EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

VETERANS' DAY SPEECH

HON. ALTON LENNON

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. LENNON. Mr. Speaker, Capt. G. E. Lockee, a constituent and naval officer who is rendering outstanding service to our country, addressed his townsmen in Pembroke, N.C., at special Veterans' Day ceremonies. I am pleased to bring to attention his excellent remarks honoring our veterans and depicting the Navy's role in national defense.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY CAPT. G. E. LOCKEE, U.S.N., VETERANS' DAY CEREMONIES, PEMBROKE, N.C., NOVEMBER 11, 1968

Mayor Maynor, Reverend Cummings, Doctor Courtner, Post Commander Locklear, fellow Veterans, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

First, I wish to thank you for inviting me to come home again to Pembroke. I have many friends here and am rather sentimental about this part of the country. As many of you know, I was born about a half mile from where I now stand. I have hunted many quail in the surrounding countryside. I also have many pleasant memories of my Grammar School and High School days here.

Joining with you here today, to honor our Veterans, is indeed a pleasure and a privilege for me. Too often, and too soon the world and even our own Countrymen forget the very men to whom they owe the most. As Americans, we are all indebted to our Veterans, because it is they who proved to the world that Americans have integrity, that we are willing to fight for the very same principles, the real values for which our first veterans fought so valiantly 200 years ago. As we pay tribute to the many men and women who served so well in the cause of freedom, it is well that we not overlook these values for which so many have laid down their lives.

Foremost among these are such basic things as the several freedoms guaranteed by the constitution, liberty, the dignity of man and our national and personal responsibility to preserve them. Each generation must for itself preserve or lose them. They are the very foundations upon which the security of our country rests. I wish to emphasize that these freedoms and rights, which most of us take for granted, did not come without cost. Every right and privilege comes with a responsibility. A responsibility to our creator, a responsibility to our country and a responsibility to our fellowman. Increased responsibility often is accompanied by increased authority and recognition. I am sure that you can conclude that increased responsibility and authority is accompanied by greater accountability. Our veterans have assumed these responsibilities well.

I don't know the names of all our Veterans here today, but I believe that it is most fitting at a time like this that I name a few of them. Miles S. Jones, my Uncle, Jack Sampson, Willie Dial, Bunion Locklear, John L. Locklear, W. P. Godwin, Martin Luther Lowry; served in World War I.

Two other World War I Veterans, Mr. James R. Lowry and Mr. L. W. Jacobs, now deceased, were dear friends of mine as they were of many of you. Mr. James R. Lowry was one of my high school teachers. He was my school principal. He was my counselor and was very helpful to me in many ways.

Likewise, World War II brings to my mind many veterans, who were my schoolmates and friends, as well as a host of others. The following names immediately come to mind:

Howard Oxendine, Simeon Oxendine (Distinguished Flying Cross), James Arnold Jacobs, Rudolph Carter, Edison Carter, Cleo Maynor, Jimmy Maynor, Col. Earl Lowry, Rudolph Godwin, Willie Von Lowry, Bracey Sampson, my uncle, my brothers: Otto and Col. Archie Stanton Lockee; Wade Lowry who was killed in action at Midway, Dr. Telford Lowry.

I join you in saluting all World War I and World War II veterans as well as those who participated in the Korean War and the current War in Vietnam.

In case you don't know it, Commander Thomas Oxendine and I have crossed paths many times over the past 25 years as we have served in our wonderful Navy. In talking with Tom before coming down here from Washington, he requested that I pass along to you his personal greetings. Until recently Tom and I worked near each other in the Pentagon. He has just moved across the Potomac River from the Pentagon into Washington and now works for the Commander, Naval Air Systems Command in the Public Affairs Office.

Although to my knowledge, they are not War Veterans, there are a few men to whom I would like to now pay special recognition and thanks because they have had such a great influence on the lives of so many of our Countrymen, and especially me. They are:

Mr. Lonnie Oxendine, Mr. Clifton Oxendine, Mr. Marvin Lowry, Mr. Ira Pate Lowry, Mr. Zeb Lowry, Mr. Paul Sampson, Mr. Elmer Lowry.

These gentlemen were my teachers while attending school here, I'm sure they have taught many of you. They have been the reflection of education. They have instilled in so many the real desire to excel. The desire to move higher. The desire to reach the sky. I want to thank them for what I consider to be a noble contribution to their country in the field of education.

