never felt constrained from projecting my own views and actions into the outside community as an individual. The University has provided the firm base making such actions possible for all members of groups so stimulated."

"Unhappily, we seem now to be entering a period of 'consensus' in which the University itself is urged to adopt a position on issues moral and political, and those within who do not naturally subscribe to the consensus view must conform or be quiet." And he continued: "My alarm is heightened by the apparent ability of any hyperactive group, perhaps a group small in numbers, to gain enormous strength from the tacit enlistment through this process of the force of the total University community. It is dangerous to the University and, through extrapolation, to the outside community."

The extremists, the radical dissidents, have been successful on university campuses because each incident usually is small enough to leave the majority of the community uninvolved personally. Not until the cumulative effect of many incidents affects enough people directly will there be concerted efforts to stop the use of violence as a political tactic. In this connection, it is significant, I believe, that just this past week both the Congress and the President have officially noted this problem. There is, of course, the great danger that the country's reaction, if too long delayed, will be an over-reaction. I trust this will not be the case.

I am not an authority on these antigovernment movements on college campuses; I've been preoccupied with my own troubles lately. But I think the situation we've had at SRI contains many of the typical elements of the trend and some comments about our experience may be helpful.

It's important, I believe, to start off by telling you about Stanford Research Institute and its work. An understanding of SRI is necessary in order to see the radicals' demands in perspective.

SRI was the result of a strong need in the West for an independent contract research organization. With the help of West Coast business leaders, the Trustees of Stanford University chartered SRI in 1946 as a non-profit, tax-exempt scientific research organization under the laws of the State of California. It now performs contract research for industry, government and foundations throughout the free world. Its fields of competence include the physical and life sciences, economics, management sciences, systems sciences and engineering. Its relationship to Stanford University has been that of a co-equal, sister organization under a common Board of Trustees. As you know, the Trustees have now decided that this formal tie to the University will be terminated.

SRI has almost 3,000 employees and 1,500 of these are members of the professional and scientific staff. At the moment, SRI is at work on some 775 separate research projects. In a typical year, we will work on a total of 1200 projects. This is a contract research volume in excess of \$60 million per year—and constitutes our only source of income. We have no endowment such as the University enjoys.

Most of the SRI staff is in our headquarters in Menlo Park. We also have a major facility in Southern California. Other SRI

offices are located in Washington, New York, Chicago, Huntsville, Zurich, Stockholm, Tokyo and Bangkok. Project offices are established in other areas from time to time depending on particular requirements.

One of the most valuable assets of Stanford Research Institute is the fact that its unique position makes it one of the very few, perhaps the only research organization that can serve effectively as the point of contact, the interface between business, government, the universities, foundations and the public. Many of the problems facing the world today are too complex to be solved by the academic world alone, or by government alone, or by private enterprise alone. SRI is able to work freely and objectively with all these sectors of society throughout the world and in virtually all of the major disciplines of knowledge. In that position, it can—and does—make significant contributions to the solution of man's problems. In its short lifetime, SRI has become a very important and strategic national resource.

Last year the Institute created a new office to direct and co-ordinate major Institute-wide programs of research supported largely by the Institute's own research and development funds. In these broad programs we are concentrating on research in the areas of education, health, communications, transportation, pollution, public safety and urban development.

Our own internal resources for undertaking such program efforts are, of course, limited but we are investing in them in the belief that we will be able to make constructive beginnings that will attract major outside support.

For example, SRI has done a great deal of work on the problems of environmental pollution. Our medical people are studying the effects of many kinds of pollutants on the human system, our chemists are studying the composition of contaminants, our economists and corporate planners are studying market opportunities in pollution control.

In communications, in addition to the technical aspects, we are working more and more on the operational, economic, and social aspects of communications. Our activities range from experiments on space probes and satellite systems to communication aids for the blind.

In urban problems, we have worked with communities to improve their joint planning in providing education, health, welfare, housing and other social services.

We were accused of working in domestic counter-insurgency because of a project for the Small Business Administration, aimed at helping small businesses find better ways to guard against burglary, robbery and vandalism.

The SDS frowns on a village information project we have under way in Thailand to help the government plan, develop and implement a computer-based information system that will provide data on villages that are pertinent to improving the life of the common man in that country.

In engineering, which makes up about 30 percent of SRI's research activity, our scientists are working on microwave and laser technology, radio communication, radio physics, weather science, computer and information sciences, mechanics, system control and electron physics. About 90 percent of this work is sponsored by various agencies of federal and state government.

Dr. Donald Scheuch, who heads the engineering division, was discussing our ABM research in a presentation recently and made a very important point about SRI.

"Our government has major decisions to make," Dr. Scheuch said, "and competent and pertinent studies can only help the decision process. The crucial issue here is objectivity. The Army recognizes its own institutional bias; it also recognizes that it

cannot expect complete objectivity from a manufacturer who could potentially sell a multi-million-dollar system. Precisely because the military services need objective advice, they turn to not-for-profit organization such as SRI."

In the division of life sciences, the largest part of our work is funded by various Federal agencies and is mainly directed at some disease condition. Research is being conducted on cancer, leprosy, kidney disease, organ transplants, malaria and other tropical diseases, emphysema, muscular dystrophy, nutritional problems and central nervous system problems.

In the physical sciences, programs are under way in structural dynamics, high-pressure and fluid physics, polymers, process metallurgy, the development of exotic new materials, crystal growth and chemical engineering. Personnel in management and systems sciences are working on resource management, airport planning, decision analysis and education policy.

About one-third of our work is for industry. Much of it involves relating the onrush of new technology to economic opportunities—helping management identify areas of opportunity and developing programs to contribute to and capitalize on the change taking place about us.

About 20 percent of SRI's work is in the international field. There is scarcely a country in the free world in which SRI has not contributed to progress.

You may be familiar with the International Industrial Conference sponsored by SRI every four years here in San Francisco. We have conducted other major conferences recently in Djakarta, Singapore, Lima, Manila and Vienna.

I realize that this recitation of SRI research has been long and perhaps a bit tedious, even though it doesn't even scratch the surface of what is going on. I just wanted to convey to you some sense of the tremendous range and scope of work at SRI, some appreciation of the kinds of people working there.

With that background, you can better imagine our feelings when members of SDS and other campus dissidents at the University—some of them well-intentioned but misinformed—attacked SRI as something sinister.

Unfortunately, the truth is no deterrent to the revolutionaries who are bent on destroying America's work in national security research and on the destruction of our important institutions.

What this element lacks in moral responsibility, however, it makes up in shrewdness. What finally was named the April Third Movement at Stanford is led by some very good tacticians. They appeal to feelings that most of us share—a desire for peace, frustration about Viet Nam, a longing for a better world for all peoples. They bring many sincere students and faculty into their orbit, or at least temporary.

The hard-core radical group in and about our universities is small but we should not mislead ourselves because of that fact. Their influence is out of proportion to their numbers.

In addition to the hard-core radicals and those who sympathize in some degree with their publicized aims (which aren't necessarily their real aims, as they themselves admit), there are a great many with no strong ideology one way or the other but, as John Gardner said in a recent lecture at Harvard, they "are running a chronic low fever of antagonism toward their institutions, toward their fellowman and toward life in general; they provide the climate in which disorder spreads."

Another factor in this climate is the average person's fear of seeming to be against dissent, or seeming to be "a square" in the

eyes of others. This desire by so many to seem tolerant, to seem concerned and avant garde, to be popular with everyone, makes it possible for dissidents to get away with unbelievable liberties while those who should be trying to educate them are instead pointing out that the dissidents have legitimate complaints that justify illegitimate means.

I know there are some legitimate complaints but I do not condone violence as a means of seeking correction. Nor do the vast majority of those on our campuses.

I have a real admiration for the vast majority of our college students. My associates and I have talked with hundreds of them over the past months and I am very much impressed with their sincerity, ability and intelligence.

As to the hard-core radicals, they are different. They feel the way to reform is to destroy. They offer no alternatives and no apologies.

Now let me summarize for you the events of unrest at Stanford, at least as they affected SRI.

Some months ago, the hard-core radical group began a campaign to convince others that it is morally wrong for a university or university-affiliated research center to do defense-related research—indeed, to do any classified research. As I indicated earlier, their definition of what is wrong is pretty broad and would include a number of projects at SRI and at Stanford funded by the Department of Defense. Of our \$64 million volume last year, about \$45 million was supported by government. About half our total volume was supported by the Department of Defense but only about 11 percent of our projects were classified.

As a result of the radical's agitation, the then-acting president of Stanford University appointed a faculty-student committee to make recommendations on whether the affiliation between the University and SRI should be maintained, altered, or terminated.

While this committee deliberated, the campaign against research in support of national security went on unabated. The radicals and their temporary supporters violently disrupted a Trustees' meeting. Then they seized the University's Applied Electronics Laboratory a full six days before the committee report was due to be released. It was obvious they knew the majority report was going against some of their demands and they decided, it seems, not even to go through the motions of due process and to force their own views on the majority.

The University lab was held from April 9 through April 18. Despite some pious protestations, the radicals caused a good bit of damage. To quote a laboratory official, "There was thievery, senseless vandalism, personal abuse, and threats of violence against our staff, a deliberate misuse of personal and laboratory property that cannot be described as careless or casual."

After the students left the laboratory on April 18, the University administration kept the lab closed an additional week—that is, until April 25—as part of the settlement. To repeat, the radicals' primary target was national security research at SRI but they seized a University building instead. The primary reason, I understand from students, is the fact that we had made it clear to the campus that we welcome sincere students who want to visit and talk with us but that anyone interfering unlawfully with our operations would be arrested and prosecuted.

On April 15, the faculty-student committee issued its report. It recommended various ways to control research at SRI but in that regard, it was pretty much agreed: there should be tight control to see that SRI stopped doing so-called immoral research, which in their definition, turns out

to be largely research in the interests of national security.

The staff at SRI, by an overwhelming majority, let it be known they would quit rather than submit to control of their work by some outside morals committee. Strangely enough, the morals committee idea seemed to have some support among faculty members until others began pointing out how deadly such an idea could be to their own academic freedom. As one professor said, academic freedom is not a law, but an idea—and it is terribly fragile.

Through it all SRI remained firm in its stand that it would not permit the dissidents to disrupt its work and it would not permit outside control of its work.

On May 13, the University Trustees decided to terminate the SRI-University affiliation and said there would not be any artificial outside control of research. We agreed wholeheartedly with that decision.

As expected, the SDS-led April Third Movement, unhappy with having its demands turned down, lashed back. Using University buildings—the auditorium and the chapel—they held a public planning session in which they openly plotted the destruction of SRI. This meeting, frequently marked by obscene language, was carried on the student radio station to listeners in the Stanford area. Imagine. This was a public meeting to plot the harassment of our professional staff, the destruction of SRI property and the crippling of research for our national defense.

That night, May 14, they broke a door and a window in one of our buildings, and, incidentally, surrounded and held the car in which my wife and I were driving home. Two days later, after some more open meetings on the destruction of SRI, they attacked the building breaking most of the windows they could reach and causing about \$10,000 worth of damage before police were able to clear them away. That sounds bad but there were only about 500 dissidents involved in contrast to the 1500 or 2000 they had tried to muster.

This was on a Friday. Over the weekend—with the aid of a number of Stanford students—we studied the hundreds of photographs that had been taken of the demonstrators and went over tapes of their meetings. By Sunday night we were serving the leaders and their organizations with a temporary restraining order.

The following Monday they tried again but could muster only about 200, plus another 100 high school youngsters looking for excitement. There was no damage.

On the next Friday, May 23, they tried again and could muster only about 35 hard-core radicals. By this time quite a few of their leaders had been arrested.

Through it all, no one was able to force his way into our buildings. There have been absolutely no compromise of security. Not one SRI employee has been injured. Our work has not been seriously disrupted.

But we have not relaxed. This is a long-term problem that we face. The radical groups have convinced me that they will persist perhaps for several years in their attempts to disrupt our work and to destroy our institutions.

I think we have convinced them that we're willing to fight for our rights just as hard and for just as long. I hope many others will join us in that determination.

I would like to share with you what I think I have learned from this experience.

Let's not by any means lose faith in the majority of the university and college students. Remember, most of them have been studying while a few have been breaking windows and laws. I do think it is important that we talk with these students on every possible occasion. We are I believe,

uncomfortably close to a breakdown of communication and understanding with these students. They have many reasons for being discontent—and some good reasons from their viewpoint. We should listen to them—try to understand them. And in the process, they will better understand us, "the establishment" and isolate the few "hard-core" radicals who want only to destroy.

As for the hard-core radical student—the SDS type—I have found that they do not really want the so-called rational dialogue they speak of. It is only a phrase they use in trying to set up confrontation. They are bent on destroying the "establishment" and reducing our institutions to chaos. With them I believe we must be absolutely firm and make it clear that lawlessness and violence are unacceptable tactics in our society under any circumstance. We must make it clear that we will insist upon and protect our rights.

And above all, we must know in our hearts and explain to others that we have faith in this country's system of representative government and that we work for change in national goals when we vote.

On April 14, the first day of the radicals' spring offensive and the day several hundred appeared in front of our building for what they always call a "rational dialogue," we issued a statement. It ended with this thought:

"I have great faith in our form of government by elected representatives and in the basic good sense and decency of the American people who elect them. When that government, responsive as it is to the majority will of the people, asks our help, it will get our help (to the degree of our capability)—whether the problems deal with national security or with urban problems, economic problems or problems of housing, hunger or health. We will not abdicate that responsibility to suit the whims of dissident groups who do not represent the majority will of the people or their government. Neither will we tolerate disruption of our operations or of the work we are doing for our clients."

As I said, the last chapter has yet to be written about violence in America and about those who would destroy our institutions. In the meantime, SRI will stand with that statement of belief.

It seems to work.

#### NEW KIND OF POPULATION PROBLEM

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in the process of inserting into the RECORD an article in the Tuesday, July 29 Christian Science Monitor, I must briefly comment on slight inaccuracies in this item.

The basic approach and point is excellent, but constructive criticism is in order. Specifically, the phraseology oversimplifies the power structure of the Soviet Union since there is much more to it than "Russians and Asians." It is necessary to point out that the Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Armenians, Georgians, Tartars, and other peoples in Azerbaijan and Turkestan are all non-Russian.

It is also important to note that they are not only non-Russian, but that they are, for the most part, legitimate nationalists who are oppressed by the Soviet Government.

I feel that this brief explanation on my part is a necessary forward to the editorial that follows since the captive nations are often referred to as the "Achilles' heel" of the Soviet Union:

#### NEW KIND OF POPULATION PROBLEM

The next Soviet census is expected to reveal startling population figures. It is believed that this nose-counting will confirm what experts in Moscow now think is the case—Russians are no longer a majority in Russia. In short, preliminary and unofficial estimates reckon that minority groups now outnumber Great Russians for the first time in Soviet history.

What is more, every indication points to a proportionate increase in this non-Russian majority in the years ahead. Whereas the Russians made up some 55 percent of the Soviet Union's population as recently as 1959, it is not at all impossible that, 10 years hence, the racial minorities will put together, account for 55 percent of all citizens.

The reason for this is clear. It is the same reason which is increasingly plaguing (from one point of view, of course) almost all European Communist lands: a low and steadily dropping birthrate. It is now reckoned that the birthrate of those racially Russian is only 14 per thousand a year. On the other hand, among the various Asian minorities, many have yearly birthrates around 35 per thousand. And since the deathrate differences between Russians and Asians is nowhere near as great, this means the latter have a far higher rate of natural increase.

This steadily dwindling Russian presence (proportionately speaking) has intensified the Kremlin's nightmares over the growing restlessness of national minorities, some of whom are making demands for self-expression which Moscow looks upon as extremely dangerous in a closely controlled society. While no one expects the Great Russian control to be broken early on, it is obvious that Moscow has no small future problem on its hands.

Meanwhile, the very foundations of economic progress, as presently achieved, are being threatened in a number of other Eastern European Communist lands by an increasingly unfavorable population situation. Indeed, in East Germany, this has already reached crisis proportions. Between 1961, when East Germany put up the Berlin Wall to stop the flow of those wishing to leave and 1968, its population (including East Berlin) dropped from 17,125,000 to 17,084,000. At the same time, West Germany (including West Berlin) rose in population from 56,227,000 to 60,165,000. Worst of all, by 1968, East Germany's birthrate had dropped so sharply that virtually the same number of persons died (14.2 per thousand) as were born (14.3). Unless there is a drastic change, this means that the population drop could soon reach industry-crippling proportions.

While the world as a whole fights one kind of a population problem, European communism faces a very different kind of population challenge.

#### TWO VIEWS OF ELECTIONS

### HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, great hopes for peace in Vietnam should not

be placed on the proposal for free elections in South Vietnam. An astute analysis of this view is expressed in an editorial of the July 7 issue of the State newspaper in Columbia, S.C. Mr. William D. Workman, editor, has made an objective appraisal of this proposal. Hanoi's present reaction to the free elections validates his analysis.

Mr. Workman points out that:

Your offer of free elections is probably predicable on all but certain knowledge that the Viet Cong cannot win in a fair-and-square contest at the polls. So the concept of self-determination does not at this time seem to offer much hope for a quick peace. What is logical and fair to us is not so to the Reds.

Mr. President, America's patience is again being tested. Mr. Workman warns that our Nation must "pass the test." His appraisal of the election proposal provides an insight to the Communist intransigent attitude. His viewpoint is worthy of our attention.

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

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

#### TWO VIEWS OF ELECTIONS

False hopes for peace in Vietnam soar like gas-filled balloons. It doesn't take much to cut the strings, filling the sky for a fleeting period of time.

This is understandable. The American people—hawks, doves and those in between—want peace, of one kind or another, so badly they are ready to dance in the streets at any prospect.

Perhaps no concept so appeals to the American sense of fairness as the idea of self-determination for the people of South Vietnam through free elections. This is the carrot that the Nixon administration is dangling in front of Hanoi and the Viet Cong.

It tells them this: You might can get a voice in the Saigon government if you will quit fighting and submit the issue to the people of the south in free elections supervised by a mixed commission to assure there's no hanky-panky. Win or lose, the results stand and all parties will accept them.

This is the American way; this is the way things are done in a democracy.

But is such a carrot tempting to the Asian Communists? The answer is almost certainly no, unless certain conditions exist. Hanoi might buy such a plan in an effort to salvage something out of defeat. Has 20 years of off and on fighting so wearied the North that it is willing to give up its cherished desire to unify Vietnam under its control? There is little to suggest this is true now.

In fact, in a rare interview recently, Hanoi's hero of Dienbenphu, Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, said, "We shall militarily beat the Americans." He even bragged that North Vietnam had lost half a million men in the war—the equivalent of six million Americans in terms of population. Columnist John P. Roche thinks this exaggeration of death figures was an effort on the part of the hawkish and brilliant Giap to indicate his country's total commitment to victory.

Another condition that may tempt Hanoi to accept self-determination is the feeling that non-Communists in the South are so fragmented that the Viet Cong, as a militant, well-organized minority, might gain control.

Otherwise, the elections have no appeal to our Asian enemies. Most Asians, even non-Communists, do not accept the winner-take-

all view of elections. To them, the public goes to the polls simply to rubber stamp political conditions predetermined by the leadership. The result must be almost totally predictable in advance.

The American government, of course, knows this. Indeed our offer of free elections is probably predicated on the all but certain knowledge that the Viet Cong can't win in a fair-and-square contest at the polls. The best estimates are that they represent no more than 15 per cent of the population.

The recent formation by the VC of the so-called "provisional revolutionary government" is taken by some as meaning they have discarded the "free-election" idea. This is an ideal vehicle for taking over after U.S. troops leave and staging an election, Communist-style.

So the concept of self-determination does not at this time seem to offer much hope for a quick peace. What is logical and fair to us is not so to the Reds.

And yet can our negotiators go very far beyond this offer without selling out Saigon? Clearly not. It is a situation calculated again to test American patience and purpose. If America is to continue its role as a world leader and a protector of freedom, as President Nixon had said it will, then it must pass the test.

#### THE STUDENT REVOLT: A PROFOUNDLY HOPEFUL ANALYSIS

### HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, there is much debate and discussion in our society, and in the Congress, today about the causes of the generation gap, student unrest, and student disorder. Much of the discussion has centered on those few violent and disruptive representatives of the student generation who all too often capture the headlines. Little thought has seemingly been directed at the underlying causes of the malaise which afflicts students of this generation and which is so incomprehensible to many of their elders.

In the June 7, 1969, issue of Saturday Review the distinguished author and poet Archibald MacLeish has published what I believe to be a profoundly encouraging analysis of student unrest and student dissatisfaction. It is an analysis which not only asks the right questions, but puts us on the road to finding some of the right answers as well. Mr. MacLeish asks:

Why does the generation of the Sixties make itself morally responsible for the war in Vietnam, while the generation of 1917 stood on the Marne and quoted Woodrow Wilson . . . ? Why, for the first time, do university students . . . demand a part in the process?

Later in his article Mr. MacLeish provides at least a part of the answer—an answer which I find both convincing and encouraging:

It is an angry generation, yes, but its resentment is not the disgust of the generation for which Beckett speaks. Its resentment is not a resentment of our human life but a resentment *on behalf* of human life; not an indignation that we exist on the Earth but that we *permit* ourselves to exist in a selfishness and wretchedness and squalor

which we have the means to abolish. Resentment of this kind is founded, can only be founded, on belief in man. And belief in man—a return to a belief in man—is the reality on which a new age can be built.

The article referred to follows:

[From the Saturday Review, June 7, 1969]

THE REVOLT OF THE DIMINISHED MAN

(By Archibald MacLeish)

(NOTE.—This article is adapted from a speech delivered by Mr. MacLeish on Charter Day at the University of California.)

Robert Frost had the universe, not the university, in mind when he wrote his laconic couplet about the secret in the middle, but the image fits the academic world in crisis as well as the mysteries of space.

We dance around in a ring and suppose

But the secret sits in the middle and knows.

Indeed, we do. Faculty committees, state legislatures, alumni associations, police departments, and all the rest of us whirl in a circle with our favorite suppositions—which increasingly tend to roll up into one supposition: that the crisis in the university is really only a student crisis, or, more precisely, a crisis precipitated by a small minority of students, which would go away if the students would stop doing whatever it is they are doing or whatever they plan to do next.

Which, needless to say, is not a wholly irrational supposition. Those who have seen a purposeful task force of Harvard students take over University Hall, carry out reluctant deans, break into files, shout down professors are within their logical rights when they conclude that the occupying students were the cause of the crisis thus created. But the supposition remains a supposition notwithstanding for it does not follow—did not follow at Harvard certainly—that the crisis is a student crisis in the critical sense that it can be ended merely by suppressing the students involved. When the students involved were suppressed at Harvard, the crisis (as at other universities) was not reduced but enlarged. Which suggests, if it suggests anything, that the actual crisis is larger than its particular incidents or their perpetrators.

And there are other familiar facts which look in the same direction; as, for example, the fact that it is only when the general opinion of an entire student generation supports, or at least condones, minority disruptions that they can hope to succeed. The notion that the activist tail wags the huge, indifferent student dog is an illusion. Had a minority of the kind involved at Harvard attempted to bring the University to that famous "grinding halt" in the Forties or the Fifties it would have had its trouble for its pains no matter how forceful the police. It succeeded in the Sixties for one reason and for one reason only—because the climate of student opinion as a whole had changed in the Sixties; because there has been a change in the underlying beliefs, the accepted ideas, of an entire academic generation, or the greater part of it.

To look for the cause of crisis, therefore, is to examine, not the demands of the much discussed minorities but something larger—the changes in belief of the generation to which they belong. And there at once a paradox appears. The most striking of these changes far from disturbing the academic world should and does encourage it. There are, of course, romantics in the new generation who talk of destroying the university as a symbol of a defunct civilization, but the great mass of their contemporaries, however little they sometimes seem to understand the nature of the university—the vulnerability, fragility even, of that free and open com-

munity of minds which a university is—are nevertheless profoundly concerned with the university's well-being and, specifically, its relation to the world and to themselves.

This is a new thing under the academic sun—and, in itself, a hopeful thing. Down to the decade now closing, demands by any considerable number of American undergraduates for changes in the substance or manner or method or purpose of their instruction were rare indeed. In my day at Yale, back before the First World War, no one concerned himself less with matters of curriculum and teaching and the like than a college undergraduate. We were not, as undergraduates, indifferent to our education, but it never occurred to any of us to think of the curriculum of Yale College as a matter within our concern, or the policies of the university as decisions about which we—we of all creatures living—were entitled to an opinion. Some of my college classmates protested compulsory chapel (largely because of its interference with breakfast), but no one to my knowledge ever protested, even in a letter to the *News*, the pedantic teaching of Shakespeare, from which the college then suffered, or the non-teaching of Karl Marx, who was then on the point of changing the history of the world.

And the same thing was true of the relation between the university and the world outside. We in the class of 1915 spent our senior year in a Yale totally surrounded by the First World War, but we were "inside" and all the rest were "outside," and it was not for us to put the two together—not even for those of us who were to go from New Haven to die on the Marne or in the Argonne under extremely unpleasant circumstances in the most murderous, hypocritical, unnecessary, and generally nasty of all recorded wars, the present one included. Our deaths, as we came to know, would be our own but not their reasons. When I myself was asked by a corporal in my battery what we were there for—"there" being the second battle of the Marne—I quoted President Wilson: "to make the world safe for democracy." It was not my war. President Wilson was running it.

And the generation which fought the next war twenty years later saw things in much the same way. They too were in a sense observers—observers, in their case, of their own heroism. When the war came they fought it with magnificent courage; no citizen army in history ever fought better than theirs after that brutal North African initiation. But until the war came, while it was still in the agonizing process of becoming, it was somebody else's war—President Roosevelt's, as the *Chicago Tribune* kept insinuating, or Winston Churchill's. "America First" was, in part, a campus movement but the terrible question posed by Adolf Hitler—a question of life or death for thousands of young Americans and very possibly for the Republic itself—was little argued by the undergraduates of 1941. The political aspects of fascism they left to their elders at home and the moral agony to their contemporaries in the French Resistance. They themselves merely fought the war and won it—fought it with a kind of gallant indifference, an almost ironic gallantry, which was, and still remains, the hallmark of that incredible generation and its improbable triumph.

It is in this perspective and against this background that the attitudes of the undergraduates of the Sixties must be seen. Here, suddenly and almost without warning, is a generation of undergraduates that reverses everything that has gone before, rejects the traditional undergraduate isolation, refuses the conventional segregation of the university from the troubled world, and not only accepts for itself but demands for itself a measure of responsibility for both—for uni-

versity and world, for life as well as for education.

And the question, if we wish to understand this famous crisis of ours, is: Why? Why has this transformation of ideas—metamorphosis more precisely—taken place? Why does the generation of the Sixties make itself morally responsible for the war in Vietnam, while the generation of 1917 stood on the Marne quoting Woodrow Wilson and the generation of 1941 smashed the invincible Nazi armor from Normandy to the Rhine without a quotation from anybody? Why, for the first time in the remembered history of this Republic, do its college and university students assert a responsibility for their own education, demand a part in the process? Are we really to believe with some of our legislators that the whole thing is the result of a mysterious, country-wide conspiracy among the hairier of the young directed perhaps by a sinister professor somewhere? Or is it open to us to consider that the crisis in the university may actually be what we call it: a crisis in the university—a crisis in education itself precipitated by a revolution in ideas, a revolution in the ideas of a new generation of mankind?

There are those who believe we must find the answer to that question where we find the question: in the decade in which we live. Franklin Ford, dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard and one of the ablest and most admired of university administrators, attributes this changed mentality in great part to "the particular malaise of the Sixties." Undertaking to explain to his colleagues his view of what we have come to call "student unrest," Dean Ford defined it in terms of concentric circles, the most important of which would include students who had been profoundly hurt by the anguish of these recent years: "The thought-benumbing blows of successive assassinations, the equally tragic though more comprehensible crisis of the cities, the growing bitterness of the poor amid the self-congratulations of affluence, the even greater bitterness of black Americans, rich or poor . . . all these torments of our day have hit thoughtful young people with peculiar force . . . Youth is a time of extreme vulnerability to grief and frustration, as well as a time of impatient, generous sympathy." And to all this, Dean Ford continues, must be added the war in Vietnam, which he sees as poisoning and exacerbating everything else, contributing "what can only be described as (a sense) of horror."

Most of us—perhaps I should qualify that by saying most of those with whom I talk—would agree. We would agree, that is to say, that the war in Vietnam has poisoned the American mind. We would agree that the affluent society—more precisely the affluent half-society—has turned out to be a sick society, for the affluent half as well as for the other. We would agree that the cancer of the cities, the animal hatred of the races, the bursting pustule of violence has hurt us all and particularly those of us who are young and they in particular because they are young, because, being young, they are generous, because, being young and generous, they are vulnerable. We would agree to all this, and we agree in consequence that there is a relationship between the malaise in the universities and Dean Ford's "particular malaise of the Sixties."

But would we agree, reflecting on those considerations and this conclusion, that it is the tragic events of the decade which, alone, are the root cause—the effective cause—of the unrest of which Dean Ford is speaking? If the bitterness, the brutality, the suffering of the last few years were the effective cause, would the university be the principal target of resentment? If Vietnam were the heart of the trouble, would the university curriculum be attacked—the

methods of teaching, the teachers themselves? Would the reaction not have expressed itself, as indeed it once did, at the Pentagon?

What is resented, clearly, is not only the present state of the Republic, the present state of the world, but some relation or lack of relation between the state of the Republic, the state of the world, and the process of education—the process of education at its most meaningful point—the process of education in the university.

But what relation or lack of relation? A direct, a one-to-one, relationship? Is the university blamed *because* the war is being fought, *because* the ghettos exist, *because* the affluent society is the vulgar, dull, unbeautiful society we see in our more ostentatious cities? Is the demand of the young a demand that the university should alter its instruction and its practices so as to put an end to this ugliness, these evils—reshape this society?

There are some undergraduates, certainly, who take this position. There are some who would like to bring the weight and influence of the university to bear directly on the solution of economic and social problems through the management of the university's real estate and endowments. There are others who would direct its instruction toward specific evils by establishing courses in African affairs and urban studies. Both attitudes are familiar: they are standard demands of student political organizations. They are also reasonable—reasonable at least in purpose if not always in form. But do they go to the heart of the matter? Is this direct relationship of specific instruction to specific need—of specific land-use program to specific land-use evil—the relation undergraduates have in mind when they complain, as they do, over and over, that their courses are not "relevant," that their education does not "respond to their needs," "preach to their condition"? Is it only "applicability," only immediate pertinence, the generation of the young demands of us? Is the deep, almost undefinable restlessness of the student generation—the dark unhappiness of which Senator Muskie spoke in that unforgettable speech at Chicago—an unhappiness which Centers of Urban Studies, however necessary, can cure?

I do not think so and neither, if you will forgive me for saying it, do you. The distress, the very real and generous suffering and distress of an entire generation of young men and young women is related certainly to the miseries of the Sixties, but it is not founded in them and it will not disappear when they vanish—when, if ever, the war ends and the hot summers find cool shade and the assassinations cease. The "relevance" these students speak of is not relevance to the *Huntley-Brinkley Report*. It is relevance to their own lives, to the living of their lives, to themselves as men and women living. And their resentment, their very real resentment and distress, rises not only from the tragedies and mischances of the last ten years but from a human situation, a total human situation involving human life as human life, which has been three generations in the making, and which this new generation now revolts against—rejects.

At the time of the Sorbonne riots a year ago a French politician spoke in terms of apocalypse: We had come to a point in time like the fall of Rome when civilizations collapse because belief is dead. What was actually happening in Paris and elsewhere was, of course, the precise opposite. Belief, passionate belief, had come alive for the first time in the century and with it rage and violence. The long diminishment, the progressive diminution of value put upon man, upon the idea of man, in modern society had met the revulsion of a generation of the young who condemned it in all its aspects, left as well as right, Communists as well as

capitalist, the indifference of the Marxist bureaucracies as well as the bureaucratic industrial indifference of the West.

This diminishment of the idea of man has been a long time in progress. I will not claim for my generation that we witnessed its beginning, I will assert only that we were the first to record it where alone it could be recorded. The arts with us became aware of a flatness in human life, a loss of depth as though a dimension had somehow dropped from the world—as though our human shadows had deserted us. The great metaphor of the journey of mankind—Ulysses among the mysteries and monsters—reduced itself in our youth to that other Ulysses among the privies and the pubs of Dublin, Ireland. Cleopatra on her flowery barge floated through a Saturday night in the Bloomsbury Twenties. Even death itself was lessened; the multitudes of Dante's damned crossed T. S. Elliot's London Bridge, commuters in the morning fog. Nothing was left remarkable beneath the visiting moon.

And in the next generation—the generation, as we are now beginning to see, of Joyce's secretary and disciple, Samuel Beckett—the testimony of the arts went on. The banality of the age turned to impotence and numbness and paralysis, a total anesthesia of the soul. Leopold Bloom no longer maundered through the musty Dublin streets. He was incapable even of maundering, incapable of motion. He sat to his neck in sand, like a head of rotting celery in an autumn garden, and waited, or did not even wait—just sat there. While as for Cleopatra—Cleopatra was an old man's youthful memory played back upon a worn-out tape.

The arts are honest witnesses in these matters. Pound was right enough, for all the well-known plethora of language, when he wrote in praise of Joyce's *Ulysses* that "it is a summary of pre-war Europe, the blackness and mess and muddle of a 'civilization,'" and that "Bloom very much is the mess." The arts, moreover, are honest witnesses in such matters not only when they achieve works of art as with Joyce and Eliot and frequently with Beckett. They testify even when they fail. The unpoem, the nonpainting of our era, the play that does not play, all bear their penny's worth of witness. The naked, half-embarrassed boy displaying his pudenda on an off-Broadway stage is not actor nor is his shivering gesture a dramatic act, but still he testifies. He is the last, sad, lost reincarnation of L. Bloom, the resurrection of the head of celery. Odysseus on his lonely raft in the god-infested sea has come to this.

What was imagined in Greece, reimagined in the Renaissance, carried to a passion of pride in Europe of the Enlightenment and to a passion of hope in the Republic of the New World—John Adams' hope as well as Jefferson's and Whitman's; Lincoln's that he called "the last, best hope"—all this grimaces in pitiful derision of itself in that nude, sad, shivering figure. And we see it or we hear about it and protest. But protest what? The nakedness! The morals of the playwright! Undoubtedly the playwright needs correction in his morals and above all in the practice of his art, but in his *vision*? His *perception*? Is he the first to see this? On the contrary, his most obvious failure as playwright is precisely the fact that he is merely one of thousands in a thronging, long contemporary line—a follower of fashion. He testifies as hundreds of his betters have been testifying now for years—for generations—near a century.

Why have they so testified? They cannot tell you. The artist's business is to see and to show, not answer why: to see as no one else can see, and to show as nothing else can show, but not to explain. He knows no more of explanation than another. And yet we cannot help but wonder why—why the belief in man has foundered; why it has

foundered *now*—precisely *now*—now at the moment of our greatest intellectual triumphs, our never equaled technological mastery, our electronic miracles. Why was man a wonder to the Greeks—to Sophocles of all the Greeks—when he could do little more than work a ship to windward, ride a horse, and plow the earth, while now that he knows the whole of modern science he is a wonder to no one—certainly not to Sophocles' successors and least of all, in any case, to himself?

There is no easy answer, though thoughtful men are beginning to suggest that an answer may be found and that, when it is, it may very well relate precisely to this vast new knowledge. George W. Morgan states the position in his *The Human Predicament*. "The sheer weight of accumulated but uncontrolled knowledge and information, of print, views, discoveries, and interpretations, of methods and techniques, inflicts a paralyzing sense of impotence. The mind is overwhelmed by a constant fear of its ignorance. . . . The individual man, feeling unable to gain a valid perspective of the world and of himself, is forced to regard both as consisting of innumerable isolated parts to be relinquished, for knowledge and control, to a legion of experts." All this, says Mr. Morgan, diminishes human understanding in the very process of augmenting human knowledge. It also, I should wish to add, diminishes something else. It diminishes man. For man, as the whole of science as well as the whole of poetry, will demonstrate, is not what he thinks he knows, but what he thinks he *can* know, can become.

But however much or little we comprehend of the cause of our paradoxical diminishment in our own eyes at the moment of our greatest technological triumphs, we cannot help but understand a little of its consequences and particularly its relation to the crisis in the university. Without the belief in man, the university is a contradiction in terms. The business of the university is education at its highest possible level, and the business of education at its highest possible level is the relation of men to their lives. But how is the university to concern itself with the relation of men to their lives, to the living of their lives, to the world in which their lives are lived, without the bold assumption, the brave, improbable hypothesis, that these lives matter, that these men count—that Odysseus on his battered, drifting raft still stands for a reality we take for real?

And how can a generation of the young, born into the world of the diminished man and in revolt against it—in revolt against its indifference to humanity in its cities and in its wars and in the weapons of its wars—how can a generation of the young help but demand some teaching from the universities which will interpret all this horror and make cause against it?

Centuries ago in a world of gods and mysteries and monsters when man's creativity, his immense creative powers, had been, as Berdyaev put it, "paralyzed by the Middle Ages"—when men had been diminished in their own eyes by the demeaning dogma of the Fall—centuries ago the university conceived an intellectual and spiritual position which released mankind into a new beginning, a rebirth, a Renaissance. What is demanded of us now in a new age of gods and mysteries and monsters, not without dogmas and superstitions of its own, is a second humanism that will free us from our new paralysis of soul as the earlier humanism freed us from that other. If it was human significance which was destroyed by the Middle Ages, it is human significance which we ourselves are now destroying. We are witnessing, as the British critic F. R. Leavis phrases it, the elimination of that "day-by-day creativity of human response which manifests itself in the significances

and values without which there is no reality—nothing but emptiness that has to be filled with drink, sex, eating, background music, and . . . the papers and the telly."

Mr. Leavis, not the most optimistic of dons on any occasion, believes that something might be done to revive "the creative human response that maintains cultural continuity" and that gives human life a meaning. I, with fewer qualifications to speak, would go much further. I would say that a conscious and determined effort to conceive a new humanism which would do for our darkness what that earlier humanism did for the darkness of the Middle Ages is not only a present dream but a present possibility, and that it is a present possibility not despite the generation of the young—the generation of the Sixties—but because of it.

That generation is not perhaps as sophisticated politically as it—or its activist spokesmen—would have us think. Its moral superiority to earlier generations may not, in every instance, be as great as it apparently believes. But one virtue it does possess to a degree not equaled by any generation in this century: It believes in man.

It is an angry generation, yes, but its resentment is not the disgust of the generation for which Beckett speaks. Its resentment is not a resentment of our human life but a resentment on behalf of human life; not an indignation that we exist on the Earth but that we permit ourselves to exist in a selfishness and wretchedness and squalor which we have the means to abolish. Resentment of this kind is founded, can only be founded, on belief in man. And belief in man—a return to a belief in man—is the reality on which a new age can be built.

Thus far, that new belief has been used by the young largely as a weapon—as a justification of an indictment of earlier generations for their exploitation and debasement of human life and earth. When it is allowed to become itself—when the belief in man becomes an affirmative effort to re-create the life of man—the crisis in the university may well become the triumph of the university.

For it is only the university in this technological age which can save us from ourselves. And the university, as we now know, can only function effectively when it functions as a common labor of all its generations dedicated to the highest purpose of them all.

#### TIMID GREEK JUDGE SUFFERS FOR UPHOLDING PRINCIPLES

### HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Extensions of Remarks an article entitled "Timid Greek Judge Suffers for Upholding Principles," written by Mr. Alfred Friendly, and published in the Washington Post for Friday, July 25, 1969.

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

#### TIMID GREEK JUDGE SUFFERS FOR UPHOLDING PRINCIPLES

(By Alfred Friendly)

ATHENS.—Harassment of Greece's highest judge, who recently ruled against the government and refused its demands to resign, has reached the point where his physician was apparently pressured to declare him able to face an inquisition when, in fact, he had just suffered a heart attack.

The judge is Michael Stasinopoulos, president of the Greek Council of State. His illness is thought to be the result of the ordeal he was subjected to after he ordered the reinstatement of 11 Supreme Court judges fired by the junta. His physician is dependant on the government's favor for keeping his job in the state medical care system.

The 67-year-old jurist, subjected to attempted intimidation by a police officer who accused him of faking illness, has so far avoided the command to appear before the junta's No. 2 personage, the deputy prime minister. Another doctor, engaged only in private practice and accordingly not subject to official intimidation, was called in by Stasinopoulos and has declared that he is indeed seriously ill.

The history of the continuing ordeal of the judge was disclosed in circumstantial detail by a thoroughly informed source. The story that emerges is of a timid, conservative, ultra-cautious man forced to become a hero in spite of himself, when there was no escape from putting his legal principles on the line.

The chronicle begins more than a year ago when the government purged some 60 judges, getting around the provision that they had permanent status by suspending the constitution, by official decree, for three days.

#### MORAL CALIBER

Among those ousted were 11 judges of the Supreme Court, the highest appeals tribunal for all cases in which the state itself is not a party. The principal grounds were that the incumbent either had been identified with a political party in a way that rendered him unfit to serve, or was not of the requisite "moral caliber." Those purged were also disbarred.

The jurists appealed to the Council of State, the highest appeals court for matters in which the state is directly involved. They won their case on rescinding the disbarment, only to have the government overrule it by decree the next day. Thus they remain forbidden to practice.

In a different case, based on provisions of the new constitution that the junta itself prepared and had confirmed in a national referendum last September, the judges appealed their ouster on the grounds that the constitution provided them lifetime tenure.

Stasinopoulos realized the dilemma the case would present him and his 22-judge court. A small, fragile man, chosen for the presidency of the council by the colonels themselves, he had no stomach for a fight. A deep-dyed conservative, he is distinguished, if at all, as the author of rather mediocre poetry and as someone who has tried throughout his tenure to keep his court from coming into conflict with the regime.

His thesis has been that the Council of State, an institution created in 1930, does not have the Marbury v. Madison tradition of determining the constitutionality of government acts and will only get into trouble—especially with the present dictatorship—if it tries.

#### CASE STALLED

For a year, Stasinopoulos tried to duck the case, stalling it, urging the appellants to withdraw, arguing that whatever the outcome, both they and the court would lose. He did not need the warnings, which he got anyway, from his first cousin, Gen. Hadjipetros, head of the Greek equivalent of the FBI, to "be careful."

But in the end, the case was not to be avoided. In June Stasinopoulos summoned a public session of the full court. The case had been thoroughly debated and the president may or may not have known how the vote would go. He made a short speech, bidding his colleagues to take into account the position of the state but also to reflect on the requirements of their honor as judges.

Under the usual procedure, an open vote was taken, with each member, beginning with the most junior, announcing his vote and the reasons for it. By the time the tally reached the president, it was 10 to 10 (there was one absentee). Stasinopoulos voted to sustain the appeal.

He chose the narrowest possible of the six grounds on which the appeal was based: due process. He ruled that the judges could not be dismissed without first having been formally presented with reasons and charges, and having the opportunity to answer them, and being given a proper legal finding.

For the first time since it took power more than two years ago, the hitherto cool regime publicly lost its composure. It has been proceeding ever since from one flagrant action to another.

#### JUDGE SUMMONED

Premier Georges Papadopoulos immediately summoned Stasinopoulos to his office and, in a rage, demanded his resignation.

At 9 the next morning, the judge presented a letter to the Ministry of Interior refusing, on grounds of the self-respect of the judiciary, to resign merely because the Premier told him to. An hour later, the official gazette published a governmental decree "accepting the resignation of the President of the Council of State" and naming his successor.

Whereupon, the 10 members of the council who had voted with Stasinopoulos submitted their resignations, also as a matter of self-respect. The chief judge's successor, meanwhile, showed himself to be a good lawyer too. He pointed out that he was not the legal President of the council until the incumbent had formally resigned, and that until then a litigant could impeach any decision on grounds that the court was illegally constituted.

The pressure on Stasinopoulos to submit a pre-dated resignation was now immense. He was chivvied and argued with. His phone was cut off and police were placed in front of his dwelling to challenge all visitors and examine their papers.

The heart attack ensued. Shortly thereafter, about three weeks ago, Stylianos Patakos, the deputy prime minister phoned the judge—it turned out that the phone could be put back into operation when it suited the regime's convenience—and ordered him to present himself at Patakos' office. He replied that he was in no condition to leave his bed.

Next day, Stasinopoulos' physician made his morning call and without examining his patient told him he looked fine. The sick man protested that he felt terrible. At this point, the commandant of the regional police station pushed his way into the sick room and engaged in muttered conversation with the doctor. It was clear that some collusion was afoot. In a few moments, the doctor turned back to the judge and declared loudly: "You are now in good health."

#### FAKE ILLNESS

"So," said the police officer to the judge, "you've been faking illness. The doctor says you are well and therefore at 9 next Monday morning"—two days hence—"you will be in Gen. Patakos' office."

The judge's wife called in a physician in private practice. He has succeeded so far in forestalling Patakos's demand for Stasinopoulos' appearance.

Frustrated and all thumbs, the regime went Andrew Jackson one better, declaring that the court's ruling was not only unenforceable but unfounded because the subject matter was "excluded from its jurisdiction."

Also, it immediately disbarred and ordered one year banishment to a small island and to two remote hamlets for the three lawyers who had argued the Supreme Court justices' case.

George Christopoulos, Greece's ambassador to Paris, a former undersecretary of state

and the Junta's nominee, reported the nature of European reaction. According to those who have seen it, the gist of his message was that Greece could not expect to remain in the Council of Europe, which is considering ousting it, unless it chooses to abide by the conventional legal and moral standards of other member governments, otherwise, it should resign from the council before it is kicked out.

The regime's response was to fire Christopoulos and replace him in Paris with a general.

#### KEE FIELD—A RECOGNITION OF PUBLIC SERVICE

### HON. JOHN M. SLACK

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. SLACK. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday, July 27, it was my privilege to be in attendance at the dedication of a new airfield near Pineville, W. Va., which will offer a new service to the residents of nearby coal mining communities.

A great crowd was present, far exceeding expectations for a very warm July day, and the new facility was appropriately named "Kee Field" in honor of a family which has maintained a record of continuous service in the House of Representatives since 1932.

From that year until his death in 1951 the late John Kee served with distinction and capped his career with the chairmanship of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. During the following six Congresses, his widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Kee, served the same Fifth West Virginia District with notable skill. Upon her retirement in 1964, their son JIM was elected, and has been with us as a valued colleague and friend, identified always with well-founded proposals aimed at improving the prospects for the people of southern West Virginia.

Unswerving dedication to the service of the Fifth District's people has been a Kee family tradition for almost four decades. That tradition is not only recognized, it has long been considered by the people to be as rockbound and unchangeable as the mountains of the Fifth District itself. A reflection of the firm belief in that Kee tradition is found in the following commentary by J. E. Faulconer in the July 28, Hinton, W. Va., Daily News:

#### DEDICATION OF KEE FIELD

"Senator" Earl Hayes and the writer were among several thousand grateful West Virginians who gathered at the new airfield near Pineville that was named in honor of the Kee family who have served the Fifth Congressional District so well for the last 37 years . . . The late John Kee served the district from 1932 until his death in 1951, and his wife Elizabeth served until her retirement in 1964, and was followed by son Jim who was elected for his first term in 1964 . . . Regardless of what you may think of Jim Kee it is doubtful if any congressman in the entire United States has accomplished more for his district, and this is especially true for Summers County . . . It would be impossible for us to mention all the many things Jim has done for this county and individuals, but to mention some of the r-e-a-l-l-y big things put down magnificent Pipestem Park . . . It belongs to the state, but it would never have

happened without his hard work on the Federal level, and don't you forget it . . . Then there is the new hospital here, new post office, National Guard Armory, fire station, street improvements, and he even had a hand in the People's Plant at Pence Springs.

Yours truly really received a fine reception at the airport dedication that was marred some by the traffic congestion that delayed motorists from leaving for nearly two hours, never-the-less it was a great affair and the people of Wyoming are deserving of much credit for completing the \$610,000 facility . . . The first person we met was former Secretary of State Bob Bailey who took us to Jim and his wife . . . Then Senator Jennings Randolph arrived by plane with officials from Washington that included Rep. Ken Hechler, William Whittle, District Airport Engineer for the FAA, and others . . . Rep. John Slack was nearly two hours late, and had to walk over a mile after his car was blocked by the heavy traffic on the narrow access road to the airport . . . Three students from West Virginia U put on a great show as they parachuted to earth amid the big airport crowd . . .

Louie Kaman was there with his Mullens High School band, and most of you will remember that he was Hinton's first band director . . . Following the dedication there was a big luncheon at the well appointed Cow Shed . . . Former Governor Hulett Smith was the Master of Ceremonies and did his usual excellent job, and Mr. Kee's hard working Administrative Assistant was also on the scene . . . The beautiful bronze plaque that was unveiled read:

"Kee Field, Dedicated to West Virginia's Kee Family; John Kee, Mrs. Elizabeth Kee; James Kee; Who served West Virginia and The United States of America With Distinction, Dedication and zeal As members of Congress from the Fifth W. Va. Congressional District."

#### AX HANDLE JOURNALISM

### HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, it has been called to my attention that one of the magazines which regularly espouse a liberally "left" line has elected itself to "take apart" a speech by the Secretary of the Air Force Dr. Robert C. Seamans, Jr.

This exercise, of course, is a prerogative of the free press in our Nation. However, it should continually be borne in mind that freedom bears responsibilities and the freedom to disagree with a point of view is not responsible when it is taken as a license to misrepresent and distort. All too often, in the current debate over our national defense strategy, members of the editorial fraternity become rather too emotionally involved with the issues and lose their perspective. This generally renders their comment invalid, irrelevant, or just plain silly.

Mr. John F. Loosbrock, editor of Air Force/Space Digest magazine, has undertaken to call attention to the objective shortcomings of one of his fellow editors, and by all accounts he has done a good job of it. His editorial, entitled "Truth Knows No Deadlines," in the August issue, should be read by those who are interested in a fair assessment of some of the editorial comment which has attended our debate. I ask unani-

mous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### TRUTH KNOWS NO DEADLINES

(By John F. Loosbrock)

On June 17 the Secretary of the Air Force made a dignified and thoughtful address in Denver, Colo. The occasion was the Honors Night banquet of the joint national meeting of the American Astronautical Society and the Operations Research Society of America. As one might logically expect the Secretary of the Air Force to do, Dr. Seamans chose to talk on a subject having to do with his duties and responsibilities. He called his talk "Planning for Strategic Deterrence in the '70s."

In the July 12 issue of *The Saturday Review*, the magazine's editor, Mr. Norman Cousins, took public umbrage at the Secretary's remarks. Or at least he purported to do so. A close reading of both the speech and the editorial reveals an almost flawless lack of resemblance between what Dr. Seamans actually said and what Mr. Cousins said he said. There are several ways to account for this singular lack of verisimilitude.

Perhaps Mr. Cousins did not read the speech, in which case his credentials for commenting upon it could be questioned. Perhaps he was merely told about the speech, in which case he was victimized by his source. Perhaps Mr. Cousins can't read, in which case it is difficult to account for his acknowledged success in publishing, a business in which few editors have become millionaires, as has Mr. Cousins.

Or perhaps he deliberately chose to deceive his readers in an effort to prove that the Secretary of the Air Force and the Department he heads represent a threat to the forthcoming arms-control talks and to world peace and stability generally.

In any case, Mr. Cousins chose to phrase his editorial in what is, literally, reverse English. He described the Secretary's speech as if it were one delivered by the Soviet Minister of Military Aviation before a Moscow audience of scientists at which two American physicists were present. (It turns out there were two Russian physicists present at the Denver meeting.) Only at the end does Mr. Cousins reveal he actually is referring to the Secretary of the US Air Force. Bearing this device in mind, let's see what Mr. Cousins said Dr. Seamans said.

Mr. Cousins said Dr. Seamans "called for a full program of antiballistic missile development."

The Secretary actually said: "The ABM program proposed by the President provides an orderly, step-by-step plan that can be halted at an early level of deployment if further expansion is not required for our security."

Mr. Cousins said Dr. Seamans said the USSR "was well advanced with a maximum ABM missile program."

We can't find a statement in the Seamans' speech that even comes close.

Mr. Cousins said Dr. Seamans said that US planners "were going to seize and maintain superiority over the USSR—not just in antiballistic missiles but in the use of space stations and devices that could deliver a succession of nuclear bombs on a string of Soviet targets."

The closest we can find is a Seamans' statement which says, "We are now working on a satellite early-warning system that would detect missiles as they are launched from land or sea."

Mr. Cousins went on to assert that the Secretary "ignored the forthcoming arms-control talks between the USA and the USSR."

Let's quote a bit more at length from Dr. Seamans: "Arms-control agreements are not

incompatible with necessary improvements in our current forces. Both arms-control and new-weapon developments must be designed to maintain deterrence. Neither side can accept an arms-control agreement unless it is certain that the proposed arms limitation will preserve its ability to retaliate against surprise attack.

"Arms-control agreements must structure opposing forces in a way that makes a first strike more difficult and retaliation more certain. This task should be eased by the growing realization that any effort to achieve a first strike will be countered heavily by the other side."

And, after further discussion of the relationship between deterrence and arms control, which Dr. Seamans knows is something quite different from either disarmament or peace—a fact that seems to have eluded Mr. Cousins—the Secretary went on to say:

"If both sides favor arms control, both missile payload and ABM defenses can be fixed at levels consistent with deterrence."

In all, more than three pages of a thirteen-page speech are devoted to a discussion of arms control, the subject which Mr. Cousins said the Secretary ignored.

We hope Secretary Seamans is not discouraged by his recent experience in the world of axe-handle journalism. He should keep on saying what he said in Denver and not worry about the Norman Cousins' of the world. They have forgotten the sage advice of a great liberal reporter, Heywood Brown, who used to say:

"Truth knows no deadlines."

#### ANSELM FORUM OF GARY, IND.

### HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. MADDEN, Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding civic organizations in northwest Indiana is Gary's Anselm Forum, which originated in 1932 during our Nation's great depression. Nine Gary men of various nationalities huddled around coffee cups and released their innermost depression fear—fear of the future of mankind.

The basis for this organization's great success and expansion has been the Anselm World Tape Forum which has been under the able direction of Mr. Reuben Olson. Mr. Olson stated:

Many people in the world have a distorted idea of Gary. We try, in our tapes, to show them that there is good in our town.

The following excerpts from the article from the Glen Park Herald, of Gary, Ind., written by Mary Jo Mucha, narrates some of the organization's history, purposes, and civil and charitable accomplishments:

#### ANSELM FORUM OF GARY, IND.

(By Mary Jo Mucha)

These Anselm members are now 125 strong under Dr. Nicholas Bucur, president of the Forum. They represent 45 different ethnic groups and all the religions of the world. There is even an agnostic among them.

The 1932 days are in the past. And now, the Forum has begun to broaden itself. In 1959, a New Yorker named Harry Plissner was reading of all the racial tensions in the U.S. and came to the realization that our world image was being terribly degraded. He knew that people in other countries were thirsting for knowledge. So he decided to be an unofficial good will ambassador.

Plissner found that Americans throw away over 30 million magazines a month. This started his thinking. He sent 20 letters to newspapers all over the world and told the people that there were many American friends who were willing to send them magazines free. The response was overwhelming.

In Gary, Olson heard about Plissner's program. By contacting individuals and organizations, he located some 205 correspondents in Northwest Indiana for overseas letter writers who wanted the magazines. This was enough to prove Olson's point: "People are just aching to reach across the pond and shake hands!" Today, Anselm Forum is only partially active in this program.

The newest breakthrough in the world of understanding is going on in the medium of sound. It all started with an organization called World Tape Pals. This organization promoted the exchange of sound tapes between people of all nations. On its own, Anselm took part in recording tapes with the representative from Ghana, an attache from the Israeli Embassy and a religious leader from Johannesburg, South Africa. The tapes were sent to each of the respective countries.

Under the direction of Olson, the Anselm World Tape Forum has been organized. Members work on the premise that there is good in everyone and this theme is carried through all the tapes. But, even though the tapes carry on a wide variety of topics, they are not limited to friendly gestures. The men disagree and are very willing to accept the right to disagree.

There is no topic that the tape enthusiasts would not dare to touch upon. They discuss every thing—Vietnam, world population, birth control, race relations, loneliness, industry, art, music, judicial reform, police work, and juvenile delinquency. These are just a few topics.

Every conceivable stature in life is represented in the Tape Forum. Some of the participants include a lighthouse keeper from the coast of New Zealand, a blind judge who is also cripple, an Italian stylist from Brooklyn who designed the original Playboy Bunny outfits, a shopkeeper in Wales, a casino clerk who loves poetry and the finer things in life.

How are interested people contacted? Olson belongs to several "tape clubs" which publish names and addresses of "tapespondents" monthly.

A teacher in New Zealand became interested in tapes and started a club after school. They sent a tape of their first science lesson on the Atom Molecule. Melton School students in Gary answered the tape with a lesson of their own. The New Zealand teacher liked the tape so much that she played it in front of the PTA as part of meeting program.

Round-robins are a popular feature of the program. Each participant puts his opinions on 1/2 of a side of a tape and sends it to the next person who does the same. The tapes in this case are not erased.

Mrs. Ray Sanderson, of Lansing, Illinois, was for several years international judge for the Sweet Adelines, Inc. which is the woman's equivalent of the men's barber shop quartets. When Mrs. Sanders accepted the position as assistant director she became so involved in handling tapes for the blind and the handicapped, that she had to resign her post as judge. Ross Sheldon of Alabama now assists Mrs. Sanders.

The library of Mrs. Sanders contains tapes which are not erased. Of particular interest to the blind are the tapes of a Capetown, South Africa man named Harold Ewins. They have sounds of jungle animals, capture of an elephant and sea gulls fluttering above the water. Others are the tapes of a blind singer, organist, and composer of New South Wales, Australia. Someday Nellie Sweeney will publish her own hymn book.

She received a letter from Frank Senn, Jr., a blind organist at the Holiday Inn of Buffalo, New York. After hearing Mrs. Sanders sing

on tape Senn wanted to play the organ on the tape, send it to Mrs. Sanders, and have her add the singing.

The assistant director is a talented lady well suited for the job. She has sung with the Merchandise Mart Chorus, Trinity Evangelical Covenant Church Choir, and the Aristocrats of Song. Mrs. Sanders is also quite creative and has numerous handicraft projects.

As an indirect result of the world tape project, Olson has a fabulous collection of postage stamps. In reciprocation, he buys commemorative US stamps whenever he can. He uses these in his correspondence so that every piece of mail from Gary arrives in some foreign land with a new and different stamp.

Olson says that "it gets in your blood and you keep going." He started out with 1 tape recorder and he now has four recorders and an assortment of amplifiers, microphones, receivers and electronic equipment.

Summing up the work of his organization, Olson says its all a part of "shaking hands across world boundaries in a neighborly sort of way."

The Anselm World Tape Forum will be an integral part of Festival 69. Olson will tape free for anyone in Gary who has sons or daughters in the military. Last year he taped for 99 people all over the world.

#### POEM WRITTEN BY A SERVICE-MAN IN VIETNAM

### HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. THURMOND, Mr. President, an inspiring poem has been written by a serviceman in Vietnam. It is entitled "A G.I.'s Protest." It reflects the American spirit of our boys in Vietnam. It reveals their disgust with the protesters back home who burn their draft cards, dodge the draft, use drugs and demonstrate against the war and our democratic institutions. It is my understanding that this poem was circulated among our boys in Vietnam as an expression of their protest to the irresponsible demonstrators back home who are not loyal to their effort.

Mr. President, I wish to quote a part of the poem:

You burn your draft cards  
and march at dawn,  
And you leave your signs on the White House  
lawn  
And all you want is to ban the bomb  
There is no war, you say,  
in Vietnam!  
And you refuse to lift a gun.

Mr. President, I am proud to report that Pfc. Timothy E. Heaton, of Clinton, S.C., wanted his friends in South Carolina to know this poem reflected his view of the protesters. He sent it home, and it was published in the Clinton Chronicle newspaper on July 2. The Reverend J. W. Spillers, of Clinton, informed me about Timothy Heaton.

The Reverend Mr. Spillers' son, Major Jack C. Spillers, who was shot down over North Vietnam and is now assigned in Washington, D.C., has volunteered to return to Vietnam. It is the Heaton's and the Spillers and the millions of others like them who deserve our Nation's eternal support, loyalty, and gratefulness.

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

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

**A G.I.'s PROTEST**

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following poem was sent by a Clinton serviceman now in Vietnam who commented, "It states how a great deal of us feel about some people back home. . . . We do not want it to sound like we are big heroes or anything but only that we are ashamed of some of our own people.")

Take a man then leave him alone,  
Then put him 12,000 miles away from home.  
Then you empty his heart of blood  
And make him live in sweat and mud  
This is the life I have to live  
And why my soul to the Lord I leave  
You "peace boys" rant from your easy chairs  
But you don't know what it's like over here.  
You have a ball without near trying  
While over here our boys are dying.  
You burn your draft cards and march at dawn,  
And you leave your signs on the White House lawn,  
And all you want is to Ban the Bomb  
There is no war, you say, in Vietnam!  
You use your drugs and have your fun  
And then refuse to lift a gun.  
There's nothing else for you to do  
And I'm supposed to die for you?  
I'll remember you until the day I die  
Cause you made me hear my buddy cry  
I saw his arm a bloody thread,  
I heard them say, "This one's dead!"  
It's quite a price he had to pay  
For you to live another day!  
He had the guts to fight and die  
He paid the price. What did he buy?"  
He bought your life by losing his!  
But who gives a damn what a soldier gives!

God have mercy on you and help us to continue, in our faith.

WE MEN OF VIETNAM.

**MORE GUN CONTROL NONSENSE**

**HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, one of the most ridiculous proposals to come out of a Presidential commission in many a time is that recommendation recently made by the task force of the President's Violence Commission to totally disarm every American citizen in the United States.

Should this soft-headed recommendation ever go into effect, it will be like sounding a clarion call to every criminal in the United States informing him that the American public is totally disarmed and completely at his mercy.

Yesterday's Evening Star contained an editorial entitled "More Gun Control Nonsense," which expresses the sentiments of many American citizens more adequately than I, and I include it in my remarks and commend it to my colleagues:

**MORE GUN CONTROL NONSENSE**

As an introductory note to this editorial comment, an item in the crime news is worthy of attention. On Monday there were 22 armed robberies in Washington. This brought the July total as of that date to

450, compared to 332 armed robberies in all of July of 1968.

In the face of this a task force of the President's Violence Commission (appointed by President Johnson) comes forward with a wacky recommendation. Its proposal is, except in a very small number of cases, that all Americans should be required to surrender any hand guns they own to the government.

Here is the task force's reasoning: This is the only way in which the United States can break "the vicious circle of Americans arming to protect themselves from other armed Americans." Now what does this really come down to? Even the task force, we suppose, would concede that criminals are not going to surrender their hand guns. So what they are saying is that no homeowner, to cite one example, should be permitted to keep a hand gun in his own house to protect himself, his wife, and his children against the night when some armed criminal might break into his home. Their argument is that home owners "may" seriously overrate firearms as a method of self-defense against crime. The "loaded gun in the home creates more danger than security."

This strikes us as blithering nonsense. How many members of this task force have been awakened in the middle of the night by a scream for help by some member of his family? Probably not one. But thousands of Americans are exposed to this dreadful experience every year. And in such a situation what is an unarmed householder supposed to do against an armed intruder? Hide under his bed, and never mind what happens to his family?

The major thrust of this soft-in-the-head report is that the requirement to surrender your hand gun, of which there are an estimated 24 million in the country, would reduce crime. This is absurd, for the criminals are not going to surrender their guns. A better and much more realistic way to deal with this problem will be found in legislation now being considered in Congress.

The intent of this legislation is to provide tough, really tough, mandatory penalties for criminals who use guns in the commission of a felony, such as rape, robbery or burglary. For a first offense the penalty generally favored would be a mandatory jail sentence in a federal jurisdiction, which includes Washington, of from one to 10 years. A judge would be forbidden to suspend this sentence or to make it run concurrently with the sentence for the primary offense. In case of a second offense, much stiffer jail sentences are proposed, and they should be written into law.

A similar bill passed the House last year, but was watered down in the Senate before becoming law. The argument then was that mandatory sentences deprive judges of discretion in imposing penalties. And so they would. But in one week at the time the watered-down bill was passed 17 criminals in this city were found guilty of crimes in which guns were used. In six of these cases, more than one-third, the judge imposed suspended sentences, which means that no jail terms were served for using a gun.

So we say let's make the sentences mandatory. And let's not deprive the law-abiding citizen of hand guns in his own home while the criminal element will remain armed to the teeth.

**THE TRUTH ABOUT INTERCITY TRAINS**

**HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, in my continuing search for comments on and

solutions to the problem of the decline in rail passenger service I came across the following editorial from the Wall Street Journal of July 29, 1969, which points up the need for Federal action in this area. I hereby insert it in the RECORD as further evidence of a growing awareness that something must be done soon:

**THE TRUTH ABOUT INTERCITY TRAINS**

As the Interstate Commerce Commission says in a new report, it's high time to decide what—if anything—to do about the disappearance of intercity rail passenger service. If some decision isn't made soon, there will be little service left to discuss.

In June 1968 there were 590 regular passenger trains. Now there are fewer than 500, and railroads are seeking to discontinue about 50 of those. In the past 10 years total noncommuter passenger revenue has fallen by nearly 50%, reflecting the disappearance of both trains and passengers.

Under present law, the ICC notes, there is nothing the Government can do to stop the elimination of service, although the agency's leisurely procedures do slow it somewhat. Carriers cannot be required to continue the operation of trains which constitute "unreasonable financial burdens."

While there may be reason to debate what is and what isn't reasonable, there's no question that passenger service is a heavy financial burden for the railroads. The ICC study of eight major rail lines, handling 40% of the noncommuter passenger miles, showed that in 1968 they sustained \$118 million in "avoidable expenses" in the process.

That, of course, brings up the problem of defining passenger deficits. An avoidable expense is one that a railroad would not have incurred if it had not been operating passenger trains. The usual accounting formula assigns passenger service a share of the cost of maintaining tracks and other facilities that are also used by freight trains—and must be kept up even if no passenger trains run.

Under the conventional formula, the eight railroads reported a \$214.3 million passenger deficit in 1968, nearly double the avoidable-expense figure. For all railroads, the Association of American Railroads estimates that the 1968 deficit, on the conventional basis, was around \$485 million, which also far exceeds the estimated \$170 million deficit for all roads on items solely related to passenger service.

Arguments over accounting have in the past tended to obscure whether the railroads "really" were losing on passengers. It should be clear now that even the smaller \$170 million figure for all roads is too high to be borne for long by an industry which, last year, had net income of less than \$600 million and a net return of less than 2.5% on its invested capital.

If the railroads can't carry the burden alone, the ICC figures the next question is whether the Government should carry any of it and, if so, how much. Any reasonable answer depends on a careful assessment of just what the public's need is for intercity service.

People who enjoy—or used to enjoy—riding the railroads often argue that patronage would be much greater if there were more, and higher quality, service. It's certainly true that passenger trains are not only fewer but often dirtier and less dependable.

It is, however, more than a little unreasonable to expect the railroads to pour huge amounts of fresh capital into passenger service in the hope that eventually it would make money. In some places it might work. In many areas, though, the hope would at best be a weak one; where airlines service is plentiful and reliable between distant cities, it is unrealistic to think that enough people would ride the trains to make them pay.

If the Federal Government gets deeply into passenger-train subsidies, then, it should

make sure that any service it subsidizes will provide a fairly popular alternative to air and auto travel. One example that may meet that description: The fast, Federally aided trains between New York and Boston and between New York and Washington.

Even in less populous areas there may be some argument for maintaining skeletal rail passenger service—possibly for use in some unforeseeable emergency. If so, the Government presumably would assume a large share of the cost.

Americans for years loved riding passenger trains, and some of us still do. But the truth is that the nation cannot expect the private railroad industry to continue forever financing this romance.

#### A BILL TO STOP PORNOGRAPHY SENT THROUGH THE MAIL

### HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, I introduce for appropriate reference, a bill aimed at stopping the purveyors of pornography and sex-oriented advertising from using the mails as a means of transmitting their vile materials into private homes and businesses.

The volume of mail that has poured into my office in recent weeks decrying the use of the mails for this purpose has been staggering. It is readily apparent that American homes are now being inundated with more of this salacious matter than at any other time in history. This clearly indicates that it is time to stem this mushrooming tide of smut and obscenity that is violating the privacy of homes and corrupting the minds of our youth.

My bill requires mailers of obscene materials to first purchase from the Post Office Department a list of all families who have submitted their names to the Postmaster General indicating they do not want to receive such mail. The list would be made available only upon request and payment of a service charge, a fee covering all costs of compiling and maintaining the list.

The bill offers a refinement of present law in that it permits families to request that no obscene materials be sent them before, not after, they receive it.

This would be accomplished by a family simply informing the local post office that its mailbox is off-limits for smut mailings. Any mailer who violated this request and sent obscene materials to a family on the list would be subject to fine or imprisonment. The bill also contains penalties for sales, rental or lending of this list.

Further, the bill gives the Postmaster General the power to request the Attorney General to commence civil action against those who violate any provisions of the bill.

During preparation of the civil suit, the Attorney General may enter a temporary restraining order containing such terms as the court deems just, including provisions enjoining the defendant from

mailing any sexually oriented advertisement to any person or class of persons.

I concur with President Nixon in his conviction that no governmental approach provides the final solution to this problem.

In his words:

The ultimate answer lies not with the Government but with the people. What is required is a citizens' crusade against the obscene. When indecent books no longer find a market, when pornographic films can no longer draw an audience, when obscene plays open to empty houses, then the tide will turn. Government can maintain the dikes against obscenity, but only people can turn back this tide.

This bill represents the sort of measure needed now to stop the abuse of the postal service for this depraved purpose and reinforce a man's right to privacy in his own home.

#### RETIREMENT OF LT. GEN. WILLIAM F. CASSIDY, CHIEF OF U.S. ARMY ENGINEERS

### HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, today marks the date of the retirement of Lt. Gen. William F. Cassidy, the Chief of U.S. Army Engineers, a distinguished soldier-engineer who has been a national leader in the development of the water resources of this great country.

General Cassidy's retirement will mark the end of a distinguished military career that commenced in 1931 when he was commissioned in the Army Corps of Engineers after graduation from the U.S. Military Academy, West Point. General Cassidy's major military responsibility has been as the supervisor of all military engineering functions in the Army. He has been deeply involved in counseling, advising, and assisting in the construction and combat support mission of the Army Engineer troops in Southeast Asia as well as in the expanding world-wide military construction program.

In his military service in the Army, General Cassidy has held many positions but I believe his greatest accomplishments have been when he was engaged in the field of water resources development, where he is truly one of the great experts. He has served as Division Engineer, South Pacific Division—as Director of Civil Works, and Deputy Chief of Engineers as well as in the position of Chief of Engineers. In all of these positions he has served his Nation well in bringing flood control to areas previously ravaged by floods, opportunities for industrial development along navigable waterways, municipal and industrial water supply to water-short areas, water-oriented recreational opportunities at reservoirs, and beaches throughout the country.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have this opportunity to congratulate Bill Cassidy for a job well done, and to wish him continued health, happiness, and success in the years to come.

#### GLUE-SNIFFING CAN BE ELIMINATED

### HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, recently, the Testor Corp., of Rockford, Ill., announced an important discovery. By the addition of a certain chemical to its glue products, the problem of "glue-sniffing" can be eliminated. We extend our sincere congratulations to the Testor Corp., on this important discovery. In particular, we commend the manufacturer of its generous offer to make its findings available to other concerns producing inhalable products such as nail polish remover, paint thinner, cleaning fluid, and propellants in aerosol spray cans.

A statement detailing the background of the Testor Corp. discovery follows:

#### STATEMENT

NEW YORK.—The largest manufacturer of plastic model cements has found a solution to the problem of glue-sniffing in a basic chemical that could also be used to end the sniffing of solvents from scores of household products used by millions of consumers.

The Testor Corporation, a division of the Chicago-based Jupiter Corporation, has been adding oil of mustard to its plastic model cements since May, 1968, after six years of development and testing.

Oil of mustard—known scientifically as allyl isothiocyanate—acts as a deterrent to the misuse of plastic model cements by providing the same jolt in the nasal area as that occurring after eating very hot mustard or horseradish.

At a press conference, Charles D. Miller, president of Testor, said that his company is offering its research and development results concerning the additive to any manufacturer whose products contain inhalable solvents.

The products include nail-polish remover, paint thinner, cleaning fluid, gasoline, and even the propellants in pressurized hair sprays, cocktail glass chillers, and the sprays that keep foods from sticking to pots and pans.

The oil of mustard, also called essence of horseradish, is a lacrimator, an irritant which produces excess tearing. Its effects are reversible—they cease as soon as exposure to the chemical ends.

James L. Badinghaus, assistant administrator of the Hamilton County Juvenile Court, Cincinnati, Ohio, and an authority on juvenile delinquency and drug abuse, said that several youngsters, arrested for glue-sniffing, told the Court that they could no longer sniff Testor plastic model cements.

"The youngsters told the Court, 'We can't use Testor's anymore—they've put something in it and it smells too bad to sniff,'" Badinghaus said.

Hobbyists, who use plastic model cements for their appropriate purposes, have not noticed the existence of the additive in the cement.

Miller said that "solvent inhalation is the problem of all manufacturers whose products contain such ingredients. We are offering to these manufacturers whatever assistance we can give to help them add a deterrent to solvent-inhalation into their products too."

Forrest Elson, Testor vice president for research and production and a chemist pointed out that allyl isothiocyanate is approved by the Food and Drug Administration as a food additive, and is used to add spice to many food products. In different

forms, it is also used as a food preservative and in drug production.

Attempts to develop either a deterrent to solvent inhalation or products without such solvents have been made for decades. Investigations focused on developing an additive after it was learned that the solvents themselves are almost always basic to the functions of the products in which they are found. In plastic model cements, for example, solvents give the cements their excellent adhesive power and the ability to dry immediately after application.

The New York-based Hobby Industry Association of America, in 1962, commissioned an independent laboratory to investigate possible plastic model cement additives. In late 1962, the laboratory issued its report which contained a list of almost 100 possible additives.

In the two years until late 1964, the Testor Corporation combed through the list of potential additives, testing their safety, effectiveness and practicality, and finally selected the oil of mustard.

From 1964 to 1968, the company tested the additive in its plastic model cement production processes to be sure that the additive did not affect the adhesive qualities of its cements.

The Testor Corporation is the largest producer of plastic model cements, turning out more than 25 million tubes of the product annually, about two-thirds of the industry total.

Its model cements are used by hobbyists to build the millions of plastic models sold each year.

In addition to its plastic model cements, The Testor Corporation, a 40-year-old hobby products producer, manufactures other special-formula cements for various materials, decorative and hobby enamels paint-by-letter kits, styrofoam gliders, model airplane and automobile engines, and other model building and decorating supplies. The company has plants in Illinois, California, and Canada.

#### APOLLO 11

### HON. EARLE CABELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 24, 1969

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, all of us in America and in all parts of the earth are proud of the success of the Apollo 11 trip to the moon. This achievement is one in which all of mankind has shared via worldwide television, made possible by our space age technology. The openness with which the United States has shared its exploration in space has made this international interest possible. Unlike the other space power, our program has been open for all to share in its successes and in any possible failure.

Many in the Congress, Government, industry, and education are due credit for a team effort unsurpassed in our history. Dallas County industries have played a significant part on this team. The courage of Neil Armstrong, Buzz Aldrin, and Mike Collins and their dedication made the final triumph on the lunar surface possible. However, if I had to choose one man to thank for the fact that the first flag planted on the moon was the Stars and Stripes, I would pick our former President, Lyndon Johnson.

During the early Russian exploration

and success in space during the 1950's, then Senate Majority Leader Johnson was chairman of the Senate Space Committee and led the way in convincing the Eisenhower administration to go at least the first mile on this vital program.

Later, as head of the Space Council, then Vice President Johnson worked hard to assure that the American space effort moved smartly ahead. Finally as President Lyndon Johnson continued his support and enthusiasm for maintaining the momentum of the program whose success we have now witnessed.

With this background, nothing could have been more fitting than that former President and Mrs. Johnson were honored guests at the launch of Apollo 11 on its epic voyage.

At this time of exhilaration over man's most spectacular feat to date, it is fitting and proper that the three space heroes who made the final steps out onto the moon should be honored. However, many, many others contributed to this success and first among these is our fellow Texan, Lyndon Baines Johnson.

#### THE FUTURE OF SOUTHERN MARYLAND

### HON. J. GLENN BEALL, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. BEALL of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, recently my colleague, Representative ROGERS C. B. MORTON of Maryland's First District, addressed the annual meeting of the Southern Maryland Electric Cooperative, Inc. He spoke about the future and growth of this area, which is presently rural, and urged the residents to make the necessary preparations for this expansion. I think his remarks are of interest, especially to my colleagues in this body whose districts face similar developments.

I include the remarks in the RECORD at this point:

REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN ROGERS C. B. MORTON, ANNUAL MEETING OF SOUTHERN MARYLAND ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE, INC., JULY 14, 1969, CHARLOTTE HALL, MD.

Today I've spent a few hours at Patuxent River Naval Air Station, at the Naval Ordnance Laboratory at Solomons, at the site of the new electric power plant being constructed at Scientist's Cliffs, and in the major communities of St. Mary's and Calvert Counties.

Every time I come to Southern Maryland, I am impressed with the opportunity that exists here. I am impressed with the beauty of the place, but most of all I am impressed by the people. I regard it as a high privilege that the General Assembly of Maryland included in the First District—Calvert, St. Mary's and part of Anne Arundel Counties. I wish I represented Charles County.

I see great change coming to Southern Maryland and I'm sure you do. It is something you and I together must think about; it is something we have to do something about. We have to maintain certain balances and just for a moment I am going to talk about those balances.

Practically everything you and I do today, when we go to the store—when we get up in the morning and turn on the lights—when we heat our homes—when we drive our

cars—no matter what, we use energy. Basically, there are only three great sources of energy available to this civilization at this point in time. They are oil and oil derived from shales, coal and uranium. Those are the three sources of energy we use as tools. The other great source of energy, of course, is the solar energy from the sun.

We must remember that in our time on the crust of this earth, it will be necessary for us to keep in balance the great sources of energy. This is important. We must remember that in this we have known oil reserves of only about 8 years. Therefore, it will become necessary to use more coal and more uranium, which can be converted into nuclear energy.

If we fail to keep the consumption of these resources in balance, we will reach a point of crisis when drastic changes will take place. Imagine how it would be if you could burn the light in your living room only from 2 o'clock in the morning to 3 o'clock in the morning, if that's the schedule you were assigned. Or if you could run your refrigerator only 2 or 3 hours a week; or if you could buy only enough fuel oil to heat your house for 25 days through the winter period? This could happen if we run out of oil if we don't balance the use of that source of energy with other resources available to us.

New technologies are going to come along. There is a great power plant right here in Calvert County. One that is subject to controversy—mostly speculation on what might happen. But our technology has reached a point where we can control what will happen, if we are patient and if we are careful.

Because of my deep interest in the conservation of the Bay and its surrounding shore land, I would never approve an installation which would warp, destroy or in any way injure the integrity of a great resource which means so much to us—namely, the Chesapeake. So I am going to be as demanding as I can on the technology put forward, so we can insure this installation will not heat up the Bay and thereby deteriorate the ecology of the Chesapeake, and insure that no radioactivity in any toxic amount will be put into the environment. If it is done correctly and it is done with care and patience, this can be the cleanest and most efficient kind of energy conversion process we have. Let us demand of the officials who are in charge of that project the very best, but realize too that we as a people must begin to use a balanced mix of our energy sources.

There is one other balance I want to talk about, because it is a very important balance to you and to me and to every Southern Marylander. The three counties of Southern Maryland—Charles, Calvert and St. Mary's, are going to be under more stringent population pressures during the last quarter of this century than any other area in the State and on the entire eastern seaboard complex. The storekeeper down the street thinks in terms of new customers when he thinks in terms of growth. The fellow who is selling automobiles thinks in terms of more sales when he thinks of more people.

But there are greater balances which you and I have to think about if we are going to preserve the beauty and the spirit and the personality of this great part of the country. We've got to think in terms of balancing this growth with jobs. We've got to think in terms of balancing this growth with transportation so we don't become just a suburban traffic jam to Metropolitan Washington.

The leadership for this will come from many sources. It will come from the Board of Directors you've just elected of this great organization. It will come from the Planning Councils of groups like your Tri-County organization. It will come from the hard work of the County Commissioners. I've spent a good portion of the day with the County

Commissioners of St. Mary's County on this very matter.

Let us preserve the jewel-like atmosphere of Southern Maryland by carefully planning what our future is going to be, and not let some authority from Washington or some mysterious happening plan our destiny and our lives for us. We can do it if we try. We can do it if we work together. We are now at a density of only about 84 people per square mile. We now have a population in these three counties of only about 85,000 people. But in 1985, it is predicted that we will be 190,000. Everywhere you look on the road, where you now see one car there will be two. Everywhere there is a house, there will have to be two; but likewise, everywhere there is a new house, there has to be a new job.

Today, the people in St. Mary's, Calvert and Charles Counties have an average age which is 4 years younger than the State average. Let's convert the energy of all that youth and enthusiasm into the building of a great community that has balance—balance in its energy sources, balance between jobs and growth, balance between open space and closed space, balance among systems of transportation. Let's build a place that is exciting to live in, a place that is profitable to work in, a place that has a feeling of security and not one of frustration. Today is the day we should start with those plans.

Thank you very much.

#### THE ARMS TRADE—PART I

### HON. R. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, I am compelled to comment on a state of affairs so dangerous and out of control that it threatens man's very existence on earth. Specifically, I am referring to the international trade in the weapons of war.

Since Hiroshima, mankind has been urgently preoccupied with devising ways in which atomic weapons will never again be used. Yet, while we have focused our attention on this most worthy goal, we have virtually ignored the critical need to control the vast proliferation of conventional arms that has been a stark fact of life for the past quarter century.

Mr. Speaker, there have been 56 wars of significant size in this world since 1945, 54 of which have been fought in the underdeveloped areas. The nations doing most of the fighting do not have the capacity to make their own arms. Thus, the weapons they use to fight these wars have all been imported from the major industrial powers.

The worldwide volume in the trade in arms is currently \$5 billion per year. Fifteen years ago it was only \$2.5 billion; by the early 1970's it is estimated that the trade will double to \$10 billion a year. This vast trade in arms is carried out largely unimpeded by any international laws or restraints.

The largest arms merchant in the world, Mr. Speaker, is the U.S. Government, currently distributing in excess of \$2 billion in arms per year to some 70 countries. The Soviets are second, distributing some \$1 billion a year, mostly to the Middle East. Vying for third are

Britain and France, each of which is selling some \$400 to \$500 million in arms each year. Also aggressively involved in the sale of arms are Belgium, Italy, West Germany, Canada, Czechoslovakia, and Red China, as well as two peace-loving "neutrals," Sweden and Switzerland.

In addition, there exist several score major private arms dealers who buy and sell arms for personal gain. Their business collectively runs to some \$100 million per year. The largest private dealer in the world, by the way, is a firm called the International Armament Corp. or Interarms for short, and it is located in Alexandria, Va., less than 8 miles from this Chamber.

All in all, some \$66 billion worth of conventional arms have been pumped into the world markets since the end of World War II. Of this, the United States alone has been responsible for \$50 billion. Thus, one might say that the post-war arms trade is fifty-sixths an American responsibility. And it should be noted that in this atomic age, conventional arms are doing the killing, and not a thing is being done to stop the proliferation of these weapons of death.

A \$5 billion arms trade becomes significant when one reviews the Cuban revolution. Fidel Castro had less than 1,000 regulars in the field; for an aggressive arms salesman to have supplied Castro's entire weaponry needs at that time would have required gathering together only 1,500 to 2,000 small arms, a value not exceeding \$50,000. To deliver such a small order would have taken any reasonably efficient arms merchant less than 1 week.

It must be remembered that 2,000 small arms represent about one-third hundredths of one large dealer's inventory—a relatively small quantity. If a private arms dealer, with a mere \$50,000 worth of arms, has the power to underwrite a revolution as significant as the one Castro led, it is obvious what can occur as the result of the U.S. Government distributing more than \$2 billion in arms per year, and the entire rest of the world distributing another \$3 billion.

There are virtually no regulations controlling the arms trade today: The few rules which exist are breaking down, not only because the trade is growing so fast and thus overwhelming the little control machinery that exists, but because of an excess of bureaucratic obscurantism, intellectual rigidity, and sheer human ignorance and greed.

This is why the potential mischief of the arms trade is so dangerous. I am convinced that the reason conventional warfare is dangerous in the atomic age is that, if a general atomic holocaust breaks out, it will occur as the direct result of a conventional war escalating out of control. That is why the Middle East is so critical: the Soviets have put their prestige on the line with Egypt; more and more we, the United States, are being forced to put our prestige on the line with Israel, the responsible Arabs, or both. If it comes to the point where neither great power can back down, then the buttons are going to be pushed.

I am disturbed that those nations distributing arms around the world are

more and more involving themselves in the trade for economic rather than military reasons. Once arms were given away or sold, because it was in the military interests of the donor country. However, over the last decade, the emphasis has changed from military to economic. Now nations sell arms, because it is good for business, it brings in hard currencies, it keeps people employed, it off-sets an unfavorable balance of payments, it cements international relationships, it promotes the international flow of technology, and it keeps nations up in the state of the art.

In order to bring this subject to the attention of my colleagues and to increase the pressure on our Government to seek changes in the disastrous direction of our arms aid policies, I plan to speak out from time to time on this topic whenever I believe I have information which may be relevant.

Today, for instance, I am including in the RECORD an article from the New York Times concerned with the recent 5-day "Soccer War" between Honduras and El Salvador in which some 3,000 soldiers lost their lives and which saw both sides using arms supplied by the United States.

I believe the facts speak for themselves:

O.A.S. PEACE MOVE IS BACKED BY UNITED STATES; INDEPENDENT EFFORT TO SETTLE SALVADOR-HONDURAS WAR BARRED BY WASHINGTON

(By Peter Grose)

WASHINGTON, July 15.—The Nixon Administration deplored today the use of United States-supplied arms by two Central American republics to fight each other.

White House and State Department spokesmen expressed full support for the efforts of the Organization of American States to bring about a cease-fire between Honduras and El Salvador, ruling out any independent United States role to mediate the dispute.

[The Honduran Government said that its planes had attacked targets in El Salvador in retaliation for attacks on the ground and in the air by Salvadoran forces Monday. It said that a Salvadoran plane had been downed.]

The Organization of American States sent a team of diplomats from seven nations, including the United States, to Central America to report on the air and ground combat and to try to induce both sides to break off hostilities.

At an O.A.S. Council meeting today, special representatives from Honduras and El Salvador exchanged accusations of aggression. A former Foreign Minister of Honduras, Roberly Perdomo, charged that the Salvadoran armed forces were staging a "large-scale invasion" of Honduras. The President of El Salvador's Supreme Court, Alfredo Martinez Moreno, accused Honduras of carrying out a policy of genocide against thousands of Salvadoran citizens who live in Honduras.

An authoritative State Department official conceded the possibility that the military equipment being used by the two sides had been supplied by the United States under military assistance programs. "Such a situation is not without precedent," he said, "and we consider it very regrettable."

Senator J. W. Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said he was "embarrassed" by the warfare between the two hemisphere neighbors "to the degree that we have responsibility."

"They might have solved it with fists and feet if we had not furnished them the arms to use instead," the Arkansas Democrat said.

United States military assistance to Honduras last year amounted to about \$800,000;

to El Salvador \$500,000. As Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird said, in testifying before Senator Fulbright's committee, the total military aid to Latin America is "a very small amount."

Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, said the fact of the aid, not the amount, is what is important. Senator Fulbright suggested that the Pentagon might consider complete elimination of military grants to Latin American and other underdeveloped countries.

The O.A.S. peace-making commission flew to Guatemala City this morning in two aircraft, one a commercial flight, the other supplied by the United States Government. The Nicaraguan Ambassador to the United States Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa, heads the team. The United States members are Richard A. Poole and John W. Ford, senior delegates at the O.A.S.

President Nixon's representative at the O.A.S., Joseph John Jova, was quickly sworn in this morning so that he could take part in today's Council meeting. He had been Ambassador to Honduras since 1965.

The State Department spokesman, Robert J. McCloskey, said there were about 3,200 United States citizens in El Salvador and 2,100 in Honduras. The State Department has received no reports of American casualties in the combat.

#### RETALIATION RAIDS STAGED

TEGUCIGALPA, HONDURAS, July 15 (Reuters)—Honduras said today that her planes had shot down a Salvadoran plane during an air raid on the Toncontin International Airport here.

A government spokesman said there were no Honduran casualties in the bombing attack and damage to the airport was slight. The airport was closed to civilian traffic.

There was no indication what happened to the crew of the downed Salvadoran plane.

The spokesman said that Honduran planes had earlier bombed targets in El Salvador in swift retaliation for the attacks on Honduran territory.

Honduran planes destroyed fuel tanks at El Salvador's principal airport in Iipango, knocked out airport installations and damaged port facilities, the spokesman said.

A military spokesman said that Salvadoran troops attacking frontier positions were being repelled.

The situation in San Salvador, meanwhile, was tense, with schools closed and a third of the shops and offices closed, the Salvadoran newspaper La Prensa Gráfica reported by telephone.

La Prensa Gráfica said that Salvadoran troops were penetrating deeper into Honduran territory in a march on Tegucigalpa. They were within 75 miles of the Honduran capital, according to an official Salvadoran announcement quoted by the newspaper.

The official announcement said that the purpose of the march was to protect the lives of more than 200,000 Salvadorans still living in Honduras. The San Salvador Government feared reprisals against the residents.

Radio reports from the mountainous border between the two countries said that fighting was continuing along the length of the 860-mile frontier. La Prensa Gráfica said. The border area is dotted with small farming villages growing rice, beans and corn.

#### HONDURAS IDENTIFIES TARGETS

TEGUCIGALPA, July 15 (AP).—The Honduran Government identified the targets attacked by its World War II Corsairs in El Salvador today as military bases and fuel depots at La Union, Acajutla and the Ilopango international airport. It said the airport had been put out of action, structures damaged and oil supplies destroyed.

There were unofficial reports that the Honduran port of San Lorenzo had been damaged by machine-gun fire, and that there had been casualties in Salvadoran air attacks on Ocotepeque, a town of about 5,000, and Santa de Copán, with 9,500 residents.

A Red Cross official in Managua, Nicaragua, said that 500 refugees of various nationalities had fled into Nicaragua from neighboring Honduras.

A good deal of the ill feeling between the two countries arises from the resentment of Hondurans toward the nearly 300,000 Salvadorans living in their country. Most of the Salvadoran immigrants are peasants who have gone to Honduras in search of land—something that cannot be obtained in their small and overpopulated country. Honduras, with 2.5 million people, has an area of 43,227 square miles; El Salvador has 3.1 million people living in 8,260 square miles.

These feelings came to a head last month during a three-game soccer match to determine which team would play in the World Cup matches. A wave of violence flared against Salvadorans in Honduras after charges of mistreatment of Honduran fans after a game in San Salvador.

#### DEATHS FROM KIDNEY DISEASE APPALLS HORTON

### HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, today a man will die from a disease for which a cure has been found 10 years ago. It is appalling to me that people continue to die from kidney disease, while techniques to save these victims' lives have been developed.

Kidney transplants and the kidney machines are two techniques that could save the lives of 10,000 patients. And yet, less than 5 percent of these patients receive these life-saving treatments, solely because of lack of funds.

Many of my colleagues may have read of a tragic example of this in the Star last week. It was a story of a young woman, a victim of kidney failure, who lay unconscious in the hospital. She was denied the use of the machine that might save her life because she could not guarantee payment. The machine could cost up to \$15,000 a year.

Mr. Speaker, the citizens of the richest country in the world cannot stand by and see this happen. We can no longer let this ironic tragedy exist. We can no longer force a physician to choose who will live and who will die on the basis of money.

Today, I am introducing the National Kidney Disease Act. It is designed to provide needed training facilities, treatment centers, specialized professional personnel, and even the costs of necessary equipment and supplies for patients to treat themselves in their own homes.

My bill calls for the combined efforts of Federal, State, local governments, medicine, universities, nonprofit organizations and individuals.

This comprehensive approach to planning and implementing a national program for the treatment of kidney disease will secure the latest advances in diagnosis and research.

Mr. Speaker, aside from kidney transplants and kidney machines, basic research into the nature of the disease and mass testing procedures for the early detection is urgently needed.

This dreaded disease is one of our Nation's most widespread afflictions. Over 7 million Americans suffer from kidney-related disease and 100,000 deaths a year result from it.

Seventy-nine Members have cosponsored this bill. I am pleased to add my support to this urgently needed legislation, and I believe it is now time for Congress to take action.

#### LEGISLATION INTRODUCED TO COMBAT SHORELINE EROSION

### HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today legislation designed to combat the growing problem of shoreline erosion.

Under present law the Corps of Engineers may spend up to \$50,000 in one locality in any one fiscal year for the construction of emergency bank protection works to prevent flood damage to highways, bridge approaches and other public works endangered by bank erosion.

However, the corps can provide assistance for damaged privately owned property only when the President declares that a disaster exists. The Office of Emergency Preparedness does not have available funds or programs for shoreline erosion relief. The Small Business Administration, which can purportedly lend money at 3 percent interest rates, cannot lend to a private property owner unless 25 homes have been destroyed—the criteria for the SBA declaring an area a disaster area.

Thus we are faced with a situation in which private property owners are often helpless until their lands and homes, and those of 24 of their neighbors, have been destroyed. This absence of preventative measures in the laws leaves property owners across the country in a bind. If they try to buttress up their own land, their efforts may result in more damage to the surrounding unprotected property and, at best, provide only temporary relief. Similarly, when the Corps shores up publicly owned property, its efforts often endanger the surrounding privately owned property.

On the other hand, if they do nothing, they may have a front row seat to watch their homes gradually slip into the water.

In Maumee, Ohio, for example, the erosion of the shoreline is so acute that homeowners are living on borrowed time as their houses inch ever closer to the Maumee River. One property owner graphically described the problems of the area to me in a recent letter:

Our homes and land have been slipping gradually toward the river, due to layers of silt and consequent veins of water lying up

to 30 feet under the town of Maumee, Ohio. For example the Lucas County Library itself is in danger of collapsing in the not-too-distant future.

... the natural flow of these veins of water is toward the (Maumee) river and our homes are in its wake, so actually the drain off of the town is responsible for the slippage and erosion on our land.

Personally, we built a \$5000 terrace on our home toward the river and half of it has sunk 24 inches and is still moving. The terrain all along this area appears as a huge crust of the earth that has broken away. Many of our poor neighbors are having more damage than we are experiencing; near Judge Alexander's home it has dropped 5 to 6 feet.

This same scenario is repeated time and time again across the country and the amount of damage runs into the millions each year. It is clear that only a combination of private and public action can curb the problem. The Federal Government, acting through the Army Corps of Engineers, must coordinate the placement of abutments, retaining walls, jetties, and such other measures as may be necessary to prevent erosion from destroying productive lands, both public and private, from contaminating our waterways with large amounts of silt and sediment.

The private landowner whose property is benefited, for his part, must be required to pay his fair share of the cost.

The bill I have introduced seeks to effectuate a national program to abate shoreline erosion by allowing private property owners to qualify for assistance from the Corps of Engineers in accordance with already established procedures for civil projects to abate shore erosion on public lands. The bill would permit the Federal matching grant formula of 50-50 reimbursement to be met by responsible local interests. In this manner, private citizens, through the process of special municipal assessments, would be able to match Federal aid to solve a problem whose effects are of national importance.

In addition to the assistance provided by this bill, long-range erosion control must include adequate zoning measures to assure wise development policies in erosion susceptible areas. Only with such a two-pronged effort can we achieve lasting control—control which at the same time retains land and topsoil and eliminates the siltation pollution that results from erosion.

Mr. Speaker, the present situation can only worsen unless we authorize preventive measures immediately. I hope the House Committee on Public Works will act promptly on this measure.

ANN HENRY DELEGATE TO GIRLS NATION

### HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, I had the extreme pleasure of meeting Ann Henry, one of two Nebraska representatives to the 1969 Girls Nation.

Ann is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert C. Henry of Lincoln. She will be a senior next year at Lincoln East High where she participates in a number of various clubs and other activities. Upon graduation, Miss Henry plans to enroll at the University of Nebraska, majoring in science.

At Nebraska Girls State, Ann was elected state auditor and on the final day selected to attend Girls Nation by her fellow girls staters. Here in Washington at Girls Nation, Ann was appointed Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and was hoping to meet with her actual counterpart.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend the American Legion Auxiliary for providing our youth with the citizenship training, practical experience in the processes of government and a clear understanding of their responsibilities as citizens of the United States.

### A SALUTE TO THE ENGINEERS' GEN. WILLIAM CASSIDY

### HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, today a fine soldier and great American is being honored with a review at Fort Belvoir upon his retirement from active military service.

That man is Lt. Gen. William F. Cassidy, who has ably served for the past 4 years as Chief of Engineers for the U.S. Army.

To me, General Cassidy is a fine example of the soldier-builders of the Army Corps of Engineers. Trained and capable in the skills of war, these men have literally changed the face of America when they have turned their skills and expertise to civil works. They have tamed rivers, opened vast areas of our heartlands to river navigation, stabilized our beaches, and improved our Nation's water supply. No job is too big for them to tackle and successfully complete.

General Cassidy's career exemplifies this dual role of the Army Engineers. During World War II, General Cassidy commanded troops charged with building airfields. His war record was outstanding.

Following the war, he was assigned to flood-control works in the lower Mississippi Valley. When the Korean war broke out, he was sent to Japan and put in charge of engineer supply for the war effort. Once again, he performed his duties with great ability.

His next assignment was South Pacific division engineer where his work once again was directed toward flood control and navigation-related projects in California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and Hawaii—including disaster relief activities during severe flooding in 1955 and 1956.

He returned to the Far East as an adviser to the Republic of Korea Army, then came home to become chief of the corps' civil works division with overall charge of water-resources development in the United States. As Chief of Engi-

neers, of course, he has been in charge of both phases of the Army Engineers' job, and has once again demonstrated splendid qualities of leadership and achievement.

Mr. Speaker, General Cassidy has become a close, personal friend of mine during the past 10 years, and is highly regarded by all Oklahomans. I have the greatest respect for him and for his splendid career, and wish him well in his well-earned retirement.

### TRIBUTE TO ASTRONAUTS

### HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine, Miss Lena G. Doll, of Arlington, Va., was so impressed with the flight of our moon astronauts, and especially with the arduous contribution toward their flight made by Dr. Wernher von Braun and his colleagues, that she has composed a tribute to them which I insert at this point in the RECORD, as follows:

All mankind is beholden to Dr. Wernher von Braun for his extended contribution to the technology of space exploration. In Germany in 1945 when the Russians took Berlin, Dr. von Braun, then technical director of Germany's rocket program, his brother and team of 120 engineers loaded what rocket equipment they could truck and made way to the near American unit where they surrendered.

In America, Dr. von Braun was first sent to White Sands, then to Fort Bliss, and later to the Redstone Arsenal in Alabama. There he and his team developed the Redstone, the Jupiter and the Pershing missile systems.

After the Russians launched Sputnik I in the autumn of 1957, Dr. von Braun was authorized to make a satellite. Explorer I was sent into orbit at Cape Kennedy the last of January of the next year. Since then progress in space exploration has been continuous and rapid. The 18-pound Explorer was the beginning in America, and Saturn 5 with its 7½ million pound thrust is not the end. Americans dare not ignore the urgent dedication of Dr. von Braun and his colleagues in their abilities to promote man's farther reach towards learning the secrets of the universe. The Time is now. God bless them in their undertakings.