Education has increased importance today. It is important because many of you here today are engaged in it. Many students look at their education with mixed emotions because it is easy to look at it that way.

With but few exceptions the leaders of tomorrow in all walks of life are on the college campus today. Some of them are here in this audience today.

While preparation for positions of responsibility generally is accomplished in the college classroom, many of the qualities possessed by men who become our leaders are acquired by practical experience and training which are not a part of the normal college curriculum. Many of these qualities are developed on the athletic field or thru extracurricular activities.

I wish there were some way that this important aspect of growing up could be more emphatically impressed upon our young people. Our complex world needs more highly educated and trained men and women. I recommend that you who are engaged in attaining an education give this part of your preparation your best effort. If you do, it will stand you well in the future.

In addition to honoring our Veterans today, I would like to talk a bit about one of my favorite subjects.

Being a Naval Officer, I would not want to disappoint any of you by not saying something about my own Service—the United States Navy. Today, I will assume this privilege with a great deal of enthusiasm. I think that I have a reputation, regardless of the occasion, for sprinkling a bit of salt water on any inland audience at every opportunity.

I have been told that after my Air Force brother was here last year he made a low level pass over town with his big Boeing 707 airplane. I have been here a time or two when Tom Oxendine has made a low-level navigation flight over town in his jet fighter. I want to assure you that after I leave here today you will not find a big guided missile ship steaming up Lumber River heckling with great noises all the citizens of Robeson County.

We should all be aware of the importance of sea power, and the influence of sea power as a deterrent of war. The Navy has been the country's first line of defense and has usually been the first to strike an enemy when all other peaceful efforts failed.

Deterrence of nuclear war by U.S. Naval power is an important aspect of modern seapower. Our sea-based Polaris ballistic missile forces and the carrier-based nuclear strike forces with their characteristics of mobility and concealment have been an important part of our Country's strike capability.

Seapower is more than just war ships. Seapower embraces total naval power, the Merchant Marine, the fishing industry and knowledge of the vast oceans.

Now for a few examples and some facts. As long as three quarters of the World's surface is covered by water, any war must necessarily include a wet water war waged in support of our Army, our Air Force, and our Marine Corps. Did you know that it takes a ton of supplies per month to support a foot soldier in Vietnam?

There are over 500,000 Americans in Vietnam. Did you know that our supply line to Vietnam is nearly 10,000 miles long? Did you know that 98% of all supplies and equipment going to Vietnam to support our troops there make that 10,000 mile trip by ship? Did you know that it was the Navy planes from mobile ocean airfields, our carriers in the Gulf of Tonkin, that made the first Air Strikes on targets in North Vietnam in February 1965? This is true because they were there, they were ready. They were operating on the free oceans when the Commander in Chief made the decision to strike. Did you know that it was the Navy that landed 15,000 Marines and Soldiers at Santo Domingo when help was requested there in April 1965? I could name many other occasions when the Navy was the first to strike a blow in defense of our country. My point is simply this; the Fleet, through its unique ability to gain immediate proximity to areas of tension, has always been ready to apply, if necessary, its strength, its mobility and its flexibility to protect our Nation's interest, if so directed by the President.

In spite of all my pride in the Navy, I would in no way infer that the Navy can do the total job of defending our country alone. Far from it. The Navy believes that the coordinated combat power of all the United States Armed Service must be projected overseas—away from our own shores—in any type of conflict. We in the Navy fully recognize the Navy's role in the support of the other Services in this matter.

We also believe that the roles of all the Armed Forces are played best if they are coordinated, and that the combined strengths of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force forces engaged in concert is far greater than the sum of their separate strengths. We in the Navy believe that no matter how complex or how awesome you build the weapons of war that the man—the Individ-

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ual—is still the most vital element of our defense team. Men make decisions—men fight battles—men win wars.

For nearly two centuries it has been the individual man—each accomplishing his task—that has enabled the Navy to excel both in time of war and peace. It was the individual sailor who manned the topsails and guns that brought the first victories to our fledgling Navy during the Revoluntionary War, and it's the talented and educated Navyman of 1968 that keeps nuclear powered ships roaming the high seas and the supersonic aircraft battle ready throughout the year.

We have made tremendous advances in electronics, propulsion, guided missiles, nuclear physics, and push button computer systems which coordinate our Command and Control evolutions. This sophistication is good and is necessary but it is still the man who must make the decision as to which button is pushed, and when it is pushed.