L. G. DOLL.

### APOLLO AND THE EAGLE—SALUTE TO DR. WERNHER VON BRAUN

Man escaped from his bindage  
On Saturn 5 to the Moon  
Where he landed with his module  
And walked about thereupon.

He scooped up some of the surface  
Of rocks, and dust, and such,  
He also made two borings  
To bring back to the Earth.

The whole feat accomplished  
Indescribably neat  
Safe landing on earth again  
Made cycle complete.

"Once in a lifetime"  
Said tearful, von Braun  
Historic accomplishment  
My forty-year dream.

Only one comparison  
In historic span  
That of aquatic life  
Crawling out on the land.

From the sea to the land—  
From Earth to the Moon—  
Space calls to man's yearnings  
To reach Mars very soon.

Yes, Mars, and then Venus,  
Other planets in time,  
The blueprints all readied  
Rocket engines designed.

What an inspired vision,  
Man's farther-reach plan!  
Our salute to the team work  
Of Wernher von Braun.

#### SMALL WATERSHED PROGRAMS

### HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, flood control is a serious problem in many areas of our country. The small watershed program has proven to be an effective and economic measure in harnessing nature's water excesses. Watershed development results in many advantages in addition to flood control. Conservation, recreation, wildlife, irrigation, and cultivation benefits often accompany a well-managed watershed project.

An excellent account of the progress of the watershed programs in Ohio was recently published in the Sunday magazine of the Columbus Dispatch. I insert the article at this point in the RECORD:

#### HOW TO STOP A FLOOD—SMALL WATERSHED PROGRAMS TO BENEFIT MANY AREAS OF OHIO

(By Bob Waldron)

Water has a stubborn tendency to run downhill. When it runs too fast and in too large a quantity it can cause enormous damage. Fortunately there are ways to slow it down.

The land from which water drains to a given point is called a watershed. Everyone lives in a watershed of some sort. It may be very small, draining into a low spot in the backyard to form a mud puddle, or it may be very large like the Mississippi River basin which covers 1,243,000 square miles and is made up of thousands of smaller watersheds including the Ohio River and all its tributaries.

But a watershed is more than just a piece of land. It is a community shaped by nature rather than political boundaries. The people who live within a particular watershed community have common interests in the proper management of the land and its water resources. Some of them take an active interest, others do not.

The problem started many years ago. Much of Ohio originally was forested, and rains sifted down through the trees into the thirsty leaf mold. There was not much runoff, the floods were inconsequential.

Early settlers cleared the good bottom land first, then moved up the slopes with their axes. No longer held back, the rain water poured down the hillsides and pushed across the cultivated fields, taking good topsoil with it. The faster it ran the more soil it carried away and the more flood damage it caused downstream.

Years passed and many millions of dollars in farm crops and urban properties were lost before any concerted effort was made to control the water run-off. Big dams have been erected to hold back flood waters on a large scale and to furnish water to burgeon-

ing cities, but until recent years too little has been done in the upper reaches of the watersheds to control the rainfall run-off before it had a chance to get rolling in large quantities.

The tide is turning, however. Today many local areas which have problems of too much water, at the wrong time and in the wrong place, are doing something about it with the aid of a federal program designed especially for flood control on small watersheds.

Public Law 566, known as the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, provides technical and financial help to local groups that wish to establish watershed control projects. Although flood control in limited areas is the primary purpose of this legislation, many projects add to their importance by also providing public recreation facilities such as fishing and boating, and potential water supplies for villages and small cities. The federal program is administered through the Soil Conservation Service of the United States Department of Agriculture.

Small watershed projects depend on two main factors, (1) conservation practices on the land and (2) structures for water impoundment, drainage or irrigation.

The conservation practices are applied by the landowners themselves to absorb as much of the rainfall as possible, control run-off of the rest, reduce erosion and improve crops. Methods generally include such things as grass waterways, contour planting, terraces, reforestation, farm ponds and other control measures.

Structures are mainly earth fill dams fitted with mechanical spillways. Together, all these practices are aimed at one major objective—to trap the raindrops in the hills or at least slow them down.

So far, only five small watershed projects have been completed in Ohio, but many others are either under construction, approved for construction, in various stages of planning, or have gone through at least the preliminary application step.

The completed jobs are on the Upper Hocking in Fairfield County; Rocky Fork-Clear Creek in Highland County; Marsh Run in Crawford, Richland and Huron counties; Upper Wabash in Mercer and Darke counties, and the East Fork of Buck Creek in Champaign County.

The Upper Hocking plan was the first in Ohio, and served as one of several pilot projects across the nation to try out the new legislation. Desperate need for just this kind of water control had been experienced in the Lancaster area. Eight inches of rain one July night in 1948 inflicted \$650,000 damage in the community. Water and silt washed off the bare cornfields north and west of the city, overflowed ditches, wrecked bridges, caved in foundations and covered the flood plain up to four feet deep.

Residents of the area, determined to stop such devastation, asked the federal Soil Conservation Service to develop a watershed protection and flood prevention plan. The Hunter's Run Conservancy District was formed, and under its direction the protection plan was enlarged to include two watersheds totaling 31,418 acres. Eight flood dams and 21 smaller water control structures were built. The entire project was completed in 1961 at a total cost of nearly \$2 million.

Cost of the structures was paid by the Soil Conservation Service under the small watershed program. Cost of land rights and easements, approximately \$180,000, was raised by the county, city of Lancaster, and property owners who stood to benefit directly. In addition, the wildlife division of the Ohio Department of Natural Resources purchased land around two of the dams and opened it to the public for fishing and hunting.

In the eight years since the project was completed Lancaster has escaped major flood damage from at least three storms that could

have caused serious trouble if the built-in deterrents had not been there. It is estimated that more than 60 per cent of the cost already has been recouped through savings from flood damage that otherwise would have occurred. Property valuation in the area has increased tremendously.

Rocky Fork-Clear Creek watershed also was a pilot project, but not nearly so extensive. It involved only land treatment and stabilization features.

Marsh Run is a 20,000-acre watershed furnishing irrigation water for vegetable crops in the muck area of north central Ohio as well as serving as a protection against floods. It includes 15 miles of channel improvement and a 75-acre irrigation water supply reservoir.

Upper Wabash project covers 80,540 acres on the west side of the state. It features three flood prevention dams and 38 miles of stream channel work.

Smallest watershed project in Ohio so far is on the East Fork of Buck Creek in southeastern Champaign County. It includes only 6,570 acres, but to the farmers involved it is just as important as any of the larger programs. After repeated crop losses because of floods the farmers got together and asked the Champaign County Soil and Water Conservation office for help. USDA soil conservation technicians assisted in developing a plan for the valley. A local conservancy district was formed to handle details such as acquisition of land rights and the administration of contracts.

The project includes five earthen dams and a few miles of channel improvement, plus conservation practices on individual farms. Local costs were moderate because farmers donated most of the land easements. Edgar Hodge, whose 467-acre farm is in the upper corner of the watershed, typifies the cooperative spirit which makes such a project possible. He had been practicing soil conservation before the present plan was proposed, but he increased his efforts and accepted chairmanship of the local conservancy district board. Others joined enthusiastically in the program and as a result flooding of valuable crop land in the valley was reduced markedly.

Among other watershed projects now in progress, Rush Creek in Fairfield, Hocking and Perry counties is one of the largest. It involves 151,460 acres, 18 flood prevention dams, five multiple purpose dams, 22 miles of channel improvement and levee protection for the town of Bremen.

Margaret Creek project in Athens County will cover a 38,600-acre watershed with six dams and nearly 10 miles of channel improvement.

The West Fork of Duck Creek is designed to control run-off from 68,380 acres in Noble, Guernsey and Washington counties.

Local initiative and enthusiasm are major factors in getting approval for these small watershed projects, says Jesse L. Hicks, an assistant to state conservationist Raymond S. Brown in Columbus. "It is encouraging to see land owners in the upper reaches of a watershed cooperate unselfishly in a program which is designed mainly to keep flood waters off another man's property down in the valley."

Small watershed projects are limited to 250,000 acres. The average is about 85,000. "There is no competition between programs for construction of big dams by the Army Corps of Engineers and the small upstream systems built under Public Law 566," says James S. Bennett, another assistant state conservationist. "In fact, the two programs supplement each other. We work very closely with the Corps of Engineers and with the Ohio Department of Natural Resources in the development of joint projects."

Local project organizers have a choice of either forming their own conservancy district as a legal vehicle, or of making their bid

through the county commissioners if the board is willing to serve in that capacity. One of the few examples of county commissioner participation in Ohio is a joint Fayette-Madison County project now in the planning stage.

The Soil Conservation Service provides technical help in setting up the project and agrees to finance a generous share of the cost if the local community does its part. The federal government insists that a project must show at least a dollar's worth of value, through property protection and other benefits, for every dollar spent. State approval is required on all projects.

## THE WARSAW UPRISING

### HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, the story of the heroic Warsaw uprising and Soviet treachery goes back 25 years—to July 1944.

The invasion of the European continent by the Western Powers was progressing rapidly. In the East, the Soviet Army already occupied large portions of Polish territory which was won from the retreating Germans.

To induce the Polish people to take up arms against the Germans, Moscow radio, through its "Kosciuszko" station began to broadcast appeals to the Poles:

Warsaw . . . the hour of action has struck. Your houses, parks, bridges, railroad stations, factories, buildings, stores, have to be transformed into centers of resistance. The Germans will attempt to make a stand in Warsaw—to destroy the whole city. In Bialystok they were busy for six weeks destroying everything and murdering thousands of people. Let us do everything in our power to prevent them from committing the same crimes in your city. People of Warsaw, to arms . . .

These calls were repeated day in and day out, and finally, on July 29, when the Russian offensive ground to a halt on the right bank of the Vistula River, in the Warsaw suburbs of Praga, Moscow radio sent out a "more urgent appeal to Warsaw," urging the Poles to "fight against the Germans," for "the hour of action has arrived. Warsaw never surrendered, never ceased to struggle. And now everything will be lost in the Hitlerite deluge unless you save it through action. Poles, the time for freedom approaches. Poles, take to arms. There is no second to be lost."

The Polish underground authorities adhered to the instructions given by the Polish Government in London, where the Western Powers insisted that the Poles must actively cooperate with Russia. Accordingly, the Polish Government-in-exile issued such orders.

Then, on July 31, 1944, a delegate of the Polish Government in London, and the Vice Premier of the Polish underground branch of this government, Jankowski, after having heard the opinions of the commander-in-chief of the Home Army, General Bor-Komorowski and his chief of staff, General Monter, issued orders to the Home Army to start a revolt

against the Germans the next day, August 1, 1944, at 5 p.m.

Three days later, on August 4, all activities on the German-Russian front ceased, although the Soviet forces already consolidated their positions in Praga. Even the heavy guns were silenced.

Instead of the promised and anticipated roar of the Soviet artillery, which was to herald a new phase of a Russian offensive, all was quiet on the Eastern front of Warsaw.

There was only one explanation: Warsaw had been betrayed by the Russians.

On August 17, Premier Churchill and President Roosevelt appealed directly to Stalin to help Warsaw. Stalin did not even reply to these pleas.

An Anglo-American staff drew up a plan in London for the bombing of German positions in Warsaw by means of shuttle operations. British and American aircraft were to bomb German strongholds in Warsaw, then fly for refueling at nearby Luck, already occupied and secured by the Soviet Army.

Stalin not only rejected this plea, but at the same time accused the Poles, fighting and dying in Warsaw, of "betrayal and collaboration" with the Germans.

The Poles fought on against all odds, against all hope. They forced the Germans to send three armored divisions, badly needed on the Western front, to Warsaw. These, with incessant bombing by German planes, finally crushed the uprising.

After 63 days of fighting, Warsaw capitulated.

Over 250,000 Polish men, women, and children died in this struggle, in which even juvenile Scout troops rose to the heights of heroism and sacrifice.

The Germans, with a Teutonic fury destroyed, burned, pillaged the remnants of the city.

Warsaw did not die, however.

The indomitable spirit of the Polish people rebuilt the city from desolation and ruin.

Warsaw, rising like Phoenix from the ashes, remembers Nazi brutality and Soviet treachery, and it longs for the day on which a truly free and independent Poland returns to the Western family of nations.

The uprising became one of the most heroic chapters in the history of fighting Poland and, as such, its anniversary is observed by the Poles.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to present to my colleagues a brief history of the 63 days of gallant fighting by the Poles in defense of their capital city:

#### THE 63 DAYS

The Warsaw Uprising broke out on August 1, 1944, and lasted for 63 days. Some 50,000 Polish soldiers took part in it. Against them the Germans used about 25,000 troops organized in a special corps under the SS general Erich von dem Bach. German units were recruited at first mainly from the SS, police and auxiliary Wehrmacht detachments under generals: Heinz Rheinefarth, Hans Bohr and Hans Köllner. The insurgents fought armed with light weapons: pistols, rifles, grenades and Tommy guns. They also had some heavy machine-guns, anti-tank guns and mortars.

The Germans used air-force and artillery, including heavy guns and all types of tanks.

During the first six weeks of fighting the insurgents suffered a great shortage of weapons. The weapons flown from the West were reaching the insurgents in small quantities, due to transportation distance, strong anti-aircraft fire and small drop-areas.

Historians do divide the Uprising in Warsaw into two stages: the offensive (1 to 4 August) and defensive ones (August 5 to October 2, 1944). In the first stage the insurgents attacked the Germans, forced them into a defensive posture and seized large sections of the city, mainly in its center, situated on the left (Western) bank of the Vistula river. The Uprising in the Eastern part of the city, called Praga, was not successful and was put down by the Germans already on the 2nd of August. The success of insurgents in the first days of the Uprising resulted—to a large extent—from the support of the civilian population of Warsaw, which joined them en masse. It was thanks to them that the areas seized by the insurgents were fortified with numerous barricades and anti-tank trenches. However the weapons were scarce and the supply of ammunition inadequate (the successes of insurgents were only temporary. All major German posts in Warsaw which were protected by concrete bunkers and barbed wire managed to defend themselves, although some of them were encircled by insurgents. Thus the part of the city in the Polish hands did not present a whole entity. It was rather composed of 4 separated areas: the Center, Mokotów, Ochota and Zolibórz (the latter being the South, South-West and North Warsaw districts). An attempt at linking those centers into one tactical-operational entity did not succeed, a fact which later facilitated the Germans in the liquidation of the Uprising. The Uprising spread also to the neighboring areas of Warsaw, especially to the great forest units (Puszcza Kampinoska, Chojnów and Kabaty Forests), which were used as supply and air drop bases. In those areas there were large partisan groups of the Home Army.

The first German counter-attack began on the 5th day of August and after 2 days of bitter fighting resulted in dividing of the insurgent forces in the Center into two separate groups. The Nazis became masters of one of the two main East-West arteries of Warsaw and surrounding the Old Town from all directions. Till August 11 the Germans liquidated the insurgent forces in the Wola and Ochota districts, killing the civilian population amidst acts of pillage and violence. In both those districts some 50,000 civilians were killed. Reluctant to weaken their front lines the Germans could not launch large forces against the insurgents, especially the crack front troops. That is why von dem Bach took full advantage of the existence of isolated resistance centers and applied the tactics of successive concentrated attacks against those centers depending on which center presented in a given moment the greatest threat to the Germans.

Wishing to stabilize their positions and aggravate the isolation of the insurgent Headquarters in the Center, the Germans launched a mass attack against the insurgent Old Town garrison, composed of over 9,000 soldiers, including some 1200 soldiers of People's Army, Polish People's Army and the Security Corps. The defense of Old Town, attacked on all sides, subjected to aerial and artillery bombardment lasted from August 12 to September 2, 1944. It remains in the history as one of the most heroic chapters of the Uprising. In spite of the crushing superiority the Germans did not succeed in breaking the resistance of the insurgents or forcing them into capitulation. After exhausting all possibilities of defense, when there was not a single house left and the tormented civilian population suffered from thirst and hunger, the insurgents left the Old Town and through the city sewers withdrew to the Polish held position in the

Center of the city. Having entered in the Old Town the Nazis organized a new massacre of the civilian population killing and, in several cases, burning alive almost all gravely wounded insurgent soldiers who were left there.

After the fall of the Old Town the Germans began to storm the center of the city. The attack was stopped however when the Red Army and the Polish People's Army started their offensive against Praga. Fearing the possibility of Polish and Soviet troops forcing the Vistula river in order to link with the insurgents, von dem Bach sent his main forces (including armoured units withdrawn from the front) to fight against insurgent areas adjacent to Vistula (Powislsie and Upper Czerniaków) with a view of pushing the insurgents away from the river and establishing the German front on the western bank of the Vistula river. On September 15—when the units of the First Polish Army began to cross the Vistula to help the insurgents, the Germans had the situation on the West bank of the river already well under control. The Polish detachments crossing Vistula were therefore landing in the area occupied by the enemy, who was well prepared to repulse the attack. Only in the Upper Czerniaków sector two Polish battalions of the 9th Infantry Regiment landed on a small bridgehead, still held by the insurgents. Bitter fighting over the bridgehead, entirely isolated from the insurgents main forces in the Center lasted till September 23, and brought no success to the Polish forces. Altogether in attempts to force the Vistula river the First Polish Army lost, between September 15-23, 3,764 soldiers (killed, gravely wounded or missing). During the fighting over the Czerniaków bridgehead the People's Army Command proposed to the Home Army a joint attack from the Center towards the Vistula river with a view of joining the troops fighting in the bridgehead. However the Home Army Command rejected this proposal owing—as it was explained—to lack of sufficient forces.

After the fall of Czerniaków, general von dem Bach concentrated his troops at Mokotów, Zolibórz and Puszcza Kampinoska. Mokotów capitulated on September 27, Zolibórz—after heavy fighting—in the evening of September 30. A day earlier on September 29, the Germans crushed near Żyrardów a large concentration of Home Army troops which tried to break away from Puszcza Kampinoska to the Swietokrzyskie Mountains in the Kielce District. In this situation the Home Army General Command gave up further struggle and on October 2, 1944, signed at Ożarów near Warsaw the final act of capitulation. The document signed by the Home Army Command and the Germans assured relatively favorable conditions for the insurgents who were given by the Germans the full combatant rights (which were however not universally observed by the Germans afterwards). With respect to the civilian population however the capitulation act contained provisions leaving it entirely at the mercy of the occupant. Warsaw was to be completely evacuated and all its inhabitants sent to the transit camp at Pruszków, from where they were to be directed to various localities in the country still occupied by the Germans. In practice however, all young and fit persons were sent from Pruszków to various concentration and labor camps in Germany.

The Warsaw Uprising in spite of its great contribution to the armed struggle against the Nazi occupant brought the losses out of all proportions to its results. During the two months of fighting in Warsaw over 200,000 people lost their lives, including some 15,000 armed fighters (killed and missing), other thousands were wounded. The remaining civilian population had to leave the city, leaving everything they possessed, at the mercy of the bestial enemy.

## LEADER AIDS KIDS FOR A BUCK A YEAR

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the occasion of the centennial anniversary of professional baseball is a particularly appropriate time to recognize those individuals whose dedication to baseball accounts for its perpetuation as America's most popular sport. One such individual is I. S. "Nig" Rose. His able management of the Cleveland Baseball Federation enables thousands of Cleveland's youths to participate in baseball. I commend to my colleagues the following article concerning this remarkable individual from the Cleveland Plain Dealer on July 6, 1969:

CBF LEADER AIDS KIDS FOR A BUCK A YEAR  
(By Dan Coughlin)

Ever hear of CBF and its leader? Read on: The morning sun already is high and burning a blinding yellow in the mid-summer sky when City Hall wipes the sleep from its eyes and shakes off its slumber.

The mammoth front doors, swing open and those who play the game of politics stream into their coliseum.

The young and ambitious in their \$50 cord and cotton suits are the first to arrive. The elders, who carry the secrets of the city locked inside themselves, are next.

Among them moves one man who is secure in his job. He is not elected and he is not exactly appointed. He is treasurer of the Cleveland Baseball Federation because he is the only one who can do it.

He is I. S. (Nig) Rose.

Rose is on a first name standing with more rabbis, ministers, priests, signorini, bishops, educators, businessmen, industrialists, millionaires, sports figures, celebrities and politicians than most politicians themselves.

Now 76, Rose retired from his \$30,000 a year job as vice-president of Rosenblum's two years ago. He stepped into the one dollar a year job with CBF.

The CBF, an arm of the City Recreation Department, is located in Room 8 actually in a cluster of interconnected offices.

Rose sits at a desk in the busy main room behind a file cabinet in which is stored the history of sandlot baseball in Cleveland. If the file cabinet doesn't have all the chapters, Rose can fill in the missing pages from memory.

He's been with the CBF since 1919. He's been married to his wife, Tillie, only one year longer.

For as long as anyone can remember, Nig Rose has been in charge of the CBF coffers. A penny never has been lost. He signs the checks and raises the money to cover them.

Until two years ago, his office at Rosenblum's was the CBF fiscal headquarters. When he moved to City Hall, files went with him and his role with the CBF became full time.

Rose's most important job is raising close to \$80,000 each year to balance the budget.

While taxpayers maintain the parks, playgrounds and baseball diamonds, it is left to private enterprise to equip the 20,000 Cleveland youngsters who play on them.

Rose provides it. He also gets a little bit of help.

Every year since 1948, the Indians have played an exhibition game for the benefit of sandlotters. Next game is Monday night, July 28, when the Indians play the Cincinnati Reds. It is the fulcrum on which the fund-raising drive rests.

It is left to Nig Rose to persuade people to buy tickets for the game. He learned long ago that, while every \$2 ticket purchase is welcome and they add up, the selling of tickets piecemeal is an exhausting and time-consuming job.

"It takes just as long to cash a five dollar check and mail two tickets as it does to cash a \$100 check and mail 30 tickets," he says.

So—in 1961, he instituted the Century Club. Although there had been several persons who had purchased more than \$100 of tickets for the Sandlot Day game before that, in 1961, Rose put a label on this group and made it an exclusive organization.

"We only had 25 or 30 charter members," he recalls.

Last year the membership swelled to 260 and was directly responsible for \$30,000 of the \$78,000 budget.

Because he was highly successful during his life in both business and sports, he travels as comfortably in well-to-do circles as he does among ragamuffin kids on the sandlots.

"Not a day goes by that I don't pick up another Century Club member at lunch at the Theatrical Grill," he reveals.

Rose keeps a card file on every Century Club member. He can relate a history of every member.

Rose rattled off a list of names of former Clevelanders now living out of town who never forget to renew their Century Club membership.

"Here's Marty Friedman," Rose said as he pulled out another file card. "He was my first pro basketball coach. I fired him in 1927 but we're still good friends. He always sends his \$100."

Rose was general manager of the old Cleveland Celtics pro basketball team which employed Friedman.

Some people have been donating to the Cleveland Baseball Federation since 1941.

Although some firms which donate to the CBF fund distribute the game tickets among their employees, many benefactors simply send their checks and instruct Rose to give the tickets to kids. Other donors send caddies from Hawthorne, Pine Ridge, Oakwood and Beachmont Country Clubs to the game.

Clearly, this is big business. Last year's budget was \$78,057.70. Forty years ago the CBF budget was \$9,100.

Rose estimates a professional fund-raising company would charge \$15,000 to raise enough to balance the CBF budget. With Rose at the helm, it costs only one dollar.

Because it is such a big business . . . and so essential to Cleveland's sandlot program . . . and Rose does such a great job . . . there is a very real worry among sandlot leaders in this city.

What happens when Nig Rose isn't here to do it? Rose has given considerable thought to it, also.

"I dream of a foundation," he said. "The Cleveland Baseball Federation Foundation." Rose envisions a million dollar foundation and he estimates that the CBF could live off the interest for time immemorial.

He is ready to donate \$25,000 of his personal funds to such a foundation. On the 50th anniversary of his affiliation with the CBF, Rose would like to leave behind a permanent largess to the kids of Cleveland.

SLEEPING BEAR DUNES  
NATIONAL LAKESHORE

HON. JOHN BRADEMÁS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. BRADEMÁS. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to establish the

Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore in the State of Michigan.

Mr. Speaker, I have long been a supporter of the effort to create a similar dunes park on the shores of Lake Michigan, the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. Creation of this lakeshore took over 10 years of debate in this body before it was finally authorized in 1966. Proponents of the Sleeping Bear Dunes have now campaigned for a similar number of years.

Mr. Speaker, the time has come to make Sleeping Bear Dunes a national lakeshore. I note that creation of such a lakeshore has the bipartisan support of the Michigan congressional delegation. My bill should bear evidence to my colleagues in Michigan that a Sleeping Bear Dunes national lakeshore has support in the neighboring State of Indiana.

Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a bill to create a Sleeping Bear Dunes national lakeshore. I am sure that differences between it and other similar bills introduced recently can be worked out by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. I hope that early hearings will be held and that this body will be allowed to act favorably on this legislation during this session.

**RISE REFLECTS NOT ONLY TIGHTER CONTROLS BUT MORE DEMAND FOR MEXICO'S NARCOTICS**

**HON. CHARLES H. WILSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, it seems that a day cannot go by without some reminder of the seriousness of the drug and narcotics addiction problem. Today an article in the Los Angeles Times July 27 edition came to my attention. This article points out the fantastic increase over the last 6 years of drugs seized at the Mexican border. While there has been a 2,000-percent rise in seizures which reflects tighter controls, there is also evidence that tremendously greater quantities of drugs are being smuggled into the United States.

Last year some 32 tons of marihuana plus more than 50 pounds of heroin, morphine, and cocaine were seized. No one knows, however, how much of the contraband of misery and death that these drugs represent were successfully smuggled across the border. This traffic will undoubtedly keep increasing especially because it is so very profitable for these dope peddlers.

Joint United States-Mexican efforts and cooperation must be increased. The 1,500 miles of common border must be more strictly controlled. This control must be present on both sides of the border with Mexican authorities taking cognizance of their responsibilities to destroy sources of supply as well as patrolling their side of the frontier. Concerned individuals such as Mr. William J. Hunt, publisher of the Gardena Valley News, have been crusading for tighter border

security and legislation calling for greater cooperative efforts between the United States and Mexico. Consequently, legislation has been put forward and support is mounting.

The enactment of my Comprehensive Narcotic Addiction and Drug Abuse Care and Control Act of 1969 will become even more effective when measures to halt the influx of heroin, cocaine, morphine, marihuana and other substances subject to abuse are strengthened.

The Los Angeles Times' article follows:

**DRUGS SEIZED AT BORDER UP 2,000 PERCENT IN 6 YEARS—RISE REFLECTS NOT ONLY TIGHTER CONTROLS BUT MORE DEMAND FOR MEXICO'S NARCOTICS**

(By Francis B. Kent)

MEXICO CITY.—The body in the coffin looked ordinary enough but there was something about the men accompanying it across the border into the United States that bothered the customs agents.

An informal autopsy revealed extraordinary contents: a fortune in heroin.

Not everyone connected with the illicit drug traffic goes to such bizzare lengths. Simpler techniques have been far more successful. Yet the incident serves to illustrate what U.S. customs men are up against and their task gets more difficult all the time.

In the past six years, according to customs officials in Washington, the quantity of narcotic drugs seized at border points has increased by 2,000%. Joseph Jenkins, the Customs Bureau's director of investigations, said this increase reflects not only intensified control efforts but a sharp rise in the dope traffic as well.

As a result of the growing demand among U.S. users, the production of illicit drugs has become a big business in Mexico. Just how big, no one knows, but the figures are sizeable.

**CUSTOMS AGENTS**

For example, U.S. customs agents along the 1,500 miles of border between Mexico and California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas seized more than 32 tons of marijuana last year, plus more than 50 pounds of heroin, morphine and cocaine.

Mexican authorities, meanwhile, destroyed more than 7,500 fields of poppies, the source of opium and its derivatives, and burned off hundreds of acres of marijuana.

How much managed to get across the border and into the hands of users is anybody's guess. The consensus: considerable.

Illicit drugs cross the border in every conceivable manner. The young long-haired marijuana smoker may smuggle it over concealed in his surfboard. The professionals are more likely to use trucks with false bottoms, boats or airplanes. Unpoliced coastal landings and airstrips proliferate on both sides of the border.

Arrests and stiff prison sentences appear to be no more than a minor factor in slowing the traffic. Border arrests for trafficking in marijuana alone numbered 945 in 1965, and by last year had risen to 2,273. Conviction, under the Narcotics Control Act of 1956, brings a mandatory 5- to 20-year prison sentence with no hope of probation or parole. A second offense means 10 to 40 years.

On the Mexican side the law is even tougher and Mexican jails are not renowned for their luxurious facilities.

Until relatively recently, narcotics had not been much of a criminal problem in Mexico. Indians had smoked what is now called marijuana and munched on hallucinatory mushrooms long before the Spanish arrived in the early 16th century. Marijuana came into more popular usage about 100 years ago when the peasant took it up to ease his hunger pangs.

Now its use has been noted among secondary-school students, and an occasional homicide has been attributed to organized crime's efforts to control distribution, not only of marijuana but the so-called hard narcotics such as heroin as well.

Just one thing keeps the international traffic alive: money. And, according to agents of the U.S. Treasury Department's Bureau of Narcotics, not all of it flows into the hands of that sinister organization known as the Mafia.

"Dope smuggling," one agent told The Times, "is about as exclusive as betting on the ponies."

**LARGE PROFITS**

Profits are enormous. The 2-pound brick of marijuana that nets its grower about \$4 in Mexico sells for as much as \$300 in the United States. The usual price in, say, Los Angeles or New York, is \$150. Much more profitable are the hard drugs: morphine, heroin, cocaine. They come in smaller quantities and provide vastly more effective results.

Calculating the profit margin on hard drugs is next to impossible, since they are invariably diluted at every stage of processing and handling and the price varies not only geographically but according to the balance between supply and demand. Almost any illicit narcotic, though, is worth at least twice as much on the U.S. side of the border.

Controlling the production and processing of drugs in Mexico is no easy task. Much of the interior is virtually inaccessible except by Jeep or burro. Yet the authorities here have mounted what is generally considered to be the most effective grassroots campaign in Latin America.

Under the supervision of Asst. Atty. Gen. David Franco Rodriguez, federal agents work closely with the army and with local and state police departments. Each spring, when the opium poppy is ripe for milking, mixed teams move out into the eight-state area where cultivation of the poppy is concentrated. Traveling by whatever means is necessary, often on foot, they descend on illegal plantations that have been spotted from the air, destroy the growth and arrest the grower.

Equally tough measures are directed against those in Mexico who serve as links in the narcotics traffic that originates in South America, the Middle East and the Orient. The South American countries of Bolivia and Peru, are a major source of cocaine, a derivative of the cocoa leaf that is chewed by Indians. The Mideast and the Far East produce heroin.

**TURKISH HEROIN**

Heroin is a particularly nettlesome problem because it is manufactured legally, under government license, in Turkey and India. U.S. officials estimate that up to 15% of the Turkish heroin finds its way into the contraband market.

Getting narcotics across the border into the United States, despite increasingly strict controls, presents no great challenge. Literally millions of U.S. and Mexican nationals cross the border every year and to search every one would be physically impossible.

"If we did," a customs agent observed, "cars would be lined up for miles and the congestion at airports would be outrageous."

Still, the number of U.S. agents along the border has almost doubled, to a total of 92, since 1965, and the combined efforts of U.S. and Mexican authorities have produced results, as can be seen by the increase in seizures and arrests.

**MEETINGS HELPFUL**

Jenkins, the bureau's investigations chief, is convinced that further cooperation will pay even greater dividends in the future. Joint meetings such as the recent roundtable conducted here between U.S. and Mexi-

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can experts have been particularly helpful, he said.

What the authorities on both sides hope for and expect is a change of attitude on the part of young people, especially in the United States, where marijuana has acquired widespread acceptance.

Medically, according to a Narcotics Bureau agent, it has yet to be established that marijuana is harmless or not habit-forming, and the evidence indicates that its use often leads to hard narcotics.

"About 80% of our confirmed addicts," he said, "started with marijuana."

Jenkins, who was with the Customs Bureau in Los Angeles for 10 years before his transfer to Washington in January, recalls a grim courtroom scene in which a 37-year-old offender had just been sentenced to 40 years in prison.

"I don't think I'm going to make it," the defendant said.

"Son, you just do the best you can," the judge replied.

LESTER DECHMAN JOHNSON

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow, August 1, Lester Dechman Johnson will step down as U.S. Commissioner of Customs. Thus, Mr. Johnson will end a very long and very distinguished career in the public service. He served for 36 years in the Bureau of Customs, five of which were spent in the top and most difficult position of Commissioner.

I have worked closely with Commissioner Johnson on the House Appropriations Subcommittee for the Treasury and Post Office, on which I am the ranking minority member. I have always found him to be a hard worker, a dedicated servant, and a superb administrator. In addition, he has always been extremely cooperative with all of us on the committee in our efforts to improve the Bureau.

Mr. Speaker, under the leadership of Mr. Johnson, the Bureau of Customs made fantastic progress. It should be remembered that this was during times of increasingly heavy workloads for customs. Nonetheless, collections soared while the cost of these collections continually decreased. Customs became, and remains, an example of real efficiency.

I have studied the Bureau very closely in my work on the committee. That is why I was so disturbed by the effects of manpower restrictions in this fine revenue-producing agency, and why I argued for lifting them on the floor of the House when we considered appropriations for the Treasury. In spite of these restrictions, Commissioner Johnson did remarkably well in running his shop. And, I might add, that was no easy task, given the severe strains caused by the personnel restrictions. He was operating, in effect, with his hands tied behind his back. For this reason, I think all of us owe him an additional note of thanks.

It is a real tribute to the greatness of this man that throughout the Customs Service he is known as the man who did more for it in 5 years than his predecessors achieved in the preceding 175 years.

At the same time he was extremely loyal to the men and women in the service, and in turn achieved their respect and admiration.

Mr. Speaker, I could go on with numerous examples of Commissioner Johnson's great work at the Bureau of Customs. But I think it would be more fitting to conclude my remarks with what I said during the hearings this year. After commending Mr. Johnson for his outstanding service as a dedicated public servant, I said:

"He has been one of the truly great Commissioners at the Bureau of Customs. He has lived with a great tradition and done an outstanding job. He will be sorely missed. His shoes will be hard to fill. I wish him many decades of good health and happiness in which to enjoy a very well deserved rest."

That, Mr. Speaker, pretty well sums up the great respect that I have for Commissioner Johnson and the extent to which, I think, he will be missed by all of us.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker, for the opportunity to make these remarks about Commissioner Lester Johnson.

NEWARK YOUNG PEOPLE EXPRESS  
CONCERN OVER CIGARETTE  
SMOKING

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, through the courtesy of Mr. Vincent O'Rourke, Jr., I have received several letters from some of my younger constituents regarding cigarette smoking and its danger to our health. These letters certainly support the purpose of H.R. 5212, calling for stronger labeling on cigarette packages, of which I am a cosponsor. It is most heartening to me that these young people have expressed such an interest in this problem, and for this reason I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the following letters:

DEAR MR. RODINO: I have saw a film about smoking and I think that it is no good for the heart. Because it is no good for any other part of the body. And I think you should stop selling cigarettes. And I am not going to start to smoke. And no one can make me smoke.

And this is to go to Mr. Rodino, the Congressman of Newark. Can you send me a picture of you?

Sincerely yours,

RANDY RICHARDS.

NEWARK, N.J.

Mr. PETER W. RODINO,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MR. PETER RODINO: My name is Michael Cook (son of George H. Cook) age 15 and I attend Barringer High School and this letter is to let you know how I feel about the subject of smoking. I do not like smoking even though I do it. It is a bad habit and I know that the cigarette commercials are only telling a one-sided fabricated story. So when you put your vote in whether you are against or for it please remember this letter.

Sincerely yours,

MICHAEL COOK.

NEWARK, N.J.,

July 29, 1969.

DEAR MR. RODINO: I think people shouldn't smoke because they will have cancer and cancer is no good. I have saw a film about "Smoking and you."

SUSAN SEGARRA.

NEWARK, N.J.,

July 29, 1969.

DEAR MR. RODINO: My name is Pinky Brunson. I am 12 years old. I go to Webster Junior High. On July 29, 1969, I was at St. Lucy recreation center. I go there to improve my English. That day we saw a film about smoking and you. My opinion about smoking is that it should be stopped. Because the world is getting smaller and smaller. Some parents tell their children not to smoke, but they smoke their self. One day when I was looking at TV, I saw a commercial about cancer that you get from smoking, but right they finish telling us not to smoke and other commercial to smoke a certain cigarette, and I think smoking should be stopped.

Sincerely yours,

PINKY BRUNSON.

MR. RODINO: My name is Mike Riveres. I live at 927th Avenue Apt. 1F Newark New Jersey 07104 St. Lucy School Age 11. The reason of smoking is because it gives you cancer. I don't smoke. I'm to young too smoke, and I ain't going to smoke, I hate smoking!

Smoking is dangerous to your body. Smoking has kill many liver. There should be no such thing as cigarette.

Sincerely yours,

MIKE REVERES.

MUDSLIDES FROM A BUILDING SITE  
PLAGUE NORTH SHORE COMMUNITY

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, for the most part, this summer in Washington has been quite hot and dry, that is, until the torrential rain a little over a week ago which left many drivers wishing that their cars were boats and many citizens wishing they had a penthouse apartment, if only to escape the floods.

Here the situation was but a temporary inconvenience with a few exceptions. Yet, there are a considerable number of Americans who find the exception the rule. Indeed, they face each heavy rainfall with strong trepidation since even a seemingly minor rainstorm can produce an expensive and dangerous problem—mudslides.

The people of the Third Congressional District, which I represent, is well aware of what I am describing. Unfortunately, they are among those who know the hardship of slides, pollution, and expensive repairs as a result of rainfall coupled with blatant abuses by builders and others who despoil vitally important soil-clinging trees, grass, and shrubs.

I have authored a bill, H.R. 12839, to establish an intergovernmental commission on the Long Island Sound. It would establish a 15-member commission to study the problems of the Long Island Sound and its shoreline and make suggestions for their improvement. The

measure, I would like to note, is aimed at combating problems such as mudslides, pollution, and other manmade imbalances of nature.

Today the New York Times had a story concerning the chronic mudslides that Cold Spring Harbor, which falls within my district, has been experiencing. Since the article clearly describes one situation which could have been adequately handled by the establishment of a Long Island Sound Commission, I would like to extend my remarks to include it in the RECORD:

**MUDSLIDES FROM A BUILDING SITE PLAGUE  
NORTH SHORE COMMUNITY**  
(By Roy R. Silver)

COLD SPRING HARBOR, LONG ISLAND, July 30.—Torrents of water and mudslides from a building site on a high hill overlooking this rural North Shore community have been plaguing residents here for the last 18 months.

The steady and often heavy rainfall of the last two weeks has added to the fears and frustration of the occupants of almost 100 homes and businesses and has brought concern over the damage that could be caused by hurricanes next month.

Piles of brown mud and watery gray clay have slithered onto roadways, lawns and driveways and into basements and one resident's swimming pool.

The office of the Town of Huntington Supervisor, Jerome A. Ambro, acting in response to the clamor of protest from irate homeowners, said that starting tomorrow town personnel "will begin stabilization of the land by completing the storm drains, roads and dry wells."

Mr. Ambro's office said that Walter Stackler, the builder of 35 high-price homes in the Heritage Hill area, would be billed for the work. Only a few of the new homes are occupied.

**MUDSLIDE ON ROAD**

Residents said builders at the site, which was started about two years ago, had removed trees and underbrush from the steep slopes of the hill, leaving water and mud to run unchecked to the homes below.

The residents said they had complained to Mr. Stackler who replied: "Sue me." Town officials, they added, had told them there was nothing that could be done. Mr. Stackler was not available for comment today.

One effect of the heavy rainfall was a large deposit of mud on Route 25-A, which is called Main Street here. Two bulldozers worked all morning today to remove the slide.

Mrs. Frank Marshall, the wife of a dentist who lives in a home at the foot of the hill below the construction site, gazed despondently at their new swimming pool, which was filled with muddy water.

Pointing to a \$700 water heater near the pool, she said: "It's ruined and I don't know who's going to pay for it."

While workmen pumped out her pool and removed some of the mud from a rear patio, she showed visitors her husband's basement office, from which two inches of mud had been removed in the early morning hours.

"We sleep with the bedroom windows open even though we have air-conditioning so that if we hear rain we grab our brooms, shovels and towels to start cleaning up," she said.

Meanwhile, in an unrelated incident, commuter service on the Port Jefferson branch of the Long Island Rail Road was disrupted this morning when 18 inches of mud slid onto the tracks.

The slide, which occurred at 6:12 A.M. between Huntington and Cold Spring Harbor, was cleared by workmen at 7:52.

**THE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO KEEP AND  
BEAR ARMS**

**HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN**

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, illustrative of what can happen when you go overboard on the subject of gun control is the recommendation of the President's Violence Commission (President Johnson) that all Americans surrender their handguns to the Federal Government. The difficulty with all such attempts to "confiscate" the people's arms is that such measures will not keep arms from the criminal element but will deny law-abiding citizens their constitutionally protected right to keep and bear arms in the defense of life, liberty, and family.

Let us never be guilty of burning down the barn to save the horse, much less running roughshod over fundamental constitutional liberties of all Americans, as the attached Washington Star editorial of July 30 points out:

**MORE GUN CONTROL NONSENSE**

As an introductory note to this editorial comment, an item in the crime news is worthy of attention. On Monday there were 22 armed robberies in Washington. This brought the July total as of that date to 450, compared to 332 armed robberies in all of July of 1968.

In the face of this a task force of the President's Violence Commission (appointed by President Johnson) comes forward with a wacky recommendation. Its proposal is, except in a very small number of cases, that all Americans should be required to surrender any hand guns they own to the government.

Here is the task force's reasoning: This is the only way in which the United States can break "the vicious circle of Americans arming to protect themselves from other armed Americans." Now what does this really come down to? Even the task force, we suppose, would concede that criminals are not going to surrender their hand guns. So what they are saying is that no homeowner, to cite one example, should be permitted to keep a hand gun in his own house to protect himself, his wife, and his children against the night when some armed criminal might break into his home. Their argument is that home owners "may" seriously overrate firearms as a method of self-defense against crime. The "loaded gun in the home creates more danger than security."

This strikes us as blithering nonsense. How many members of this task force have been awakened in the middle of the night by a scream for help by some member of his family? Probably not one. But thousands of Americans are exposed to this dreadful experience every year. And in such a situation what is an unarmed householder supposed to do against an armed intruder? Hide under his bed, and never mind what happens to his family?

The major thrust of this soft-in-the-head report is that the requirement to surrender your hand gun, of which there are an estimated 24 million in the country, would reduce crime. This is absurd, for the criminals are not going to surrender their guns. A better and much more realistic way to deal with this problem will be found in legislation now being considered in Congress.

The intent of this legislation is to provide tough, really tough, mandatory penalties for criminals who use guns in the commission

of a felony, such as rape, robbery or burglary. For a first offense the penalty generally favored would be a mandatory jail sentence in a federal jurisdiction, which includes Washington, of from one to 10 years. A judge would be forbidden to suspend this sentence or to make it run concurrently with the sentence for the primary offense. In case of a second offense, much stiffer jail sentences are proposed, and they should be written into law.

A similar bill passed the House last year, but was watered down in the Senate before becoming law. The argument then was that mandatory sentences deprive judges of discretion in imposing penalties. And so they would. But in one week at the time the watered-down bill was passed 17 criminals in this city were found guilty of crimes in which guns were used. In six of these cases, more than one-third, the judge imposed suspended sentences, which means that no jail terms were served for using a gun.

So we say let's make the sentences mandatory. And let's not deprive the law-abiding citizen of hand guns in his own home while the criminal element will remain armed to the teeth.

**PRESIDENT'S POPULATION STUDY  
COMMISSION DESERVES PROMPT  
SUPPORT**

**HON. FRANK HORTON**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pride that I point out to our colleagues the very firm commitment our administration has shown to problems of population growth. As a member of the Republican task force on earth resources and populations, which has held many sessions on the problems of population growth, I was very pleased to see President Nixon propose a National Commission on Population Growth and the American Future.

At our present rate of growth, the population of the world will double by the year 2000. If growth is allowed to proceed at this uncontrolled rate, economic progress, good education and adequate food supplies will be impossible goals in many countries of the world, and will be extremely difficult goals for portions of our own country.

The nations of the world can no longer endure the seriousness of this situation. Widespread famine and even more serious pollution, economic and environmental problems in the years ahead must be contended with now. President Nixon may at last, be providing the world with the leadership that it will take to harness international energies needed to meet this problem.

For this reason, I am very pleased to cosponsor legislation which will create the National Commission which the President seeks. Beyond his call for a study commission, the President has joined many of us in Congress in calling for more funds in the area of population planning. The United States should provide aid in family planning to the developing countries of the world and should develop its own program of population planning to a much greater extent than we have to date.

In addition we need better coordination of our population planning assistance efforts both at home and abroad. As the President has also pointed out, flexible family planning programs must be developed to cope with the complexity of the problem. This can only be done with greater coordination between the various Government agencies dealing with these problems.

To accomplish these goals, up-to-date knowledge, new ideas, and dynamic leadership will be required. I believe that the new administration has shown the willingness to provide the leadership; I feel that the proposed Commission on Population Growth and the American Future can provide the knowledge and ideas, if the Congress will provide the essential resources and support.

**PRESIDENT MEANY OF AFL-CIO BELIEVES GOVERNMENT SHOULD CARRY THE MAIL, TELLS WHY**

**HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, former President Lyndon B. Johnson named 10 distinguished citizens to the President's Commission on Postal Reform, which became known as the Kappel Commission since it was headed by Frederick R. Kappel. The report was issued in June 1968.

Postal reform hearings began on April 22 before our Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. Mr. Kappel came before the committee on June 5.

On Wednesday, July 30, another member of the Commission was a witness: Mr. George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations—AFL-CIO.

Mr. Meany was an excellent, candid witness. It is interesting to note that he was the only member of the Commission to note an exception to the recommendations made to the President.

In a footnote on page 2 of the Commission's report, Mr. Meany said:

I agree with the goal of modernizing the postal system and improving working conditions and job opportunities for its employees. However, the status of the Post Office as a Cabinet Department has a positive value that should not be discarded lightly.

Mr. Speaker, President Meany made an excellent formal presentation of his views to the committee and I am including his text as a part of my remarks:

STATEMENT BY GEORGE MEANY, PRESIDENT OF AFL-CIO

Mr. Chairman, my name is George Meany. I am President of the AFL-CIO. The AFL-CIO is firmly opposed to H.R. 11750.

There are a number of specific objections which we intend to raise in support of our position. But our basic reason can be quickly stated:

We believe the government should carry the mail.

We agree with the Kappel Commission's documented description of low wages, poor

working conditions and inefficient operations in the Post Office. There is no disagreement on the need for substantial reform.

However, there is substantial disagreement on how to achieve the needed improvements most effectively, in the best interests of the American people and the postal employees.

We are not convinced that a drastic reorganization of the Post Office Department into a corporate structure, removed from Congressional control, will improve the postal service. We believe that the substantial reform of the Post Office, required to improve its operations, can be achieved within the general framework of a federal government department.

**ESSENTIAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE**

The Post Office is an essential government service. The founding fathers reorganized the vitality of communications, the need to provide people of all walks of life and in all parts of the country with cheap, regular means for correspondence and education and the dissemination of knowledge.

The Congress, in its wisdom and in recognition of a changing society, has from time to time expanded the Post Office Department's duties and responsibilities. For most Americans, the postal service is their most direct and regular contact with the federal government.

Despite the various and often valid criticisms of the service, the Post Office works. It gets millions of pieces of mail collected and delivered each day, across a huge country of over 200 million people and a multitude of businesses and other private and public organizations.

Over 80 billion pieces of mail are handled in a year.

**ERROR FACTOR IS MINIMAL**

Even a 1% error factor would result in misdirecting 800 million pieces of mail a year. Few critics of the Post Office can find any giant operation with a better error record. Certainly America's big car manufacturers—now calling back thousands of defect-marred automobiles—can't claim such a record.

The Post Office performs this service, moreover, with such a high degree of integrity and honesty, that America's trust in the mails is legendary.

However, this performance is far from efficient. Often, there are delays and, at times, the delays in delivery are lengthy.

The truth of the matter is that the Post Office is woefully undercapitalized. It is compelled to use old structures in traffic-jammed areas of city streets, some distance from modern major roads and miles away from airports.

These structures were built near railroad terminals, when the railroads were almost the only means of transportation. The use of these structures today means built-in inefficiencies in a time when so much of the mail is carried by trucks and planes.

Moreover, most of these structures and much of their equipment were installed to serve the needs of a population that was about 40% or more smaller than today, when the volume of mail was much less than it is at present.

The Congress just has not kept the Postal Service abreast of a changing, growing nation. Dependence on such buildings and equipment in 1969 results in conditions that are most inadequate for postal employees, for the public and for the improved handling of the mail.

**POOR WORKING CONDITIONS**

The Post Office is burdened by unrealistic rates for the service provided for the daily outpouring of circular mail, the so-called junk mail. It is so burdened by a high rate of employee-turnover, reflecting poor working conditions and inadequate wages in today's job market.

Workable solutions are needed. But it is ridiculous to claim that the so-called efficiency operations of private corporations, use of new technologies, etc., can solve every problem.

What about direct postal service—mail delivery to homes and places of business? The only way to keep that from being a major cost item is to eliminate it—return to the days when a citizen strolled through the streets of his village to get his mail at the post office window.

Such a suggestion is ridiculous.

And how will major new machinery in post offices eliminate the delays caused by mid-city traffic jams or airplanes stacked-up over airports that can no longer handle the volume of air traffic?

**H.R. 11750 NOT THE ANSWER**

H.R. 11750 won't solve those problems and they are an important factor in the so-called postal problem.

Efficiency can and should be improved, within the practical limitations of existing and foreseeable technology and means of transportation. New and improved post office buildings and equipment can increase the volume of delivered mail per employee. Productivity and working conditions are in urgent need of improvement.