Surely we cannot say too much about the individual, since he is the key to success in any endeavor.

While most of our people live in an environment of plenty and only a few of our people feel a personal impact from the War in Vietnam, I cannot say enough about the devotion to duty—the high degree of skill and training—the courage and sacrifice that is demonstrated daily by the men and women in all branches of our Armed Forces. They are giving their best twenty-four hours a day. And, in so doing, they do honor to the highest traditions of you—the American Veteran—who has gone before them.

This is also a most appropriate time to salute our families for their understanding and support as we carry out the many duties required of the man and woman in uniform.

I would like to thank you for this opportunity to share this day with you. Your Countrymen are indebted to you, her Veterans, for your sacrifices and your service which have been necessary in order to keep our nation great in a rapidly changing and troubled world. We would also not forget the sacrifices of those who have died in battle. I pray God's richest blessings on all of you.

AMBASSADOR W. AVERELL HARRIMAN

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of humility that I rise to pay tribute to one of the most gifted and dedicated leaders in modern American history—a man who embodies the spirit and the ideals of our people—Ambassador W. Averell Harriman.

It has been said that great men hallow a people and lift up all who live in their time. I know of no one of whom this is more true than Averell Harriman.

When I consider the founders of this Republic—Washington, Madison, Franklin, Hamilton, and others—I often wonder who among my contemporaries might measure up to their greatness. Inevitably, W. Averell Harriman comes to mind, for he alone seems to combine their wisdom and intellect, their compassion and courage.

It hardly approaches the measure of the man to say that Averell Harriman has been a dedicated public servant, a distinguished Ambassador, a Governor of New York, a Secretary of Commerce, and an adviser to four American Presidents.

We come closer if we recall that he successfully negotiated a difficult nuclear test ban treaty which, at this moment, is preventing the pollution by radiation of the air we breathe and the food we eat.

Perhaps the measure of this man is best summed up by simply noting that he returns now to his native land having brought a war to the beginning of real peace negotiations.

Averell Harriman is home now for a well-deserved rest. But I know that he will not be inactive for long, for he is too energetic, too concerned, too dedicated not to continue his service.

I am honored to call Averell Harriman my friend, and I am happy that he and his lovely wife, Marie, are home again.

PITTSBURGH SOLDIER AWARDED SILVER STAR

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to join in honoring young Capt. David F. Guerrieri, U.S. Army, who today was decorated with the Silver Star for heroism in Vietnam. In a special ceremony at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center, Brig. Gen. Frederic J. Hughes, Jr., pinned our Nations third highest military award on Captain Guerrieri for "gallantry in action" during an enemy attack on the Fourth of July, 1968.

Captain Guerrieri's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Francis Guerrieri, of 305 Parkway Drive, Pittsburgh, Pa., and his brother Daniel Guerrieri came to Washington to witness proudly the presentation ceremony.

As Congressman for the Guerrieri family I wish to congratulate them on his fine heroism under the pressure of enemy fire, and commend David F. Guerrieri as an excellent example of courage and patriotism in our country's young people.

We Americans owe a great debt to the men like Captain Guerrieri who have served our Nation well in our armed services. It is a special pleasure to include the citation of the award of the Silver Star to Capt. David F. Guerrieri in the RECORD, as follcws:

AWARD OF THE SILVER STAR, SEPTEMBER 23, 1968

The following award is announced:

Guerrieri, David F., Captain, Artillery, U.S. Army, HHB, 2d Bn, 77th Arty, 25th Inf Div.

Awarded: Silver Star.

Date action: 4 July 1968.

Theater: Republic of Vietnam.

Reason: For gallantry in action: Captain Guerrieri distinguished himself by heroic actions on 4 July 1968, while serving with Headquarters and Headquarters Battery, 2d Battalion, 77th Artillery in the Republic of Vietnam. A numerically superior enemy force launched a massive rocket, mortar, and ground attack against a friendly base camp. During the ensuing action, Captain Guerrieri immediately proceeded to the perimeter and deployed the reactionary force. As he was deploying his men, Captain Guerrieri, with complete disregard for his personal safety, threw a grenade and killed two enemy soldiers who were about to fire an RPG at the command bunker. Although seriously wounded, Captain Guerrieri continued to lead his men until he was evacuated. His valorous actions contributed immeasurably to the success of the mission and the defeat of the enemy force. Captain Guerrieri's personal bravery, aggressiveness, and devotion to duty are in keeping with the highest traditions of the military service and reflect great credit upon himself, his unit, the 25th Infantry Division and the United States Army.

Authority: By direction of the President under the provisions of the Act of Congress, approved 9 July 1918, and USARV message 16695, 1 July 1966.

ENFORCEMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, last year a majority of the Members of the House of Representatives waged a difficult but successful fight to assure that the Federal Government would continue to enforce title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In defeating the Whitten amendment to the HEW appropriation, we reaffirmed our instruction that the Government would continue to enforce southern school desegregation by withholding Federal funds from unconstitutionally segregated school districts.

Earlier this month, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare issued its report on progress under the school desegregation guidelines. The report showed progress—albeit much too slow progress—in achieving a system of integrated and equal schools for white and black alike.

But last week, the new Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare refused to cut off Federal school aid funds from five unconstitutionally segregated southern school districts. Instead, the new Secretary granted an additional 60 days to the schools to negotiate a satisfactory desegregation program.

In ordinary circumstances, a 60-day delay might seem unobjectionable, especially where a new administration had so recently come to power. However, the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954, 15 years ago, better than half a generation ago, declared that the law of the land absolutely forbade State-compelled racial segregation. Sixty days' delay added to 15 years' delay is a much more serious matter.

In the strongest possible terms, I urge the Members of this body to make known to the new administration the fact that we, a majority of the House of Representatives, will not tolerate the flaunting of our will. We voted just last year to continue the enforcement of school desegregation under title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Our will is clear.

Our expectation for the new administration in the vigorous enforcement of the civil rights laws is no less clear.

FIRST PICAYUNE ISSUE RECALLED

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, last January 25, one of the most active leaders in my part of the country interrupted a very busy schedule to celebrate a 132d birthday.

This individual carries her years well and shows no sign of slowing down. If anything, she is more alive and more active today than ever before. I speak of the New Orleans Times-Picayune, one of the Nation's oldest and greatest newspapers.

When the Picayune was born, Andrew Jackson was President and this Republic was barely a generation old. In the years that have followed, her reporters have covered war and peace, depression and prosperity, yellow fever epidemics, and in general, the trials and successes of America's most interesting city. The ranks of her contributors include Mark Twain—the original one, from whom Samuel Clemens drew his name—Lafcadio Hearne, and William Faulkner, to name just a few.

The Times-Picayune is a grand old newspaper, steeped in Americana, and I am delighted to salute it on this, its 132d birthday.

I am attaching an article from its anniversary edition on January 25, 1969, which I know will be of interest to my colleagues:

FIRST PICAYUNE ISSUE RECALLED; NEWSPAPER TODAY BEGINS ITS 133D YEAR

(By Don Lee Keith)

Andrew Jackson was president then. In Washington, there was a circulating petition to abolish slavery.

Back home in New Orleans, it was a wet and blusterous winter day, that Wednesday, Jan. 25, 1837. Those who cared to brave the elements that evening could be entertained at the Camp Street Theater, featuring a play known as "Cinderella!" Over at the St. Charles Theater, something called "Charles II" starred Mr. Hunt, Mr. Finn, T. Bishop and Mrs. Keeley.

The players may have been forgotten, but the newspaper which chronicled their performance in its first issue is still very much around. One hundred and thirty-two years later, you're looking at the same publication.

And as The Times Picayune begins its 133rd year, it does so with the same fervor it exhibited in Vol. 1, No. 1, when it stated, "There is no doubt that if we deserve patronage we shall receive it; and if we do not, the public will not extend it."

That first issue came from an obscure building at 38 Gravier st. It was edited in a 160-square foot office and published with $400 worth of equipment.

In that issue, Mrs. E. Green placed a notice that she had opened a fashionable boarding house at No. 122 Tchoupitoulas st., "where several gentlemen can be accommodated with board on reasonable terms."

John Walker advertised that he had opened an office for real estate and the purchase and sale of slaves.

So went the arrival issue of The Picayune, named because it sold for the price of the small Spanish coin, the picayune. Since the picayune was worth 6¼ cents, the newspaper later dropped its price to a nickel, and until recent years, was unique in that it sold for less than it did when first founded.