A major trouble is the lack of funds for modern plant and equipment.

Remedy of this problem requires a change in the means of financing Post Office investment—to provide the Post Office with some method to obtain self-liquidating funds for investment, instead of the present reliance on annual Congressional appropriations.

An adequate investment program for the Post Office requires long-term planning of research and development, as well as access to funds for the planned expansion of investment-outlays for rapid modernization.

I believe that such changes in the provision of investment-funds, in accounting for long-term investment outlays, and in improving the management of postal operations can be achieved within the structure of the Post Office as a federal government department.

The establishment of a Postal Modernization Authority, within the Post Office Department, as proposed in H.R. 4, introduced by Congressman Dulski, indicates a general approach towards this end.

An Authority of this type, with authorization to issue its own bonds, can achieve the financing objective of a corporate setup—and do it within the structure of the Post Office Department.

**REFORM EXISTING STRUCTURE**

It seems to me that a realistic rate structure and an improved wage level for employees can also be achieved through substantial reform of the existing structure, without the need for drastic reorganization of the Post Office into a corporate setup.

As a nation-wide government service, the Post Office is not comparable to any business enterprise. It is vastly different from such government enterprises as the Tennessee Valley Authority, which produce and sell products and services that can be compared with private business, in terms of production, prices, wages and productivity.

The Post Office is also much different from such government-regulated monopolies as the telephone service, in terms of providing direct personal service such as mail delivery, as well as a more limited potential for improvements in technology and profitability.

**POST OFFICE IS SERVICE—NOT BUSINESS**

The so-called postal deficit is part of the cost of underwriting essential government services. We regard the Post Office as a government service and not as a business. We do not think that whether any particular service pays its own way should determine whether the service should be maintained.

For example, rural mail service does not pay its own way and the Congress has deliberately decided that magazines and newspapers should be carried at a reduced rate.

We believe that those are political determinations made in the light of the value of the service to the public. Such determinations are not and should not be treated as business decisions on a simple cost basis.

Therefore, the AFL-CIO views substantial reform of the Post Office Department's existing structure as workable and necessary.

We do not believe the widely advertised efficiency of a postal corporation can be achieved except by elimination of postal services, such as home delivery of mail. We oppose the abandonment of such service.

If the objective is efficient and necessary postal service for all Americans, then let us get on with the job of reforming the Post Office Department to reach that goal. Substantial reform—rather than a corporate set-up—is the prudent, realistic and workable approach to the problem.

#### REGARDING EMPLOYEE PROVISIONS

I turn now to the provision of H.R. 11750 with regard to employees. These are the provisions which are, of course, of most direct concern to the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions which represent postal employees.

The philosophy of the Administration is that the postal service is not sufficiently governmental for postal employees to continue to have all the rights and protections of government employees, but that it is sufficiently governmental for postal workers to continue subject to most of the restrictions and disabilities of government employees. They are, to some extent, to have the worst of both worlds.

The provisions of H.R. 11750 on unions and collective bargaining are likewise selectively chosen to combine the worst features of public and private labor laws.

As you know the AFL-CIO does not regard Taft-Hartley as perfect, and while Executive Order 10988 was a great advance over prior handling of federal employee labor relations, we believe that experience under the Order shows the need for certain changes and improvements.

#### STILL BETTER THAN H.R. 11750

The AFL-CIO has made detailed proposals both for revising Executive Order 10988, and for supplanting it with legislation along the lines of H.R. 12349. However, we regard not only E.O. 10988 but Taft-Hartley as far preferable to H.R. 11750.

The AFL-CIO is thus flatly opposed to the personnel and labor relations proposals of the Administration. Let me spell out why. Postal employees would lose civil service status, and, after a year, would no longer be able to transfer to other positions within the federal government. (§ 803).

Once the new corporation had established its own procedures, appointments and promotions would be made without regard to the civil service laws, and postal employees could lose the protections of the Lloyd-LaFollette Act against removal or suspension. (§ 801).

We see no reason why these protections of existing law should be taken from postal workers, nor do we believe that they have any relation to the operating problems of the Post Office Department.

#### INCONSISTENCE REGARDING WORKERS

At the same time, and quite inconsistently, postal workers would continue to be treated as government workers for purposes of the numerous invidious restrictions which are applicable to government employees.

Section 1918 of Title V of the U.S. Code makes it a crime for anyone to hold a government job who "participates in a strike, or asserts the right to strike" against the government. This provision would continue to be applicable to postal employees. (§ 209).

If the Administration has decided that postal employees should no longer be considered government employees, then it should go all the way and grant them the right all private employees have in a free country—the right to strike.

That goes too far for the government security and loyalty program, which would, under H.R. 11750, continue to apply to postal employees.

H.R. 11750 likewise continues the application of the Hatch Act to postal workers. We think that the Hatch Act is excessively restrictive even as applied to those having full status as government employees, and see no warrant for applying it to those who are to be stripped of that status.

#### STRANGE CONTRADICTIONS

H.R. 11750 also continues for postal employees the ban on habitual drunkenness (5 USC § 7352), and the restrictions on the receipt of decorations from a foreign government (5 USC § 7342). These items are not important in themselves, but they illustrate the strange contradiction whereby H.R. 11750 would retain all existing restrictions but eliminate many protections for postal employees.

We come, then, to the vital matters of wages, hours, and working conditions, and of unions and collective bargaining.

Committee Print No. 8, in describing the "Highlights" of H.R. 11750, states, p. 1:

"Instead of Congress fixing wage rates and legislating classifications of employment, postal employees in every part of the country would have the right to bargain collectively for better wages and other benefits and for improved working conditions."

That sounds fine, doesn't it?

The problem comes with the next paragraph, which states:

"Existing law banning strikes by Federal workers would continue. However, the act would provide for binding arbitration in the event of a labor-management dispute which could not be settled by other means."

#### NEED STRIKE RIGHT TO BARGAIN

There is no real collective bargaining without the right to strike, because it is only the possibility of a strike that gives employees any bargaining power. As the Supreme Court put it:

"This repeated solicitude, i.e. by Congress, for the right to strike is predicated upon the conclusion that a strike when legitimately employed is an economic weapon which in great measure implements and supports the principles of the collective bargaining system." (*NLRB v. Erie Resistor Corp.*, 2736 S. 221, 233-234).

We believe that the right to strike merits solicitude, too, because it is an essential foundation of democratic freedom.

In our proposals for revision of Executive Order 10988, we have made clear our belief that, so long as the Congress denies federal employees the right to strike, the very least it should do is provide a terminal point for grievances and contract disagreements through binding arbitration.

But H.R. 11750 does not give the employees even this right to invoke binding arbitration. That right is vested solely in the "Postal Disputes Panel."

Under § 808 (a) it is the Panel and not the employees or the union, that decides whether to submit issues to final and binding arbitration, and the Panel also decides what issues, if any, to submit and is to "frame the language of the issue to be arbitrated."

Alternatively, if the Panel does not take jurisdiction, "the status quo surrounding those particular issues shall be maintained" (§ 808 (d)).

#### THREE WAYS TO HANDLE WORKERS

As we see it, there are three different ways that the labor relations of postal workers might be handled.

One, and the one which is now used, is for Congress to legislate on wage rates and certain other basic matters, but with other issues left to collective bargaining if the employee choose to form unions and bargain collectively.

We think that this is a satisfactory labor relations system for federal employees, and that postal workers should continue to be federal employees and to be subject to the same system as other federal employees.

We think, for example, that postal wage rates should continue to be uniform throughout the country, as in the case of other federal employees.

We do, however, believe that certain changes and refinements need to be made in the present federal employee labor relations system.

Two years ago, I made detailed proposals for revising Executive Order 10988, to the Presidential Review Committee on Labor-Management Relations in the Federal Service.

Six weeks ago, in a letter to Chairman Dulski, Mr. Biemiller expressed the support of the AFL-CIO for H.R. 12349, which would supplant the Executive Order with permanent legislation. It is worth noting that the labor provisions of H.R. 4 are quite similar to H.R. 12349.

#### OPPOSE PRIVATE OPERATION

Another possible way of handling the labor relations of postal employees would be to transfer the postal system to private ownership, and to put postal employees under the Taft-Hartley Act. We are opposed to that solution, but it would at least be internally logical.

H.R. 11750 proposes an irrational and unworkable mixture of these two systems.

Some incidents of employment would continue to be regulated by Congress. In addition to those already mentioned, postal employees would, for instance, continue to be covered by the Civil Service retirement program (§ 804).

Other aspects of employment would be determined by collective bargaining, but with the employees stripped of bargaining power, for they could neither appeal to Congress, strike, or invoke compulsory arbitration.

Except as otherwise provided, the Taft-Hartley Act is to apply, though neither its broad framework nor its numerous details were designed for an enterprise such as the postal service.

Taft-Hartley's broad framework is collective bargaining, with the stimulus for agreement provided by the right to strike and to lockout. Unions are denied the strike by H.R. 11750: what of the lockout?

#### IF TAFT-HARTLEY LAW APPLIES

If the details of the Taft-Hartley are to apply, unions will be free to picket post offices when negotiations break down, and may engage in organizational and recognition picketing, subject to certain restrictions.

They may undertake to negotiate union security clauses and work preservation clauses, but not hot cargo clauses. If a union asks for a wage increase, and the Postal Service pleads inability to pay, it will have to open its books to the union.

Many of these results seem desirable to us, but we rather doubt that they were all intended by the authors of H.R. 11750.

In sum, as regard to the labor provisions, we strongly oppose any change in the present system, which would, like H.R. 11750, drastically undercut the bargaining power of the postal employees and their unions.

To repeat, Mr. Chairman, we hold no brief at all for H.R. 11750. We find its basic premise—abandonment of the essential governmental necessity for delivering the mail—to be repugnant.

We agree the Postal System needs reform—more money, better labor relations, new buildings and facilities and modern technological improvement. All of these can be

accomplished within the present framework of government and we are sure will be. That, we insist, is the way to do the job.

### FEEDING AMERICA'S HUNGRY CHILDREN

#### HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, last week the House passed H.R. 11651, a bill to authorize temporary emergency assistance to provide needy children with nutritious meals. I am proud to have voted for this important measure, and I should like at this time to place on record my reasons for voting for it.

If it were operating at top capacity, the national school lunch program would be one of the most effective means by which hunger in America could be lessened and malnutrition decreased. Schoolchildren are, after all, among those who suffer most when not enough of the right foods are available to them. Schoolchildren are growing and learning; they must have good, nutritious meals to continue that development.

An adequately funded and administered school lunch program would provide needy children with at least one nutritious meal a day and would thus go a long way toward stopping hunger and lessening the dangers of malnutrition.

The school breakfast program, too, could be an effective weapon in the fight against hunger. A nourishing breakfast every morning would enable children, otherwise listless and inattentive because of lack of food, to become bright eyed, wide awake, eager pupils. The benefits from such a situation are evident. In fact, all of our children's food service programs have the potential for bestowing incalculable benefits on the health of our Nation as a whole as well as upon individual children. But, sadly and shockingly, indications are that these programs do not operate as well as they could—and should.

During hearings held last year the House Education and Labor Committee discovered the following dismaying facts about our food service programs for children: Over 4½ million needy children are not receiving free or reduced price lunches, more than 6,600 schools in economically deprived areas do not have food services, almost 3 million disadvantaged children in need of a school breakfast program do not have one, and as many as three-quarters of a million children who come from large families with annual incomes of over \$3,000 are estimated to need food services. The diligence of the committee has shown the inadequacy of our children's food service programs as they are presently funded and administered. Action was clearly called for, and H.R. 11651, a bipartisan bill, answered that call.

The measure would amend the National School Lunch Act by adding a provision that would authorize the De-

### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

partment of Agriculture to use \$100 million in section 32 funds during fiscal 1970. The funds would be used to improve the nutrition of needy children in schools, day care centers, and other organized activities. This authority is given specifically to provide food services to children in addition to the food service support provided under the National School Lunch Act and the Child Nutrition Act of 1966.

The money provided through H.R. 11651 would go primarily toward reaching those children in schools and other organized activities who are not now benefiting from the Federal food services programs. About \$1 billion in section 32 funds has reverted to the Treasury during the last 10 years; this measure would put section 32 funds to use where they are sorely needed.

I feel that this piece of legislation goes a long way toward helping rid the richest land in the world of the intolerable presence of hunger and malnutrition among its children. I derive the greatest satisfaction in knowing that children in my State and all across the Nation will benefit greatly from the action we have taken.

### THE BATTLE FOR FLOOD CONTROL

#### HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, the battle for flood control is being won in the Kansas-Missouri area. How this is being accomplished is outlined by Mayor Lamar Phillips of Ottawa, Kans., in a recent issue of the Mississippi Valley Association's newsletter which I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues:

#### THE BATTLE FOR FLOOD CONTROL

The recent and current severe storms in mid-America serve as a grim reminder of the catastrophic flood of 1951 which resulted in more than a billion dollars damage. Mayor Lamar Phillips of Ottawa, long-time flood control worker and witness of damage from frequent floods on the Marais des Cygnes, has the following observations to make:

"The rivers of our continent, from the standpoint of geology, are ancient. They have been carrying storm run-off to the seas for ages. But, a change is taking place. Our old rivers are becoming new rivers. Or, perhaps it is more accurate to say they are being remodeled into new rivers.

"During recent days, streams of our Missouri River Basin have been called upon to carry more storm run-off than their channels are capable of carrying. An example is the Marais des Cygnes river valley of Eastern Kansas, the stream which becomes the Osage River after crossing the Kansas-Missouri border. Too much rain in too short a time caused this river to overflow its banks in some areas, and, regrettably, too much farm land and crops went under water. Today one reservoir is in operation—Pomona Reservoir in the upper Marais des Cygnes valley, and one local protection project, at Ottawa. In the recent overflows no water came into the city of Ottawa. The Pomona Reservoir level raised 12½ feet above the normal

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level, impounding 60,620 acre-feet of storm run-off. Eventually all of the projects in the Kansas-Missouri area will be completed.

"What is the task which lies ahead for those of us in Mo-Ark and Mississippi Valley Associations? We must be unselfish, but we must not give up. The battle for flood control is being won, and our contribution to the cause has been the fact that we are not competing with each other."

As of this writing, it is estimated that flood control projects constructed by the Kansas City District of the Corps of Engineers have prevented more than \$130 million in flood losses this year. In areas where flood control projects have been recommended in the Kansas City District, but not yet financed for construction, there is an estimated \$30 million loss.

### NORTHERN KENTUCKY GIVES 100TH SON TO VIETNAM WAR

#### HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, throughout the history of the United States, the Commonwealth of Kentucky has given its valiant offspring to safeguard America's heritage of liberty. Particularly, has this been true of the upper bluegrass—known as northern Kentucky. On July 23, northern Kentucky gave its 100th son to the war in Vietnam. Phillip Hammons of Covington, Ky., volunteered to fight for his country and paid the ultimate sacrifice in order to defend it. Phillip Hammons has upheld the highest traditions of his family, whose sons have served and are serving their country.

To the Hammons family goes the heartfelt sympathy of thousands of American families who have suffered the same loss and the undying gratitude of those of us for whom he laid down his life. He fought and died in the finest spirit of gallantry of the Marine Corps and of America and he joins the ranks of the other brave fighting men of America and of Kentucky who have given their lives for freedom.

He did not die in vain. He died protecting the liberty of all of us who gratefully remain. It is our duty to see to it that what he died for we will fight for.

The following page 1 article in the Kentucky Post concerning Phillip was written by Sigman Byrd, whose son, Arthur, is counted among the 100 courageous northern Kentuckians who have died in Vietnam:

#### NORTHERN KENTUCKY GIVES 100TH SON TO VIETNAM WAR

(By Sigman Byrd)

The Upper Bluegrass has given the life of her 100th son to the cause of United States military policy in Southeast Asia.

While astronauts Armstrong, Aldrin and Collins streaked through space toward their bright blue home planet yesterday morning, Mrs. Myrtle Hammons, 2903 Alden court, Covington, received that most heartbreaking of messages.

Her son, Pfc. Phillip Hammons, a 20-year-old Marine rifleman, had been killed in combat on July 23, 10 miles northeast of An Hoa, Quang Nam Province, Republic of Vietnam.

"He sustained missile wounds to the body from a hostile explosive device while on a search-and-clear operation," said the message over the signature of the commandant of the Marine Corps.

Pvt. Hammons was the youngest of 11 children. Four of his five brothers are veterans of the armed forces. Another brother, an Army specialist, is stationed in Vietnam.

Sp. 4 William Hammons, aged 23, will be a member of the honor guard escorting his brother's body home.

Pvt. Phillip Hammons, the slain Marine, is the only one of the 11 children of John and Myrtle Hammons who never saw his father. The elder Hammons died shortly before Phillip was born.

But the father and son who never saw each other in life will lie side by side in death. After services at Allison & Rose Funeral Home in Covington, the fallen hero will be buried beside the grave of John Hammons in Adams Cemetery at Batesville, Ind.

It was in Batesville that John died and Phillip was born 20 years ago.

One of Pvt. Phillip Hammons' five sisters, Katherine (Mrs. Glen) Fugate, of Cincinnati, said she had a strong premonition of her brother's death when she heard a news report Wednesday about the death of 25 U.S. Marines in Vietnam.

"I don't understand it," she said. "As soon as I heard it, I said to myself: Phil's dead. I felt it so strongly that I phoned Juanita (Mrs. Paul Landrum, 415 Bakewell street, Covington, another sister).

"I told Juanita we ought to go and stay with mother, to be with her when the telegram came. And that's what we did."

Mrs. Fugate explained that she and Phillip were closer than most brothers and sisters. "You see," she explained, "my son Mike is 20 years old, too—just two months older than Phil.

"I guess I thought of Phil more like he was my son than my brother."

The mother of the 11, Mrs. Myrtle Hammons, was prostrate with grief Friday.

Mrs. Landrum said her mother had slept poorly Thursday night—despite sedation administered by a physician.

"Mother is bitter about Phil's death," said Mrs. Landrum. "I think she always will be. She says she won't accept Phil's decorations from the government."

Pvt. Phillip Hammons has at least two decorations, a Purple Heart and a marksmanship medal. He earned the marksmanship medal in basic training in San Diego.

Phillip Hammons left Holmes High School in July 1968, to enlist in the Marine Corps before graduation.

"He volunteered," said Mrs. Fugate. "He wasn't drafted. He volunteered for combat duty in Vietnam."

"We tried to talk him out of it," said Mrs. Landrum. "We tried so hard to persuade him to join the Navy. But he wanted to fight the Communists."

Two of the six brothers are Navy veterans. They are John and Orville Hammons, both of Cincinnati.

Two others chose the Army. They are Clarence Hammons of Covington, and Pvt. William Hammons, now on the way home with his brother's body.

The other brother, Roland Hammons, of Covington, is an ex-Marine.

The surviving sisters, besides Mrs. Fugate and Mrs. Landrum, are:

Mrs. Richard Goff, Covington; Mrs. Arthur Stahler, Cincinnati, and Mrs. Louise Dornbush, Covington.

Pvt. Phillip Hammons left the United States for duty in Vietnam in January of this year. His death—Kenton County's 39th in Vietnam—came about a week after his return to duty following a brief rest-and-rehabilitation period in Bangkok.

From Bangkok the Marine hero sent his

mother a large and beautiful chest of flatware and a tape recording of a poem written by one of his comrades and recited by himself, Phillip.

Text of the poem follows:

"Take a man and put him alone—  
Put him 12,000 miles from home,  
Empty his heart of all but blood  
And make him live in sweat and mud.  
This is the life that I must live;  
This is why my soul I give.  
You peace-brothers laugh from your easy  
chairs,  
But you don't know what it's like over here.  
You have a ball without near trying  
While over here your brothers are dying,  
You burn your draft cards and protest . . .  
Use your drugs and have your fun  
And then refuse to raise a gun.  
I'll hate you till the day I die . . .  
I saw my buddy's arms a bloody . . .  
And heard them say: 'This one is dead.'  
He had the guts to fight and die.  
He paid the price—but  
What did he buy?"

At the conclusion of the poem, the voice of the martyred Marine, speaking to his mother for the last time, says in the tape recording:

"But who gives a damn what a Marine gives—except his mother, father, brothers and sisters?"

#### MUSKIE SPEAKS IN INDIANA

### HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I had the great pleasure of being host to Maine's distinguished Senator, EDMUND S. MUSKIE, in southern Indiana last week.

During his visit in the Ninth Congressional District of Indiana, Senator MUSKIE delivered one of the most enlightened, concise reports on this Nation's priorities that I have heard.

Senator MUSKIE's visit came in the wake of the Apollo 11 success and that glow of pride which all Americans share in this remarkable achievement. But the Senator's concern is that we take heart from this achievement and set ourselves goals here on earth.

Each of my colleagues will find reading this address a good investment of his time.

I include in the RECORD the entire text of Senator MUSKIE's excellent speech, given July 25 at the Jeffersonville, Ind., high school fieldhouse:

SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE, INDIANA SPEECH, JULY 25, 1969

During most of the past two weeks, our people have been unified in a way that only great moments of triumph or tragedy seem to produce.

In the affluent suburbs; in the steaming inner cities; in our troubled universities, and in neighborhoods where the schools are inadequate and overcrowded; in mountain and seashore resorts, and in homes where families cannot afford a summer vacation; beside clear lakes, and on the shores of polluted rivers; whether we were white or black, rich or poor, young or old, supporters or critics of the war in Vietnam, Democrats or Republicans, New Left or Old Right—the magnificent adventure of Apollo XI gripped us all.

The image of Neil Armstrong's foot swinging down from the Eagle, and onto the sur-

face of the moon, is a permanent part of our consciousness. No matter where we saw that television screen—in a rec room, or in a tenement—its fantastic image last Sunday night belongs to all of us. Time cannot erase it, nor in any way diminish its power. For a while, it made us one people.

And our unity was based on something deeper than national pride. Armstrong and Aldrin were representing all of us—all mankind—reaching out into the cosmos.

How long will that sense of unity last? I'm afraid the answer is not long, if you consider the history of other great events that have drawn us together, in exultation or sorrow.

Because sooner or later the television sets go off, and we return to the earth and the heat of summer. To high prices. A weak stock market. To traffic congestion. Rising crime. Cities hard-pressed for funds, and public services deteriorating. The air we breathe dark with chemical waste. Mistrust between the races. Mutiny in the hearts of many young people. The war dragging on.

That, it can be said, is the real world. Our vicarious participation in the moon mission is just that—vicarious—though we did pay for it.

But I want to suggest tonight that at least one aspect of the moon mission is part of our real world, too—could be.

I don't mean all the technological advances, the by-products, that are supposed to come from space science. I assume they are real. But by themselves, they are not likely to do much to relieve the problems we live with here on earth.

As a matter of fact, the science and technology, the national resources, and even the bravery that went into Apollo 11 could not in themselves have lifted that rocket a foot off the launching pad.

It took something more, something that could put all those elements together and give them coherence and power. It took a unifying goal, understood by all, and the will and determination to reach it.

In the case of the space program, the goal was simple. It was to enable a human being to walk on the moon's surface by the end of this decade. Achieving it was a terrifically complicated business. But the goal was clear and understandable and it inspired and unified our efforts, and we made it.

What if we decided that there were some goals here on earth that were no less important to us, no less urgent?

Now that we have seen that man can operate successfully in the lunar environment, what if we decided to help him operate successfully in the urban environment?

Now that we have shown ghetto children that a dream of sophisticated science may come true, I think it's about time to teach them to read.

Now that we have protected the health of three astronauts hundreds of thousands of miles away, I think we ought to find a way to give all our people good medical care at reasonable cost.

Now that we have built machines that can sustain great journeys in space, I think it's time to solve the problem of transporting people to and from work, without turning the countryside into concrete and the air into carbon and sulphur compounds.

Now that we've seen men cooperate to unite two machines in orbit at terrific speeds around the moon, let's find out how to get white men and black men to cooperate in improving city life.

I recognize that there is a difference between a physical triumph like putting a man on the moon, and a social triumph like putting a poor teenager on his way to a successful and responsible life.

With the one, we've been dealing with brilliant, highly educated men and women. We've had the use of the most advanced scientific equipment. We've been able to measure our

progress exactly. When we've failed, when there was a tragic fire that set us back, we've pressed on, undaunted. We've had the funds that let us call on the vast resources of private industry. And most of all, we've had a simple goal.

But dealing with our human problems is another matter. We've found that we could not simply put together a few ingredients—a little money to improve the schools, a year of Head Start, a job training program, and some good intentions—and heal the lives of people who have known nothing but poverty and deprivation from the beginning. We don't know yet how to measure the effect of most of what we are doing—how much a billion dollars of aid to education can do for school children, for example.

Every failure—every grant to some group that mis-spends it—is the occasion for cries of outrage and calls for stopping the program. We've talked a lot about getting private industry involved, but we haven't found the key—the incentive—to bring that about in sufficient quantity. And most of all, our goals have been very general—and very rhetorical.

I think it's time we delivered some simple goals and some firm target dates for our problems here in America.

Like improving the reading skills of high-school graduates in the ghetto from the ninth grade level to at least the eleventh grade level by 1976.

Like meeting the goal of the National Housing Act—26 million new units—in the next nine years.

Like cleaning every American river of unacceptable pollution by 1976.

Like assuring that no American family goes hungry by 1971.

Like reducing the delays in our courts of criminal jurisdiction by —% within five years.

There are plenty of other goals—in higher education, in mass transportation, in cleaning the air, in reducing infant mortality.

And it is up to the political leadership of this country to set those goals and to provide some target dates for reaching them—dates that are just as demanding as putting a man on the moon in the sixties was, when John Kennedy set it in 1961.

You don't provide that kind of leadership if you back-pedal before every reactionary breeze.

And whatever your Gallup poll rating, you can't lead from a low silhouette. You've got to stand up. You've got to invest some of your political capital in making this a more human and hopeful country. You've got to help your people understand how critical our problems are—and how we can marshal our energies, as we did in the space program, to solve them.

Because the real issue is not who wins in 1970 or 1972. It's what happens to the country in the next four years—whether it regains its old determination, its old optimism and hope, or whether it divides still further into frustrated, despairing factions.

I hope our President has a successful trip in Asia and Eastern Europe. But when he returns—as when Armstrong and Aldrin and Collins returned—he will find an America very much as it was when he left it: In need of political leadership that identifies our problems realistically, and that describes some human goals within our reach.

It may be that this is too much to ask from Republicans. They are better at turning the clock back, or making it stand still, than they are at anticipating what could be in the hours and days to come.

It has been our democratic role to identify national needs, and to set the forces in motion that will meet them. We have done that before. We shall do it again. And between now and 1972, let us press this administration to stand up and lead. Let us—speaking as the majority party representing the peo-

ple—try to exert more forward pressure than Strom Thurmond can brake.

Let us take heart from the spectacular achievement on the moon, and set ourselves some goals here in America. And let us bring together the resources and the will we need to reach them, and press on, through whatever disappointments and delays, until we do. That is the way, and the only way, by which we can regain the union we knew last weekend. And, despite the glory of Apollo XI, that is what really counts.

STATEMENT OF ANDREW J. BIEMILLER, DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF LEGISLATION, AFL-CIO SUPPORTING U.S. FOREIGN AID PROGRAMS

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, Andrew J. Biemiller is Director of the Department of Legislation of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. His statement follows:

STATEMENT

This statement represents the continuing position of the AFL-CIO in support of our country's program of foreign aid and to express our support for continuation of foreign aid authorization legislation.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council, on February 24, 1969, again stated its fundamental belief in the importance of the U.S. foreign assistance program when it said:

"The security and freedom of our country require a variety of efforts—political, diplomatic, economic, military, cultural and humanitarian. In this realization, Democratic and Republican Administrations alike have recognized the necessity of rallying our nation for generous assistance in various forms, particularly to the developing countries. Without the successes which have been achieved in the pursuit of this course, important areas, now centers of economic progress and advancing social justice, would today be pockets of political chaos and pawns in the hands of aggressors bent on world domination."

The AFL-CIO makes such a statement while being aware of the problems and inadequacies which have appeared in this country's foreign aid program in the past because we recognize that such an effort as this is relatively new in the history of mankind. The problems of poverty and race in our own country and the problems of underdevelopment in many regions of the world had for many years been accepted as inevitable and incapable of essential improvement. Perhaps because of our newly discovered ability to successfully engineer vast changes through the application of economic adjustments in critical areas of the nation's life, we are now confident that we are able to improve the condition of destitute human beings both here and abroad through specific measures. But we are relatively new at applying these solutions both here and abroad and it is apparently necessary that many of the lessons of practical administration of such a progressively innovative program must be learned through experience. The extraordinary successes we have achieved in such programs as foreign assistance must almost inevitably be marked by some failures as we apply new solutions to our changing array of human and industrial problems.

In the final analysis, then, both the humanitarian goals of the American foreign aid

program and the costs of that program in terms of sacrifice reflect great credit upon the American people. The continuing presence of those goals, that of preserving world peace, promoting freedom and supplying for economic needs in compliance with social justice, urge us to continue to make the sacrifices this program requires. A decline in our overseas aid would represent not only an abandonment of our recognized responsibilities but the loss of essential means of development to other human beings who have a right to share in the wealth of the earth.

Conscious of the commitment made by our nation at the beginning of the present decade, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO noted that:

"The U.S. has provided only 0.85% of its national income for overseas economic assistance—a lower proportion than the 0.93% expended on the average by the 16 industrially developed countries which constitute the Development Assistance Committee (DAC). Hence, no one can reasonably maintain that our foreign assistance program has been a drain on our nation's resources and capacities for dealing with its pressing urban and other domestic problems. No doubt, our country can do much more in the realm of development assistance while improving our domestic conditions."

The AFL-CIO again urges therefore, that for reasons "both of national interest and humanitarian concern" and also "for the practical mutuality of its benefits," the Congressional appropriations for the foreign assistance program should equal no less than one percent of our gross national product.

Because the horizons of possibilities have been expanded by the flight of Apollo 11 the whole program of space exploration should make us all increasingly conscious of the fact that we are members of the same human community on this planet, earth. If we are not conscious of the vital needs of our world neighbors, the conditions which beget violence and threaten world peace will continue to exist.

This does not imply that we support the United States Program of foreign assistance solely as an instrument of diplomacy to defer international difficulties. The AFL-CIO support of this type of program has been continuous since we encouraged the adoption of the Marshall Plan because, as trade unionists, we champion the fundamental American belief in the universality of human dignity, with all the responsibilities and rights which this dignity implies and demands; the universal right of man to work and to share justly in the product of his labors; and the right and obligation of every man to participate equally in the political process. Since these motives urge our organization and our government to strive valiantly to correct injustices and to provide for human opportunities within our own nation, then these same imperatives must effect our participation in the international community.

Among the criticisms voiced in opposition to the continuation of this country's development assistance program, much of which is unfair and has no basis in fact, there is one charge that AID has discouraged overseas private investment as a part of an overall development assistance program. The fact of the matter is that private overseas investments have not been in step with the wealth and vigor of the rest of this country's economic and financial profile. This was in spite of improved economic conditions both here and in the developing countries themselves. By comparison overseas investments from other countries such as West Germany, Italy and Japan have increased considerably. Because it is generally acknowledged that foreign private investment in developing countries is both necessary and beneficial as a source of capital, and organizational technological and commercial know-how, AID's

private Resources Development Services has been encouraging private investments in developing countries as a supplement and not a substitute for the government's program. While the AFL-CIO commends this present effort, it has serious reservations about the establishment of a new and parallel agency to foster such private investments since this will inevitably create confusion and conflict and be misunderstood in the developing world.

The AFL-CIO notes with satisfaction that the current bill provides for the continuation of the provisions of Title IX, of the Foreign Assistance Act, which urges that more emphasis be placed on the development and utilization of democratic institutions in the assistance program. This is an area in which labor feels most at home, for Title IX is an approach which emphasizes the determination by the people themselves of what they require.

For many years, the AFL-CIO has been supporting the work of the American Institute for Free Labor Development which has been deeply involved in the development of Title IX type institutions in the Western Hemisphere. Although the primary purpose of the AIFLD is the strengthening of democratic trade unions, it has, through its many social projects programs and educational programs and with the support of democratic trade unions developed various community institutions such as: cooperatives, credit unions, medical brigades, schools and community organizations of the type fostered by Title IX. Incidentally, since 1964 the AFL-CIO has, in Latin America, loaned interest-free or granted more than \$470,000 from its own resources for over 200 projects to assist in what is now Title IX type institutional development.

It is important that foreign aid continue to strengthen the free and democratic trade unions in the underdeveloped countries and that it be made available for programs of social and economic impact which will ultimately develop Title IX institutions. Both as a target for development and as a tool of development, the democratic trade union movement in this hemisphere offers outstanding opportunities for progress. We hope this committee will recommend a specific amount of funding for Title IX activities.

The AFL-CIO would like to call to the attention of this committee the work that has been accomplished by such organizations as the African American Labor Center (AALC), the more recent Asian American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI) as well as the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) which have been working for the development of free trade unions as adequate representatives of the workers before government, industry and political parties. These three AFL-CIO sponsored institutes have received financial assistance from AID for some of their work in their respective regions.

The effectiveness of the American Institute for Free Labor Development, established in 1960, in its union to union program in Latin America was not only an endorsement of our principle of overseas development, it was an encouragement to the AFL-CIO to undertake similar efforts first in Africa and then in Asia. The African American Labor Center was established in 1965 by the AFL-CIO and started with a vocational training program in Kenya. An American Trade Unionist was assigned to the project as a technical advisor. The Institute continues to train Africans under three separate study programs, and, typical of such activities, the number of applicants is always four times the number of unionist enrolled. It is the purpose of an institute such as this to contribute to the growth of the economy of the country or region through the development of one of its more important resources, its human capital, while creating a form of orga-

nizational stability in the union to its members.

AALC has not only stimulated African economic development by fostering progressive and responsible trade union growth, it has entered into other areas of human resource development. Last year, for instance in response to the requests of the workers of Ghana, AALC provided special mobile medical facilities to care for workers and their families. At a time when public health is an increasingly more important area of concern to developing countries, AALC coordinated the resources of the workers, the World Medical Relief Service as well as its own to provide the medical assistance necessary in an area coming to grips with industrialization for the first time. AALC is presently operating in 28 countries in Africa and has completed 75 projects. It has established schools in Nigeria, Kenya, Congo, Ethiopia and Dahomey. It has run a number of Pan-African seminars and has brought a number of African labor leaders to the United States to study labor. Its activities in Africa have emphasized technical training (such as training drivers, tailors, motormechanics, and printers), workers education, cooperatives, health clinics and literacy training.

The needs for these labor programs are growing as the importance of labor increases and significance of training and developing human resources is appreciated. We feel that through these basic-type programs we are helping the trade unions to have a greater role in the economic and social development of their countries.

Again, moved by the needs of the workers of Asia and the commitment of the AFL-CIO to international development, another labor program has been established under the Asian American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI).

On January 17, 1968, the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI) was incorporated as a non-profit organization by the AFL-CIO under the laws of the State of Delaware. AAFLI was formed for the purpose of promoting the development of free trade unions in Asia and the Near East. As an arm of the AFL-CIO, AAFLI is responsible for carrying out programs and objectives.

In Vietnam, where our program must have a double priority, the AFL-CIO has expended thousands of dollars on the relief of trade unionists and their families affected by the war.

The AAFLI elsewhere in Asia is planning and conducting a long range program designed to assist trade unionists to be more effective in bargaining. Part of the task the Institute has set before itself is the development of a trade union leadership which can assume much of the responsibility of discerning the needs of the workers and guiding their coordinated solutions to those needs. Free trade unionists in the Philippines, for instance, are aware of the resource that AAFLI constitutes as a source of trade union organizations and developmental knowledge.

Since much of the Asian region is agricultural, the Institute has plans to work on rural worker problems, especially in helping them to establish cooperatives. As elsewhere, such cooperatives are important in that they provide a marketing mechanism, which in turn, creates production incentives.

At the invitation of a host country's labor movement, AAFLI undertakes joint programs in the field of education and social development. Such programs will include trade union leadership and administrative training, cooperative organization and administration, press and information seminars, vocational training, and internships or on-the-job training, as well as social projects in the fields of cooperative development, medical clinics, community centers, and related "impact-type" projects.

To the maximum extent possible, AAFLI makes use of the services of host-country and third-country instructors and lecturers, leav-

ing program planning and coordination to the AAFLI staff.

All AAFLI programs are developed and implemented with the coordination and cooperation of the host country unions. The programs are consistently designed as union-to-union activities and operated on a joint basis.

Since the programs are based on the principle of "Self-Help", with the objective that the host country unions eventually take over all aspects, a local contribution to all programs is required, based on the extent of the unions' resources. In the past, this has taken the form of contributions of manpower, such as instructors or administrative personnel, seminar facilities and equipment, student room and board or payment for loss of wages, and the like.

Although comparative studies are made of labor movements and working conditions in the United States and other countries, the focus of all training programs is on study of the conditions that exist in the host country with no attempt made to export the trade union practices or techniques current in the United States or other countries. The objectives of the program is to stimulate and develop the leadership and membership of the host country union toward strengthening the labor movement as a democratic institution, responsive to the needs and welfare of the workers, able to represent their interests, and prepared to contribute to the overall economic development of the country by raising wages, improving working conditions, and improving the standard of living of trade union members and their families.

Since June 1968, AAFLI's program in South Vietnam has trained over 400 persons in trade union leadership and plans to train an additional 2000 persons. 60 interns will be selected from graduates of the advanced leadership courses and will be utilized as instructors for the lower courses. 145 persons have received cooperative training and 31 of them have been selected as interns for a 12-month period, financed by AAFLI, to form cooperatives. 41 persons have been trained in methods of research, preparation and dissemination of trade union periodicals and materials, and 20 of these graduates have been selected as interns to work in the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor's printing shop for a 12-month period. Shortly after the 1968 TET military offensive by the VIET Cong, the AFL-CIO, acting upon an urgent appeal from the President of the CVT, allocated \$35,000 for emergency relief to needy union families through AAFLI which is responsible for the relief and impact projects activities of the AFL-CIO in South Vietnam.

The present and potential value of this type of program in Asia is attested by the contracts granted by the Agency for International Development to support this effort. AAFLI-CIO recommends that AID increase the resources made available for this valuable assistance to the working people of Asia.

In support of this assertion I ask that the annual progress report of these organizations be included in the record as a demonstration of the extent and effectiveness of the work being accomplished. I would like to add to these reports the following information on AIFLD's work on education efforts in Latin America.

Since more than one hundred thousand workers have completed AIFLD sponsored courses, ranging from evening courses designed to convey the basic tenets of democratic trade unionism to full-time residential courses in relatively specialized fields such as Collective Bargaining and Community Development.

The philosophical thrust of AIFLD's efforts in Latin America is positive in its affirmation of the values of free men joining together in institutions such as unions as a means of increasing their influence, both in the private and public sector, in decision-

making which affects their own lives and that of future generations. As a recent independent evaluation study on Colombia and Ecuador stated "courses emphasize the positive aspects of free, independent, democratic trade unionism and present to students with alternative systems. Despite some excusable exhortation, the major concern in both countries is for rational choice and the substitution of reason for emotion."

The steadily increasing level of sophistication combined with the rising expectations of Latin American workers requires increased emphasis on advanced training. This means that the AIFLD is less and less involved in basic membership training as the unions themselves become able to assume greater responsibility for this effort thereby concentrating its limited resources on the kind of specialized training that a growing and dynamic trade union movement needs, if it is to participate fully in national and regional economic and political development. Not only is AIFLD concentrating more and more on advanced specialized training in each country, but concomitantly we are devoting more resources to advanced training here in the United States through our residential training in Front Royal, Virginia and our Labor Economics Program in Georgetown. We currently provide training for some 125 trade unionists annually in Front Royal in courses of 6 to 9 weeks duration dealing with relatively technical subjects such as job evaluation, productivity and wages, and group dynamics. These and other subjects are explored under the leadership of experts in their respective disciplines. During these courses, participants are offered an opportunity to engage in meaningful dialogue with trade union leaders, government officials and representatives of the numerous international agencies headquartered in the United States.

AIFLD experience has demonstrated that this opportunity for the exchange of ideas, information and viewpoints uniquely equips a trade union leader to return to his country with broadened horizons and increased depth of perception and more importantly with a keener awareness of the commonality of mankind's problems and of the resources both human and material which can be brought to bear in the never-ending search for solutions. Through the use of private funds, AIFLD has expanded the physical facilities at its Institute in Front Royal, Virginia, so that approximately ten 6-9 week courses for 20 students can be offered annually provided a sufficient level of funds for operating expenses can be made available.

Finally AIFLD's education effort encompasses certain special programs to cope with a given national problem of vital interest to workers, such as the vocational educational program in Guyana or the regional training program in economic integration in Central America. As with all AIFLD's activities these programs are conducted only at the request of and in cooperation with the trade union movements of the country and/or region in which they take place.

In recognition of the serious dearth of printed material available to worker education programs in Latin America, AIFLD has an on-going textbook publication program. Thus far, three books have been printed and distributed for use in Latin America and eleven others are in various stages of publication. As funds become available, we will be printing and distributing these textbooks together with instructor's manual for use in worker education programs throughout the hemisphere.

AIFLD's record of providing training to more than 110,000 workers throughout Latin America, ranging from the most elementary to the most sophisticated level, during its first seven years is unequalled. During 1970 we will be implementing a comprehensive evaluation system designed to provide a con-

tinuing appraisal of our educational efforts which will provide a measure of the effectiveness of educational programs as a guideline to policy and program decision making. This should result in an increased sharpening of focus, improved programming and even greater effectiveness in the use of resources available.

AIFLD has developed a series of programs with Alliance for Progress providing assistance designed to improve social conditions of thousands of Latin American workers. It should be noted that almost 20 million dollars in long term loans have been provided to the unions of Latin America directly from AFL-CIO affiliated unions under the AID investment guarantee program.

As of December 31, 1968, the Social Project Department of AIFLD had demonstrated marked success in a number of areas. In the field of workers housing, over 13,000 units with a total value of \$55 million had either been completed, were under construction or were to be constructed under contracts already signed. The only worker owned savings and loan association, ASINCOOP, in Lima, Peru, had made 762 cooperative housing loans for a total of over \$5 million and had 11,000 depositors who had saved more than \$2.5 million. In the field of small self-help projects, over 220 such projects had been financed by the AFL-CIO/AIFLD Impact Projects Program and over 200 by A.I.D., for a total amount of \$800,000 divided more or less equally between grants and interest-free loans. In addition, an A.I.D. financed Regional Revolving Loan Fund was established in July of 1968 for interest-free loans of up to \$50,000. Four projects totalling over \$110,000 had been approved. In the field of campesino assistance, three campesino service centers in Brazil and one in Colombia had been constructed and were in full operation. In Central America, regional and local rural leadership programs are held on a regular basis giving four-week classroom courses followed by one week of action in community development projects.

At this time I would like to go into another matter of serious concern to the AFL-CIO regarding the language and provisions of the proposed Foreign Assistance Act.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, there has always been agreement between the American government and the AFL-CIO regarding the need for true trade union participation in economic and social development in order to ensure the success of the overall foreign assistance program. However, the problem of our Government's Foreign Aid agencies in translating the intent of the Congress into action often begins with vagueness of language and of priorities. In the proposal before you, the principles and criteria are all too often stated in general and nonspecific terms. This vagueness can lead to problems of implementation because the intent is not specifically clear. For that reason I would like to discuss some of the specific items that appear in the proposed legislation. The legal and policy basis for efforts in the labor field including the trade union as well as the government and management sectors are provided either explicitly or implicitly throughout the proposed Foreign Aid Act but particularly in Chapters I, II and III, part I of Bill-H.R. 11792. In general we observe that the new bill has used such general language as "institutions" while in the past, there were specific references to free trade unions, cooperatives and voluntary agencies.

Another specific difficulty with H.R. 11792 arises with the provisions of Section 204 (page 9 lines 13 through 18) concerning the Alliance for Progress policies when it states the "loans may be made only for social and economic development projects and programs which are consistent with the findings and recommendations of the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress

(CIAP) in its annual review of national development activities." This section has been one of the principal limitations of policy action affecting the interest of free trade unions in Latin America since the CIAP committee has not accepted the labor policy recommendations of the Inter-American Labor Ministers Conference which stresses participation of free trade unions in national economic and social planning efforts. On the contrary, CIAP has encouraged wage policies which in effect eliminate the collective bargaining function in many countries. Thus, if these policies follow CIAP recommendations exclusively are inconsistent with the legislation which supports the participation of such private institutions as trade unions in the development process. Further, these wage labor policies have also had a detrimental effect on the priority for trade unions and cooperative social projects under the allocations of Public Law 480—dollar project and program loan resources.

There is no question that these same wage freeze policies represent one of the factors which cause social unrest. We therefore recommend the clarification of the intent of this legislation by the addition of a requirement to make loan criteria consistent also with the Inter-American Labor Ministers Conference recommendations.

In Section 302 of the proposed legislation, which deals with capital and technical assistance in private enterprise development, there is provision for "capital projects" to increase the capacity of public and other facilities essential for private enterprise and loans for the support of "private enterprise activities" and "development or objectives" (page 21 line 6 through 9 in the bill). Again, the proposed legislation does not include any reference to free trade unions and cooperatives as participants in such loan project and capital project assistance.

It may well be that some of the difficulty that AIFLD, AALC, and AAFLI have had in receiving social project assistance in certain areas may be traced to this vagueness of language.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I would like to call your attention to the statement on the U.S. Foreign Aid Program made by the AFL-CIO Executive Council in February of this year. The statement is an expression of the interest and concern of the American Labor movement for our country's world role and responsibilities. I would like to affix this document as an addendum to this testimony. I particularly call attention the eight issues highlighted by the specific recommendations of the Executive Council. This is an excellent summary of the position of the labor movement on foreign aid and legislation.

We appreciate this opportunity to express our support for the foreign aid program as visualized in H.R. 11792 introduced by Chairman Morgan. Thank you.

STATEMENT BY THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON STRENGTHENING THE U.S. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM, BAL HARBOUR, FLA., FEBRUARY 24, 1969.

The security and freedom of our country require a variety of efforts—political, diplomatic, economic, military, cultural, and humanitarian. In this realization, Democratic and Republican Administrations alike have recognized the necessity of rallying our nation for generous assistance in various forms, particularly to the developing countries. Without the successes which have been achieved in the pursuit of this course, important areas, now centers of economic progress and advancing social justice, would today be pockets of political chaos and pawns in the hands of aggressors bent on world domination.

Over the years, mistakes have been made and shortcoming manifested in carrying out the nation's vast foreign assistance program.

Certain lessons could be learned only through practical experience. By and large, little time was lost in improving administrative procedures and reducing the chances of misuse of help to a minimum. On the whole, the AID program and its humanitarian endeavors have been a great credit to the American people.

Last year, the U.S. contributed more than any other country to help the developing nations get on their feet. Thus, India, Pakistan, the Philippines and Turkey were enabled to have harvests. Every one of the fifteen nations which received 84% of AID's economic assistance last year can attest to its effectiveness in helping them achieve self-sustaining growth—economic progress, advances in health, education and the building of democratic institutions.

Moreover, in helping others, our country has also helped itself. Last year, 98% of AID's commodity requirements were American-purchased and 91% of its total expenditures were made in the U.S. P.L. 480 appropriations, which are a rather substantial part of the development assistance program, have been a source of significant support for the income of our nation's farmers.

Despite these constructive results, recent years have witnessed considerable criticism and opposition to the continuation of our country's development assistance program and projects. Much of the criticism has no basis in fact and is unfair.

For instance, it has been falsely charged that AID has discouraged private investments in development assistance. The fact of the matter is that, in regard to the developing countries, American private investors have not been in step with the "wealth and vigor" of our country's financial community. In order to improve this picture, AID's Private Resource Development Service has been encouraging and supporting with guarantees a number of private undertakings in the developing countries. Setting up a new, separate and parallel agency to foster such private investments would only lead to confusion and conflict. We must realize that, though private investment can and should play a vital role in the developing countries, it can only be supplemental to and not be a substitute for the government assistance program.

Some have argued that the very success of this assistance program makes its continuation unnecessary and that its mission has been fulfilled. Others, embittered by the failure of our Allies to help us in the Vietnam conflict, have turned to neoisolationism. Still others are demanding that our country reduce drastically its world responsibilities and stop helping others in view of the magnitude and urgency of some of our domestic problems.

Just as America cannot long enjoy peace and freedom in a world ridden with totalitarian dictators bent on global conquest and domination, so our country cannot long remain prosperous in a world steeped in poverty, ignorance, and disease. No one can deny that famine and poverty are still a massive peril in many parts of the world. What is more, by now it should be clear to everyone that poverty is not necessarily due to lack of natural and human resources, but is rather the result of a failure to use adequately and effectively the potential resources at hand. On a world scale, 80% of the natural resources and 90% of the human resources are today untapped. In this situation, our country with its great technological expertise and industrial capacity can render enormous assistance to the expansion of world economic development and human well-being. There is no better road to the elimination of poverty, disease and ignorance which are so assiduously exploited by the Communists in their drive for world power.

The U.S. has provided only 0.85% of its national income for overseas economic assistance—a lower proportion than the 0.93% expended on the average by the sixteen industrially developed countries which constitute the Development Assistance Committee (DAC). Hence, no one can reasonably maintain that our foreign assistance program has been a drain on our nation's resources and capacities for dealing with its pressing urban and other domestic problems. No doubt, our country can do much more in the realm of development assistance while improving our domestic conditions.

We of the AFL-CIO are not particularly concerned with what new name the new Administration might give our nation's development assistance agency. There is no reason to chase novelty for the sake of novelty. Sound improvements can be made only on the basis of experience and without hesitation to take new steps for meeting changed or new situations. However, the Executive Council will oppose vigorously all moves—regardless of their guise—to sap the strength or to alter the basic nature of AID by "restructuring" it in such a way as to deprive it of its vital functions. We hope, in this connection, that President Nixon will utilize the great opportunity he has to exercise energetic initiative and leadership in overcoming the tacit and explicit lack of concern in certain sections of our population for the less developed countries.