The first editors, George Wilkins Kendall and Francis A. Lumsden, were printers operating on borrowed capital, but apparently, they deserved and got patronage. The Picayune was only 10 years old when it organized a pony express system to cover the Mexican War and Kendall was American journalism's first full-fledged war correspondent. His dispatching service was so fast that other newspapers clipped The Picayune's correspondence.

The transition that necessarily accompanies time occurred, of course, and throughout the years, there were merger transactions involving other newspapers. Eventually, The Times Picayune emerged. That was in 1914.

But the granddaddy of them all, The Picayune, remained as steadfast to the cause of journalism as it did back in 1837, when the population of New Orleans was about 46,000.

With the city going into its 251st year, and The Times-Picayune its 133rd, the two seem to be progressing together after adopting the words of Robert Browning: "Grow old along with me? The best is yet to be."

"PUEBLO" COMMEMORATIVE STAMP

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, we are daily reading in the newspapers of clamors for further investigations of the *Pueblo* crisis—investigations which propose to study not only this incident but the very nature of our foreign policy.

Amid all this controversy I would like to take a moment to reflect on the men who manned this ship in her hour of peril, and who endured the hardships of confinement by the North Koreans. Every day from our college campuses come the shouts of our youth for peace. The men of the *Pueblo* also want peace, and they were willing to die for that cause—one young sailor actually did give his life. The moral strength of these men to survive the hardships following their seizure should remain as a living tribute to patriotism and freedom.

The National Committee for Responsible Patriotism remembered as the sponsor in 1967 of the "Support Our Men in Vietnam" parade down Fifth Avenue in New York worked long and hard for the past year to secure the release of the *Pueblo* crew. Now this organization is encouraging the Post Office Department to issue a *Pueblo* commemorative stamp as a lasting tribute to the bravery of these men and as a constant reminder of the outside forces which would destroy the freedom which we often take for granted.

I support the efforts of this organization headed by its able, dedicated, and dynamic executive director, Charles W. Wiley, of Sayreville, N.J., for the issuance of a *Pueblo* commemorative stamp. The simple fact is that the American citizens on the *Pueblo* serve at the request of our Government to protect this free Nation—for that alone we should honor them. That they endured so much with such courage should make us ever proud that these men are willing to defend our freedom, and it should encourage us all to work even harder to secure peace in our world in their time.

ONE OF THE GIANTS IS NOW GONE

HON. ROY A. TAYLOR

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, a national museum and cradle of forestry were authorized by the 90th Congress and are being established in the Pisgah National Forest of western North Carolina on the site where the first field school of forestry in America was operated some 71 years ago, and near the site where the first national forest tract of land was purchased under the Weeks law.

We are proud of North Carolina's historic role as a pioneer in preserving, developing, and conserving forests and other natural resources. We are proud that much of the sentiment toward establishment and proper management of national forests and national parks in the eastern part of the United States originated and developed in western North Carolina.

We are proud that much of the land comprising the Smoky Mountains National Park was purchased by interested citizens and by the States of North Carolina and Tennessee and given to the Federal Government some 40 years ago, making it the first national park in eastern America.

Verne Rhoades was one of the graduates of this first field school of forestry. Later he became the first supervisor of the Pisgah National Forest and later was in charge of the acquisition of much of the Smoky Mountains National Park lands, and in recent years he raised funds to restore the original forestry schoolhouse and was one of the moving spirits behind the creation of the Cradle of Forestry. This great pioneer in conservation and forestry died about 10 days ago, and I recommend to my colleagues two editorials, the first appearing in the Asheville Citizen of January 24, 1969, and the second appearing in the Asheville Times of January 25, 1969.

[From the Asheville (N.C.) Citizen, Jan. 24, 1969]

ONE OF THE GIANTS IS NOW GONE

Verne Rhoades, who died in Florida this week, was one of the most beloved men who has lived in Asheville.

He had a quality of gentleness that belied his strength of purpose, and a quiet generosity that masked his essential firmness.

A graduate of the Forestry School on the Biltmore Forest Estate, he became the first supervisor of Pisgah National Forest and later was in charge of the acquisition of

much of the land for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

His business and civic interests were extensive and varied; his contributions in time and money to all manner of worthy causes were substantial. He sought no public acclaim; he often sought anonymity. But his good works were recognized by a wide circle of friends—rich and poor, high and low—who revered him.