Towards enabling our country to fulfill ever more effectively its world role and responsibilities in promoting freedom, peace, and social justice, the AFL-CIO Executive Council urges that:

(1) Regardless of the new name which the overseas development assistance program will have, the organization should pursue the essential purpose and preserve the basic structure of AID so as not to divest it of its vital functions.

(2) The overseas development assistance program should be given greater authority and stability of funding through biennial Congressional appropriations.

(3) The Director of the new organization should be made an Under-Secretary of State for Economic Assistance Cooperation in order to strengthen its authority, enhance its mobility of operations, and reduce the frustrations of bureaucratic red tape.

(4) The new agency's career service should be improved by according its working staff the same status and prerogatives as enjoyed by the Foreign Service personnel of the Department of State.

(5) For reasons "both of national interest and humanitarian concern" and also "for the practical mutuality of its benefits", the Congressional appropriations for the foreign assistance program should equal no less than one percent of our national income.

(6) In line with the aims and spirit of Title IX of the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act it should be so amended as to provide help to democratic institutions and social projects (education, research, cultural exchanges, cooperatives, trade unions, etc.) even after countries become economically viable, that is, self-sustaining with respect to capital assistance on liberal terms.

(7) To insure that the great mass of the people, rather than any privileged minority in the developing countries, are the primary beneficiaries of American assistance, increasing emphasis should be put on expanding the activities of organizations like the AIFLD, AALC, and AAFLI which promote the building of democratic institutions (free trade unions, cooperatives, private local impact projects, etc.)

(8) Military assistance and aid for economic and social development should be separated from each other by legislative enactment.

## INDUSTRY DEFENDS THE "COMPLEX"

### HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker you and the Members of the House will recall that on June 12 I spoke on the floor on the subject of the military-industrial complex. It was my purpose at that time to attempt to place in proper context the whole matter of the relationship between our military establishment and our industrial establishment. From comments I have heard since that time I think it quite possible that my efforts were not wasted and that my remarks, at least to some extent, helped in the forming of reasoned judgments with respect to that essential relationship—essential to the Nation's defense—known as the military-industrial complex.

I noted with a great deal of interest and pleasure that Mr. Roger Lewis, president and board chairman of the General Dynamics Corp., considered this whole matter to be of sufficient moment to grant an interview to a writer for the Christian Science Monitor in order that there could be a full and free discussion of the military-industrial complex from the standpoint of the industrialist engaged in the manufacture of military hardware. In my view this showed a certain amount of courage on the part of Mr. Lewis and I congratulate him for that and for the forthrightness of his statements.

The interview between Mr. Lewis and Mr. Martin Skala of the Christian Science Monitor takes the form of a question and answer discussion.

Mr. Speaker, this question and answer exchange on the military-industrial complex appeared in the Friday, July 11, 1969, Christian Science Monitor, and was prominently featured on the first page of the second section of that outstanding and responsible newspaper. I insert in the RECORD this thoughtful and very helpful exchange as one more step toward a realistic and considered appraisal of an inter-relationship without which this country, simply stated, would be unable to maintain its position of world leadership.

Mr. Lewis has done his country a great service. The article follows:

#### INDUSTRY DEFENDS THE "COMPLEX"

Is there really such a combination of interests as the so-called "military-industrial complex?"

Yes, there is something that can be called a "military-industrial complex." And I am using the word "complex" in the same sense that President Eisenhower used it in his 1961 farewell talk.

What seems to have been forgotten about President Eisenhower's statement back in 1961 is his reference to the fact that "we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense" and have, therefore, "been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions."

A little later, after referring to the "conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry . . ." he went on to say that "we recognize the im-

perative need for this development." He was not criticizing its existence—he was cautioning against "the acquisition of unwarranted influence . . . by the military-industrial complex."

Of course, there is always an underlying implication that there is some kind of "improper" relationship between the military and industry. That's really what causes the question to be asked. But any analogy between this country and prewar Germany or Japan simply won't stand up. We do not have a strongly centralized government as they did and, further, there are some 40,000 companies doing defense work.

In addition to this, there are the numerous echelons of authority both within the executive branch and within the Congress that must study and approve procurement policies and actions.

And lastly, the whole procurement operation is done through a free-enterprise system. The competition is more severe, the risks are usually greater, and the profits are lower in the defense business than in commercial practice.

Remember that although the government is a customer, it's also a shopper, and it's determined to get the best product for the least money in the shortest period of time. Both our democratic system of government with all of its checks and balances and the highly competitive free-enterprise system of American business ensure the best and most productive relationship between the military and industry.

Have you seen any evidence that the American political system is being subtly altered by large-scale defense spending?

I have seen no such evidence. But it's a good question to raise, because world conditions being what they are defense gets the most money and the most attention and publicity. This is so because it has the biggest and most important job to do.

America has a history and tradition of concern that the military not be dominant in our political life, and it was with this in mind that our founding fathers separated the powers of the government, provided for civilian control of the military, and ensured freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

It is this very climate within which the free-enterprise system can operate so effectively and contribute so greatly to the preservation of the kind of government we have.

Do you believe, as some critics have alleged, that the large defense-oriented corporations have a "vested stake" in perpetuation of the cold war?

No, I do not believe that defense-oriented organizations like General Dynamics have a vested stake in the perpetuation of the cold war. And even if they did have such an interest, the considerations set out in the answer to the first question would prevent this. The Department of Defense devises national strategy and sets requirements. Industry only responds to these requirements.

Consider, too, the number of defense businesses in existence during and after World War II and how many fewer there are today. The situation is very fluid, with businesses coming into the defense area, shifting over to nondefense business, and even going out of business entirely. The record is pretty clear in this respect.

The executive branch determines policy, defense devises the strategy, Congress provides the money, and industry does its job in a tough, competitive atmosphere.

One prominent economist has suggested that the managerial system is being gradually altered because of stringent Pentagon controls over defense spending. Such as the contractual inclusion of "buy America" clauses, wage and overtime guidelines, etc. Is there any validity to this contention?

No, I don't think there is any such alteration. In my opinion, defense contractors are no different from nondefense companies.

Both have the same responsibilities to their shareholders, employees, and customers.

However, defense money is public money, and large amounts are involved. The Defense Department is accountable by law and regulation to the President and the Congress and is subject to their constant inquiry. Because the Defense Department is not a customer in the ordinary sense, adequate control and safeguards over its expenditures are certainly in order.

The need is to achieve a balance between the government's requirements as a special customer and sovereign, and management's fundamental need to "run its business" to meet its contractual commitments in its and the government's interest. This is a constant problem, and both sides need to be alert to rules and regulations that could shackle management and prevent timely and wise decisionmaking. There is a great deal which can be done in this area, and the people in charge in the Pentagon are aware of the problem and are struggling manfully with it.

A point to remember is that even those defense contractors who do most of their business with the government don't lose their autonomy, individuality, independence, or—most importantly—their responsibility to perform just because the government is the customer. In the last analysis, the so-called management limitations of the Department of Defense are only very tight reporting systems.

How much of a problem is government red tape?

It depends on the kind of "red tape."

No one questions the Defense Department's need for reports to provide visibility as to the status of performance, expenditures, small business participation, and the like. We understand the need and can adjust to it. But reports that serve no useful purpose, including redundant reports, need to be eliminated, and we find the Defense Department receptive to suggestions for doing away with them.

On the other hand, "red tape" which delays decisionmaking by requiring unnecessary approvals of higher authority or a series of such approvals for matters which should be settled at the contracting level does interfere with the timely and proper performance of contract. To this extent it is a problem.

Why do you think there is so much talk about a "military-industrial" complex?

First, I think the Eisenhower statement has a great deal to do with the wide discussion of a military-industrial complex today.

Second, there is a great deal of money involved—public money—which is spent to satisfy man's most basic interests, his personal safety and his country's security.

Third, our history and tradition of civilian control of our government, coupled with the people's realization that other countries have suffered from military-industrial relationships, underlies much of this discussion.

Also, the recollection of the wars of the last 100 years and strong feelings about the conflict in Vietnam contribute to it.

And, lastly, the current controversy over the Safeguard antiballistic missile system provides the trigger for a higher-pitched dialogue on this subject.

All of this public interest, however, is healthy and is to be welcomed. It's a part of our system.

Based upon your experience in industry, are present Pentagon and congressional controls over military procurement practices adequate to prevent waste or malfeasance?

This is really a question of extent and degree. Big defense programs, just like big private business operations, have the built-in problems of size, complexity, and the fact that people are involved. Controls over military procurement are an old story to the Department of Defense and are founded on vast experience. There is a well-established

watchdog relationship involved here and any great deviation from sound procurement practices is virtually impossible.

Also, a reading of the daily press, and certainly a reading of the Congressional Record, gives clear proof that waste and malfeasance are matters under constant scrutiny by the Pentagon, the Congress, the General Accounting Office, and other agencies. I think, too, that any further needed laws or regulations can be insured both by this scrutiny and by the publicity which is always given waste and malfeasance by an inquisitive and remarkably well-informed press.

Should the American people be concerned by the large numbers of ex-high-ranking military officers employed by major defense contractors?

I do not believe so, at least if other companies handle the matter as we do at General Dynamics. We have very few high-ranking military people in terms of our total payroll. We are very careful not to hire a military officer unless he has some special technical or organizational skill which we can use in the company in a way which will avoid any possibility of conflict of interest.

We apply the same criteria in selecting such men as we apply to those we hire from industry or in selecting men for promotion within the company.

On the other hand, I believe it is very important that we have the benefit of the specialized knowledge and experience of certain of these men. It is a question of management—how you use the talent and experience of these exceptionally well-qualified people.

I think that the defense industry would be properly criticized if it didn't use the talents of these trained and competent people. I think, further, it would be unfair to deny a man a job just because he had a military background. This really comes down to a question of proper management.

What percentage of General Dynamics' gross income comes from defense related or government contracting? What programs are involved?

Over the past seven or eight years about 80 percent of our total sales have been to the Department of Defense or NASA and 20 percent to commercial customers. We are primarily designers and developers of large weapons systems, such as combat aircraft, nuclear submarines, surface ships, and strategic and tactical missiles. We also build a variety of communications and data handling equipment for all three services.

We are proud of the fact that our company has played a significant role in the development of the first American satellite, the first supersonic bombers, the first nuclear submarines, and the first intercontinental ballistic missiles to be developed in this or any other country.

Are these profits being made by defense contractors way out of line with comparable profits being made by civilian nondefense firms as some critics have alleged?

Yes, profits are out of line.

Recently, an independent study was produced for the Department of Defense by the Logistics Management Institute [LMI]. The study took 18 months and was based on financial data from 65 defense contractors. The subject is so important—and so misunderstood—that I wish I had the space to cover it completely.

A summarization of the LMI Review states: "Despite policy objectives of the procurement system, defense-industry profitability has been in a steady decline. This is not supposition or argument. It is fact."

From 1958 to 1966 defense business profit declined while commercial business profit increased. The summarization points out: "By 1966, net profit after taxes on total capital investment was 6.9 percent for defense business, 10.8 percent for defense contractors' commercial business, and 12.4 percent

for a representative group of nondefense companies."

It's interesting to note that a \$1,000 investment in 1957 in a group of mixed companies would have been worth \$4,674 at the end of 1966, while the same investment in the primarily defense group would have grown only to \$2,265. This same trend has continued in 1967 and 1968, and I see no evidence on the horizon that it's going to change for the better.

This is an unhealthy and potentially dangerous situation. Industry must keep pace with the rapid advances in modern technology, but the cost of maintaining and modernizing plants and acquiring machine tools and other facilities is steadily going up while profits are just as steadily declining.

At some point declining profits and rising prices must result in obsolescence. Obsolescence means deterioration of our mobilization base and, should need for accelerated production arise, greater costs for weapons systems and a slower production rate.

Allegations persist that General Dynamics in part won the F-111 contract because of political factors. What is the truth?

There were no political factors in the award of the F-111 contract. Actually the story is a simple one. Both the Boeing and General Dynamics proposals were reviewed by an evaluation group in the Pentagon. This consisted of 284 military and civilian experts. The final score in this contest was General Dynamics 175.6 and Boeing 172.1. Then the military source selection board took these two scores and attached appropriate weight to the various elements in order to give more emphasis to those of greater importance. After this second review, General Dynamics was again the winner, 662.4 to 654.2.

The board recommended the Boeing design but Secretary McNamara chose General Dynamics. The whole story of this is told on Pages 1911 and 1912 of the TFX contract investigation hearings. It was a close fight and a hard decision, but General Dynamics did win and won on the basis of the better design. I think a better airplane resulted from this tough competition.

What is the future of a heavily defense-oriented corporation like General Dynamics?

No precise predictions can be made about the future of General Dynamics or other companies heavily engaged in defense business. However, there are a number of points that can be made that might be helpful in establishing a framework for thinking about the future of defense-oriented companies.

First, I think that even if events should permit a smaller defense establishment than we have today, the need for excellence in our hardware and the need for keeping not merely abreast but ahead of the rest of the world still be matters of great importance.

The country must always be in a position to adapt itself to a sudden change in the world climate, must have the capability for rapid buildup, the ability to translate its scientific and industrial base into the best hardware in the shortest time.

It's hard for me to visualize a time in the future when it will be possible for the United States to be without an industry capable of producing weapons systems—very likely systems more complex than we have today. I think it's a real possibility that the industry could be—and some say should be—thinned down as the years go on to a fewer number of companies with the largest part of their effort directed to weapons development and production. But there will always be a proper place in the national-defense picture for capable, efficient, and rather specialized companies.

If circumstances do permit smaller military forces in the future and, therefore, a small volume of defense production, this would mean to me only an even more competitive atmosphere in which General Dynamics would work even harder to maintain a high-win rate in defense contracts.

## MARLIN-ROCKWELL WORKERS SALUTE MOON LANDING

### HON. JAMES F. HASTINGS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, man has landed on the moon and those three daring astronauts have returned safely to Houston, marking a happy ending to what must be the greatest adventure in all mankind.

Their courage and skill cannot be praised too highly and taking a special pride in their astounding accomplishment are some 1,600 workers of the Marlin-Rockwell Co. plants in Jamestown and Falconer, N.Y., in my home district. They were a part of that massive work force which teamed up to make the landing possible. Their skill and resourcefulness provided the bearings for the mighty engines of the Saturn V which sent the spacecraft aloft and on its historic journey. And through their parent company, TRW, Inc., which employs 60,000 in 164 locations around the world, they had a hand in at least 9 out of 10 other space projects from providing the lunar module descent engine under subcontract with Grumman Aircraft Engineering Corp., to the development of a seemingly miraculous communications system which so enhanced the Apollo 11 mission.

So that others may share my pride in the part they played in the moon landing, I include the following Jamestown Post-Journal article, which tells in detail of their contributions, in the RECORD:

#### JAMESTOWN-FALCONER PLANTS SUPPLIED "HARDWARE"; MRC WORKERS TAKE PRIDE IN MOON PROJECT'S SUCCESS

Hundreds of workers in a local industrial firm can take personal pride in the successful landing of man on the moon since they had a part in manufacturing important "hardware" that went into Apollo 11 engines.

The Jamestown-Falconer plants of Marlin-Rockwell Corp., employing about 1600, also supplied the bearings that went into the engines of Saturn V which lifted the Command Spacecraft and the Lunar Module and sent them on their way to the moon.

In addition the local firm is a division of TRW Inc. which is not only the first firm to build a spacecraft and to be a participant in nine out of 10 space projects, but it also performed eight major roles in the Apollo lunar landing program, according to word from its offices in Redondo Beach, Calif.

Among these was TRW System Group's Science and Technology Division, under subcontract to Grumman Aircraft Engineering Corp. which supplied the Lunar Module Descent Engine that lowered Astronauts Armstrong and Aldrin softly and safely the last 10 miles to the moon's surface.

By controlling the amount and direction of the engine's thrust, varying from 1,050 to 9,850 pounds during the lunar landing, the astronauts were able to break their descent, hover to select a precise landing site and then slowly descend to where no man has ever trod before.

TRW's Equipment Group under subcontract to McDonnell Douglas Corp. also provided the six 150-pound thrust attitude control engines for Saturn V's S-4B third stage. The rockets, a part of the S-4B auxiliary and propulsion system, are mounted in two clusters of three each and may be fired

singly or in groups. On the Apollo 11 mission, the engines maintained roll control during the first J-2 engine burn, provided roll, pitch and yaw control in earth orbit and aligned the S-4B stage in earth orbit prior to the J-2 restart, injecting Apollo 11 into translunar trajectory.

At its Houston Operations adjacent to the NASA Manned Spacecraft Center, TRW's System group provided major assistance to the MSC Mission Planning and Analysis Division in the areas of trajectory design and analysis, orbital maneuvers, flight control computer program development, range safety analysis, operational software and mission error analysis.

TRW Systems Group's Space Vehicles Division, under contract to NASA's Goddard Space Flight Center, has produced two Test and Training Satellites placed in low earth orbit to check out the Apollo's worldwide Manned Space Flight Network and train the network's operators.

The 44-pound octahedral satellites are members of TRW's Environmental Research Satellite series. Test and Training Satellite 1 was launched Dec. 13, 1967, and simulated Apollo spacecraft communications during its four and a half month lifetime. The second test and training satellite was orbited Nov. 8, 1968, and has been used to ready the Apollo network for the Apollo 11 mission.

Four pioneer spacecraft in orbit around the sun and 10 Vela Satellites orbiting the earth, monitoring the sun for signs of major solar flares and other radiation powerful enough to harm an astronaut in space or on the moon, are built by TRW Systems Group's Space Vehicles Division. They are providing NASA with sufficient advance warning to delay a launch or alter an orbit, if necessary.

Among other major roles in the moon-landing program, TRW through its Electronic Systems Division has built for Collins Radio Co., the Signal Data Demodulator System which enhances clear voice communications through advanced techniques during the Apollo missions. Installed at 13 worldwide locations and on board Apollo ships as part of the Apollo S-band communications network, the Signal Data Demodulator handles nearly all forms of information from the spacecraft including telemetry data, in addition to voice communications. Should an emergency occur, SDDS will provide communications via a simple telegraph key.

Marlin-Rockwell of Jamestown, the consolidation of three oldest bearing manufacturers in the country, became a division of TRW Inc. in 1964. TRW today employs more than 60,000 persons in 164 locations around the world.

## RETIREMENT OF LT. GEN. WILLIAM F. CASSIDY, CHIEF OF U.S. ARMY ENGINEERS

### HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to express my personal best wishes to Lt. Gen. William F. Cassidy, who today will retire as Chief of the Army Engineers. General Cassidy has truly been one of the finest Chiefs of Engineers in the long history of that splendid organization.

Bill Cassidy has been in positions of leadership for many years and he has served his country well. As the Chief of Engineers, he has been charged with the tremendous responsibility for the worldwide military engineering activities of

the Army, including its involvement in Southeast Asia. However, in addition to a military construction program, the Corps of Engineers is the major water resource development agency in our country. And it is in this role that Bill Cassidy excels.

Under Bill Cassidy's leadership, the Corps of Engineers has contributed greatly to the well-being of this great Nation through the water resource development projects. These projects have created vast opportunities for our fellow Americans to live free from devastating floods, to enjoy the vast expanses of water areas and many miles of shorelines for outdoor recreation, and to participate in the economic advantages which accompany water resource development.

Mr. Speaker, on this day, which marks the end of Bill Cassidy's 38 years of military service which began in 1931 when he was commissioned in the Army Corps of Engineers upon graduation from the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, I wish to express the gratitude which I am sure is held by all who have come into contact with him for his able leadership, counsel, and assistance over the years. Bill Cassidy carries with him in his retirement from the corps our warmest wishes for continued health, happiness, and success in the years to come.

#### TAX-FREE FOUNDATIONS—AN INSULT TO TAXPAYERS

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the question of tax reform is very much alive at this time, and when we have an opportunity to visit our districts after the middle of the month, we can expect to hear from our constituents on the subject.

A hard look at the gross abuses of tax exemption by some of the foundations is one of the things which our constituents expect of this Congress. There is no way on earth to justify these abuses. Typical of the sort of thing which irritates good Americans beyond words is the gem in tonight's local paper about such charitable contributions as \$25 to "aid the blind" by the Wolfson Foundation.

This foundation, with tax-free capital gains of over \$340,000—a third of a million dollars—last year, paid out only \$10,512 in gifts, grants, and scholarships.

This is the same foundation, Mr. Speaker, which paid Abe Fortas \$20,000—and agreed to pay him that same sum every year—to advise the foundation where to distribute its largess. No wonder the American taxpayers are downright angry at such shenanigans.

I include the newspaper clipping:  
[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, July 31, 1969]

#### CHARITY BEGINS AT . . .

No wonder foundations are getting a black eye. The Louis Wolfson Foundation of Boston had tax-free capital gains of \$348,291 last year. It paid out a grand total of \$10,512

in gifts, grants and scholarships. Sample gifts: \$25 to "aid the blind"; \$48 to Hebrew University; and \$50 to the Spadeford Scholarship Foundation. Foundation-watcher Rep. Wright Patman, D-Tex., take note.

#### GOLD AND THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

### HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I have had the privilege of reading as time permitted certain portions of a recently published book entitled "An Enemy Hath Done This." The author of the book is the Honorable Ezra Taft Benson, former U.S. Secretary of Agriculture in the Eisenhower administration.

I was particularly impressed by a chapter in the book which bears the heading of "Gold and the Balance of Payments." Here Mr. Benson sets forth clearly the manipulations of our monetary system and foreign policies that have brought us now to the brink of disaster.

This is a subject that vitally affects the lives and fortunes of all Americans yet it is a subject which all too few understand. It is in the hope that more of our citizens and taxpayers will read and profit therefrom that I include the following excellent chapter from Mr. Benson's book in the RECORD:

#### GOLD AND THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

"Manifestly nothing is more vital to our supremacy as a nation and to the beneficent purpose of our Government than a sound and stable currency. Its exposure to degradation should at once arouse to activity the most enlightened statesmanship, and the danger of depreciation in the purchasing power of the wages paid to toil should furnish the strongest incentive to prompt and conservative precaution." (President Grover Cleveland, Inaugural Address, March 4, 1893)

An entire volume could be written on the present dilemma we now find surrounding the nation's unfavorable international balance of payments and the dwindling gold supply.<sup>1</sup> The highlights of these problems, however, and the sequence of events that led up to them are here summarized:<sup>2</sup>

1. The root of all evil is money, some say. But the root of our money evil is government. The very beginning of our troubles can be traced to the day when the federal government overstepped its proper defensive function and began to manipulate the monetary system to accomplish political objectives.<sup>3</sup> The creation of the Federal Reserve

<sup>1</sup> "All the perplexities, confusions, and distresses in America arise, not from defects in the Constitution or confederation, not from want of honor or virtue, as much as from downright ignorance of the nature of coin, credit, and circulation." (John Adams, *Works* 8: 447)

<sup>2</sup> "If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do, and how to do it." (Abraham Lincoln, June 16, 1858; *Collected Works* 2: 461)

<sup>3</sup> "Gentlemen, it is the currency, the currency of the country,—it is this great subject, so interesting, so vital, to all classes of the community, which has been destined to feel the most violent assaults of executive power. The consequences are around us and upon us. Not unforeseen, not unforecast, here

Board made it possible for the first time in America for men arbitrarily to change the value of our money. Previously, that value had been determined solely by the natural interplay of (1) the amount of precious metals held in reserve, (2) the value men freely placed on those precious metals, and (3) the amount of material goods which were available for sale or exchange.

2. One of the first arbitrary and politically motivated interferences with the natural value of money was to peg the price of gold at \$35.00 per ounce. At first, this made little difference because it was quite possible for men to mine gold profitably at this price. But as the government moved into a program of deficit spending, the motivation for fixing the price of gold became obvious. The artificial increase of the money supply caused the value of each dollar to decrease in relationship to the total supply of material goods which that dollar could purchase. This relative decrease in purchasing power, of course, is known as inflation. But, if gold were not held by law at a fixed price, then its value would have risen in direct proportion to the artificial increase in paper money, and as long as gold was guaranteed backing behind each dollar, the government wouldn't have been able to benefit one iota from deficit spending. The whole process would have been a bookkeeping operation similar to that of a corporation with assets of \$100,000 suddenly doubling its number of stock-shares. Since the assets would increase, the value of each share simply would be cut in half. But, if the corporation somehow could force by law all persons to purchase each new share at the same price as the old, then it could realize a tremendous profit through sale of the new issue. This is exactly the kind of fraudulent practice that was and is perpetrated on the American people by forcing the price of gold to remain at \$35.00 per ounce.

3. The natural result of this con game was that the mining of gold gradually came to a halt. Actually, the real cost of mining, due to technological advances, has decreased, but the cost in terms of inflation-ridden dollars has increased to approximately twice the artificially set level.

4. With practically no new gold moving into the Treasury to keep pace with the expanding paper money supply, it was essential for the government manipulators to have the nation go off the gold standard; that is, to remove gold as a guaranteed backing. The dollar was "cut loose" from gold by 75 percent. In other words, for every \$1.00 of paper money, only 25 cents worth of gold is now legally required to back it. It is important to note, however, that Americans are not permitted to cash in their dollars for even that token amount. And if gold cannot be obtained in exchange for paper bills, then it is not really "backed" by gold at all. To say that it is, is merely to deceive oneself. The 25 percent so-called backing of gold is merely a bookkeeping ledger account designed to sustain the people's psychological confidence in and acceptance of our money system.<sup>4</sup>

Since there was no way for the federal government to force foreign investors to accept American dollars, or international credits based upon American dollars, and since they surely would not do so if there was no gold to back it, the new law applied only to American citizens. That's right, Americans were forced by their government to abandon any claim to gold behind their paper dollars

they come, bringing distress for the present, and fear and alarm for the future . . . its object was merely to increase executive power." (Daniel Webster, March 15, 1837; *Works* 1: 362)

<sup>4</sup> "They that can save up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety." (Benjamin Franklin, *Familiar Quotations*, p. 226).

but foreign holders of these dollars are still entitled to "cash in" for gold if they wish—and at the full price, too.

5. Sensing that American paper money was now literally "worthless," many people began to put their savings into gold itself. If allowed to continue, this might have led to a parallel monetary system dealing in the private exchange of gold or credits against gold instead of government paper money. So the next step for the government manipulators was to make it illegal for Americans even to own gold. People of other nations may demand and receive gold bullions from Fort Knox for whatever American money they hold, but our own citizens are not permitted even to own an ounce of gold, except in the form of jewelry, art objects, or a few rare collectors' coins.

6. During and since World War II, our leaders in Washington have seen fit to give away to other nations over \$130 billion dollars. (*U.S. News and World Report*, August 15, 1966, p. 46) According to *Information Please World Almanac*, this is approximately \$25 billion more than the total assessed valuation of all land and personal property in the 50 largest cities of the United States. Much of this money has found its way back to our country, not in the form of purchases for American goods, but in the form of international credits which can at any time be converted into demands for gold.

7. Through a continued policy of giving away money to other countries, through gigantic military expenditures in other lands to supposedly protect them against aggression, through building up foreign industries to where they can compete effectively with our own industries (which not only pay higher labor costs, but also pay the taxes used to build up their foreign competitors), our leaders have finally brought us to the position where we no longer have enough gold left to pay off our solemn promise to foreign holders of U.S. dollars. Out of approximately \$13 billion total gold stock, about \$9 billion is required by law to back up our domestic money supply, and about \$4 billion is left to meet claims of foreigners. But—and mark this well—the claims held by foreigners against this supply are already in excess of \$29 billion and rising rapidly! Even counting all the gold—including that which supposedly is held as reserve against our domestic money supply—there is more than twice as much claim by foreigners than ability to pay. Internationally, we are bankrupt! (*U.S. News and World Report*, July 12, 1965, p. 39, and October 17, 1966, p. 63)

8. The pending economic crisis that now faces America is painfully obvious. If even a fraction of potential foreign claims against our gold supply were presented to the Treasury, we would have to renege on our promise. We would be forced to repudiate our own currency on the world market. Foreign investors who would be left holding the bag with American dollars would dump them at tremendous discounts in return for more stable currencies or for gold, itself. The American dollar both abroad and at home, would suffer the loss of public confidence. If the government can renege on its international monetary promises, what is to prevent it from doing the same on its domestic promises? How really secure would be government guarantees behind FHA loans, Savings and Loan Insurance, government bonds, or even Social Security?

Even though American citizens would still be forced by law to honor the same pieces of paper as though they were real money, instinctively they would rush and convert their paper currency into tangible material goods which could be used as barter. As in Germany and other nations that have previously traveled this road, the rush to get rid of dollars and acquire tangibles would rapidly accelerate the visible effects of in-

flation to where it might cost \$100 or more for a single loaf of bread. Hoarded silver coins would begin to reappear as a separate monetary system which, since they have intrinsic value would remain firm, while printed paper money finally would become worth exactly its proper value—the paper it's printed on! Everyone's savings would be wiped out totally. No one could escape.<sup>5</sup>

One can only imagine what such conditions would do to the stock market and to industry. Uncertainty over the future would cause the consumer to halt all spending except for the barest necessities. Market for such items as TV sets, automobiles, furniture, new homes and entertainment would dry up almost overnight. With no one buying, firms would have to close down and lay off their employees. Unemployment would further aggravate the buying freeze, and the nation would plunge into a depression that would make the 1930's look like prosperity. At least the dollar was sound in those days. In fact, since it was a firm currency, its value actually went up as related to the amount of goods which declined through reduced production. Next time around however, the problems of unemployment and low production will be compounded by a monetary system that will be utterly worthless. All the government controls and so-called guarantees in the world will not be able to prevent it, because every one of them is based on the assumption that the people will continue to honor printing press money. But once the government, itself, openly refuses to honor it—as it must if foreign demands for gold continue—then it is likely that the American people will soon follow suit.

This, in a nutshell, is the so-called "Gold Problem." It's no wonder that our leaders who have gotten us into this mess don't talk about it very much, except to show the proper amount of public concern, and to assure us from time to time that they are "watching the situation closely."

The question that is uppermost in the minds of everyone familiar with the foregoing facts is "How can we prevent this from happening?" The honest answer is, "We can't!" Like the drunkard at the end of a weekend spree, there is no way in the world to avoid the inevitable "morning after." We have been feeling the exhilarating effects of inflation and have become numbed to the gradual dissipation of our gold reserves. In our economic stupor, when we manage to think ahead about the coming hangover, we have merely taken another swig from the bottle to reinforce the artificial sensation of prosperity. But each new drink at the cup of inflation, and each new drain on the gold supply of our body strength does not prevent the dreaded hangover, it merely postpones it a little longer and will make it that much worse when it finally comes.

What should we do? We should get a hold on ourselves, come to our senses, stop adding to our intoxication and face the music!

I realize this is an extremely unpopular answer. There are those—particularly among the government manipulators who endorse the policies that have brought us to our present unhappy state—who would have us

<sup>5</sup> "I have already endeavored to warn the country against irredeemable paper; against the paper of banks which do not pay specie for their own notes; against that miserable, abominable, and fraudulent policy, which attempts to give value to any paper, of any bank, one single moment longer than such paper is redeemable on demand in gold and silver. . . . We are in danger of being overwhelmed with irredeemable paper, mere paper, representing not gold nor silver; no, Sir, representing nothing but broken promises, bad faith, bankrupt corporations, cheated creditors, and a ruined people." (Daniel Webster, February 22, 1834; *Works*, 3:541-2)

believe that, somehow, if we just do a little more manipulating of our money, possibly even set up a world monetary system through the U.N., then we can avoid having to pay the fiddler; or, to be more precise, to pay the bartender. But such proposals are merely more of the same con game against the American people, and would not only fail to solve our economic problems, but could lead us into surrendering our economic independence as a nation to the dictates of a majority block in the U.N. which, conceivably, would be less interested in our recovery than in exploiting our misery.

No, there is no "happy" solution to our problems, but, if left to our own resources, the productive genius that is the product of the free enterprise system, coupled with the initiative and drive of the American people, can successfully lead us through the trying readjustment period that lies ahead, and then on to higher levels of real prosperity and security than we have ever known.

While politicians will continue to insist that our economy is not in the slightest danger, lest they be accused of being "negative," or "spreaders of doom," there is a sound and realistic course of action that we can follow to prepare for the coming readjustment period and to lessen the shock. As a nation, we must stop giving away money to foreign nations as though we had it. We should demand repayment of our loans to other countries—especially those, like France, which are making the heaviest demands upon our gold supply. We should cease giving them our gold until they pay their debts to us. We must stop the federal government from deficit spending, and begin immediately to pay off the national debt in a systematic fashion. This, of course, means increasing taxes or decreasing the size of government. It is doubtful that the American people can absorb more taxes without further injuring the productive base of our economy, but there is no doubt that government can be reduced without any such risk.

The price of gold must be allowed to seek its own level without artificial government restraint. Americans should be given back their freedom to own gold if they wish. Just as soon as the mining industry is able to respond to the higher price of gold and begins to extract it from the earth once again, it should be exchanged for 100 percent gold-redeemable paper dollars from the Treasury payable upon demand to anyone who holds these dollars. Make it known that the federal government eventually will offer the same conversion privilege to holders of the present Federal Reserve Notes just as soon as the acquisition of gold bullion and the repayment of the national debt makes it possible.

So much for the nation. As individuals there is also much that can be done to lessen the shock. The first and most obvious step is to get out of debt if it is at all humanly possible. We have lived in an atmosphere of inflation for so long that many people now accept the benefits of permanent debt as a firm law of economics. But if inflation runs its full course and drops over into depression with little if any real income for millions of workers, the country may well have to start over with a brand new currency which will be in extremely short supply to pay off those existing debts. Even in times of economic stability it is sound practice to live within one's income and avoid unnecessary debt. Such practice is doubly sound in times like these.

Each of us should make every effort to become economically independent, at least within the family unit. Avoid looking to government for handouts or future security. Again, this is not only good practice in normal times, but especially important today. A government which is unable to pay its own bills can hardly be depended upon to pay yours.

Finally, when the going gets rough, we mustn't rush to Washington and ask Big Brother to take care of us through price controls, rent controls, guaranteed jobs and wages.<sup>6</sup> Any government powerful enough to give the people all that they want is also powerful enough to take from the people all that they have. And it is even possible that some of the government manipulators who have brought us into this economic crisis are hoping that, in panic, we, the American people, literally will plead with them to take our liberties in exchange for the fake promise of "security."<sup>7</sup> As Alexander Hamilton warned almost 200 years ago: "Nothing is more common than for a free people, in times of heat and violence, to gratify momentary passions by letting into the government principles and precedents which afterward prove fatal to themselves." (*Alexander Hamilton and the Founding of the Nation* [The Dial Press], p. 21) Let us heed this warning. Let us prepare ourselves for the trying time ahead, and resolve that, with the grace of God and through our own self-reliance, we shall rebuild a monetary system and a healthy economy which, once again, will become the model for all the world.<sup>8</sup>

### GOOD PROGRESS FOR PENNSYLVANIA

#### HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

NEWS RELEASE BY COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, GOVERNOR'S OFFICE, JULY 29, 1969

Gov. Raymond P. Shafer announced today that more Pennsylvanians were employed during the month of June than at any time in history.

The Governor said an increase of 82,400 jobs over May brought the June employment total to 4,884,900, some 55,900 above the previous high established in June a year ago.

Noting that the current employment total is "almost a half million higher than it was

<sup>6</sup> "When the people are encouraged to turn to government to settle all of their problems for them, the basis for all revolutions is thereby established. For then the people expect the government to provide them with all of the material things they want. And when these things are not forthcoming, they resort to violence to get them. And why not—since the government itself has told them that these responsibilities belong to government rather than to them? I am convinced that a revolution would not be possible if the only relationship between government and the people was to guarantee them their loyalty and security." (Frederic Bastiat, quoted in *American Opinion*, February 1968, p. 22)

<sup>7</sup> "Though liberty is established by law, we must be vigilant, for liberty to enslave us is always present under that very liberty! Our Constitution speaks of the 'general welfare of the people.' Under the phrase all sorts of excesses can be employed by lusty tyrants to make us bondsmen." (Cicero, quoted in *A Pillar of Iron*, p. 512)

<sup>8</sup> "No duty is more imperative on . . . Government, than the duty it owes the people, of furnishing them a sound and uniform currency." (Abraham Lincoln, December 26, 1839; *Collective Works* 1:164)

for the same month five years ago," the Governor added:

"This remarkable increase is due largely to the great numbers of new and expanded industries now locating in Pennsylvania because of its favorable industrial tax climate as well as the industrial development program carried on by PIDA."

At the same time, the Governor said the average hourly and weekly earnings for production workers in all manufacturing industries also hit new highs in June for the fifth consecutive month—\$128.39, up \$1.04 over May.

"This figure is \$8.10 higher than it was in June of last year," he added.

"A seasonal gain of 35,500 jobs from mid-May to mid-June sent non-manufacturing employment to 2,796,800—another all-time record.

"In addition, factory employment increased 23,800 to a mid-June total of 1,579,500, or 149,400 higher than it was in Pennsylvania five years ago."

The Governor said an additional 508,600 persons were either working on farms, were self-employed or listed as domestic workers during the month.

Although unemployment increased to 164,000 during the month because of the entry into the labor market of students seeking part or full-time jobs, the unemployment rate for the month stood at 3.2, the lowest for any June on record.

### PRICE SUPPORT FOR MILK

#### HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. OBEY, Mr. Speaker, last week I received a letter from the Office of Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin indicating that the price support for milk will not be raised at the present time.

The letter was in response to one I sent to Secretary Hardin in early July asking that the price support level for manufacturing milk be raised to the full 90 percent of parity.

I was very disappointed by the reply from the Secretary's office, because it indicates to me that the Secretary is not aware of the real possibility which exists in this country for a severe milk shortage.

In my letter to Secretary Hardin, in which I was joined by Congressmen GONZALEZ, KASTENMEIER, and STRATTON, I pointed out that the milk production in May of this year was the smallest May production in 30 years, including a drop in the production in Wisconsin of 2 percent and a drop in Minnesota of 5 percent. Furthermore, as I said at that time:

The downward production of milk, the increase in fluid sales and the culling of herds could put this nation on a collision course which will lead to a severe domestic shortage of milk unless support prices are increased to 90% of parity.

The only way to insure an adequate supply of milk and other dairy products is to assure our farmers that they will receive a fair return for their investments. Increased costs to our dairy farmers has caused the price of manufacturing milk as a percentage of parity to decline from 89.5% in April, 1968, to 83% in April 1969, and this has

dropped even further in May and June. Only an increase in the price support level to 90% will indicate to the dairy farmer that it is worth his while to continue his operations in the dairy business, and assure the American consumer of an adequate supply of milk in the future.

The increasing awareness that considerable malnutrition and hunger exist in our country is still another reason for us to make sure that we have an adequate supply of milk. President Nixon's Urban Affairs Council recommended an increase in Federal spending of at least \$1 billion in the next four years to attack the problem of hunger and malnutrition. Certainly one of the best ways to increase the nutritional level of our citizens is to increase the amount of dairy foods in their diet, a goal which would be impossible unless the downward production of milk is reversed.

In response to my letter, I received a reply from Mr. Clarence Palmby, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for international affairs and commodity programs.

In his letter, Assistant Secretary Palmby says:

The key factor now is the declining consumption of fluid whole milk, cream, and butter.

Although he cites figures indicating the per capita consumption of milk has declined, I would like to point out that it was, in part, because the consumption of fluid milk seems to be increasing that I felt it necessary to write to Secretary of Agriculture Hardin in the first place.

In my letter to the Secretary in July, I pointed out that total class I sales for April 1969, in 60 Federal marketing order areas was 1.5 percent above April sales of last year, and producer deliveries used in class I during the first 4 months of 1969 were 2.3 percent above such use during the same period a year ago. The most recent figures released by the USDA indicate that this trend of increased consumption is continuing.

According to the July 1969, issue of "Federal Milk Order Market Statistics," the volume of producer deliveries used in class I in 58 markets increased 2.8 percent from last year, and the volume of producer deliveries used in class I during the first 5 months of 1969 are 2.4 percent above such class I use during the same period in 1968.

Assistant Secretary Palmby also indicated in his letter that with an increase in price supports, the consumption of milk would decrease and CCC purchases would become larger. I contend, Mr. Speaker, that if price supports are not raised soon, we face the possibility of a shortage of milk in the future, and in that case, prices will rise significantly above levels which may occur with a price support increase.

Although the Assistant Secretary's letter said the Department of Agriculture has "been carefully studying developments in the dairy situation, with special attention to prices received by farmers, dairy farm income, and the trends in the number of producer and milk production," unfortunately, he in no way comes to grips with the problem of a constantly decreasing number of dairy farmers and a decline in the production of milk.

Mr. Speaker, there is a feeling among many people that the decline in the num-

ber of dairy farmers has abated since the steep declines we suffered in 1966. This is not the case.

In my own State of Wisconsin, 4,338 dairy farmers stopped farming from May 1966, to May 1967. From May 1967, to May 1968, we lost 3,295 dairy farmers and in the past year, from May 1968, to May 1969, an additional 3,298 farmers left dairying.

The dairy farmers in my district are disturbed and discouraged. They want some indication from the U.S. Department of Agriculture that there is a good reason for them to stay in the dairy business. This indication has yet to come from the new administration.

Two weeks ago—4 days after I wrote to the Secretary of Agriculture, and 5 days before Assistant Secretary Palmby's letter was sent to me—the Secretary's own Department reported that June milk production in the United States was down from the preceding year—for the 28th consecutive month.

Although I certainly do not want to sound like an alarmist, a question can legitimately be raised as to how long we can reasonably expect to meet the needs of a growing, and in some cases undernourished, population with these continuous declines in milk production.

During the past few months we have seen milk prices moving up—an inevitable result of supply and demand. In my opinion, this price increase alone is not enough to prompt dairymen to reverse the present downward trend in milk production. It is not enough, because it gives the dairy farmer no long-term assurance that he will continue to get an adequate return for his investment and labor.

As all of us concerned about dairy farming know, one of the significant factors today in dairy planning is the current price of beef. Dairy farmers must decide whether they are better off economically if they raise their herd replacements or sell them off for beef. Some dairy herds are being sold, because dairymen believe they will be money ahead if they sell rather than milk their herds.

And, once this is done, there is no turning back. For, while a herd can be disposed of overnight, it takes 3 years to complete the full biological period from conception of a calf to it becoming a producer of milk.

Dairy farmers, therefore, cannot rely on short-time price changes for their long-range planning. They must have confidence that it will pay them to milk cows in 1970, 1971, and 1972, and beyond.

It is for this basic reason that I have urged Secretary of Agriculture Hardin to increase dairy price supports to the maximum permitted by law. Price support increases would give some assurance that we as a nation are concerned about having an adequate supply of dairy products in the future.

Without this encouragement, and with the present price of beef to lure them out of dairying, dairy farmers are hesitant about expanding or even maintaining present production.

Mr. Speaker, I am including in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues, a copy of my letter to Secretary Clifford

Hardin, and the reply I received from Assistant Secretary Palmby:

JULY 1, 1969.

HON. CLIFFORD HARDIN,  
Secretary, U.S. Department of Agriculture,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: On April 1st this year you declined to make any change in the price support level for manufacturing milk. At that time you noted that total milk production has been running slightly below a year earlier. You also said that you would "keep developments in production, consumption and price support purchases under continuing review in the months ahead..."

Developments in these areas since April convince me that there ought to be an increase as soon as possible in the support price to the full 90% of parity, which would be about 35 cents a hundredweight higher than the present support level of \$4.28.

According to the May issue of "Milk Production," published by the USDA, U.S. milk production in May was 11.1 billion pounds, 2% less than a year earlier and the smallest May production in 30 years. This included production losses in 4 of the 5 largest milk producing states, including a 2% drop in Wisconsin and a 5% drop in Minnesota, the two largest milk producing states in our nation. Nationally there was a 2.2% drop in production from January to May from a year ago, and in Wisconsin the drop was 3.61%.

Although these figures follow the decline in production which began in 1964, total Class I sales for April 1969 in 60 Federal marketing order areas was 1.5% above April sales of last year. Furthermore, producer deliveries used in Class I during the first 4 months of 1969 were 2.3% above such use during the same period in 1968.

In addition to the downward trend of milk production and the increase in consumption of fluid milk, farmers are being faced with increasing incentives to cull their herds. Beef cattle prices rose 8% during the month ending May 15, as compared to the period last year. And, according to "Dairy Situation," the slaughter value of milk cows was up sharply in the first quarter of 1969.

The downward production of milk, the increase in fluid sales and the culling of herds could put this nation on a collision course which will lead to a severe domestic shortage of milk unless support prices are increased to 90% of parity.

The only way to insure an adequate supply of milk and other dairy products is to assure our farmers that they will receive a fair return for their investments. Increased costs to our dairy farmers has caused the price of manufacturing milk as a percentage of parity to decline from 89.5% in April 1968 to 83% in April 1969, and this has dropped even further in May and June. Only an increase in the price support level to 90% will indicate to the dairy farmer that it is worth his while to continue his operations in the dairy business, and assure the American consumer of an adequate supply of milk in the future.

This is one area also in which the consumer has as much at stake as those in agriculture. If the price support level is not set at a point which will keep farmers in the dairy business, then short supplies will increase consumer prices well above levels that might evolve as a result of an increase in the support price.

The increasing awareness that considerable malnutrition and hunger exist in our country is still another reason for us to make sure that we have an adequate supply of milk. President Nixon's Urban Affairs Council recommended an increase in Federal spending of at least \$1 billion in the next 4 years to attack the problem of hunger and malnutrition. Certainly one of the best ways to increase the nutritional level of our citizens is

to increase the amount of dairy foods in their diet, a goal which would be impossible unless the downward production of milk is reversed.

For those of us concerned about the future of dairy farming, trends of the past few years are not encouraging. Young men are leaving farms for better paying jobs in urban areas; farmers find it increasingly difficult to obtain the substantial capital investment needed for today's modern and efficient dairy farm; and milk cow numbers continue to decline.

The objectives of our farm programs are to maintain production and stabilize farm income in a fair relation to the other sectors of the economy. We must use the price-support mechanism to encourage those who want to fight these forces which seem to be enhancing the continued decline in the number of persons involved in dairy farming.

In April 1968 the price support for milk closely approached its maximum legal limit of 90%. I urge you to raise our support price to this level again. It will give encouragement to our nation's dairy farmers, and is something which is truly in the national interest.

Sincerely,

DAVID R. OBEY,  
Member of Congress.  
HENRY B. GONZALEZ,  
Member of Congress.  
ROBERT KASTENMEIER,  
Member of Congress.  
SAMUEL STRATTON,  
Member of Congress.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,  
Washington, D.C., July 16, 1969.

HON. DAVID R. OBEY,  
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. OBEY: This is in response to your letter of July 1, recommending an increase in the support price for manufacturing milk.

We have been carefully studying developments in the dairy situation, with special attention to prices received by farmers, dairy farm income, and the trends in the number of producers and milk production.

While increasing demand for cheese and skim milk products is a favorable development, the key factor now is the declining consumption of fluid whole milk, cream, and butter. Currently, annual per capita consumption of milk and cream is at a record low of 262 pounds. This rate has declined each year since 1961 when it was 349 pounds.

Recent price increases to producers as a result of market forces are encouraging. The market is allocating productive resources more effectively than with market prices at the support level. Declining production has resulted in higher prices for milk to farmers this year than last year in nearly all areas. The U.S. average price of manufacturing milk in June, adjusted for seasonal fat test, was \$4.42 per hundredweight. This was 17 cents above a year ago and 14 cents above the current support and the highest U.S. average price for the month since the present dairy price support program started in 1949.

Commodity Credit Corporation price support purchases are still sizable. From April 1 through June 30 we removed from the market about 90 million pounds of butter, 18 million pounds of cheese, and 118 million pounds of nonfat dry milk. An increase in the support price for manufacturing milk would further discourage consumption of milk and dairy products and result in larger CCC purchases. This we want to avoid if at all possible.

Cash receipts by farmers from sales of milk and cream are showing a favorable upward trend. They have increased substantially in recent years as the price rise has more than offset the decrease in marketings. Total cash receipts in 1969 probably will reach 6.10 billion dollars, compared with 4.21 billion dollars in 1955, 4.76 billion in 1960, and 5.74 billion in 1967.

We will carefully watch further developments in the situation.

Sincerely yours,

CLARENCE D. PALMBY,  
Assistant Secretary.

CBW REVIEW: FACT OR FICTION

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, on June 17, 1969, President Nixon directed that the executive branch undertake a detailed review of chemical and biological warfare, including the U.S. position on arms control and the question of ratification of the 1925 Geneva protocol banning first use of gas and germ warfare. In a letter to me, Mr. Gerard Smith, Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, explained that present and possible alternative policies are to be fully examined.

I welcomed this announcement. This executive branch review marks the first time that chemical and biological warfare policies and practices have been given a comprehensive review at the top level of Government for many years. This review offers the opportunity for the executive branch, Congress, and the people of the United States to reevaluate our approach to these particular forms of warfare. And in my opinion we can fully examine and possibly change a number of inconsistencies between our professed policies and our actual practices.

The Federal departments and agencies involved with chemical and biological warfare are now preparing position papers and analyses of our policies for consideration by the National Security Council. There undoubtedly will be differences of opinion that will have to be resolved by the National Security Council and ultimately President Nixon. The long-established procedure in our Government in reviews of this type is to resolve differences of views within the executive branch before recommending a national policy. In keeping with this practice, most Federal departments are now replying to questions concerning chemical and biological warfare policy by pointing out that the policy is under review. They further point out that it would be inappropriate to comment on these policies until the review is completed.

I was surprised, therefore, to learn that Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird on July 28, 1969, had made a strong statement in support of our present chemical and biological warfare policies. He was quoted as saying that the best way to make sure the United States is not the victim of chemical or biological weapons is for it to have its own such weapons as a deterrent. He is further quoted as saying that his own conclusions were that the United States must continue to de-

velop offensive chemical and biological weapons. And he added:

We do not have the capability of the Soviet Union in this (gas) area. They have much greater stocks than the United States.

Although Secretary Laird said that he did not want to prejudice the results of the executive branch review, this is precisely what he has done. By publicly stating his opinions at this time, he cannot help but influence those within the Department of Defense as well as other departments who are now working on this review.

As the Secretary of a department his opinions will influence the conclusions arrived at by his subordinates. And it will have the effect of stifling new ideas and new approaches that might be put forward by other agencies. It also places President Nixon in the position of having to refute his Secretary of Defense should he choose to adopt a different policy from that stated by Secretary Laird.

I find this premature statement by Secretary Laird inexcusable. It raises a serious question as to whether the executive branch review of chemical and biological warfare is fact or fiction. Secretary Laird's statement seems to preclude the possibility of serious rethinking of new approaches.

In my opinion, much of the Department of Defense's thinking on chemical and biological warfare is a product of the pre-nuclear age. It has not undergone the rigorous analysis necessary to move from a pre-World War II and World War I approach to these weapons to one fitting the modern era. This thinking, at least in the Department of Defense, flies in the face of our announced position at the United Nations—that we fully support the principles and objectives of the Geneva protocol banning first use of chemical and biological warfare.

I would hope that Secretary Laird has the good sense to clarify his position. I would like to know whether in fact he has an open mind regarding the present review of our policies in this field. His failure to do so cannot help but call into question the final results of the review.

THE EXPORT CONTROL ACT

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, in 1949 Congress enacted the Export Control Act which restricted the export to the Soviet Union of key items of trade which would help implement the aggressive policies of that country. As other nations of Eastern Europe fell under the influence of the Soviet Union, the restrictions of the act were extended to them. For 20 years now this legislation has placed restrictions on a very important weapon of international economic warfare, but presently, for a variety of reasons, attempts are now being

made to liberalize commercial arrangements with the Communist countries.

The Export Control Act will expire on August 31 of this year, and in all probability there will be a short extension before that date to continue the act in force. The main vehicle for liberalizing our trade policies with Communist countries is S. 2696, the Export Expansion and Regulation Act, which will soon be considered by the Senate. Among other things, S. 2696 would establish an export expansion commission of 15 members appointed by the President. The majority report on S. 2696 states:

Special emphasis would be placed by the Commission on promoting trade with the nations of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union (where U.S. trade is only a fraction of that engaged in by our allies) as well as other countries eligible for trade with the United States but not significantly engaged in such trade.

The report also states:

The attitude apparent in the language of the Export Control Act is one of open hostility, which is an accurate reflection of the prevailing attitude 20 years ago. The committee believes that it will be helpful in the attempt to reach greater understanding with Russia and the nations of Eastern Europe if the legislation which deals with the regulation of exports accurately reflects current attitudes rather than ones which prevailed 20 years ago.

This, in a nutshell, is the thinking behind S. 2696, and in my estimation it is dangerous and unrealistic. The first anniversary of the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet and other Communist troops is less than a month away, and one wonders how we can "reach greater understanding" by an increase in trade with regimes whose policies are nothing short of international banditry.

In the last Congress over 120 Members of the House, divided almost equally among both parties, cosponsored legislation which would establish a House select committee to review our trade policies, especially with Communist countries. The need for such a reevaluation of our policies in this area are readily apparent. When one considers that Ho Chi Minh could not have carried on his aggression adequately against the people of South Vietnam without the active support of the Soviet Union, it is reasonable to ask just how much different are conditions today between the Communist regimes and the free world than they were 20 years ago. Just ask the American flyers who had to face the withering fire of Soviet antiaircraft guns over North Vietnam. I am sure they would be hard pressed to discern a mellowing of Soviet policies in the direction of world peace.

Senators WALLACE BENNETT and JOHN TOWER submitted minority views in opposition to S. 2696 which present a number of compelling arguments. Their views on this important piece of legislation are worthy of consideration, and for this reason I insert them in the Record at this point:

MINORITY VIEWS OF MESSRS. BENNETT AND TOWER

We agree that legislative authority should be continued to provide for export controls

for reasons of national security, foreign policy, and domestic short supply. However, we support a straight extension of the existing Export Control Act and oppose the bill reported by the majority.

Over the years, the existing legislation has proven to be very effective in protecting the national interests. Time and time again, it has shown its adaptability to changing world conditions. We believe it would be extremely unwise to introduce into this legislation which has as its main purpose providing necessary control authority, another completely different and opposite concept of trade expansion. Other legislation covering tariffs, export credit, and trade promotion is much more appropriate for dealing with trade expansion. In attempting to have this bill provide for control while also urging trade expansion, what has resulted is a misleading bill from its title throughout most of the new provisions covering export control policies and procedures.

#### REQUIREMENTS COSTLY AND UNNECESSARY

The bill interposes a number of requirements in the administrative area which we believe to be unnecessary, burdensome, and costly for the Government. These requirements include organizational and procedural changes by the Secretary of Commerce and extensive review of the complete export control list by the Department of Commerce, frequent notification and detailed explanation to the Congress of routine exceptions authorized by the bill, a continuing review of reporting and documentation requirements together with detailed statements to the Congress of action taken and a burdensome requirement that extensive information be provided to exporters throughout the Department's consideration of licensing applications. In addition, the bill establishes a new Presidential Commission on Export Expansion which would, to a considerable extent, duplicate work already being carried on by established organizations and would thereby confuse rather than assist the export expansion program.

The bill requires the President to include a detailed statement of his action, if he restricts exports without making the determination, that comparable goods are not available elsewhere or that the exports would make a significant contribution to the military potential, which would prove detrimental to the national security of the United States. Even though as an exception, the President is granted the authority to restrict in the interest of national security, any commodity or technology as long as he reports such action to the Congress, the effectiveness of those administering the Act is bound to be inhibited by these changes. Exporters and representatives of other governments will read as significant change into the language of the bill and bring additional pressure to bear for reduction in controls on critical items and for approval of questionable export applications.

At best, the bill will be confusing to exporters, cause significant difficulties in administration and stimulate troublesome court challenges. Further, it will give an unwarranted signal to the Soviet Union that we intend to make our advanced industrial goods more readily available now, even though they have demonstrated no real desire for improved relations between East and West. In fact, last year's Czechoslovakian invasion stands as strong evidence against any such interest.

At worst, the bill could result in undue weakening of export controls with attendant risk to our national security.

#### THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY MINIMIZED

The proposal which would replace the present Export Control Act is based on the assertion that factors, which brought about the enactment of the Export Control Act no

longer exist. We cannot agree with such an assertion.

It is suggested that we are now living in an era in which the Soviet Union presents a reduced threat to the security of the United States. We find no evidence that such a new era has been ushered in. In fact, we consider the Soviet Union as a much greater threat to the security of the United States than it was when the Export Control Act of 1949 was passed. While the majority denies this, it is interesting to note it admits, that the Soviet economy was undergoing a real struggle to provide the barest necessities because of the ravages of war when the Export Control Act was enacted in 1949, and goes on to claim that the Soviet economy has now become one of the most self-sufficient on earth. We do not feel it necessary to argue over the validity of that claim because of the differences in the consumption patterns and standards of living of various countries. But we fail to see any logic in the majority conclusion, that such an economy provides less of a threat to this Nation, than one which had a real struggle to provide the barest of necessities. We also point to the relative military capabilities of the United States and the Soviet Union in 1949 as compared with the present. Thus, we find the whole basis of the bill reported by the majority to contain a contradiction.

In addition to being contradictory on its face, many of the provisions of the bill contradict each other. The present Export Control Act establishes a forthright policy of restricting exports on the basis of contributions to economic potential or military potential. Its language allows restrictions of exports whenever it is determined by the President that they make a significant contribution to the military or economic potential of a nation or nations, which would prove detrimental to the national security and welfare of the United States. The majority has eliminated the criteria of "economic potential" and retained only the "military potential" criteria, yet it boldly asserts that the President's "authority to control exports is the same as that which is now contained in the Export Control Act." Either they have tried to reduce his powers or flexibility or they haven't, but it can't be both.

#### ECONOMIC POTENTIAL NOT CONSIDERED THREAT

While apparently deciding that economic potential and military potential are completely separate so far as the national security of the United States is concerned, the majority infers that its proposal underscores the determination of this country to protect its national security from military threat. This item is included in a policy section in the bill, and the majority makes its point saying, "The present law contains no such statement of policy." We find this inference to be unwarranted. The present Export Control Act in its authority section says that the rules and regulations set by the President or his delegated agencies or officials—shall provide for denial of any request or application for authority to export articles, materials, or supplies, including technical data, or any other information from the United States, its territories, and possessions, to any nation, or combination of nations threatening the national security of the United States if the President shall determine that such export makes a significant contribution to the military or economic potential of such nation or nations, which would prove detrimental to the national security and welfare of the United States.

It is beyond us to understand, how the majority feels that it has in any material way strengthened prohibitions against exports, having military potential which would be detrimental to the national security. Particularly is it difficult to understand why the majority makes a point of this in light of the fact that the new "policy section" is

a carryover from an earlier bill which did not allow the President to deny exports with significant military applicability unless there was in addition "substantial evidence that the particular exportation is likely to be used for military purposes, and that similar items are not readily available to the importing country from other sources."

#### POLICY IN BILL IS UNCERTAIN

It is ironic that the proposed bill in section 2 (4) says that the Congress finds that "the uncertainty of Government policy toward certain categories of exports has curtailed the efforts of American business \* \* \*", yet this bill is sure to increase uncertainty. The whole announced purpose of the bill is to encourage the expansion of trade with all countries with which we have diplomatic or trading relations. This is stated in section 3(1)(A), section 3(3), and section 4(a)(1). It is interesting to note, however, that in every case where this "change of policy" is stated, it is always followed by an exception which allows the President to make export determinations on the basis of national security, foreign policy of the United States, or the need to protect the domestic economy. Those are the criteria which are used in the present Export Control Act. Thus the bill appears to encourage the expansion of trade on the one hand, while on the other hand it provides for essentially the same restrictions which presently exist.

In addition to the language included in the bill, the report states that "the Department of Commerce should clearly indicate to American business the change in export control procedures and attitudes reflected by the enactment of the Export Expansion and Regulation Act \* \* \*". The report continues, stating that the Department of Commerce should make "public statements" so that the attention of American business will be focused on the change in policy. We think this puts the Department of Commerce in an awkward and untenable position, since the claimed change in policy which must be brought to the attention of American business is unclear and confused.

It will be difficult for the Department of Commerce to try to explain to American business that on the one hand the bill holds out the policy of equal treatment for all countries, yet section 3(5) of the bill states that it is the policy of the United States to use its economic resources of trade potential to further foreign policy objectives. We maintain that this latter policy is the one under which the United States has been operating for many years and in effect nullifies the "equal treatment change." The form without substance becomes even more apparent when it is known that the President of the United States, the one who holds the authority, opposes a change in policy at this time. Administration spokesmen have made it very clear that the President seeks a more appropriate time for liberalizing trade with the Communist countries. Yet the Congress, if it should pass this bill, would give, in the language of the majority report, "an overt indication of the change of policy or attitude of this country \* \* \*". We believe that the President should have the latitude to relate liberalization in the trade area to broader foreign policy considerations. This bill, in our view, is an attempt to preempt the President's judgment on timing of liberalization, while still holding him responsible to determine specific export policy.

#### FEW EXPORT REQUESTS DENIED

The committee report indicates that the nations of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are currently trading with our Western Allies to a much greater degree than they are with the United States "because of the unilateral restrictive policies of the United States." This is far too simplistic to be accurate. The items under export control represent only a small fraction of the goods gen-

erally exchanged in international trade. Western Europe does much more business with Eastern Europe than we do primarily because of geographical proximity and traditional trade patterns. The great bulk of this trade is in products which our companies are also free to export, if they can obtain orders.

The Department of Commerce testified that less than 2 percent of the export license applications received for Eastern Europe are denied. Supporters of this bill claim that is true because American exporters just don't try to export to Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union in items on the control list in any degree because they know that they will be turned down. Any controls may have a deterrent effect on efforts to export, but we question the suggestion that exporters know they will be turned down. We do this because in the last quarterly report dealing with export control, we find that approvals were given for exports to East European countries and the Soviet Union for such items as harvesting machines, tractors, electronic digital computers, metalworking machinery, metal treating and metal powder molding machines, rubber processing and rubber products manufacturing machines and parts, nuclear radiation detecting and measuring instruments, synthetic rubber, metal cutting milling machines, gear cutting machines, well-drilling machinery, metal processing and heat treating furnaces, telecommunications apparatus, and many other similar exports. With approvals on such a broad group of industrial products, not to mention the many agricultural and less sophisticated product approvals, how would an exporter come to the conclusion that his application would automatically be turned down?

We are particularly disturbed by repeated statements by the bill's proponents that its intent is to increase trade in "peaceful goods." Yet most of the industry witnesses represented companies with highly advanced technological products such as electronic control equipment, computers, and machine tools. Enactment of this bill following our hearings could well lead to a conclusion that the intent of Congress is to consider the bulk of our advanced technological products as "peaceful goods" to be freed for unrestricted sale to Eastern Europe. The result could be serious mutual misunderstandings among business, foreign governments, and those in charge of administering export controls.

#### TRADE POTENTIAL SMALL

The majority also discusses the dwindling of our trade surplus in the past few years and infers that relaxing of our export controls to Eastern Europe may measurably improve that situation. We are extremely concerned over the virtual elimination of our trade surplus which only 5 years ago was over \$7 billion. We would like to point out, however, that this dwindling is not the result of the operation of our Export Control Act, but results from basic economic factors which are conveniently disregarded in the majority report.

Actually most knowledgeable estimates indicate that trade with Eastern Europe, even under most favorable conditions, can grow only modestly, and is unlikely in the foreseeable future to reach as much as 1 percent of our total exports.

East-West trade must be a two-way street. Because Eastern Europe has limited convertible currency, it must sell us about as much as it buys. However, Eastern Europe has few products which we need, and thus there is a limited basis for significant continuing two-way trade. The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe today are greatly interested in our advanced products and technology, many of which have both civilian and military significance, to expand their industrial capacity. Many of these transactions become one-shot deals with little or no follow-on sales prospects.

#### INCONSISTENCY ON CONFIDENTIALITY

We find a further contradiction in the committee's action on the proposed bill. Section 7(c) provides that "no department, agency, or official exercising any functions under this act shall publish or disclose information obtained hereunder which is deemed confidential or with reference to which a request for confidential treatment is made by the person furnishing such information, unless the head of such department or agency determines that the withholding thereof is contrary to the national interest." Section 9 of the bill requires the agencies, departments, and officials responsible for implementing the rules and regulations authorized under this act to inform exporters of consideration which may cause a denial of license request so long as the information does not jeopardize the national security and effective administration of this act. The Department of Commerce, in its attempt to clarify the bill, recommended that a provision be included in this new section providing for confidentiality of business information. The majority turned down that request. We now have one section, section 7, requiring confidentiality, while the other section does not provide for confidential treatment of business information. We find this inconsistency by the majority unexplainable.

#### PENALTIES WEAKENED

The penalties for violating the act have been changed from those presently contained in the Export Control Act. Despite the fact that the present penalties have been used primarily as a deterrent, the committee decided to do away with a possible 1-year jail sentence for a violation unless it could be proved that the violator did so knowingly. During our hearings and discussions of the committee, there was no indication that the present penalty provisions had been misused or abused. We find it interesting, therefore, that the committee uses as a justification for the change that it is "concerned over the constitutional question of a severe jail sentence and fine for unknowing violations." We are unaware of any prior concern on a constitutional basis of the present provision authorizing up to 1-year imprisonment for a violation, and this has been part of the act for 20 years.

#### INCONSISTENCY IN TREATMENT OF COUNTRIES

It seems to us that the proponents of the bill should either decide whether they want to have equal treatment between Communist and non-Communist countries except for specific Presidential determinations or whether they want some differentiation retained as in the present Export Control Act. Section 3(3) of the bill states that "It is the policy of the United States that any export controls found necessary should be applied uniformly to all nations with which the United States engages in trade \* \* \*". If, indeed, it is the intent of the majority to have equal treatment between Communist and non-Communist nations, why do they retain unequal penalty provisions? Much harsher penalties are authorized in the event of exports contrary to the act with knowledge that such export will be used for the benefit of any Communist-dominated nation. The committee report properly states that this subsection is identical to one now contained in the Export Control Act. What it doesn't say is that the Export Control Act differentiates between Communist and non-Communist nations, whereas this bill makes no such differentiation and in no other place in the bill is the term "Communist-dominated nation" used.

#### ADMINISTRATION SUPPORTS PROPER EXPORTS

During our hearings, representatives of the Department of Commerce explained their desire to assist American business with its exports. That is one of the major purposes of the Department of Commerce, so such an

attitude was not expected. They explained their attempts to reduce the number of items for which licenses are required as well as their efforts to decrease to a minimum the paper work required by the business community. We have no reason to disbelieve their statements. In fact, we have every reason to believe that despite the very short period that the Department has been under the new administration, much has been done to improve its operations. We have been assured that for years it has been the Department's policy (limited only by budgetary restrictions) to maintain continual review of items requiring export licenses—adding to or deleting from the list whenever conditions warranted. We have confidence that the present administration intends to implement that policy and think they should be given an opportunity to prove themselves.

#### PRESENT ACT IS BETTER APPROACH

The committee hearings and in particular the information provided by the administration have demonstrated that no sharp reduction in regulatory authority is warranted. The existing Export Control Act has been shown to have ample flexibility to accomplish everything that could be accomplished through this new proposal. The Export Expansion and Regulation Act of 1969 as proposed in S. 1940 has been modified to substantially restore the authority it at first had sought to weaken. We now have a bill which retains parts of the original proposal, parts of the present Export Control Act, and some provisions which are inconsistent with both. Proponents of the bill apparently feel that significant changes have been made from the present Export Control Act, but the actual substance of these is far less than would appear. It must be recognized that the bill would be interpreted as a liberalization signal if nothing else. There is no evidence of the Soviet Union's readiness to move toward closer relations with the West which would warrant overriding the President's judgment that this is not the time to signal a change in relations with a new export control policy.

We, therefore, urge a straight extension of the Export Control Act of 1949 and recommend that the Senate defeat this proposal.

#### REPRESENTATIVE REID IS ONE OF THE FAIREST

#### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I was especially pleased to note that a publication in my district carried an article discussing one of our most respected colleagues, the Honorable CHARLOTTE T. REID. The article which follows appeared in the Sunday, July 27, edition of the Homewood-Flossmoor Star:

REPRESENTATIVE REID IS ONE OF THE FAIREST  
(By Bert Mills)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Ladies are no longer a novelty in Congress, but it is still an unusual feat for a woman to succeed in the largely male world of politics. Only 11 out of 535 members of the 91st Congress are of the fair sex.

One of the fairest of the Congressional ladies is Representative Charlotte T. Reid (R., Ill.), now serving her fourth term in the House. A trim and youthful 55, Mrs. Reid is in her third career and became a politician by accident.

As a girl she was a professional singer, known to millions of radio listeners as

Annette King. She was a featured vocalist on NBC and Don McNeill's Breakfast Club, for three years back in the '30's. Married to an attorney in 1938, they raised four children, all grown now. Mrs. Reid's two sons are both Viet Nam veterans.

Although interested in government and active in civil affairs in her home town, Aurora, Charlotte Reid became a political candidate as a result of a personal tragedy. Her husband died suddenly after winning the Republican nomination for Congress in 1962. GOP leaders persuaded the widow to carry on his campaign.

She did and was elected. Having since been re-elected three times by increasing margins, she is approaching veteran status and her seat is regarded as "safe." She has received more than 70 per cent of the vote in her last two elections.

One of the most important House committees is the appropriations committee, which originates all legislation to provide funds for governmental activities. Seats in this select company are eagerly sought, but after only four years in Congress Mrs. Reid was elected by her Republican colleagues to that body.

The appropriations committee has such a heavy workload that its members are restricted from serving on other legislative committees. Thus Mrs. Reid has surrendered seats on the interior and public works committee on which she had previously served. While on interior in 1965, she inspected the Trust Territory in the Pacific, and continued at her own expense to Viet Nam—the first congresswoman to visit that battlefield.

Mrs. Reid has been in the national spotlight upon occasion. She was a speaker at both the 1964 and 1968 Republican national conventions, as many TV viewers will recall. Richard Nixon named her to serve on his key issues committee during last year's campaign.

Mrs. Reid was also in the news this summer when she and three other Republican ladies from the House called on President Nixon to urge him to name more women to key government posts. That White House conversation lasted one and one-half hours and brought a Presidential pledge to appoint ladies to the highest openings, perhaps even to the Supreme court.

Mrs. Reid tends to her committee work and to the government needs of her constituents. She makes infrequent speeches on the House floor. Her current specialties are funds for foreign operations and the Labor and Health, Education and Welfare departments. She serves on those two subcommittees, and spends many hours at committee meetings.

At the luncheon table in the Republican Capitol Hill club near her office, she is known by most of those present. As a middle-of-the-road Republican, she has friends in both the conservative and liberal bloc. She is a Nixon booster and thinks the President has made a fine start.

She lives in an apartment in a tall building on the Virginia side of the Potomac river, featuring a stunning view of Washington and all that surrounds it. At a party, she has been known to accept an invitation to sing. Although she no longer has time to practice, she can still hit the high notes.

#### MASS TRANSPORTATION

### HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, our cities can wait no longer for the formulation

of a rational urban transportation policy which will bring Federal assistance for mass transportation into parity with assistance to highway construction.

We know the need. Adequate mass transportation is a prerequisite for a healthy central business district. The central business district, in turn, is essential to the support of city revenue through real estate and other taxes. Yet problems mount.

In my own district in Bronx County, N.Y., a multiple dwelling apartment complex known as Co-op City is under construction for middle-class families. It is a really fine housing complex, but the residents who have already taken possession of apartment units are struggling with a very difficult problem. They have no urban mass transit facilities within a reasonable distance of the complex.

I am sure that residents of so many other cities share this same problem. In this advanced era of space exploration and technology, it is difficult to understand why urban mass transit facilities have not been developed to the fullest extent for the benefit of millions of Americans.

It is estimated that our Nation will experience a population increase of 100 million within the next few decades. It is all too evident, therefore, that we can no longer ignore the problems created by inadequate transportation facilities.

In view of this critical situation, a number of bills have been introduced during this session designed to correct the shocking inequity in Federal funding.

During recent hearings on these bills held by the Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Affairs of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, further evidence was amassed which again reiterated the need for adequate mass transportation in our cities and emphasized the fact that this will not be achieved without adequate Federal funding.

I would like to draw special attention to several important provisions of these bills. Funding would depend primarily on the automobile excise tax, a tax which currently stands at 7 percent, but which is scheduled to be phased down. These bills would maintain the tax at 7 percent to support a mass transportation trust fund. The use of the auto tax to accumulate funds for mass transportation is justified and needs no explanation if transportation is seen as it really is—one system consisting of various modes of transportation. I hardly need emphasize that the automobile user is not the natural opponent of mass transportation, but rather one of its main beneficiaries.

These bills provide for 90 percent Federal funding for mass transportation. This will bring funding in this area into parity with highway funding and eliminate the distortion to local planning which results from an uneven Federal subsidy. The bills would also permit advance acquisition of urban land in order to facilitate rational comprehensive planning.

Provision is also made for Federal relocation assistance to families and businesses affected, comparable to that now

offered under the Federal highway program.

Of particular importance to my constituency is the elimination of the current 12½-percent limitation of grants and loans to any one State. This provision is unfair to large urban States which may have more than 12½ percent of the urban transportation problems.

I support trust fund funding for mass transportation to provide the opportunity for rational long-run planning by cities. Unfortunately, the annual authorization and appropriation of funds has not provided that sure basis for planning, as a review of appropriations under the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 makes evident.

In the United States, urban disruption is evident. It is plain that we must use every resource at our command to solve the urban transportation problem.

#### THIEVERY OF CREDIT CARDS FROM THE MAILS

### HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, in recent months, a dangerous trend in criminal activities has taken place causing a loss of untold millions of dollars. It involves the organized and wholesale thievery of credit cards from the U.S. mails. Within the last few days alone, grand juries in New York and Chicago have indicted over 40 persons in connection with these illicit operations.

There are two basic ways of halting this sort of activity, Mr. Speaker. The first involves increased surveillance on the part of the Post Office Department which is an administrative function. The second, and the issue to which I ask my colleagues to address their attention today, is a banning of unsolicited credit card deliveries from the mails. I am today introducing legislation which hopefully will effect this latter policy.

Because of the spiraling increase in the number of unsolicited credit cards sent through the mails, because of the inordinate temptations to pilfer them and because of widespread criminal attempts and successes at pilfering them, it is incumbent on the Congress to act promptly on this vital matter.

Briefly, Mr. Speaker, my bill will require anyone desirous of sending a credit card or similar device through the mails to send it as a registered item to a specific addressee, to mark clearly on the envelope that it is a credit card or similar device and to assume the cost for return delivery should the addressee refuse to accept the envelope.

The need for this legislation was clearly expressed by Brooklyn District Attorney Eugene Gold in an article appearing in yesterday's Wall Street Journal and in a press release issued by the Postmaster General last evening. I want to include the article from the Wall Street Journal and the press release at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Wall Street Journal, July 30, 1969]  
**TWENTY-THREE CHARGED IN NEW YORK WITH  
 USE OF STOLEN CREDIT CARDS**

NEW YORK.—A Brooklyn grand jury indicted 17 men and six women on charges of using stolen credit cards, a crime Eugene Gold, Brooklyn's district attorney, said was encouraged by "helter-skelter, indiscriminate" distribution of these cards.

The individuals indicted were accused of using 20 stolen Mastercharge credit cards to bilk First National City Bank, the issuer, of \$175,000 during the past six months. They were charged with forgery, petty larceny and possession of forged instruments. Three men and three women have been taken into custody and the district attorney's office said the others were being rounded up.

Mr. Gold described the group as members of an organized credit card ring and identified Salvatore Cavallaro, 36 years old, as the ring leader. Mr. Gold said the credit cards had been stolen by five Post Office employees who were arrested earlier this month on Federal charges.

Members of the ring used the cards, Mr. Gold said, to charge "every kind of thing you could think of," and then sold some of the goods while keeping other items for their personal use.

In announcing the indictments, the district attorney attacked "the helter-skelter, indiscriminate distribution of credit cards" by banks and other businesses. He said such distribution encouraged crime by making it possible for unauthorized users to acquire cards and forge signatures on them.

This kind of crime, Mr. Gold said, "runs into hundreds of millions of dollars," and this cost "is passed on to the buying public." Mr. Gold said Federal-state legislation is needed to prohibit business from sending cards to persons who haven't asked for them.

A spokesman for First National City said the cards used by those indicted had been solicited. However, First National City and other New York banks have in recent months sent out thousands of unsolicited cards. The cards were sent to persons who have done business with a bank or who have an account there.

**POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT PRESS RELEASE**

Postmaster General Winton M. Blount announced that Postal Inspectors began an arrest roundup today of 30 persons in the Chicago area on charges of mail fraud. The group was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury on July 29, 1969, for allegedly conducting a widespread scheme to illegally use credit cards issued by five major Chicago banks.

In making the announcement, the Postmaster General said the indictments and arrests marked the first prosecutive phase of a continuing 2½-year investigation by a force of Postal Inspectors and the staff of United States Attorney Thomas A. Foran.

During the latter part of 1966, the banks—all members of the Mid-West Bank Card System—issued MBC Credit Cards to its depositors and others and entered into agreements with local merchants for the acceptance of the cards as payment for goods and services. Under the agreement, participating merchants were to forward the sales slips to the appropriate banks for reimbursements and the banks would then bill the cardholders on a monthly basis.

The indictment, however, accuses the defendants—including 16 retail store merchants, three gasoline station operators and a Chicago postal employee—of preparing false sales slips and mailing them to the banks for payment. The scheme reportedly resulted in the loss of millions of dollars to the banks before Postal Inspectors and local police, working closely with bank officials, were able

to bring the fraud under control. Chief Postal Inspector Cotter stressed as invaluable the assistance rendered by Chicago banks in the lengthy investigation.

Investigations of alleged credit card frauds by Postal Inspectors have increased over 700 percent in the past four years. Chief Cotter said during this period a total of 223 persons have been convicted on charges of credit card fraud and 265 others are awaiting trial.

**MINNESOTA ACCOUNTANTS: DI-  
 VORCE BANKS FROM ACCOUNT-  
 ING SERVICES**

**HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA**

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, in April of this year, I appeared before the House Committee on Banking and Currency to present testimony in connection with the hearings on H.R. 6778, a bill to amend the Bank Holding Company Act. In my testimony I urged the committee to amend the omnibus measure to prohibit banks from engaging in professional accounting services, as provided in my bill, H.R. 272.

I am pleased to report that support for this proposed amendment has been steadily mounting, as evidenced by the recent endorsement of H.R. 272 by the Minnesota Association of Public Accountants. At its annual meeting last month, the association voted unanimously to endorse my bill.

In view of the impending House action on H.R. 6778, I believe my colleagues would find the information contained in the resolution both pertinent and informative. It is therefore submitted for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Whereas increasing numbers of banks throughout this country are advertising and offering to perform accounting services for the public; and

Whereas this trend is not in the best interests of the business community, the public or the public accounting profession; and

Whereas it appears that this problem can be effectively solved only by Congress enacting legislation; and

Whereas a bill to prohibit banks from performing professional accounting services has been introduced in the United States House of Representatives as H.R. 272 by Representative Spark M. Matsunaga of Hawaii; and

Whereas the Matsunaga bill deserves the enthusiastic support and backing, not only by all members of Congress, but by every individual member of the public accounting profession and accounting organizations all across our country; and

Whereas Chairman Wright Patman of the House Banking and Currency Committee allowed consideration of H.R. 272 in conjunction with hearings on H.R. 6778, a bill to regulate one-bank holding companies; and

Whereas, the House Banking and Currency Committee has both bills under consideration at the present time;

Now therefore be it resolved that the Minnesota Association of Public Accountants does hereby express endorsement of H.R. 272 and H.R. 6778 by this Resolution; and

Be it further resolved that a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to the Senators and Representatives from this state in the United States Congress; and

Be it further resolved that a copy of this Resolution be spread upon the minutes of this meeting and be made a permanent part of the records thereof.

**A TIRED AMERICAN**

**HON. TIM LEE CARTER**

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, many of our good citizens think that the press, television, and radio convey the true feelings of the majority of our people. It is my belief that this is incorrect.

Many of our people feel as this former Army officer and veteran of the Vietnamese war feels. I include in the RECORD his letter for your perusal:

SHENANDOAH LIFE INSURANCE CO.,  
 Roanoke, Va., July 28, 1969.

Congressman TIM LEE CARTER,  
 Longworth Office Building,  
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CARTER: The waves of un-Americanism radiating from the TV networks evening newsprograms have finally gotten to me. As my Congressman from the 5th District, and personal friend, you represent my only voice in Washington.

Dr. Carter, I am a tired American, tired of being considered "Square" because I stand up when the flag passes in review. I'm tired of having the world panhandlers stone our emissaries when they visit their countries. I am sick and tired of the bearded beatniks who say they have the right to determine what laws of the land they are willing to obey. I am also tired of the fat, insulated liberals on Capitol Hill who sit on their mountains of inherited money and blandly uphold the actions of this lunatic fringe who menace our streets and campuses.

I am fed up and ashamed of the long haired protesters who claim they represent the "new tomorrow" of America. I am also tired of the Congressmen who uphold the actions of these shallow-faced cowards whose only claim to fame is their ability to run down the old-fashioned virtues of honesty, integrity and morality. I am a tired American—who is extremely tired of supporting families with my tax dollars who have not known any source of income other than government give-away program for three generations. I am a tired American—who is fed up with that civil rights group that is showing propaganda films on college campuses from coast to coast with Che and Ho Chi Minh as their star performers.

I am weary of the bearded, unkempt bums who prefer protest marches and sit-ins to regular jobs. I am tired of slack-jawed clergymen who have made a career out of supporting self-righteous integration causes, yet send their own children to private schools.

I am a tired American who had to work nights, weekends and summers in order to earn a college degree, and I resent those who profess to hate capitalism, but are always at the head of the line demanding their share of the good life.

Congressman Carter, I am really tired of those elected officials who are willing to compromise on anything, but will make a firm commitment to nothing.

We live in the greatest nation in the world, dedicated to the principles of freedom and justice for all—all mankind. My fight is with those officials who would sacrifice my personal freedoms to appease the wallings of a few loud-mouthed radicals.

As my elected official, please convey my thoughts to your fellow Congressmen.

With warm regards,

JACK HIBBARD.

#### CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

### HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. BUTTON. Mr. Speaker, it was with great interest that I noted the passage of Captive Nations Week, which has been observed each year since 1957. Congress first recognized the plight of these nations when it passed Senate Joint Resolution 3, and the President issues a proclamation every year, focusing attention on the downtrodden peoples of Eastern Europe.

But it is not the state of the nations themselves that we deplore, so much as the form of human bondage which they represent. Bodies of people, calling themselves Rumanians, Latvians, Czechoslovakians—yet the freedom and self-determination of these peoples are overshadowed by the dire threat of force. Soviet policy is thrust upon them, and it is dangerous not to conform.

The "inalienable" rights of free speech, free press, and freedom of movement are curtailed for those peoples, nations in one sense, yet exiles in another, who are striving to lead lives of their own behind the Iron Curtain. The American tradition—indeed, the tradition common to free nations from the time of Locke to Gandhi to the present—is violated by the subjugation of the "captive nations."

Mr. Speaker, fortunately, the Iron Curtain is not impermeable. It is susceptible to rust, to corrosion. Particularly in today's world, people cannot help but reach out to others and communicate, regardless of the pressures put upon them. Such communication may take the direct forms of religion or Radio Free Europe; or it may be indirect, in the larger sense, such as the empathy which sparked the proclamation of Captive Nations Week. Man is by nature sympathetic, and desirous of freedom. So long as these two factors remain constant, which they have since the beginning of history, hope will persist. The Iron Curtain will dissolve.

One of the great ironies of today's world is that old nations, once free to determine their own courses of development, are held in abeyance, while new nations have been emerging in relatively prolific numbers throughout the past decade. The powers of America, England, and France have come to the realization that it is wrong to force their culture or forms of government—democratic, or no—upon other peoples, even if it would be "for their own betterment." Thus,

colonialism, even "new colonialism," has become archaic to a great extent. The important principles to abide by are that such peoples can determine their own government, and that such rights as are enumerated in our first amendment to the Constitution are not intimidated. An African nation, for instance, who chooses a socialistic form of government, is recognized by other free nations, regardless of their own form of government. The key word is "choose"; that nations—defined in terms of people—are free to choose the form of government which seems most workable and desirous in reference to their peculiar situation.

It is incredible that "captive nations" should exist in the political climate described above—one of tolerance, which stresses the freedom of self-determination. The repression of free speech and action is indeed an eyesore in today's world. It is an awareness of this repression, and a continuing hope that the free world will not allow such a situation to persist indefinitely, that prompts me to recognize the significance of Captive Nations Week.

#### WHAT IS MAN'S FUTURE IN SPACE?

### HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, in the aftermath of the Apollo flight, hundreds of thousands of words have been written in its praise. I doubt that there is a newspaper in the Nation that did not address itself to this remarkable achievement. Many, however, went beyond the moon landing in their editorializing, and speculated on the future of this historic quest of mankind's into the unknown of space.

And many concluded, as I have, that future space flights must be joint efforts, international in scope, both for the benefit of this country and the rest of the world. Some have suggested the U.N. as a medium; others have suggested binational agreements. But an encouraging number are united on the premise that space cannot be one nation's province—and should not be even if we could afford to "go it alone."

It is both appropriate and symbolic of the broadness of this opinion that the New York Times, a national newspaper; the Boston Globe, a regional one; and the Quincy Patriot-Ledger, a city newspaper from my district—all reached similar conclusion on the desirability of international cooperation in space.

This uniformity of opinion is a rare thing for such different newspapers, and serves to strengthen my belief that I am representing a much larger body of opinion than that of my district alone when I filed a resolution last week calling on the President to formally invite other nations to join our space program.

I, therefore, call the attention of my colleagues and the Nation to these three editorials. I feel they represent well the feelings of the American people on this matter.

The editorials follow:

[From the Boston (Mass.) Globe]

WHAT NEXT? AND BY WHOM?

With their splashdown in the Pacific Thursday, new luster will be added to the names of Neil Armstrong, Edwin Aldrin and Michael Collins, already writ as large and bright as any in history. Then what? And by whom?

It is unthinkable that man should quit now. Nor will he. The imagination that enabled him to bounce like a laughing child on the satellite of the small planet which he so recently and with such vanity believed to be the center of the universe will not let him rest until he has plunged deeper and deeper into the unknown that surrounds him.

He will climb the space mountains because they are there. He will go on, in the words of the French political economist, Jean Monnet, because "he can no longer think in limited terms." Or because, as microbiologist Rene Dubois sees it, "the human spirit derives boundless power from a poetical faith in what it can do." Or, perhaps better still, for the reasons given by the Jesuit theologian, Walter Burghardt:

"It is part of man's task, his Godgiven destiny, to master the universe, to uncover its secrets, to make it serve man, to make him more human, to bring him closer to his fellow man."

Human, in its best sense, man is not. He is one of the most destructive and avaricious of earth's animals, over all of whom he was created to reign, unable and often unwilling even to feed all of his own kind, habitually fouling his own environment. But human beyond dispute he must learn to be, for otherwise his days on his beautiful Earth most surely will be numbered.

His situation cannot be so bad as historian and urbanologist Lewis Mumford sees it:

"The Moon landing is a symbolic act of war and the astronauts' slogan . . . proclaiming that it is for the benefit of mankind is on a level with the Air Force's monstrous hypocrisy, 'Our Profession Is Peace.'"

Yet, denying Mr. Mumford's denouncement, we cannot afford to preen ourselves, either, merely because three virtual supermen have accomplished near miracles. Getting off the Moon and docking with the mother space ship was perhaps even more wondrous, and certainly more frightening to the rest of us earthlings, than landing on it.

Just the same, there is no denying that the Moon triumph, for all the boundless accolades that are its proper due, does indeed coincide, not only with utterly senseless rivalries of governments, whose peoples hunger for peace. It also coincides, right here in the United States, with racial, class, economic and other totally avoidable woes suggesting the possibility of social deterioration for which there is no excuse in a society capable of our technological miracles.

Space exploration should and will go on. But it should be a project of a united rather than a divided mankind. It is ridiculous for nations to vie for little pieces of it, racing for this corner of it or that in the name of national prestige, risking national bankruptcy, further rivalry and continuing domestic turmoil in the process.

The Moon project has cost the United States approximately \$24 billion. The Russians probably have spent as much or more. It is argued that the technical spinoff of their individual triumphs are too valuable for rival economies to share. But it surely may be answered that the spinoff of learning to work together in the vastness of space would be invaluable on Earth. Space exploration is an ideal instrument for unifying mankind. It could be turned to no more noble purpose.

[From the New York Times]  
THE SURGE INTO SPACE

In time, there will be a new generation that will take manned flight to the moon as much for granted as college students today take airplane travel and television. By this weekend, the wonder and the jubilation at the historic feat of Apollo 11 are still reverberating around the world, evoking in men of every land and every clime a sense of awe at what they had seen, mingled with gratification that they were alive at this historic moment in the history of the human race.

If there had been any doubts that mankind in general and the United States in particular would persevere in space exploration, they have been removed by the spectacular success of the lunar voyage of Armstrong, Aldrin and Collins. But important questions remain as to what shall be done and in what order the wide variety of challenges and opportunities of space exploration shall be approached. Priorities in space research are essential because neither the United States nor all the world's nations together are rich enough to do simultaneously everything that might be done in this still-new dimension of human achievement. Even a brief recital of the most obvious possibilities is enough to indicate what difficult decisions lie ahead.

In the volume of space near earth it would be useful to establish one or more permanent stations for scientific study of the heavens—through telescopes beyond the obscuring atmosphere of this planet—and of the earth itself, many aspects of which can best be examined from orbit. The earliest opportunities for commercial exploitation of space are likely to raise in this zone, where communications satellites have already blazed the path. Development of reusable space shuttles would cut costs and speed the economic development of the region near earth.

The moon itself requires far more extensive exploration than is envisioned in the presently projected limited series of Apollo flights. Sooner or later, this exploration as well as the exploitation of the moon for scientific and other peaceful purposes will require establishment of permanent settlements on earth's satellite. What might be called the domestication of the moon will take decades, even centuries. The full difficulties of the task will not be clear until more is known about the resources of that body, particularly whether water and other essentials for life can be found there.

Exploration of the other planets of the solar system is still in its infancy, but offers enormous challenges and possibilities. Hundreds of unmanned, instrumented rockets—like those that have already made the initial reconnaissances of Mars and Venus—will have to be sent out in the years and decades ahead, reaching finally even to distant Pluto.

Any effort to send men to Mars this century, as Vice President Agnew has suggested, will be enormously expensive and far more difficult than anything on mankind's present space agenda. A decision to attempt this—if one is made—should be taken only after extensive analysis and debate, instead of being promulgated hastily in the euphoria induced by the colossal feat of the American astronauts.

In 1493 Pope Alexander VI issued a decree dividing between Spain and Portugal the "new world" Columbus had discovered. No similar document is needed now because, fortunately, the Space Treaty provides international agreement that no celestial body is subject to national appropriation. But what is needed is action and organization to make space exploration truly international so that the resources of many countries, not only the two most powerful nations, are drawn into the effort. And there must be an in-

ternational division of labor that will assure maximum coverage of all the tasks ahead while avoiding the expensive waste of needless duplication and rivalry which marred the trek to the moon.

Precisely because it was Americans who first landed on the moon, President Nixon could well take the lead in inviting the United Nations into the picture as the organizing force for man's coming surge into space.

[From the Quincy (Mass.) Patriot Ledger,  
July 29, 1969]

AFTER APOLLO

What next in space?

In the moon glow of Apollo 11, the possibilities seem limitless. Yet, against the potentials of space exploration must be weighed the United States' limited resources and human needs here on earth. Our space program must go on, but the critical questions are the direction, the speed, and the level of these activities.

Future targets of the American space program are currently being studied by a White House "space task group" headed by Vice President Spiro Agnew and including Dr. Thomas O. Paine, NASA administrator; Air Force Secretary Robert Seamans and Presidential Science Adviser Lee Dubridge. The report of this group, setting forth proposed space objectives for the next 15 years, is scheduled to be delivered to President Nixon in September.

The goal of the 1960s was precise: send a man to the moon and back safely before the end of the decade. This target now has been met, the pledge has been fulfilled and U.S. pre-eminence in space well established.

At this time, there is no need for "crash" programs in space requiring massive funds. NASA's budget, once over \$5 billion, has since leveled off at about \$4 billion—which Dr. Paine observes is only 5 percent of our defense budget and only 10 percent of what we spend on women's dresses.

Instead of large-scale financing, NASA's budget for the coming years should be steady and predictable—perhaps in the \$3 to \$4 billion range—with funds committed in advance by Congress for several years to enable sensible planning.

The United States should also seek greater expansion of cooperative international space programs. Already, there are several international space projects in operation—in such areas as meteorological and communications satellites, for example—and in many cases international cooperation is not only desirable, but imperative.

Space exploration should not become the province of a few wealthy, scientifically-advanced nations. It should belong to all civilization, ideally with the talents and the resources of many nations being pooled to expand man's knowledge and to share in its benefits.

Hopefully, instead of competition in space between the United States and Russia, there will develop cooperation in exploring man's new environment, including joint manned space flight ventures. The United Nations can provide the institutional umbrella for such cooperative programs.

Certainly a long-range program should be planetary landings—on Mars, then on other planets. But from the moon to Mars is a mighty jump, even though scientists are ultimately confident it can be achieved.

For the shorter term, our efforts should be directed toward mastering our spatial environment between earth and the moon. NASA's plans for a series of followup moon landings, for the development of orbital laboratories, a large space station and "space shuttles"—a reusable rocket system—are realistic and important projects.

## FOLLOWTHROUGH NEEDED ON MARITIME RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, our national seapower is a topic of great concern to many of us here. One of the aspects of seapower is, of course, research and development, and the following article written by my friend of many years, Capt. Hewlett R. Bishop, spells out some of the problems we must face in this area. I have known Captain Bishop since I first came to the Congress. He retired a few years ago from the position of Atlantic Coast Director of the Maritime Administration after serving 15 Administrations over a 19-year span. He is now the executive vice president of the National Cargo Bureau, Inc., and is, therefore, a man to be listened to when he addresses himself to the problems of the U.S. merchant marine. I urge my colleagues to read Captain Bishop's article.

Under the permission heretofore unannouncedly granted me I include Captain Bishop's article with these remarks:

[From the Journal of Commerce, Nov. 14, 1968]

### ENGINEERING RESEARCH FOLLOW-THROUGH NEEDED

(By Capt. H. R. Bishop)

R&D have been the magic letters in Government and Business circles for the past several years. The word has been, "budget it in R&D and you're home free." In the maritime field government has done a lot but, I think, only half way because after the Research and some Development, usually to prove to the ones working on the project it's feasible, they drop it. There has not been enough follow through. Then some time later someone else, usually in another part of the world, capitalizes on our R&D.

A few "for instances" that come to mind: The United States Shipping Board, in the late 20's and 30's, had a ship upgrading program—WW I ships were reconverted (Congress could not see any necessity to build when all those good (?) ships were in lay-up). Three such ships were the "Triumph," "Courageous" and "Defiance." I was aboard the latter in Hong Kong. She had, as did the other two, bridge control that worked. The main engines were a flop, so they forgot about the successful bridge control. The U.S.S.B. also converted a fleet of ships to direct diesel. These produced many headaches and had many bugs, BUT they led to a successful diesel building program in World War II. The United States merchant marine industry wasn't interested after the war, so they were sold foreign and served efficiently and made money for their new owners for many years in competing merchant marines.

### U.S. RESEARCH ADAPTED

Thirty years later a foreign nation came out with a much heralded automated diesel with a reduced crew complement and bridge control. They were visited by the top government merchant marine officials in this country who never realized the crew complement was the same as the United States diesels of U.S.S.B. vintage and the bridge control was no more efficient. Now everyone has accepted the results to which United States R&D contributed, except the United States.

Hydrofoils are another more current example. Marad and industry (engine manufacturers, aluminum and aircraft, among others) cooperated to design and develop the world's first seagoing hydrofoil. It was named for the deceased Chief of the R&D of Marad who conceived it. Despite the errors, which included the decision not to fit her for useful service (a decision made for budgetary reasons), the "Denison" was a success. But her timing was off when the program was ready for a major Governmental decision. It was one of the many times Marad was changing administrators, and the agency was being dictated to, and hamstrung, by the Department of Commerce, which had little interest and no knowledge of maritime affairs. So, they decided to do nothing—a rather common maritime practice—and the brand new, successful craft was sent to the nearest reserve fleet to await developments. She made the headlines again, this time unfavorably, for she ran ashore. Few knew why, her control house (pilot house) design had been greatly influenced by aircraft people, she had no vision astern. She ran up on a mudbank in a river where the channel ranges were astern. What an inglorious finish for a successful research project. Just last month I read an article which referred to the "Denison" as an early NAVY project. It's obvious we not only do not follow through—we forget.

#### A SHIP PROJECT CITED

Nuclear ships is perhaps our most well-known research project. The "Savannah" was so long building, during which time we escorted representatives of foreign countries (friendly or otherwise) through her, with access to her plans, that some of her features, including the control room and the bridge control, were adopted and in use on foreign ships even before the "Savannah" put to sea. Here is a perfect example of a successful research project, despite Governmental bickering between agencies, that now no one knows how (or if they do, has not the courage to say so) to carry on and take advantage of it.

These are only highlights—there are many more of the same—of the failure to follow through and take full advantage of R&D. We all know it has to take time, but projects should not just sit and wait for someone else to take the advantage of them. Decisions and action are needed. Perhaps it should be R&D&A, for Research, Development, Decision and Action.

Just in case there is any misunderstanding, I am all for R&D. In fact, the National Cargo Bureau, with whom I am associated, has been working on such a program in cooperation with the United States Coast Guard. Through the State Department our joint efforts have expanded to the International Maritime Consultant Organization and has resulted in an interesting project. The joint industry and government participation has been able to get over many of the rough spots with National Cargo Bureau research funds paying the way, instead of having to wait for Government money. Ideas and manpower have been furnished, without cost, by both industry and the United States Coast Guard.

#### GRAIN STILL TROUBLESOME

The goal is the safe carriage of bulk grain. It seems strange that a commodity that was probably the first to be transported on board ship should still be making problems, but it is.

Bulk grain regulations were first issued by local authorities. In this country they were first established by the New York Board of Marine Underwriters and later put into regulations by the United States Coast Guard. The first international agreements for grain were contained in Chapter Six of the Safety of Life at Sea Convention of 1948. The current is Chapter Six of SOLAS 1960, which became effective in 1965. Even before this

doubts were expressed as to the effectiveness of the regulations, which had been adopted in the belief that grain could be trimmed completely, filling compartments up to the deckhead, and that grain settled two (2) per cent on the passage. To control the latter, feeders were required in the belief that grain would flow into the void spaces caused by the settling.

Through the facilities of IMCO a program of studying the settlement of grain in feeders and hatches were devised. This resulted in participation of Masters of the performance of over four hundred (400) grain ships loaded in worldwide ports, and proved that there was no settlement in good weather and much settlement in bad weather. The question was obvious, if no settlement in good, where was the grain going in bad weather. It increased the doubt in the effectiveness of the regulations.

This resulted in the decision for us to launch our R&D program. This has involved extensive sea tests and studies to which American ship owners have contributed the use of their ships. The American Bureau of Shipping also was consulted and nothing was done that would alter a ship's class. The project culminated in three series of shore based tests on a scale model of a cargo ship's grain compartment, fitted alternately with every approved and newly conceived contrivance for carriage of grain. Ideas and manpower were contributed by the Coast Guard and National Cargo Bureau. Reports of the first tests were made to a United States panel of marine experts and, through them, to the Sub-committee of Bulk Cargoes and Sub-Division and Stability in IMCO. This resulted in further tests, with ideas and suggestions being made by all of the forementioned bodies. In the final series, the United Kingdom and Canada participated. In the meantime, other nations carried out companion experiments and tests. All in all, sixteen nations have participated in this work and all have made some contribution.