One of his major interests in recent years was the Cradle of Forestry project in Pisgah National Forest and restoration of Dr. Schenck's original schoolhouse, for which he raised the necessary funds.

Verne Rhoades was 86 and thus had lived a long and useful life. His death still comes as a shock.

Here, truly, was a Christian gentleman—always, courteous, always kind, always thoughtful of others. Asheville and Western North Carolina have lost a pioneer who will be long remembered. He walked in grace.

[From the Asheville (N.C.) Times, Jan. 25, 1969]

A Pioneer Passes

Asheville has lost one of its worthiest citizens in the death at 86 of Verne Rhoades. His services extended far beyond this city, and he was in truth a citizen of all of Western North Carolina.

Forester, naturalist, conservationist—Verne Rhoades was all of these things, beginning as a potent pioneer in a day when scientific forestry and conservation were at the very beginnings. He was, it could be said, one of the founders of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. He worked tirelessly for the park's establishment, and supervised much of the land acquisition.

Verne Rhoades' handiwork is all around us. It exists in the vast woodlands which are one of Western North Carolina's most precious possessions. It lives in Scouting and woodlands recreation. It continues in the well-being of his adopted city. He will be remembered with honor and affection.

CUYAHOGA COUNTY JOINT VETERANS TO SALUTE MAUSSER

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, February 3, 1969, Daniel Mausser, a prominent Cleveland community leader, will be honored by the Cuyahoga County Joint Veterans' Commission.

It is most fitting that this singular honor which has been bestowed only four times in the past 31 years be presented to Mr. Mausser in recognition of his accomplishments in the field of public relations. Mr. Mausser has worked for, and with, veterans, ethnic, and minority groups for many years in Cleveland and elsewhere. His tireless efforts to help bring mankind together in harmony to solve problems should be an example for all of us who consider ourselves good Americans.

Under leave granted, I insert the following article which appeared in the Plain Dealer:

Joint Vets To Salute Mausser

A "citation of appreciation and merit" will be presented Monday to Daniel L. Mausser, 16337 Brewster Road, Cleveland Heights, by the Cuyahoga County Joint Veterans' Commission during the commission's annual installation and awards dinner at Hotel Sheraton-Cleveland.

The award, for "his great contribution in the field of Public Relations to the Veterans and Civic Organizations," is only the fourth such citation the commission has given in 31 years.

Mausser, a public relations counselor here, has received national recognition for his work, including twice being commended in congressional speeches—on May 3, 1967, and May 10, 1968.

It was just a year ago that Bishop Clarence G. Issenmann of the Cleveland Catholic Diocese cited him for his "commended leadership in the ecumenical and interfaith developments" in Greater Cleveland.

SOCIALISM EXEMPLIFIED

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, a thought-provoking paper on our slipshod age may well acquaint our people with life in our Socialist future.

Time was when a craftsman was just that. He was proud of his work and even affixed his name to his product. But then, time was when work was honorable and a way of life. But, alas, in too many instances the job has been replaced by a right to put in time for pay.

Mr. Speaker, I include Jenkin Lloyd Jones' column of February 1, from the Washington Evening Star:

Slipshod Age Deserves Warning

The other day I walked into a hotel room in the Bahamas. As the bellman set down my bags the headboard fell off the bed. The new dresser had a split that extended across two drawers. The bathtub fixtures, punched crudely through the wall, hadn't even been anchored. An hour later the marbled grand foyer was blocked while workmen tried to stanch rain pouring through the roof.

All this for only $40 a day.

Not long ago I was talking to an old friend in his auto showroom.

"I used to be a car dealer," he said. "Now I seem to spend most of my time running the final assembly line. You have no idea of the condition in which some of our new cars arrive. Knobs falling off, floating chrome strips, sloppy painting, even important linkages involving the safety of the vehicle that just seem to have been hurled together.

Perhaps this is the natural fallout of "full employment." In spite of joblessness among the hard core it has been a fact that almost anyone who is willing to show up and not walk off before quitting time can command a wage.

If a man is fired it is usually a short stroll down the street to another wage. And in shops where unions are both strong and militant the firing of even the laziest or most incompetent employe has never been so hazardous to the boss, for the local can "fine" him many thousands of dollars by pulling a wildcat strike.

But you can't point fingers at labor only. The fault goes right on up to the paneled executive suites, vice presidents, engineers, chemists, accountants, college professors—every educated skill or management experience that is in short supply has bred its quota of prima donnas, job-jumpers, go-to-hell hounds and stock-option hawks. Most of us are getting pretty greedy.