We now know that grain cannot be trimmed up entirely to the deckhead, that the two (2) percent settlement does not occur, and that feeders do not feed. Therefore, the concepts of which the present SOLOS 1960 bulk grain regulations are based are erroneous and that some of the conditions of loading permitted are dangerous. This has been reported to the Maritime Safety Committee and the Sub-committee of Bulk Cargoes has been directed to prepare amendments to Chapter Six with the Sub-committee of Sub-division and Stability preparing the stability criteria.

We have been spurred on in this work being ever aware that too many seamen (now at least 125) have lost their lives on ships loaded with bulk grain since the present international regulations were adopted. Unfortunately, several of the ships just disappeared—the latest of these in October of this year.

#### NEW RULES FORMULATED

Based on these experiments, studies and tests which have involved thousands of man hours and hundreds of ships, as well as shore based equipment, the Sub-Committee on Bulk Cargoes has in draft a new Chapter Six, which should be finalized at its January, 1969 meeting in London. The stability criteria should also be finalized by the Sub-Committee of Sub-Division and Stability at their January, 1969 meeting. If both are approved, they will be sent to the Maritime Safety Committee for action at its February, 1969 meeting.

Approval there would send it to the Assembly for action in the fall of 1969. If any of the four fail to approve, it will be set back at least two years. You can be assured that the United States will not rest on its oars and will work for its approval. We have already taken interim corrective action on our

own ships. The new rules, if approved, will consider each ship on its individual characteristics. This is where the Naval Architects will have to assist in preparing ships data for the use of the Master and loading authorities. Incidentally, the rules will not only be safer, but in most cases more economical for the shipowner.

A lot of work and words about old commodities and their problems, but we mustn't neglect the new ones. Last year I wrote in this issue about the importance of container ships being designed to protect the cargo. Much work has been, and is being done, on this problem.

#### CONTAINERS PRESENT PROBLEM

The greatest damage to cargo stowed in containers is occurring for two principal reasons—improper packing and stowage of the cargo in the containers and damage to containers carried on deck. The latter is one that naval architects can still contribute a great deal to reducing.

Ships are being built with greater freeboards, some are being weather routed, and some have higher forecastle heads to protect the cargo. A few have their bridges forward for the same reason (a combination of the two would be ideal, and you may see it soon). The use of a structure to support other than the bottom tier on deck so that the entire load will not be lost and raising the height of the bottom tier to permit the force of the seas to break under it are two other improvements in use. Stabilizers are also being installed. These, and many other changes, are all to the good.

More still has to be done to protect the sides of the container from boarding seas. It only takes one to jeopardize the entire deck load and perhaps the ship. Last year I mentioned this problem and stated that many years ago seamen on small ships stretched lines on deck to break up the sea and prevent its full force breaking on the hatches; also, that during World War II the suggestion was made that wire nets be rigged outboard to break up the sea. (We took another approach and strengthened the outboard sides of the cases.) It seems that the breaking of the force of the sea needs more serious attention on the container ship.

Once more going back to the sea for ideas—years ago we used to hear of storm oil to smooth the sea. It worked. Several times, in my experience when we couldn't get forward to turn the valves, we used a can of lubricating oil, pouring a pin-sized stream into a toilet midship on the weather side, the valve being secured in an open position. I've seen a gallon of lubricating oil protect a cargo on the after-deck a whole night, and it didn't cause a mess either.

Perhaps in these days of new oil products, someone can come up with an inexpensive oil that could be ejected in a stream of water, under pressure, in several locations (ships are now bigger and faster) on each side of the ship, to be used in heavy weather when and where required. If it left any residue, it would be no worse than that picked up by the containers on the open road.

I believe there is still room for improvement and Naval architects are the ones who are in a position to come up with the solution.

#### MOON-NIGHT

### HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, all Americans and citizens of the world were thrilled at the recent success of the

Apollo 11 mission. The courage and expertise that were evidenced by our three astronauts, Neil Armstrong, Edwin Aldrin, and Michael Collins, was a tribute not only to man's technology, but also to the testimony of President Kennedy, who 8 years ago committed this country to a manned lunar landing by the end of this decade.

Among the many tributes that have flowed into my office is a poem composed by one of my constituents, Mrs. Irene Viau of Warwick, R.I. I feel that this poem would be of interest to my colleagues and urge their attention to it, as follows:

MOON-NIGHT  
(By Irene Viau)

Moon-night moon light night of wonder  
You hold me in your spell.  
Moon-night while in my deep slumber  
Loves dream only, you foretell.

Moon-night and the stars in array  
Heaven made the plan one day  
Now you cast your magic spell  
On Neil, Edwin and Michael.

You were a gracious host  
The gems they left, they loved the most.  
Old Glory now stands high  
The world is thrilled and so am I.

#### ROGERS AGAIN URGES MEANINGFUL TAX REFORM

### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, recent actions regarding extension of the surtax and consideration of tax reform legislation indicate the depth and pervasiveness of these issues with the American people.

I have supported an extension of the surtax because I believe it is the fiscally responsible position to take in light of our extensive commitment in Vietnam and the devastating effects of inflation at home which, if not controlled, will take 5 or 6 cents more out of every dollar before the end of the year.

Yet, I did not support the surtax without a strong belief that the Congress should promptly consider meaningful tax reform legislation, and particularly that the House Committee on Ways and Means would afford this body an opportunity to do so before the August recess.

Time is short now before that recess is upon us, and the burden upon the low- and middle-income taxpayer of this Nation has been heavy, and deserving of relief. I have repeatedly, through legislation and remarks on the floor of this body, called for meaningful reform, and I now again call upon the House Committee on Ways and Means, and upon the distinguished chairman of that committee to afford the House an opportunity to consider tax reforms.

Specifically, I have introduced legislation to increase the personal exemption from \$600 to \$1,200 because I believe the present amount is only token relief in view of the spiraling cost of living we experience today. Raising a family is not possible on \$600 per person per year

and I hope and expect at least a substantial increase in this exemption if reform is to be meaningful.

Moreover, I have called for a re-assessment of the provisions governing the head-of-household deductions, and I would like to see a reduction in the rates. At the present time, at the middle-income level of \$6,000 to \$8,000, there is little difference between the rate paid by a taxpayer who is the head of a household and one who is single, yet the expenses of the head of a household, such as a widow with children, are much greater in most instances. At the \$6,000 level, the single taxpayer pays only \$70 more in taxes than the head of the household under present rates. I believe the rates applicable to the head of the household should be more in line with those available to joint returns.

Too, I have introduced legislation to permit those over 65 years of age to deduct all medical expenses. This would restore the provisions in the law that were in effect until January 1, 1967. I do not feel that the present law which permits deductions only if medical expenses exceed 3 percent of income is realistic in light of the present cost of living, and I would hope the Ways and Means Committee will consider this proposal.

In conclusion, I believe that the strong support being given to closing many of the tax loopholes that exist with respect to charitable trusts, the oil-depletion allowance and others will do more toward helping the overwhelming majority of lower- and middle-income taxpayers who share most of the burden and too often have been taken for granted because they are honest and do pay their taxes.

#### RETIREMENT OF LT. GEN. WILLIAM F. CASSIDY, CHIEF OF U.S. ARMY ENGINEERS

### HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, today a great soldier leaves the Army. Lt. Gen. William F. Cassidy, the Chief of Army Engineers and one of the finest gentlemen in the Federal service, will step down from that distinguished position after many years of faithful service to his Nation.

General Cassidy was appointed Chief of Engineers in July 1965, after holding the most important and prestigious assignments which the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers has to offer. These positions included division engineer, South Pacific Division, senior logistics adviser to the Republic of Korea, and Deputy Chief of Engineers, all of which broadened and qualified him for the most important role of Chief of Engineers. In this position he has distinguished himself as, without a doubt, one of the greatest in a long line of great Chiefs of Engineers.

General Cassidy leaves a glowing record of accomplishments, a top-flight en-

gineering and construction agency, and a career which is an example for all to emulate.

As a member of the Public Works Committee, I am personally proud to have worked with General Cassidy over the years and to have this opportunity to extend my personal wishes for continued success in the future.

#### VIETNAM, CRIME TOP DELLENBACK POLL

### HON. JOHN DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, Oregon's Fourth Congressional District gives top priority to the war in Vietnam as an area of national concern, according to the results of my third annual constituent questionnaire. While this is not surprising, I did find it both surprising and interesting that the district ranks crime second in a list of 20 problem areas. This indicates that even in a district where there is relatively little crime in the streets, racial turmoil, and campus disorder, people recognize the need to place a high national priority on fighting crime.

The more than 22,000 persons who responded to my request for their views also reported that they strongly favor direct popular election of the President and Vice President and the elimination of all restrictions on wage earning for a beneficiary drawing social security benefits. They are in approximate balance, pro and con, as to the President's recommendations for an anti-ballistic-missile system and on the proposal to place the Armed Forces on an all-volunteer basis. They are opposed to lowering the voting age to 18.

The questions and the responses follow:

	<i>Do you favor</i> [In percent]
1. The direct popular election of the President and Vice President?	
Yes .....	85.1
No .....	9.5
No opinion .....	5.6
2. Placing the Armed Force on an all-volunteer basis?	
Yes .....	45.0
No .....	45.5
No opinion .....	9.5
3. The President's recommendations concerning an anti-ballistic-missile system?	
Yes .....	40.8
No .....	40.6
No opinion .....	18.6
4. Lowering the voting age to 18?	
Yes .....	65.0
No .....	29.8
No opinion .....	5.2
5. Eliminating all restrictions on wage earning for a beneficiary drawing social security benefits?	
Yes .....	60.5
No .....	31.5
No opinion .....	8.0

In my questionnaire I also listed 20 issues and asked my constituents to number in order the six they considered the highest priority areas of national concern. Just as I asked residents of the Fourth District to make priority ratings, I ranked the answers, giving more weight, for example, to an item marked "1" than to one marked "6."

Following is a complete ranking of the 20 areas:

1. Vietnam.
2. Crime.
3. Inflation.
4. Tax Reform.
5. Tax Reduction.
6. Student Unrest.
7. Poverty.
8. Pollution.
9. Race relations.
10. Defense budget.
11. ABM.
12. Education.
13. Social Security.
14. Draft Reform.
15. Electoral Reform.
16. Conservation.
17. Agriculture.
18. Housing.
19. Space Exploration.
20. 18-year-old vote.

Mr. Speaker, I also include the text of the bill I introduced amending the Military Selective Service Act of 1967:

H.R. —

A bill to amend the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 in order to provide for a more equitable system of selecting persons for induction into the Armed Forces under such Act

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Selective Service Amendments Act of 1969".*

Sec. 5(a)(2) of the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 (50 App. U.S.C. 455(a)(2)) is hereby repealed.

Sec. 3. Section 6(h)(1) of the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 (50 App. U.S.C. 456(h)(1)) is amended—

(a) by amending the fifth sentence to read as follows: "Any person who is in a deferred status under the provisions of subsection (1) of this section after attaining the nineteenth anniversary of the date of his birth, or who requests and is granted a student deferment under this paragraph, or who is otherwise deferred or exempted under the provisions of this section, shall, upon the termination of such deferred or exempt status, and if qualified, be liable for induction as a registrant within the prime age group irrespective of his actual age, unless he is otherwise deferred or exempted."

(b) by adding the following new sentence: "When such prime age group is designated by the President, any person who has attained the nineteenth anniversary of the date of his birth but not yet the twenty-sixth such anniversary who is not in a deferred or exempt status shall, if qualified, be liable for induction as a registrant within the prime age group."

Sec. 4. Section 16(a) of the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 (50 App. U.S.C. 466(a)) is amended by adding the following proviso at the end thereof: *Provided, That,* in establishing categories of selection and in the selection of registrants within categories, the words 'age group or groups' may be construed to mean persons born between designated dates."

## A COORDINATED NATIONAL AIRPORT AND AIRWAYS PLAN

### HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, this morning, I testified before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in support of legislation designed to build an airport and airway system consistent with jet age needs and objectives.

In view of the broad interest in the subject, by my colleagues, and aviation interests throughout the Nation, I take this means of bringing the content of my testimony to their attention.

I sincerely hope my recommendations will be helpful to all Members as they consider and evaluate the various aviation proposals before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

My testimony follows:

#### SUPPORT OF H.R. 9325

Mr. Chairman, I sincerely appreciate this unique opportunity to testify today in support of H.R. 9325 to promote a coordinated national plan of integrated airport and airway systems in this country.

As I appear before this committee today, I'm tempted to say in a loud and clear voice, "Hallelujah, this is the judgment day." I've been waiting for a long time—looking forward to the day when a meaningful program, for building the finest coordinated, integrated and balanced airports and airways system, would be considered and advanced by the Congress of the United States.

In order to clarify what I mean by an airport system, I will briefly outline what I see will be required for the current and future interests of our air transportation users.

1. *Metropolitan areas* must move toward the adoption of the integrated airport system concept (HUB commercial or regional airports with satellite reliever and STOL based on air traffic engineering recommendations). This will permit more air access to the community rather than restrict the flights into the over-congested and too limited airports now serving our major cities.

2. *Intra-state* airport systems and programs must be established with special consideration given to helping small communities provide air access and some form of Federal, state or local government tax incentive or relief for private airports serving a public use. (Part of the state or local government matching share might be in the form of relief granted by local political subdivisions for privately owned airports—at least the runway, taxiway and parking ramp areas which are generally not direct revenue producers. Strong language in the committee report might serve to motivate the states to implement this recommendation.)

3. An *inter-state* system of airports.

4. *Inter-continental* or international system of airports capable of handling the SST and Jumbo Jet-type aircraft.

5. An *inter-metropolitan* area STOL transportation system of airports for communities less than 500 miles apart.

6. *Helicopters*.

Two years ago, Mr. Chairman, I was privileged to address the House under special order on the subject of "the growing crisis of the lack of airports." At that time, I stated my conviction that the United States was facing an airport crisis of crippling proportions. In the two short years since I made that statement, the crisis has become even more acute, reaching a peak last July and

August when congestion in the metropolitan area airports, airways and approach control facilities of the nation almost paralyzed the air transportation system. This situation, in my judgment, will continue to deteriorate unless the Federal government, the state and local governments, general aviation, commercial aviation, airline passengers, and air shippers act now to improve the system. The time has passed when we can defer action to await "further study of the problem," in hope of a few "painless," easy solutions.

#### OUTLINE OF A COORDINATED NATIONAL PLAN OF INTEGRATED AIRPORT AND AIRWAYS SYSTEM

Two basic requirements are needed—consideration and recommendation for adoption of a national airport system plan and a recommended method of financing this plan.

With the large costs involved, coordination between all levels of government in our Federal system must be maximized and unnecessary duplication of facilities must be minimized.

With land values escalating and available airport sites diminishing, particularly in the metropolitan urban areas, the problem of guaranteeing aviation access for general and business aviation type aircraft is crucial and a solution must be found immediately.

The problems of air safety and air space planning cannot be resolved or even considered until such time as the airport and heliport sites are specifically located on the ground.

As a member of the Roads Subcommittee of the House, I can tell you the United States of America has an enviable position of leadership in the world for having developed one of the finest road systems known to man—why not start today by committing ourselves to work toward developing the finest and safest airport system in the world.

With the congestion on the ground and in the air increasing, it becomes mandatory that we maximize the coordination between surface and air transportation program recommendations.

For many years, I have advocated locating air strips contiguous to highways. Lands for these strips should be acquired at the same time lands are acquired for highway purposes. All that is required is coordinated planning and financing.

Quite frankly, it might be helpful to have the Roads Subcommittee and the Aeronautics and Transportation Subcommittee meet in joint session for the purpose of considering these possibilities.

In any event, the history of our road construction program, which built the Interstate Highway System and has assisted the States in building their primary and secondary road systems, may well serve as a basic guide for programming an airport system. With the rapidly changing world situation, I have concluded in my own thinking that the U.S. airport needs of the immediate future will require:

1. A system of international airports to accommodate airborne traffic flying the world's airways, strategically planned and located in select sites throughout the United States.

2. An interstate system of airports for handling interstate flights.

3. Each State and county should develop an intrastate system of airports for aircraft flying principally between cities within a given State.

4. Every metropolitan area should develop an integrated system of airports designed to guarantee expeditious access and maximum safety for general aviation, commercial, military, and rotary-wing type aircraft.

5. Every incorporated community in America should have at least one airport with plans for expansion and adding airports.

Obviously, many of the airports will serve dual and possibly triple purposes until increased traffic would necessarily restrict them

to a single purpose. As examples, in the Washington-Baltimore area, Dulles and Friendship now serve international, interstate, and intrastate air traffic requirements. Washington National serves principally the interstate and intrastate categories.

WITHIN THE NATION'S AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL-AIRPORT SYSTEM

1. Create and develop general aviation airports that will be suitably located in metropolitan areas that will provide all required airport facilities, including communications and terminal VOR's, to attract a maximum volume of general aviation activities away from air carrier airports so as to achieve maximum airspace and airport capacity at air carrier airports. Such reliever airports to adequately serve general aviation should have:

Convenient ground transportation to business areas;

Convenient transportation to air carrier airports;

Adequate navigational and landing aids, et cetera; and

Adequate passenger and crew facilities and services.

2. Encourage the Federal Aviation Administration to establish Federal regulations which will require that all aircraft operating within the terminal air space at major airports meet uniform standards for instrumentation, communications and navigational equipment. This objective is necessary to achieve optimum compatibility with the air traffic system and efficient utilization of all airport facilities created as an integral part of the national air transportation network.

3. Encourage the full development and utilization of reliever general aviation airports and other facilities that have been developed and financed for specific use by different segments of aviation.

4. Encourage and assist the Federal Aviation Administration to develop adequate air traffic control procedures for V/STOL aircraft which will permit maximum advantage to be taken of the unique characteristics of both V/STOL and fixed wing aircraft with a minimum of mutual interference. The greatly expanded use of V/STOL can provide substantial relief and alternatives for the growing problem of public ground access to airports.

5. Encourage the Federal Aviation Administration and the Civil Aeronautics Board to study the increasing volume of air taxi type operations at air carrier hub airports. Such operations should complement air carrier services at major airports without disrupting airline service.

6. Require Federal Aviation Administration to change criteria for placing towers, instrument landing systems, high intensity approach lights, radar surveillance and approach facilities, on smaller community airports outside of high density areas. With adequate facilities, many communities would then be in a position to attract industry for industrial airpark developments, provide relief from high density traffic areas, establish a constructive trend toward decentralization of business and government, and provide more stable and balanced economic development in the entire country.

7. Encourage wider use of helicopter service. Link the major air carrier airports together through the establishment of helicopter shuttles.

8. Escalate plans for developing surface transportation—improved access roads, monorails, and so forth—systems to serve airports of area. Coordinated planning and development of air and surface transportation systems is mandatory.

In order to better illustrate and define the suggested integrated airport system, I herewith submit a plan that could be applicable to the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area and other similar expanding urban areas of the country. Properly implemented, this plan

could serve as a model for adoption elsewhere. This being the Nation's Capital, we should provide the example for others to follow:

METROPOLITAN AREA INTEGRATED AIRPORT PLAN

Introduction

One of the most critical problems facing the growth of the National Air Transportation System is the need for responsible overall planning in metropolitan areas.

It therefore appears appropriate for the Administration to develop and adopt an air transportation integrated airport philosophy to meet the growing demands of the public.

The following plan, already proven successful in application, will serve as the basis for developing this philosophy.

Objectives and purposes of an airport integrated system

To serve the public interests; promote air navigation and transportation; develop and increase air commerce; promote efficient, safe and economical handling of air commerce; to develop facilities for all segments of aviation. (General Aviation and Scheduled Air Carriers Aviation).

Systems requirements

The development of an efficient, economical and safe integrated system of airports conveniently located in and around a metropolitan area should consider as essential three basic assumptions:

1. Create an independent metropolitan airport authority by state legislation, with a clearly defined geographic area of jurisdiction. This authority, to be effective, must have the responsibility for all activities related to the planning, development, operation, maintenance and use of the system of airports. Further, the responsibilities must extend beyond the airport boundaries as critical considerations lie in the preservation and protection of the entire airspace over-lying the area of jurisdiction. Control over the construction of tall towers and other high structures is essential to maintain air traffic capacity of the system along with the need for adequate clear zones and buffer areas. The authority must anticipate the requirements for and make acquisition of sufficient land for these purposes.

It is noted that this basic plan does not oppose private ownership of airports within the jurisdictional boundaries, but rather, encourages such within the integrated airport systems concept.

2. Accessibility to the airport by the public will directly determine the extent to which people will use air transportation. Each airport within the integrated-airport system, therefore, should be no further than 30 minutes from the potential user by a convenient highway system. Future airport development should consider high speed freeways and access roads already in use along with those under construction or planned.

3. Aircraft with widely differing performance characteristics and runway load bearing requirements should be segregated. The capital and operating expenses required to provide facilities, at each airport, for such a broad range of aircraft is economically unrealistic. However, small aircraft should not be regulated off of publicly owned and operated large airports. By providing readily accessible facilities for General Aviation aircraft at satellite airports, General Aviation can be enticed to the smaller airports and in doing so, preserve the large air carrier type airports for expansion in air carrier operations. The value of scheduled air transportation has long been recognized, however, the impact of the General Aviation segment of the air transportation industry upon the metropolitan economy has never been fully understood or appreciated by the general public. As General Aviation continues to grow and serve as an ever increasing tool to

business and industry, it is evident that the economy of metropolitan areas will be materially influenced by the availability of General Aviation airports.

Requirements for action

Legislative action at the state level may be required to provide a fully independent airport authority. Such legislation may also provide the foundation at the local level for public support and reduced costly rivalry by uniting the total metropolitan area within a single plan for economic growth. Legislation may further provide the framework for needed financial cooperation at the three government levels: federal, state and local.

The development stage of this legislation is the appropriate place for a thorough examination of both the current and forecast air transportation needs for the metropolitan area. Further, it is the proper time for numerous public hearings that will assure the maximum display of public participation in the development of the integrated airports system.

The result of the legislation should be a plan of operation that will identify the airports and their role within the metropolitan integrated airport system.

System operation

The layout of the individual airports should, in consideration of long range needs, provide for expansion. An example of this can be found in planning runway configuration. Two parallel runways into the prevailing wind will provide the greatest return for each dollar spent in both the area of greater utilization as well as land purchased for clear zones and buffer areas. Additionally, provisions should be made for at least one cross-wind runway.

Clear zones and buffer areas must be considered at the very beginning in order to permit the installations of all weather landing systems and to minimize noise problems.

The geographical location of each airport must be such that it does not conflict with the flow of traffic of any other field in the metropolitan area.

The problem associated with flights over populated areas and the intrusion of aeronautical hazards into the lower airspace cannot be solved by simply moving airports further from population centers. In order to attain the maximum capacity for air traffic, aircraft must be separated vertically as well as horizontally. With the authority to preserve and protect the lower altitudes, this integrated airport will provide space for a greater flow of VFR traffic without interfering with aircraft operating under positive control.

The ultimate goal of this plan should be the condition in which the only limiting factor for the volume of traffic is the capacity of each airport ground handling and servicing abilities.

Economics

The economic considerations in the development of the plan described herein are borne out by the experience gained in one metropolitan area over a period of 25 years. It has been recorded in metropolitan areas that over 90 percent of their aviation budget has been spent at airports maintained for aircraft having performance characteristics and runway loads bearing requirements equal or similar to those in scheduled air transportation. These aircraft comprise 25 percent or less of the total aircraft movements. On the other hand, 75 percent of the total aircraft movements (General Aviation) are accommodated at those facilities where less than 10 percent of the total capital investment has been made.

Conclusions

1. A good statute clearly setting forth the objectives and providing complete independence for the airport authority from the cross currents of local pressures, with general

agreement and support of an integrated airport system.

2. The safety of operation in the accommodation of air transportation in a metropolitan area dictates the separation of the smaller General Aviation aircraft from the larger, high performance aircraft used by the scheduled air carriers. This separation should not be attained by regulations.

3. In order to attain the maximum capacity for air traffic in a metropolitan area, aircraft must be separated horizontally as well as vertically. With the protecting of the lower altitude for VFR flights this greater volume of air traffic can be safely accommodated without positive IFR control. The integrated system of airports strategically located throughout the metropolitan area further permits the safe dispersing of air traffic throughout the entire metropolitan area.

4. The ultimate success of a metropolitan integrated airport complex is dependent upon the preservation of the lower altitudes for air traffic.

5. The problems inherent with the flight of aircraft over populated areas are not solved by moving of airports farther from the population center. Accessibility to the airport and thus the airplane directly determines the extent to which people will use air transportation. Convenience and accessibility can most logically be accomplished by a system of airports readily available to the populated area they serve, and accessible over high speed highways.

6. The separation of General Aviation aircraft from the scheduled air carrier aircraft is dictated by economics of airport development and operation. The relative capital and operating costs of providing facilities at scheduled air carrier airports is so great as to make it economically unfeasible to provide for the large volume of General Aviation aircraft on scheduled air carrier airports.

7. The value of scheduled air transportation is readily recognized, however, the impact of General Aviation upon the economy of a metropolitan area has never been fully understood or appreciated by the majority of the citizenry. As General Aviation aircraft will continue to serve as an increasingly vital tool to business and industry, it follows that the economy of metropolitan areas will be materially influenced by the availability of General Aviation airports to accommodate such air traffic.

#### Recommendation

The National Air Transportation philosophy should recognize that a need exists to develop an integrated system of airports in the metropolitan areas which will serve all users and yet preserve the capacity of the major airports for those who have the need for its specialized services.

#### AN EFFECTIVE AIRPORT TRUST FUND

In order to bring about the most orderly planning and implementation of the above system recommendation, I believe it is absolutely essential to adopt the Airport Trust Fund approach to revenue accumulation and apportionment.

Once adopted, the highway access routes to and from the airports can be better coordinated with the established Highway Trust Fund.

In order for this Nation to achieve the maximum in economic growth, the best environment for future living and totally balanced transportation system, a balanced method of finance must be advanced. Therefore, I strongly urge the adoption of three basic Trust Funds:

1. Highways and Roads.
2. Airport and Airways.
3. Urban Area Transportation Systems.

With the forthcoming Jumbo Jets, the surface transportation systems and routings are inadequate to handle the contemplated passenger traffic. Therefore, highways, bus and mass transit systems must be planned

and constructed to accommodate the passenger flow generated by this type of aircraft.

#### COORDINATION AND BALANCE

I earnestly feel the public and private transportation engineering organizations of this Nation can come forth with the finest coordinated and balanced transportation system in the world if we, in the Congress, provide them with the financial vehicle (3 Trust Funds) to carry it forward.

The committee will have a monumental task in sifting through the thousands of words of testimony and then coming forth with the best possible recommendation for authorization.

#### THE ROLE OF THE CONGRESS

Fundamentally, there are two basic questions to be resolved by the Congress through legislation:

1. Authorizing the best possible airport and airways system to be built and developed over the next 10 years.

2. Adopting the most equitable finance formula required to fund this system.

Inasmuch as this committee has the prime system authorizing responsibility, I think it behooves all of us to concentrate on what we believe will ultimately provide us with the safest and most efficiently operated airport and airway system available or attainable—consistent with prudent fiscal recommendations.

Mr. Pickle of Texas and I have joined in introducing H.R. 9325, which is designed "to provide additional Federal assistance in connection with the construction, alteration, and improvement of air carrier and general purpose airports, air terminals, and related facilities to promote a coordinated national plan of integrated airport and airway systems."

#### WHAT DOES H.R. 9325 PROVIDE?

The key provisions of the Bill are:

1. The recognition that we can and must expand and improve the airport and airways system and that the civil user should not be required to provide all of the funds required, but rather, that revenues obtained from the general taxpayer will continue to be utilized.

2. A provision requiring the Secretary of Transportation to conduct a study to determine the allocation of costs of the airport and airways system, and identify these costs that are applicable to the Federal Government and the value to be assigned to the general public benefit.

3. Probably the most important aspect of the Bill is the establishment of the Airport and Airways Trust Fund, which will provide the necessary funds for the development of the system.

4. Granting the Secretary of Transportation authority to guarantee any lender against any loss on loans to finance any public airport development project.

5. The designation, by each state, of a state agency or official to be responsible for public airport systems planning.

6. Provisions for grants to the states to carry out a comprehensive state aviation program that, in the opinion of the Secretary of Transportation, is not inconsistent with the development of a national air-transportation system.

7. Authorizing the Secretary to make grants from the Trust Fund to sponsors of public airports, and—

8. Amendment of the Federal Airport Act to provide the necessary funds for the development of airports whose primary purposes are to serve general aviation and relieve congestion at those airports that have high density traffic serving other segments of aviation.

While neither Mr. Pickle nor I believe the Bill to be perfect in all respects, we do believe it provides an excellent, workable base upon which the committee can build. The Administration's proposal is similar in na-

ture and objectives and I therefore believe the committee would be well advised to include the best of both of these legislative proposals in your final committee bill.

#### THE MOUNTING VOLUME OF AIR TRAFFIC

Transportation is the "backbone" of our Nation's economy and air transportation is becoming the "backbone of our common carrier transportation system". In 1950, only one out of ten intercity common carrier passengers traveled by air. As of today, however, seven out of ten use air travel. The preference for air travel has been clearly established and the volume of airline traffic is now greater than that of rail and bus combined.

Air transportation problems and forecasts of ascending volumes of traffic do not diminish with the passage of time. Up to now, we have accommodated growth problems within the existing system, but we have reached the point where the airways and airports of the nation are no longer sufficiently elastic to absorb the ever-increasing demands now being made on them.

Quite clearly, the problems of civil aviation today are the result of its successes—not its failures. The essential problem, as I view it, is not in sustaining success, but in achieving coordination and balance. The extent of aviation service to the public has far exceeded, in my judgment, the public support of aviation and the results are now beginning to show, not only in congested airports but in the profit and loss columns of the operators and in the economy of communities where air transportation is a vital factor.

It is noteworthy, I feel, that the airlines reported a 42% decline in earnings last year despite a 16% increase in passengers and cargo. Operating revenues were up 13% but operating costs increased more than 18%. A large share of the operating cost increase, nearly one hundred million dollars, is attributable to inadequacies in our air traffic control and airport systems.

#### THE PROBLEM OF CONGESTION

The effect of delays and congestion on the economy of New York City is already evident. Last year's congestion and problems in that city, due to inadequacies in the airport/airways system, are estimated to have cost more than two hundred million dollars and unless these problems are corrected, the loss is estimated to reach approximately six hundred million by 1980. Air transportation is one of the basic attributes which have made New York City a mecca for commerce, which distinction may quickly disappear if its airport requirements are not met. And there are other signs. The stock market is considering leaving Wall Street. The garment industry is seeking to locate elsewhere. Other manufacturing industries are seeking locations away from New York. At one point, 18 major companies accounting for over 11,500 on-the-spot jobs had actually decided to move or were actively looking for new locations away from the city of New York—primarily because of over-crowded and congested conditions.

This same situation exists in many other cities, large and small, in the Nation. Clearly evident is the importance of the role of the airport and air transportation in the economy of the community each serves.

Just since the time of my statement two years ago, referred to above, the number of airline passengers has increased by almost 40 percent. This growth is good to be sure. Indeed, it is essential to our burgeoning economy and our security requirements, but if this growth is to continue, the resultant problems and challenges must be met. The urgency is great and the time for action is now.

#### FUTURE GROWTH FACTORS

While the past growth in aviation has been fantastic, the future is expected to be even

more spectacular. During the next ten years, passenger traffic on schedule airlines is expected to triple—general and business aviation will quadruple. Most of us are familiar with the crowding at our airports and with the delays in the air that are occurring now; imagine, if you will, handling three times as many aircraft on the ground and in the air.

At present, the number of intercity passengers using air transportation is about equally divided between the airlines, and business and private airplanes. The airlines are receiving approximately one new jet aircraft per day and the 115,000 general aviation airplanes of today are expected to increase to over 200,000 in the next ten years. More than twenty thousand corporations own and operate more than forty thousand business airplanes today and this is expected to increase by two and one-half times in the next ten years. Aircraft are also increasing in number of passengers carried along with the number of aircraft being delivered. All of this means more planes, more people, more problems—but I am convinced we can, and must rise to the challenge.

If we are to meet this challenge, there must be a tremendous increase in our developmental effort for the airways/airport system. At the present time, airport construction is seriously lagging. This is due largely to the inadequate incentives provided by financial assistance through the federal aid airport program in the recent past. Considering the lead time of 7 to 10 years required to plan and build a new air carrier airport, it is obvious that we are already several years behind schedule and the situation is certainly going to get worse before it gets better. The development of the airways and air traffic control system is also lagging dangerously. Although a plan was developed by the FAA for the automation of the air traffic control system in 1961, it is a fact that the first operational unit is still under construction and not yet commissioned at Jacksonville, Florida. Only one terminal area traffic control facility has been constructed and this primarily for test purposes. Therefore, I believe we must provide legislation that will accelerate the development of our airport/airways system as well as plan now for the system requirements of the post-1980 period.

#### DECENTRALIZATION AND REVITALIZATION THROUGH AVIATION

Another growth problem facing this nation, and *not unrelated* to the growth problems of transportation, is urbanization. At present, more than 70 percent of our total population resides on only 1 percent of the land area. If this rate of urban migration continues, by 1980, it is estimated that 80 percent will reside on 1 percent of the land and by the year 2000, 90 percent. The problem generated by this combined migratory and growth trend are of such magnitude that they have raised the very serious question of whether or not they are capable of solution. Even if they are capable of technical solutions, it is questionable whether the financial requirements can be met.

Mounting problems in every aspect of urban life crowd the pages of our newspapers daily and highlight the growing paradox of space age accomplishments and urbanization paralysis. While our major metropolitan centers of this country have grown too overcrowded, grossly over centralized and totally unmanageable, the rural economies and the rural communities in this country are in desperate need of revitalization and diversification. And where has this over-crowding been felt most? Right in the heart of the central city—the very focal point of social dissatisfaction and unrest in America today. For, it is here that the majority of the untrained, unskilled, and unemployed people from the rural areas end up. And these are the same people who seldom, if ever, make it to the suburbs. Lacking the funds to return

to the place they left, it is these people who find themselves trapped and who are, in the final analysis, paying the price of life in the big city. Drawn there in search of a better life, countless thousands of migrating Americans too often find only disappointment and the sad realization that they would be better off where they came from. Too often, their only recourse is to swell the ranks of the unemployed and the legions on welfare. The thought of once-productive citizens transformed into wards of the State—is indicative of this migratory trend which has brought with it social and economic decay.

You may well ask, at this point, what is the relationship between the urban and rural crisis and airport/airways legislation?

The availability of an airport is absolutely essential today if any community expects to attract industry. This does not necessarily mean an air carrier airport, but rather a facility which is adequate for the kind of airplanes operated at the present time by more than 20,000 U.S. business concerns.

Transportation technology today has completely eliminated the necessity for locating plants near waterways, close to raw materials or processing plants, or near large concentrations of distribution points for goods. Implementation of the foregoing concept is the purpose of section 204(d) of the bill which my colleague, Mr. Pickle, and I have introduced, and which calls for the Secretary of Transportation, in administration of this program, to give priority consideration for an airport development project which improves air access to the area or is essential to the economic and social development of such an area.

We can bring about "rural revitalization" by redirecting the emphasis of Federal programs so as to provide incentives for industry to establish manufacturing facilities in smaller communities and thereby create job opportunities at the point where urban migration originated. There is, I believe, sufficient expansion of industry presently forecast to create a reverse migration if the new plants contemplated are located in smaller rural communities and not the major metropolitan areas.

Studies by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce have shown that the establishment of a plant requiring 100 employees results in over 150 additional jobs in the same area or a total of 250 new jobs. Brookings Institute made studies many years ago which show that a dollar of new money brought into a community is respent 20 times in the economic cycle of that community. The resultant payrolls of new plants in small communities enlarges the local tax base to provide the revenues for construction of other public facilities such as streets, schools, recreational facilities, etc.

It now seems clear that, if we are to continue to move ahead, we must reverse and redirect the imbalance in our population distribution and to do so requires a balanced, coordinated and integrated transportation system that will promote and enhance economic growth in small communities.

In addition, we must have programs supported by user charges which provide for urban transportation systems, intra-state air and highway systems, interstate and intercontinental air systems.

The legislation Mr. Pickle and I have proposed provides a program which will bring about the development of intercontinental, interstate and intra-state systems of airports on an equitable basis. It also provides for the development of airways systems and, in the near future, for the entire cost of operating the airways system. This bill also provides for planning grants to assist in developing plans so essential to the timely, balanced and integrated comprehensive air transportation systems.

Not only is this legislation designed to

meet the needs of large cities but also to assist in the revitalization of our smaller communities and ease the pressures resulting from the "urbanization avalanche" going on now.

Our bill also provides for a share of the revenues derived from the user charges to be returned to the 50 states for administration of aviation programs, air transportation system planning and airport development within the state based on local priorities aside from Federal interests. The objective, of course, is greater involvement of the states in air transportation system planning and development as is the case of our Federal highway program.

This legislation further establishes a trust fund for airport/airways development and the manner in which this fund shall be utilized. We have not included user charges or taxation provisions which are matters within the purview of the Ways and Means Committee. In this regard I respect the sagacity of this committee to determine the most appropriate and equitable system of taxation to meet the requirements of this legislation.

#### BALANCE IS THE KEY

Therefore, as I see it, we should be concentrating heavily on a comprehensive legislative "package" that will, in the final analysis, give us the best system of airports possible using a distribution formula that recognizes not just our present population distribution—but where our population can and most likely will be located in the future.

In my judgment, this is one of the most fundamental and paramount considerations that must be incorporated into planning of a comprehensive airport and airways system.

All things considered, Mr. Chairman, I believe the keyword in putting such a "package" together is "balance". Because, from this legislation, there must emerge:

1. A balanced finance formula.
2. A balanced airport/airways system.
3. A balanced national transportation system.
4. A more balanced population pattern.

#### BASIC AIRPORT AND AIRWAYS FUNDING CONSIDERATIONS

Philosophically, there is no doubt that considerable monies must be obtained for the continuation and expansion of the airways and airports to accommodate the rapidly expanding transportation needs of the country. It is no longer possible, in my judgment, to place this burden solely on the general taxpayer. User funds should be directed toward the development of a comprehensive airport system, while general funds should be utilized for airways and air systems development.

It has already been established by presidential directive that the user will pay for special services rendered by the Federal Government, and there just is no question that the general public does benefit appreciably from aviation. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume that a portion of the costs for expanding and continuing the airport/airway system should be borne from general funds. What portion this should be is highly debatable and, as I have previously stated, a matter for the House Ways and Means Committee to decide.

Keeping in mind the contemplated new era of Federal, state and local cooperation, I feel that the greatest portion of revenues collected for airport planning, development and actual building of airports should be directed to state agencies for application and project completion, and that the major role of the Federal Government should be the development of guidelines that would be used by the states themselves for airport development.

I feel quite strongly about the fact that, somewhere in the Bill, emphasis must be placed on the preservation of the privately

owned airport that is open for public use. During the past few years we have witnessed many existing private airports fall under the pressure of local taxes or increased land values causing the ownership to sell for other than aviation purposes. A method of relief to these owners could come about through tax advantages or by direct purchase by local or state governments to assure the airport continues to operate as an airport.

While it is true that H.R. 9325 differs both with the Administration Bill and with other similar bills which have been presented for consideration, especially in regards to air carrier fuel charges, I am perfectly willing to leave this problem to the House Committee on Ways and Means. Quite frankly, I am more interested in seeing that these revenues are expended in a way that these concepts and ideas which I have outlined herein, can be generally supported and eventually implemented.

#### RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT A MUST

Whenever large sums of money are to be expended over a long period of time, we certainly need sufficient, on-going research and development to enable the industry to provide the latest "state of the art" equipment and systems that will be absolutely essential in providing an effective and forward-looking airport and airways system with the latest and best equipment and facilities available or attainable. This seems to me to be a must!

I also believe that a greater share of these funds should be channelled into planning functions. Here again, this should also be a state and local function, with Federal coordination so that each state's master plan fits into and dovetails the national systems program.

And lastly, in this regard, I feel that greater allocation considerations be given to the states, because such a program as I envision and have advanced here today, would entail much larger and more competent state organizations and, certainly, additional funds would be required to support it and using a distribution formula based on geographical area and population criteria that I have outlined elsewhere in these remarks.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I submit that we, in the Congress, must attack the airport crisis in a manner that will meet the challenges facing us and avoid all constraints that might well inhibit the safety of the skies and the full economic growth potential of this Nation.

Again, I want to thank the Chairman and the members of this Committee for this opportunity to outline my views, suggestions, and recommendations on a matter of utmost urgency.

#### CAN'T WE EVER LEARN?

### HON. JOHN YOUNG

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, the Ways and Means Committee last Friday issued a press release announcing tentative decisions on tax reform made by the committee since July 11, 1969. Included among those decisions were several which would adversely affect the petroleum industry.

Perhaps the most significant was the reduction of the percentage depletion rate on oil and gas wells from 27½ to 20 percent. Other items in the package were the decision to treat carved out production payments—including A-B-C trans-

actions—as loans and to deny percentage depletion on foreign oil and gas wells. In addition, certain changes were made in the application of the foreign tax credit which have the effect of reducing the benefit of such credit. In fact, the change made with respect to companies on the overall limitation was specifically directed toward the oil and gas industry.

The net effect of the committee's recommended tax changes in the natural resources area would be to greatly increase the tax burden of the petroleum industry at a time when the industry's need for exploration and development is the greatest.

In 1968 the United States consumed 50 percent more oil than the domestic petroleum added to its proved reserves and this represented the ninth consecutive year in which reserve additions of crude oil and other petroleum liquids were below the level of consumption. Under ideal conditions new reserves added each year should exceed consumption. This is not absolutely essential since to some measure the Nation's domestic reserves can be augmented by oil imported from foreign sources. However, in view of the conditions prevailing throughout the globe, it is imperative that this Nation not become too dependent on foreign oil and remain largely self-sufficient in this regard. Between now and 1980 the domestic petroleum industry must find and develop 87 billion barrels of oil—70 for consumption and 17 for inventory, to assure its self-sufficiency.

This can be done only by the expenditure of huge sums of capital currently estimated at \$116 billion. This sum is more than twice as much as the industry has been spending in recent years. Historically, the industry has obtained its capital as follows: 45 percent from net earnings, 45 percent from capital recovery, and 10 percent from capital markets. The committee's action in recommending tax law changes which would appreciably reduce the industry's net earnings and capital recovery, would force the industry into the capital market with no assurance that the funds would be available. Absent the funds for exploration and development, the domestic petroleum producing industry would slowly wither on the vine and the United States would ultimately become largely dependent on imported oil. No rational person would want this situation to develop.

There is, however, one practical alternate source of capital—an increase in net income which could only be accomplished by an increase in gross revenue, which in turn would necessitate higher prices for petroleum products. Thus, in the final analysis, a cut in the depletion allowance would result in what would be equivalent to a tax increase on consumers, just one more item contributing to the inflationary spiral.

The Chase Manhattan Bank in its monthly review of the petroleum situation released July 31, 1969, analyzes the situation the industry is in today with respect to demand, supply, and capital requirements, and points out unequivocally that any reduction in the depletion allowance must be replaced by some other source of capital if it is to survive.

I would like at this time to insert in the RECORD the commentary contained in the Chase Manhattan Review dated July 31, 1969, and suggest that the Members consider carefully the results of a reduction of the depletion allowance and the other key incentives for the oil and gas industry.

The commentary follows:

#### CAN'T WE EVER LEARN?

Last year the United States consumed 50 percent more oil than the domestic petroleum industry added to its proved reserves. It was not the first time the industry has been unable to keep pace with the nation's growing needs. Indeed, 1968 was the ninth consecutive year in which reserve additions of crude oil and other petroleum liquids were below the level of consumption. For the entire nine year period, the new reserves represented little more than four-fifths of the accumulated consumption in that time.

Ideally, the new reserves added each year should not only match consumption but should exceed it. Proved reserves are in the nature of underground inventories. And, as such, they should expand in reasonable proportion to the growth of market demand—if the market's needs are to be fully and continuously accommodated. If that goal had been achieved over the past nine years, the petroleum industry would have had to find 1.4 barrels of proved reserves for each barrel consumed instead of the 0.8 barrel it actually did find. In other words, it should have discovered a total of 51 billion barrels in the nine year period—two-thirds more than the 30 billion actually found.

It is not absolutely essential, of course, that the ideal situation be achieved. To a degree, the nation's domestic reserves can be supplemented with oil imported from foreign sources. And the United States now relies upon imports for nearly one-fourth of its needs. But the nation would incur a very grave risk indeed if it became heavily dependent upon outside sources. As the record forcefully demonstrates, reason does not prevail throughout the world. And there is no real assurance that oil from abroad would be continuously and fully available. The economy of the United States is much too dependent upon oil to tolerate an inadequate supply. And in the unfortunate event of another international war the nation's position would be perilous if it had to rely upon a high proportion of imported oil. Prudence and common sense, therefore, require that the nation remain largely self-sufficient.

But it won't be for much longer, if the trend of the past nine years continues. By 1980, the annual consumption of oil products in the United States is expected to reach 19 million barrels per day—nearly 50 percent more than the 13 million a day consumed in 1968. Between 1968 and 1980, the accumulated consumption is expected to amount to 70 billion barrels. If the United States is to maintain a minimum safe inventory of proved reserves and not become more dependent upon outside sources than it now is—obviously a desirable goal from the standpoint of the nation's well-being—the domestic petroleum industry will need to find and develop a total of 87 billion barrels between 1968 and 1980. Against that requirement, the recently reported discoveries in Alaska do not loom large—and we should be mindful that they are not yet in the category of proved reserves.

To find such a tremendous amount of oil will require an equally enormous capital expenditure. For the past two decades there has been a consistent relationship between the amount of money spent in the search for oil and natural gas and the proved reserves actually found. And if this relationship con-

tinues, the petroleum industry will need to spend approximately 116 billion dollars to find and develop 87 billion barrels of oil. That would necessitate an average outlay of 9.7 billion dollars a year between 1968 and 1980—well over twice as much as the industry has been spending in recent years.

In the past nine years—the period during which domestic reserve additions were less than consumption—the petroleum industry spent as much as 40 billion dollars trying to find and develop new sources of petroleum in the United States. By any standard, that was a huge financial effort. But, obviously, it was not enough. To have found sufficient oil to match market needs and maintain a satisfactory level of proved reserves, a capital expenditure of about 68 billion dollars would have been required—70 percent more than was actually spent. Why—if there was a need—did the industry fail to spend that much? The answer hinges primarily upon two factors: (1) the incentive to spend, and (2) the ability to spend.

Insofar as the search for oil and natural gas in the United States is concerned, the petroleum industry may be divided into two basic groups—the major companies and the independent producers. For a decade following World War II, both groups spent nearly identical amounts of money. And they both increased their levels of spending year after year, keeping pace with market expansion. By the mid-fifties, each group was spending approximately 2.5 billion dollars a year—more than three times as much as they were a decade earlier. But since that time, their pattern of capital spending has changed to a marked degree. The major companies have sharply curtailed the rate of growth of their expenditures. And the independent producers have progressively reduced their annual outlay. Currently, the independents are spending only half as much as they were a dozen years ago.

These developments provide clear evidence of damage to the incentive to spend. Obviously, if the rate of return on their investment had been more attractive relative to other investment opportunities, both groups would have spent more than they did in their search for additional domestic reserves of oil and natural gas.

But neither group had financial resources sufficient to support a fully adequate expenditure. The petroleum industry is far more capital intensive than most others. And the scope of its activities creates vast capital needs. It is also an industry whose operations involve a substantially higher degree of risk than most others. And, for that reason, it has had to generate most of the funds for its capital and other financial requirements from its operations. Historically, about 45 percent of the money needed has been derived from net earnings, another 45 percent from the various provisions for capital recovery, and only 10 percent from the capital markets. But in recent years the industry has been unable to generate enough from operations and has had to depend much more heavily upon borrowed capital. Currently, its use of borrowed funds is well over twice as large as the historical proportion. Had the industry chosen to spend all the money required to maintain a satisfactory level of proved reserves over the past nine years, it would have been forced to borrow far more than it actually did. And we must be mindful, of course, that all borrowed capital eventually must be repaid with funds generated from operations.

Clearly, the availability of sufficient petroleum from domestic sources is vital to the welfare of the United States. And, obviously, if the petroleum industry is to satisfy the nation's needs and also maintain a safe margin of proved reserves, it must have enough capital to perform that function, it must also have sufficient incentive to use its capital for that purpose. In the face of these demonstrated needs, it would be logical

to think that nothing would be done to prevent the industry from accomplishing its essential purpose. Yet, incredibly as it may seem, obstacles are indeed placed in the industry's way.

For the last decade and a half, the industry's generation of capital funds has been severely limited by governmental regulation of the price of natural gas. Carried on without sufficient regard for economic and competitive circumstances, the regulation forces the industry to accept a price for gas that is much too low. Since various oil products must compete in the market with the low priced gas, their prices are indirectly affected also by the regulation. These circumstances limited both the generation of capital and the incentive to invest the funds that actually were available. Significantly, the cut-back of capital spending devoted to the search for new oil and gas reserves was initiated shortly after the imposition of the price control. And, as a result, the nation is now faced with a shortage of both oil and natural gas. How, we might wonder, could anyone ever have believed the United States could continue to have adequate supplies of oil and natural gas, if the petroleum industry were denied sufficient funds to search for them? Yet, that denial has persisted, despite repeated warnings of the consequences.

And there exists today a situation that demonstrates further how poorly the lesson has been learned. As noted earlier, the petroleum industry derives a large proportion of its capital funds from the various provisions for capital recovery. Together, amortization, depreciation, depletion, etc. rank equally with net income as a source of capital. Until recently, they satisfied as much as 45 percent of the industry's over-all financial needs. All private industries, of course, have provisions for capital recovery—otherwise, they could not survive. But they all do not have the same provisions. A factory or a piece of machinery can be depreciated over its lifetime. And when they are worn out, they can be replaced. But when oil and natural gas have been extracted from the earth and consumed they cannot be replaced—new sources must be found instead. And that can be an exceedingly costly and risky undertaking. The record abundantly demonstrates that vast sums of money can be spent without any oil or gas being found. Since, in fact, the production of oil and gas represents a depletion of its capital assets, the petroleum industry is permitted by law to recover a portion of this capital by means of a depletion allowance.

This procedure, however, has been subjected to increasing attack. And there are mounting demands that the allowance be reduced or eliminated. Some of the attacks obviously are politically motivated. But there is also criticism that reflects a lack of understanding of the true role played by the depletion allowance. There is a failure to recognize that the allowance applies only to revenue generated by the industry's successful producing properties—and the benefits derived do not offset the large sums spent on the search for petroleum that proves unsuccessful. Most often, the allowance is labeled by its critics as a tax loophole—conveying the impression that the money thus obtained is utilized for some nonessential purpose. But regardless of what its detractors choose to call it, the depletion allowance is today what it always has been—a source of capital. And if that source is reduced or eliminated, it must be replaced by another.

There is only one practical alternate source. If, for example, the industry's generation of capital funds were reduced 10 percent by a change in the depletion allowance, net income would have to be increased by an equal amount. And that could be achieved only with an increase in gross revenue—which, of course, would necessitate higher prices for petroleum products. Thus, a cut in the

depletion allowance would, for all practical purposes, be the equivalent of a tax increase to consumers. And, as such, it would carry all the inflationary force of any other rise in their costs.

Clearly, a reduction in the depletion allowance—or any of the other provisions for capital recovery—would not be in the best interests of the United States. The nation's dependence upon petroleum, its tremendous needs, the vast amount of capital required by the petroleum industry to satisfy those needs, the industry's decreasing ability to generate enough capital and mounting dependence upon borrowed funds, and the developing shortage of both oil and natural gas are all reasons why such an action would be ill advised. Rather than inhibit the generation of capital and thereby discourage its use, the interests of the United States would be far better served by positive actions designed to achieve the opposite results. If we are to have enough oil and gas, we have to pay enough for them—there simply is no other way. Why is that elementary fact so difficult to understand?

#### THE DEATH OF ALL CHILDREN

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From Esquire magazine, Sept. 1969]

#### THE DEATH OF ALL CHILDREN—A FOOTNOTE TO THE ABM CONTROVERSY

(By Ernest J. Sternglass, professor of radiation physics, University of Pittsburgh)

Hopefully it is not too late to ask the members of Congress in their deliberations over the Administration's proposed Anti-Ballistic Missile system to pause and reflect on the nature and urgency of the matter they have been debating.

In view of new evidence on the totally unexpected action of strontium 90 on human reproductive cells, it is apparent that Congress has not yet considered what may well be the most important factor affecting its decision to proceed or not to proceed with the first steps toward the A.B.M. shield. The fact is this: a full-scale A.B.M. system, protecting the United States against a Soviet first strike, could, if successful, cause the extinction of the human race. (Indeed, the scientific evidence indicates that *already* at least one of three children, who died before their first birthdays in America in the 1960's, may have died as a result of peacetime nuclear testing). Such is the conclusion indicated by new information on the unanticipated genetic effect of strontium 90, presented at a recent meeting of the Health Physics Society.

Proponents of the A.B.M. system argue that it is necessary to prevent the destruction of our deterrent forces by a massive first strike of Russian SS-9 missiles carrying thousands of multiple warheads. But the threat of such an attack loses all credibility against our present knowledge that the vast amounts of long-lived strontium 90 necessarily released into the world's rapidly circulating atmosphere could lead to the death of all Russian infants born in the next generation, thus ending the existence of the Russian people, together with that of all mankind.

The unanticipated genetic effect of strontium 90 has become evident from an increase in the incidence of infant mortality along the path of the fallout cloud from the

first atomic test in New Mexico in 1945, and from a detailed correlation of state-by-state infant mortality excesses with yearly changes of strontium 90 levels in milk.

The computer-calculated change in infant mortality was found to have reached close to one excess death in the U.S. per one hundred live births due to the release of only 200 megatons of fission energy by 1963. This indicates that a release of some 20,000 megatons anywhere in the world, needed in offensive warheads for an effective first strike or in the thousands of defensive A.B.M. warheads required to insure interception, could lead to essentially no infants surviving to produce another generation.

The specter of fallout has of course loomed before in the national anxiety over nuclear explosions. But the result of these studies comprises the first documented, long-range analysis showing direct quantitative correlations between strontium 90 and infant mortality. (They will be published later this year as recorded in the Proceedings of the 9th annual Hanford Biology Symposium.)

The physicists who exploded the first atomic bomb at Alamogordo had expected radioactive materials of some kind and assumed that they would fall to earth downwind as far as fifty miles away. Accordingly, the test site had been located in an isolated area of southern New Mexico. When a subsequent series of tests was held in 1951, six years later, the scientists moved to the isolation of desert country in southern Nevada. By now, however, and without the knowledge of the scientific community, the death rate of children in states downwind from Alamogordo had begun to rise.

The infant mortality rates in the United States have been carefully collected for many years. From 1935 to 1950, the rate shows a steady decline and mathematical models allow the rate to be extended to show, on the basis of previous experience, what the infant mortality rate for any time, consistent with the immediate past, ought to be. But while elsewhere (with one exception) in the U.S. the rate continued downward as expected; in the states downwind of Alamogordo it did not. There was no change in the infant death rate in 1946—the year after the Trinity test—but by 1950 the rate in Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and both Carolinas deviated upward from the normal expectancy. Increases in excess infant mortality of some twenty to thirty percent occurred some thousand to fifteen hundred miles away in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Alabama, where mortality rates were between 3 and 4.5 per hundred live births. Thus, as observed by our research group at the University of Pittsburgh, the Alamogordo blast appears to have been followed by the death, before reaching age one, of roughly one of one hundred children in the area downwind. No detectable increase in mortality rates relative to the computer-determined 1940-45 base line was observed in Florida, south of the path of the fallout cloud, or in the states to the north; and the mortality excesses became progressively less severe with increasing distance eastward, in a manner now understood to be characteristic of the activity along the path of a fallout cloud. Though the increase in infant mortality in these states was taking place during the years 1946-1950, it does not appear to have been associated with the Alamogordo fallout before our studies beginning in October, 1968.

Meanwhile, the study of radiation effects proceeded elsewhere in the scientific community. It became known in the early 1950's that radioactive strontium was concentrated in cow's milk and transmitted, along with the calcium to which it bears a close chemical resemblance, to the rapidly growing bones of the fetus and the subsequent infant. Still, the radiation from strontium 90, though long-lasting, was relatively small in

degree; and it was a matter of record, from studies of young women employed in painting luminous watch dials, that very large amounts of radiation over long periods of time are required to produce bone cancer or leukemia in adults. Besides, the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and their offspring were carefully observed, without discovering any very serious long-term effects of radiation. A small number of leukemia cases turned up, and a very few detectable abnormalities among their children, but compared with the rest of Japan the difference was slight. The measurable effects of fallout, at the time, did not seem so ominous after all. So atmospheric nuclear weapons testing proceeded in Nevada until 1958, and continued in the Pacific until 1963 under the pressure of the Cold War. No obvious or clear-cut incidents of serious harm to anyone were reported outside the immediate area of testing.

Still, there was concern among radiobiologists and geneticists over the possibility of radiation effects on the highly sensitive human reproductive cells, rapidly dividing and developing to form the human embryo during the first few weeks and months of gestation. Evidence from animal experiments, as well as from the observation of pregnant women who had been exposed to X-rays, suggested that ova and embryo might be from twenty to fifty times more sensitive to the development of leukemia than the mature adult. If so, the potential danger of even relatively small amounts of radiation would be greatly magnified.

The evidence implicating X-rays in childhood leukemia had been discovered—quite unexpectedly—by Dr. Alice Stewart of Oxford University, in the course of a survey designed to uncover the causes of a disturbing rise in childhood leukemia among the children of England and Wales during the 1950's. Her study, published in 1958, showed that mothers who had received a series of three to five abdominal X-rays in the course of a pelvic examination gave birth to children who were almost twice as likely to die of leukemia or other cancers than the children of mothers who had not been X-rayed during pregnancy. Subsequent studies showed that only about six percent of all childhood leukemia is related to X-rays, but Dr. Stewart's research remains significant, since before then no serious effects of ordinary diagnostic X-rays had ever been demonstrated, especially since a single abdominal X-ray gives the fetus a radiation dose not much larger than what each of us receives in the course of some three to five years from cosmic rays and the natural radiation in the rocks around us.

It is true that leukemia and childhood cancer are relatively rare. Only about one child in one thousand is affected. Nevertheless, since leukemia and other cancers are the second greatest cause of death among children between five and fourteen (ranking only after accidents), Dr. Stewart's findings were regarded by physicians as startling, and efforts were made to check them. Perhaps the most definitive such examination was done by Dr. Brian MacMahon at the Harvard School of Public Health. Using a study population of close to 800,000 children born in large New England hospitals, where careful records of X-rays given to mothers were available, Dr. MacMahon confirmed Dr. Stewart's findings. He observed only about a forty percent increase in the cancer rate among exposed children, probably because of improvements in X-ray technology that allowed lower exposures.

Meanwhile, in April, 1953, a sizable amount of nuclear debris from a test explosion in Nevada was wafted downwind some two thousand miles to the east and, thirty-six hours later, deposited by a rainstorm over the Albany-Troy region of New York State. Dr. Ralph Lapp, one of the first scientists

to be concerned with the hazards of peacetime nuclear testing, drew attention to this heavy local fallout. Subsequent examination of the childhood leukemia pattern in this area showed that leukemia doubled over a period of some eight years after the fallout—and then decreased. Here, for the first time, was a documented case in which fallout appeared to produce serious effects at a rate consistent with what was expected from the study of children exposed to prenatal X-rays.

Further examination of the leukemia rate for the entire State of New York revealed a pattern of increase and decrease following the sequence of individual test series in Nevada between 1951 and 1958, with a characteristic time delay of about five years after each detonation. The rise and fall were particularly marked in the age group from five to fourteen years, the group most indicative of radiation-produced cases.

More disturbing yet, the evidence showed that the arrival of the fallout was followed by a halt in the normal decline of the rate of stillbirths. For the previous fifteen years, from 1935 to 1950, the stillbirth rate had shown a regular and progressive decline. Within a year after testing began in Nevada in 1951, the rate began to deviate upward. Between 1957 and 1963 the fetal death rate, instead of steadily declining as it had from 1935 to 1950, leveled off completely at around twenty-three per thousand live births. In 1964, the fetal death rate rose to 27.3 per thousand, the first such leap since records had been kept in New York State. In 1965 and 1966, it declined slightly, as a gradual reduction of fallout in milk and food took place throughout the U.S. In contrast to New York, the fetal death rate for California—upwind of the Nevada test site, and therefore not affected by it—continued its steady decline, in line with the 1935-1950 figures from which New York so sharply deviated. Still, the rate of decrease began to slow down in California also—two to three years after the onset of hydrogen bomb tests in the Pacific in 1954.

The implications of the fetal death rate could be considered much more serious for society than the incidence of childhood leukemia, since there are more than ten times as many fetal deaths reported than cases of childhood leukemia. Moreover, for every fetal death reported, an estimated five or six are not reported, yielding perhaps fifty or sixty fetal deaths for each case of leukemia. Consequently, the search for further evidence continued. More fallout seemed to be followed by more fetal deaths, but no precise statistical correlation had been drawn. Since the amount of strontium 90 deposited in the soil is easily measurable, the cumulative deposit of strontium 90 was plotted against the excess of fetal mortality over what the mortality should have been if the 1935-1950 decline had persisted. The finding: except for the first few years of testing in Nevada, when short-lived isotopes rather than the long-lived strontium 90 were dominant, the fetal death rate in New York followed the same general pattern as the accumulated strontium 90 on the ground. Both curves showed the same decrease in rate of climb coincident with the temporary halt of nuclear testing from 1958 to 1961; both show a sharp rise beginning with the large Soviet test series in 1961. Two years after the test band in 1963, both the fetal death rate and the radioactivity in the environment once again began to decline.

A similar pattern in the fetal death rate exists in the data for the United States as a whole for all periods of gestation up to nine months. Again, there is a steady rate of decline until the Fifties, a leveling off in 1951-52, and an actual rise in 1954, corresponding to the onset of the Pacific H-bomb tests; and a second rise in 1961, corresponding to the Soviet test series.

But perhaps the most disturbing evidence of all indicates that the rates of infant mortality in the United States and all over the world seem to have been affected by nuclear testing. The infant mortality rate is far more accurately known than the fetal death rate, since the death of a baby unlike a miscarriage or an abortion, rarely escapes notice in the advanced countries. Like fetal deaths, infant mortality had shown a steady decline in the period 1935-1950; but beginning with the Nevada tests in 1951 and continuing until just after the test ban in 1963, the rate suddenly leveled off in the U.S. This leveling off did not occur in such other advanced countries as Sweden, Holland and Norway, or in Southern Hemisphere countries like Chile and New Zealand, until late in the 1950's when hydrogen-bomb tests in the South Pacific and Siberia began to produce worldwide fallout on a much increased scale. Only after the major portion of the most violently radioactive material from the 1961-62 tests had disappeared did U.S. infant mortality begin to decline again in 1965, at a rate close to the previous 1935-1950 decline.

The most serious effects appeared in the age group from one month to one year. Here, the rate of deaths per one thousand live births should have been, according to the 1935-1950 figures, about 2.7. Instead, the observed number was 5.4 per thousand, twice what is should have been and twice what it actually was in Sweden, where the rate had steadily declined to 2.6 per thousand.

Not only was there a drastic change in overall infant mortality for the U.S. as compared to the rest of the advanced countries, but there were also disturbing patterns of change within the U.S. For example, the infant mortality rate started to level off sharply in the Eastern, Midwestern and Southern states within two years after the onset of atomic testing in Nevada in 1951, while it continued steadily downward in the dry Western states. But this is exactly the known pattern of accumulated radioactive strontium on the ground and in the diet, since strontium is most heavily deposited in states of high annual rainfall, especially in those to the east of Nevada.

Serious difficulties remained, however, in establishing a casual connection between nuclear testing and these drastic changes in fetal and infant mortality. First, why should fallout, and in particular strontium 90, cause fetal and infant deaths, since it goes to the bones and should therefore cause, if anything, bone cancer and leukemia many years later? Second, there was no observed direct quantitative relation between different levels of strontium 90 in the body and mortality rates at any given age. Therefore it was difficult to see how the very small amounts of radiation resulting from peacetime testing could possibly have been the cause of the deviations in fetal death and infant mortality, especially since no significant genetic effects had been observed among the children of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki survivors.

The causation puzzle now appears to be solved. In 1963, K. G. Luning and his co-workers in Sweden published their discovery that small amounts of strontium 90, injected into male mice three or four weeks prior to mating, produced an increase in fetal deaths among their offspring. No such increase appeared when corresponding amounts of chemically different radioactive cesium 137 were injected. More recently, evidence presented at an International Symposium on the Radiation Biology of the Fetal and Juvenile Mammal in May, 1969, has demonstrated severe chromosome damage, fetal deaths and congenital malformations in the offspring of female mice injected with strontium 90 before and during pregnancy. Similar effects have now been observed for very small quantities of tritium, produced by both A-bombs and relatively "clean" hydrogen weapons.

In the light of these studies, the absence of genetic effects in Hiroshima is understandable. In Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the bombs were detonated, not on the ground as in New Mexico, but at such an altitude that there was essentially no fallout in these two cities proper. The radiation exposure there resulted almost exclusively from the brief flash of X-rays, neutrons and gamma rays at the instant of explosion. Consequently no special effects related to strontium 90 appeared in the children of the survivors; but the rate of cancer deaths among children up to fourteen years in Japan as a whole jumped by more than two hundred percent between 1949 and 1951, four to six years after the bombs, when the fallout had had a chance to produce its effects throughout the southern parts of Japan—exactly the same delay observed after the fallout from Nevada arrived in Albany-Troy.

But the problem remains of demonstrating a direct connection between the levels of strontium 90 in human fetuses and infants, on the one hand, and observed changes in fetal and infant mortality, on the other. Such a direct connection seems to emerge from the so-called "baby-tooth survey" carried out by the Dental School of Washington University in St. Louis, supported by the U.S. Public Health Service and directed by Dr. H. L. Rosenthal. Using the data from tooth-buds and mandibular bones of aborted fetuses and from baby teeth collected in the greater St. Louis area. Dr. Rosenthal's study showed that the concentration of strontium 90 in the teeth followed closely the measured concentrations in bone and milk. Measurement of the strontium 90 content of milk anywhere in the world permits a calculation of the concentration in the bones of infants and fetuses developing in the same areas. We have found a direct correlation between the yearly changes of strontium 90 contained in the teeth (and therefore the bones and bodies) of the developing human fetus and infant, and the changing excess mortality rates, going up and down together as atmospheric tests began in 1951 and stopped in 1963.

From our examinations of the infant mortality changes from a computer-fitted base line for 1935-1960, for various states in which the Public Health Service reported monthly values of the strontium 90 concentrations in the milk since 1957, there emerges a close correspondence between average strontium 90 levels and infant mortality changes. Whenever the strontium 90 rose to high values over a four-year period, as in Georgia, a large, parallel, year-by-year rise in infant mortality also took place; while in areas where there was little strontium 90 in the milk, as in Texas, the infant mortality remained at a correspondingly lower value. Other states such as Illinois, Missouri, New York and Utah also show a rise, peaking in the same 1962-1965 period levels between these extreme cases, each according to their local annual rainfall and strontium 90 concentrations in their milk.

For the United States as a whole, we found a detailed correspondence between and among: 1) the excess infant mortality relative to the 1935-1950 base line; 2) the total strontium 90 produced by nuclear weapons; 3) the strontium 90 thus produced actually reaching the ground; and 4) the four-year average concentration in U.S. milk from 1955, the year after the first large H-bomb tests; and 1965, the year when strontium 90 concentrations began to level off and started to decline once again.

At the peak of this excess infant mortality, it was the District of Columbia that showed the largest excess in 1966—157 percent, compared with an average excess of 72 percent for the U.S. as a whole. The low value was found in dry New Mexico, minus-eleven percent—actually below the 1935-50 base line.

To appreciate the magnitude of these effects, it must be recognized that in the 1950's about 2.5 to 3.4 infants out of every hundred born in the U.S. died before reaching the age of one year. The average excess infant mortality, therefore, represents close to one child out of one hundred born, or one of every 2.5 to 3.0 that died during the first year of life.

Since about four million children were born annually during this period, close to 40,000 infants one year old or less died in excess of normal expectations each year, totaling some 375,000 by the mid-Sixties and continuing at about 34,000 per year since the end of atmosphere testing by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

It is no wonder, then, that infant mortality has been a major concern of our Public Health Service since this trend was first pointed out in 1960 by Dr. M. Moriyama of the National Center for Health Statistics.

However, as Dr. Moriyama and his associates observed during an international conference devoted entirely to infant mortality in 1965, none of the factors so far considered—medical care, population movement, new drugs, pesticides, smoking or epidemics of infectious disease—suffices to explain the observed facts.

That the recent excesses in infant mortality cannot readily be explained by medical and socioeconomic factors normally influencing mortality trends may be seen from an examination of the death rate in the various states following the Alamogordo blast. At the University of Pittsburgh, we have plotted the percentile infant mortality excesses or decrements relative to the computer-determined 1940-1945 base line for the first and fifth years after Alamogordo. In 1946, one year after the detonation, there was no sign of any excess infant mortality in the states downwind from New Mexico; but by 1950 a clear change toward excess infant mortality appeared in the states over which the fallout cloud had drifted, and only in those states. Furthermore, the excess mortalities are seen to be distributed in such a pattern as might be expected from nuclear fallout originating in New Mexico, since the effects are lowest in the dry area of western Texas, and largest in the areas of heavy rainfall first encountered by the cloud, namely Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama, declining steadily thereafter toward the Atlantic.

The only other area that showed a clear excess infant mortality greater than ten percent as compared to the 1940-1945 period was found to be North Dakota. There, subsequent measurements of strontium 90 in the milk, carried out by the Health and Safety Laboratories of the Atomic Energy Commission, revealed the highest concentrations anywhere in the U.S. for which data is available prior to 1960. The causes of this "hot spot" are not yet fully understood, but they are quite possibly connected with known accidental discharges of radioactivity from the Hanford plant of the Manhattan Project, directly to the west, in the early years of its operation, where the fissionable plutonium for most of the nuclear weapons was produced beginning in 1944.

Since no excess infant mortality was registered along the path of the New Mexico fallout cloud in the first year after the detonation, the deaths occurring downwind in later years could not have resulted from the direct effects of external radiation from fallout on the developing embryo. It becomes clear then that we are dealing with an effect on the reproductive cells of the parents, or a so-called genetic effect.

The evidence available so far therefore suggests that radioactive strontium appears to be a far more serious hazard to man through its long-lasting action on the genetic material of the mammalian cell than had been expected on the basis of its well-known

tendency to be incorporated into bone. The resultant effect appears to express itself most noticeably in excess fetal and infant mortality rates among the children born two or more years after a nuclear explosion. Presumably such factors as lowered birth weight and reduced ability to resist ordinary infectious diseases are involved, accounting for the greatest increase in infant mortality in the U.S. as compared to the advanced countries of Western Europe since the early 1950's. Children who receive adequate medical care are more likely to survive these factors than those who do not.

What does all this imply for the debate over the deployment of new nuclear weapons systems, such as the A.B.M. or the M.I.R.V. (Multiple Independent Reentry Vehicle), carrying many nuclear warheads in a single missile? To appreciate the probable genetic effects of a large nuclear war, we can consider first the effect of small tactical-size nuclear weapons comparable to the 20 kiloton bombs detonated over Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and in the desert of Alamogordo. Since increases of some 20 to 30 percent excess infant mortality were observed from a thousand to fifteen hundred miles downwind in Arkansas, Alabama and Louisiana, where mortality rates were between 3 and 4.5 per hundred live births, the detonation of a single, small tactical-size nuclear weapon on the ground in the western United States appears to have led to one out of one hundred children born subsequently dying before reaching the age of one year. Therefore, the detonation of a hundred or so weapons of this size, amounting to the equivalent of only two megatons in the form of small warheads, would be expected to lead to essentially no children surviving to maturity in the states directly downwind.

But according to former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford, speaking at a N.A.T.O. conference in the Fall of 1968, we have close to eight thousand tactical nuclear weapons in the kiloton range ready to be released in order to protect our European allies from a ground attack by Russia. Thus, we would probably achieve the protection of Western Europe at the cost of the biological end of these nations through the death of the children of the survivors, together with the likely death of most children subsequently born to the people of Eastern Europe, Russia and China as the radioactive clouds drift eastward around the world until they reach the United States. Thus, the use of the biologically most destructive small nuclear weapons in tactical warfare now appears to be at least as self-defeating as the release of large quantities of nerve gas, killing indiscriminately soldiers and civilians, friends and enemies alike.

But, what about the use of large megaton warheads in a massive first strike or in A.B.M. missiles detonated high up in the stratosphere or outer space, as proposed for the Spartan missile that is to provide us with an impenetrable shield against a first strike attack by large Chinese or Russian missiles in the 1970's?

According to the figures on infant mortality in the United States, based on the testing of large hydrogen weapons in the Pacific and Siberia, both in the atmosphere and outer space, close to one out of every one hundred children born are likely to have died as the result of only about 200 megatons worth of fission products into the world's atmosphere, under conditions which were especially designed to minimize the possible effects on health.

According to the testimony of Defense Secretary Melvin Laird in the Spring of 1969, the U.S.S.R. will have the capability of launching some 500 SS-9 missiles, each capable of carrying 25 megatons worth of bombs in the form of many multiple warheads, or a total of some 1500 to 2500 warheads. Together with comparable numbers launched

by smaller missiles, the total megatonnage would therefore be of the order of 10 to 20,000 megatons needed in a first strike that attempts to destroy most of our thousands of missiles and bombers at the same time.

Thus, the threat of a first strike by Russia loses all credibility since, in order to have any chance at all of preventing devastating retaliation, it would necessarily have to release so much radioactivity into the circulating atmosphere that it would lead to the death of most Russian infants born in the next generation, ending the existence of the Russian people together with that of all mankind.

Since it takes at least three to five Anti-Ballistic Missiles launched to insure a high probability of interception, the U.S. must be prepared to launch some 5000 to 15,000 A.B.M.'s in order to provide a meaningful "shield" against such a massive attack.

We know that each Spartan missile must contain a warhead of at least 2 megatons to produce a sufficiently intense X-ray pulse to achieve interception, so that the use of this system to protect our own missiles and cities would require the detonation of some 10,000 to 30,000 megatons into the stratosphere, not counting any radioactivity from the Russian warheads, from our own counterstrike, or from the Russian A.B.M. missiles.

Thus, even if anti-missile systems were to work with ideal perfection on both sides, preserving every home, every school, and every factory from destruction, the release of long-lived radioactive materials would produce more than a hundred times as much radioactive poison as during all the years of peacetime testing. Based on the excess mortality observed during the period of testing, this would most likely be sufficient to insure that few if any children anywhere in the world would grow to maturity to give rise to another generation.

Nor will it make much difference how high above the atmosphere the bombs are detonated, because the strontium 90 takes twenty-eight years to decay to half of its initial activity, long enough for most of it to return to earth well before another generation of children is born. And even if a perfectly "clean" weapon containing no fissionable material at all could ever be developed, the carbon 14 it produces would get into the genetic material controlling the life processes of all living cells, and it takes 5770 years before half of its radioactivity is exhausted.

The implications of the warning mankind has received from the death of its infants during nuclear testing are therefore clear:

Nuclear war, with or without anti-missiles or elaborate shelters, is no longer "thinkable" due to a fatal flaw in the assumptions of all our military war-gamers, namely the unexpectedly severe biological sensitivity of the mammalian reproductive system to genetically important by-products of nuclear weapons, which must now be regarded not merely as vastly destructive explosive and incendiary devices, but as the most powerful biological poison weapons that man has yet invented.

#### REPORT OF DELOS SEVEN

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month, at the very time three extraordinary Americans were opening up a new page in history by planting mankind's first foot on the moon, 39 citizens of the world were meeting for a week in

Greece to devise ways in which mankind could achieve his full potential and true destiny here on earth.

Under the gifted and talented leadership of Constantine Doxiadis, world-famous Greek architect and planner, representatives from Greece, England, Scotland, Brazil, India, France, Nigeria, and the United States conferred on the subject, "Society and Human Settlements: Policies for the Future."

I was privileged to join a very distinguished American contingent consisting of former Undersecretary of HUD Robert C. Wood, former Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, John W. Riley, vice president, The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, Edwin O. George, president, The Detroit Edison Co., W. McNeil Lowry, The Ford Foundation, Whitney Young, president, National Urban League, Martin Meyerson, president, State University of New York at Buffalo, James A. Perkins, president, Cornell University, Harland Hatcher, formerly president, University of Michigan, Prof. R. Buckminster Fuller, Southern Illinois University, Margaret Mead, curator of ethnology, American Museum of Natural History, among others.

The deliberations produced a thoughtful consensus on achieving better urban systems, facilities, and services and above all a change in worldwide priorities to make these enlightened recommendations a living reality for urban people around the globe.

The thoughtful and creative final report of the conference, and a complete list of the conferees, follow:

#### REPORT OF DELOS SYMPOSIUM—1969

1. As long ago as the Declaration of Delos One in 1963, we stated:

"The City throughout history, has been the cradle of human civilization and progress. Today, live every other human institution, it is profoundly involved in the deepest and widest revolution ever to overtake mankind."

2. This revolution has broadened and intensified in the intervening years. The unfulfilled expectations of men and women have now become legitimate demands and therefore heighten the need to show visible progress towards their resolution.

#### THE AGE OF URGENCY: THE NEED TO REORDER PRIORITIES

3. This year, 1969, we realize more acutely that there is a mounting and accelerating impatience in the world, a demand that the major evils be remedied. Now, or, where this is patently impossible, that at least credible steps be taken towards their solution. We recognize particularly that steps must be taken at once, to ensure world order and prevent nuclear disaster, to meet the population explosion, to halt the contamination of air, water and land, to provide food, housing and basic amenities for the billions—5 by the lowest and most optimistic count—who will have to be fed and housed by the turn of the century.

4. Today there is a world-wide crisis of urbanization. Most of the inhabitants of the planet are either housed in rural hovels or in the super slums of great cities. The migration to urban areas is a global phenomenon. Population increases as well as many other forces produce new problems faster than they are being solved. There is not only a world-wide crisis of urbanization but there is also a basic distortion of values in society's failure to allocate resources for the improvement of human settlements, the upgrading of the total environment, the strengthening,

protection and education of the young and the equalization and enlargement of individual opportunity.

5. This distortion of basic investment priorities is being dramatized by a value revolution that is the primary preoccupation—and the contribution—of the younger generation, who assert that many of our present institutions, political processes and goals are obsolete and that we have the resources and the technical knowledge to achieve the goals we profess.

6. The recent successes of the space programs of the U.S. and the USSR highlight how high our capacity is for organization, assembly of resources, and application of technical skill, and how woefully low our use of this capacity for the general betterment of mankind. We believe that concentrated programs of this sort should be organized to solve the pressing problems of world order, urbanization, population policies, housing, food supply, education and health, equality and justice, and the interpretations in action of science and technology in the political process.

7. But at the same time it is necessary to deal realistically with those events that are already so much *en train* that there is no short term possibility of altering them—the enormous urban aggregations that already exist; the great numbers of hungry children who are already born, and the contamination of air and bodies of water that has already occurred. How to maintain a balance between establishing immediate provision for those who must be housed and serviced within our present possibilities, whether in Detroit or in Calcutta, and keeping our imagination free and beginning to unfreeze our institutions—this is one problem. How to short cut the kind of integration previously envisaged by a multi-disciplinary approach—which is too slow to meet the sense of urgency of the times—is a second problem which can be met by treating our subject matter as a whole, rather than attempting to fit together its fragmented practitioners. If we treat the living ecology of the planet as a seamless web, within which breaks are disastrous we can plan for the way in which man's construction of an artificial environment can complement and improve the natural environment of this planet. Exploration within the solar system and the use of near space for satellites and rapid transportation exemplify the disciplined use of technology which has been absent in man's exploitive use of the earth itself. Within this living cosmological system, we should no longer seek to maximize isolated effects, one at the expense of another, but seek to optimize and integrate the factors involved for the benefit of man.

8. To this end, we recommend international crash development programs to discover and produce inexpensive and effective new methods of regulating population increase. These should assure that free choice is available to all individuals and all groups to assure the maintenance of personal dignity and ethnic diversity throughout the world. There are other equally important areas of research and development such as biological nitrogen fixation and nonconventional sources of food, e.g. since cell protein or protein from oil derivatives and other sources.

9. With this framework we can look for many variations in the forms of human settlements. We can seek flexible adaptations to the needs of different kinds of national temperaments, to different age groups, to different cultures, to the stages of technical and agricultural development of different countries, and for possibilities of multiple choice and equal access to opportunities. But we recognize also that the human environment is now the entire earth. While the infant presents us with the greatest hope of constructive intervention and protection of human life, small children will be reared

from birth in an increasingly planetary environment where news comes in by satellite. In fact, television and radio are crucial for the future in the formation of attitudes on this inter-communicating planet. The importance of mass media increases the importance of providing the best care for infants, and the protection of the infant's total environment as well as that of the immediate family, because it is there that our chance for effective intervention is greatest. At the same time we cannot wait for infants still unborn to change the nature of our society; we must work with members of the four generations now alive, all of whom are capable of change.

#### THE CRUCIAL ROLE OF POLITICS

10. Our present political processes no longer involve individuals and communities in terms of their deepest interests in the affairs of their small communities, regions, cities, nations and emerging world-wide organizations. We need new attitudes and new political institutions which will permit individuals and small groups to be responsible, initiating, and appropriately involved at every level of the decision making process, while at the same time making full use of the resources of modern science and technology. To mobilize the will of men to act on behalf of the well being of mankind each individual must be able to act with human dignity and to feel assured that his action is effective. Unlike our predecessors, who have labored through the centuries through scarcity and lack of means, we have the resources, we have the technology, we have the means, but we must establish the conditions, that will release the human will to act.

11. In this seventh annual Delos symposium we have dealt particularly with the potentialities of cooperation between economic enterprises and government and the academic professions. We have also dealt with ways of meeting immediate urgent situations within our commitment to long term objectives for the benefit of mankind.

12. The policies connected with human settlements and all of those whose decisions, and practices are related to them, recognize that it is our purpose to construct settlements in which all men, women and children, regardless of previous class, colour or origin in different parts of the earth may reach their fullest individual potential within a setting designed for the common good. In the past, planning has been too separate from politics, political decisionmaking, economic enterprises, social science and technology.

#### THE NEW OPPORTUNITIES

13. Only by cooperation among all of these, by a focus on the whole system under consideration, from rural villages to urbanized regions and the entire planet, can this separation be overcome. As the point at which the individual can be most efficiently and inexpensively prepared to exercise his fullest potential is by prenatal and immediately post-natal attention, society should give priority to care at this point in the life cycle; but we must recognize that change is possible at every age and that to change any system we must provide for changes of attitude in individuals of all ages. The educational system is a crucial component of the changes that we desire since only through changes in attitudes and development of the will to act can changes be inaugurated and maintained. The fate of the university, as a central institution—an agora—or a dispersal of its functions throughout the entire community, is in question. The solution lies in the relationship between education, increase in knowledge, storage and retrieval of knowledge, and academic life and other sectors of the community.

14. The present state of modern science and technology frees us from some of the determining factors in the past, like location

of heavy fuels, need for concentrations of labor, or lack of transportation or communication. It is possible to realize many forms of community and the arts associated with them; to cherish the small face to face community in which the child is not isolated in a nuclear family; to build communities for different levels of rewards and satisfactions and to establish types of high level inter-communication.

15. But we must recognize the realities with which we must at present deal: the huge population that must be fed while we prepare better sources of food and better methods of contraception; the dangers of nuclear warfare and the expenditures on armaments while we prepare better forms of worldwide order and conflict-solving methods; the many decisions which will be made tomorrow, by builders, planners and governments which will further bind the future into which we are moving. But we must also recognize that, as part of a planetary-living ecological system, we are now able to make a complementary man-made system within which the aims of a better life for man become increasingly within our reach.

16. Many of our institutions are now inappropriate and unresponsive. Political processes are breaking down, causing different groups to use extra-institutional forms to express protest. While such collapses have occurred before in history, the increase in scale—to worldwide dimensions—makes a crucial difference. We must decide whether to maintain, defend, transform or destroy (or permit to drop out) some or many of the major institutions which now characterize society. In doing so, we must not confine ourselves only to the institutions of modern industrialized society but we must also take into account the culturally diversified institutions of family and community in different parts of the world. These, too, may have to be changed in such a way that each people can individualize their lives while taking advantage of science and technology to improve them. At the present time, types of political communities, characteristic of earliest isolated village level of human settlements, coexist with cosmopolitan worldwide networks of common interests or special skills.

17. In order to accomplish the objectives which we are able to state, and for which the technology is now available, it is important to involve planning with the academic, economic enterprise and political processes at every level. Furthermore a sense of responsibility and participation must be established at the grassroots, in the smallest community; and linked with each higher level in such a way that individuals are involved, all the way to the top, in decision-making regarding the allocation of resources, and choices between different courses of action. There must be provision for feedback and initiative between all levels of the system, and it must be recognized that the wider the area covered by a decision the more important it is to involve technical experts in interpreting the action to be taken.

18. We should recognize that genuine conflict will arise between individuals and small groups and the wider good, and we must face it frankly in the political arena. The events which have occurred, like the reduction of some portions of mankind to slavery, exploitation, poverty, and second class citizenship, have not been inevitable, but have been the result of definite decisions taken in the past. To improve the condition of the disadvantaged around the world requires definite acts of will, and political implementation of that will. If we describe man as feeling, thinking and acting, we may say that all these three aspects must be involved within the political decision-making process; but that, at present, feeling is the most involved and acting the least. We need to con-

sider that inertia and indifference are produced by lack of communication and sympathy, and that involvement is produced by good communication and adequate political systems.

#### STEPS TO BE TAKEN

19. Our present forms of political democracy are inadequate by themselves for our present needs, capacities and goals. The method of representation—one trip to the ballot box, "you vote and we will do the rest"—must be altered or supplemented by forms of continuing political participation of an entirely different sort. We need representation not only of geographical units but also of group interest units of many sorts. We must also recognize that with the development of urbanization, the poor, the miserable, the disadvantaged, increase in proportion, and tend to be more geographically segregated. Reconciliations must be found between the values of dispersal within the wider population, on the one hand, and of political power on the other. We must also recognize that we need bi-modal planning for the protection of special milieux necessary for ethnic choice and for special forms of artistic creativity.

20. It is necessary to have a framework of theory within which to place the problems of micro groups. The more complex the system, given today's technology, the greater the possibilities for individual choice, for quality of human contacts and for multiple group relationships.

#### RESISTANCES TO CHANGE

21. All over the world, under conditions of rapid change, new social classes are formed that are highly vulnerable to the fear of loss of their recently attained status. Such groups—the new middle class in the U.S., new urban elites in some emerging countries, etc.—tend to be deeply hostile to any change which involves loss of their recently attained privileges. They are also responsive to externally set styles, such as inclusiveness or to the use of resources for social goals. The involvement of the most privileged and best educated in the cause of the poor and disadvantaged is complementary.

22. Political responsibility and involvement can result from an effective communication of the costs of lack of responsibility and lack of commitment of resources. For example in the U.S. investments in an infant's health may save tenfold their cost of adolescent rehabilitation or one hundred fold in treatment of a criminal later. Around the world unless larger resources are allocated to housing, education, health, welfare, waste disposal, police and parks and to domestic amenities for working mothers, the situation of our urban settlements will continue to deteriorate. On the other hand, any city or region or nation which takes all of these matters into account should have a very rapid pay-off. The managers of economic enterprises can also come to realize the loss of intellectual resources attendant on out-migration, or the loss in trained manpower, or in consumption capacity, attendant on inadequate local education.

23. We need to estimate the consequences of different kinds of action within a given direction of change. Great waves of change contain wavelets of different scale. Institutions must be goal-seeking not goal-setting. We must recognize that in many areas of the world, one man's gain is no longer another man's loss, but that in other areas there is genuine scarcity, and the need for very harsh priority-setting is essential. And it is necessary, in all cases, to balance minimum desirable goals against minimum possibilities of attainment. Where change is introduced simultaneously, as in the introduction of new agricultural techniques into the old village system in India, or where all generations are permitted to participate in change, many difficulties can be overcome

and the new technologies can be combined with the older cultural identity. As peoples enter the wider technological system at different periods in technical development, it is not necessary for each country to traverse the same steps, but higher technology can be used to take short cuts to development.

At the same time, it is necessary to keep in mind that long term trends of development have tended to be very similar, in spite of the fact that curves of development are not smooth, and vary greatly over short time periods.

24. The desperate urgency of our present situation requires immediate action, and we have enough knowledge to move forward far more effectively here and now. This intensive short term action will buy mankind the time in which to pursue the basic research needed to cope with the long-run problems of man in society.

25. Unsolved problems of great urgency included: How the political process is to be actually involved? What is the role of political parties? Can large political parties accomplish the desired ends, or would smaller parties do better? How is scientific know-how to be communicated to politicians, legislators or administrators, in time? Who, within the governmental apparatus, is to receive communications from science that are external to the governmental process? Where is the center of decision-making to lie, to whom is it to be accountable, and in what forms? Finally the whole question of the way human interactions determine the shape of human institutions and how the process of institutional change can be shaped purposefully.

26. These questions we cannot now answer with confidence. But this we know: if man is to have the life he wants and deserves, and that his resources would permit him to enjoy, he must join together with others at every level determined to shape their joint future.

#### LIST OF DELIANS—DELOS SEVEN

Robert A. Aldrich (USA), Director, Health Resources Study Center, University of Washington; William Benton (USA), Chairman and Publisher, Encyclopedia Britannica; Willard Brown (USA), President, University Circle Research Center, Cleveland, Ohio.

Carlos Chagas (Brazil), Ambassador to UNESCO, Paris; Karl W. Deutsch (USA), Professor of Government, Harvard University; C. A. Doxiadis (Greece), President, Athens Technological Organization.

Spyros Doxiadis (Greece), Chairman, Institute of Child Health, Athens, Director, Aghia Sophia Children's Hospital, Athens; R. Buckminster Fuller (USA), University Professor of Generalized Design Science Exploration, Southern Illinois University; Edwin O. George (USA), President, The Detroit Edison Company.

Jean Gottmann (France), Professor of Geography both at Oxford University, England, and at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, France; Roger Gregoire (France), Conseiller d'Etat; Harland Hatcher (USA), formerly President, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Suzanne Keller (Mrs. Huber) USA, Professor of Sociology, Princeton University, New Jersey; T. Adeoye Lambo (Nigeria), Professor of Psychiatry, Neurology & Neurosurgery, Ibadan University; Lord Llewelyn-Davies (UK), Professor of Architecture, University College, London.

Reginald S. Lourie (USA), Professor of Pediatric Psychiatry, George Washington University; W. McNeil Lowry (USA), Vice-President, Division of Humanities and the Arts, The Ford Foundation; Carl Maston (USA), Architect, Fellow American Institute of Architects, Los Angeles, Calif.

Sir Robert Matthew (UK), Professor of Architecture, Edinburgh University; Margaret Mead (USA), Curator of Ethnology, American Museum of Natural History; Robert Mer-

ton (USA), Chairman, Sociology Department, Columbia University.

Martin Meyerson (USA), President, State University of New York at Buffalo; Robert B. Mitchell (USA), Director, Center for Urban Research & Experiment, University of Pennsylvania; Jérôme Monod (France), Délégué à l'Aménagement du Territoire et à l'Action Régionale, Paris.

Hasan Ozbekhan (USA), Executive (Planning and International Development), Worldwide Information Systems, Inc.; James A. Perkins (USA), President, Cornell University; John Platt (USA), Research Biophysicist and Associate Director, Mental Health Research Institute, University of Michigan.

John W. Riley (USA), Vice President, The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States; E. A. G. Robinson (UK), Professor Emeritus of Economics, Cambridge University, England; W. W. Rostow (USA), Professor of Economic History, the University of Texas at Austin.

Vikram Sarabhai (India), Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission of India, Secretary, Government of India; James H. Scheuer (USA), Member of US House of Representatives for the 21st Congressional District, Bronx, New York; Marietta Tree (USA), Director, United Nations Association.

Constantin A. Trypanis (Greece), Professor of Classics, University of Chicago; Jean-Paul Trystram (France), Professor à la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Lille, and Chargé de Mission à la Délégation à l'Aménagement du Territoire et à l'Action Régionale, Paris.

Stewart L. Udall (USA), Chairman of the Board, The Overview Group; C. H. Waddington (UK), Professor of Animal Genetics, Edinburgh University.

Robert Wood (USA), Head, Dept. of Political Science, M.I.T., Director, Joint Center for Urban Studies of M.I.T. and Harvard, Chairman, Urban Coordinating Group, M.I.T.; Whitney Young (USA), President, National Urban League.

#### STATEMENT ON THE ASTRONAUTS

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, on the eve of the Apollo 11 flight, that well-known American commentator, Eric Sevareid, made, I think, a highly perceptive statement on the three astronauts who took part in this historic mission. Because of its insights, I wanted to bring to the attention of other Members of the House who may not have heard Mr. Sevareid's observations, the statement which he made on the CBS evening news with Mr. Walter Cronkite on July 15, 1969.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY ERIC SEVAREID

The modern sciences of rocketry, radar and computerization came together in remarkable coincidence to make Apollo 11 possible. But the feat is wholly human, all flesh and blood. Every gadget represents a thought and a hand. There's no such thing as a technical success or failure, only human.

It is the three men who fly tomorrow who are mysterious, not their equipment. The three are almost exactly the same age, height and weight. They vary in aspects of temperament, but there, too, they share a common denominator. They are a hybrid species. All three are symbolic of the organization man, the cooperator, but each remains in this corps a loner, inner-directed, as were Lind-

berg and John Glenn, individualists who will function as cogs in a vast human machine.

Lindberg, Glenn, now in all probability Armstrong, these three will stand as the supreme American heroes of the age. All three happen to have been boys in small, mid-western towns. Perhaps there is something in the mystique, the folk image, of the small American town and its formative influences. They have security, they have leisure to prowl and to dream. Innocence existed; sophisticated tensions did not press upon them. Intellectuals of literary bent seem disappointed that their speech does not match the eloquence of their feat. But it is the silent artists, like Armstrong, Aldrin and Collins, the men who see beauty in the machinery and its functions, who do the thing.

Artists they are, because they are perfectionists seeking the outer limits of their strength and their talents. Were they men of words, were their minds occupied with poetic imagery or philosophical abstractions as they fly, they would surely fail.

They are the men of Apollo 11 by the luck of the draw, but Armstrong will put the first foot down upon the moon by somebody's deliberate decision. And it is a logical suspicion that he is the chosen one not only by reason of his undoubted competence and civilian status, but also by reason of his personality and appearance.

If the mission succeeds, this man will become the symbolic American to the world. He fits the stereotype, the folk image of the all-American boy, the kid next door. He has all his hair, he has frank blue eyes, his smile is a slightly shy half-grin. And he has the inner strength to bear his country's pride to the rest of the world, strength he will need, not only for his country but for himself and for his family. His life and theirs will never be the same again.

#### NARCOTICS AND DANGEROUS DRUGS

### HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, for the last several months I have viewed with growing alarm the lack of effective action being taken to stem the flow of narcotics and dangerous drugs being smuggled into the United States from Mexico.

By June, when no signs of improvement were visible on the horizon, I undertook my own factfinding tour of the border at San Ysidro, Calif. What I saw there in a few short hours convinced me of the need for a congressional hearing to obtain additional evidence upon which to base effective legislation.

At my initiation, four California colleagues joined me in conducting such a hearing in San Diego just 3 weeks ago. Not altogether surprisingly, the testimony we obtained confirmed our worst fears.

Drug smuggling is rapidly becoming a major scandal of national proportions. Despite the best efforts of a sadly undermanned Customs staff, narcotics, and dangerous drugs are flowing across the border in increasing quantity like sand through a sieve.

Arrests at the border for attempted smuggling—which border officials readily admit only skins the surface—have increased 14 times since 1960. More than 35 tons of marihuana were seized last year—an increase of over 20 percent just in the past 6 years. Some five million five-grain units of amphetamines and barbiturates were seized in 1968 alone.

Inspectors are forced to cope with a crushing volume of people crossing the border daily. Yet, the number of inspectors and border station operations have remained basically unchanged for the last 5 years. As a result, only 1 percent of the vehicles entering the United States are ever searched, and the decision to conduct a search often must be made on little more than an inspector's intuition.

In the past few weeks, Mr. Speaker, I have introduced two specific bills to strike directly at the core of this illegal drug traffic. One bill would increase by 50 percent the number of border inspectors in California, where most of the smuggling is concentrated. The other bill directs the responsible Federal agencies to investigate the means by which to cut off the flow of dangerous drugs manufactured in this country and smuggled back and forth into Mexico and the United States.

Today, I am introducing a third bill to ultimately arm the border inspector

with more than his intuition as a weapon against the smugglers. This new bill directs the Secretary of the Treasury to embark on the research and development of modern devices and techniques to detect concealed narcotics and dangerous drugs.

I was astounded to learn at our San Diego hearing, Mr. Speaker, that the Bureau of Customs presently conducts not one bit of research and development to improve its surveillance techniques and equipment. The sum total of its efforts revolves around checking a few devices of amateur inventors—reviewing military research to find new gadgets that could be converted—or waiting to see what is produced on the commercial market that might be adaptable.

In view of the smuggling problem, this paucity of ongoing research and development is downright ludicrous. The executive branch spends billions on military research and development projects. Yet, the Customs agency—whose surveillance of goods crossing our borders was among the first authorizations of Congress clear back to 1789—conducts no research and development toward winning its war on drug smuggling.

Our Federal agents are being overwhelmed at the border by the increasing volume of vehicular and pedestrian traffic. Though more manpower is urgently needed now to catch up with the present crisis, the time will come in the not too distant future when increased workloads cannot be met simply by adding more and more people in the absence of concerted efforts to use personnel more wisely.

The agents, themselves, literally plead for new techniques and new devices to perform their jobs more effectively and efficiently. It is high time we gave them something more than horse-and-buggy tactics. Reliance upon intuition provides a thin line of defense. We have got to bring our modern technology into the battle.

I urge all my colleagues to join me in supporting this legislation. The time for action is now; prolonging the procrastination will perpetuate the smuggling.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Friday, August 1, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them.—Matthew 18: 20.*

O God and Father of us all, at this noontide hour we pray that Thou wilt touch our spirits and transform our souls by Thy grace that we may have strength for the day, courage with each hour, and peace in every moment.

Kindle within us the fire of Thy spirit and warm our hearts with the power of Thy presence that in the time of trouble we may be equal to every experience, ready for every responsibility, and adequate for every task.

Grant that we may see Thy way more clearly and be given wisdom to work with Thee in making the world a better place in which Thy children can live together in abundant happiness, in abounding harmony, and in abiding hope.

In the Master's name, we pray. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

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

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the amendment

of the House to a joint resolution of the Senate of the following title:

S.J. Res. 85. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the period from August 26, 1969, through September 1, 1969, as "National Archery Week."

#### PROVIDING FOR AGREEING TO THE SENATE AMENDMENTS TO H.R. 9951

Mr. COLMER, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 509) (Rept. No. 91-412), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed:

H. RES. 509

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the bill (H.R.