We've been cheating each other.

The careless man on the auto assembly line is robbed when his sly TV repairman replaces perfectly good tubes.

The TV man cusses when buttons fall off his new shirt.

The lazy foreman in the shirt factory is outraged that the walls of his new apartment seem to be made out of drum skins.

And the corner-cutting contractor on the apartment job is killed by a sticking accelerator on the car whammed together by the auto assemblyman.

What has happened to us is a lack of discipline. We all need to be kicked a little. Very few of us will do very good work unless we are a little fearful of the consequences of doing bad work. We're not bad people. We're just people.

Our ancestors found this out in the Revolutionary War. The militia started out by electing their officers and noncoms on the basis of their easygoing popularity. Most of this militia fled at the first volley.

It wasn't until tough and sometimes pretty unpopular officers took over that Americans began to win battles. The fear of the consequences of bugging out and to at least equal the distaste for standing firm.

Those of us who wear the campaign ribbons of the Great Depression remember when there was too much job discipline in America. There seemed to be 10 hungry guys standing behind every worker and fouling up was rough. Men of skill and integrity peddled from door to door. The lecherous boss of the dime store often, as the Victorians put it, had his will with the poor little girl clerk, for it was sometimes either that or starve.

Today the girl can tell him to fly his kite. The classified sections are stuffed with ads for men of skill and the employer who wants to exploit is having heavy going. This is a lot better.

But in the meantime, we have heated the economy up until the dollar is in real danger. Prices and wages have been leaping far ahead of any improvements in quality or productivity. There is no system of job security or relief that could survive the national bankruptcy of a runaway inflation, and the consequences of a busted dollar would be catastrophic to the whole Free World.

So we've got to cool it. Even our most profligate of governments has been driven to impose a surtax. It would be naive to assume that the building boom can be sustained with a 7 percent prime rate and $9-an-hour plumbers.

This, then, would seem to be the strategic moment to get a reputation for being an Honest John and a Willing Willie. When customers get picky—as they will—and when the frantic Help Wanted signs come down, reputation will become important once again.

The wind will blow most gently on the manufacturer who has pushed quality control, the merchant swift to act upon complaints, the reliable repairman and the employe who is cherished by the boss.

GOV. W. AVERELL HARRIMAN

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join with my colleagues, under the leadership of Congressman Bingham, of New York, in giving a personal word of appreciation to Gov. W. Averell Harriman for his outstanding work in behalf of his fellow men in his State, the Nation, and the world.

No one has given more unselfishly of his talents for the benefit of mankind than has Governor Harriman and all of us are his debtors for the opportunity to share his outstanding capabilities and his dedication to public service.

I am privileged to say thank you, Governor Harriman.

TAX REFORM

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced legislation to bring the issue of tax reform before Congress. And I now urge the Congress to take heed of the growing demand throughout the Nation for quick and decisive action on this long-neglected problem.

I am cosponsor of H.R. 5250, "The Tax Reform Act of 1969." This bill presents a 13-point program to eliminate loopholes which each year cost the Federal Government more than $9 billion in tax income, and at the same time distribute the burden of Federal income tax unfairly on the ordinary wage earner.

The new administration has indicated that it will seek to have the 10-percent surcharge extended past the original termination date of next June 30. It is unfair to the American taxpayer to continue this "temporary" tax when we can raise an equal sum of money simply by closing some of the loopholes in our present tax laws.

Closing these loopholes would result in the collection of this money from those who have been avoiding their fair share of taxes for years, rather than from the low- and middle-income taxpayers who are already staggering under the burden of taxes at all levels.

Joseph W. Barr, former Secretary of the Treasury, reported last month that 155 Americans with adjusted gross incomes of over $200,000, including 21 whose income exceeded $1,000,000, paid no income tax at all in 1967. This was made possible by the loopholes that we are seeking to eliminate in H.R. 5250.

Thousands of other wealthy persons and corporations pay relatively low tax rates because of these unfair "gimmicks" and glaring inequities in our tax laws.

The bill which I am cosponsoring has the following provisions:

First. Provide for taxation of capital gains upon death, to prevent wealthy persons from passing large amounts of accumulated wealth to their heirs, without payment of capital gains tax. This would increase Federal revenues by an estimated $2.5 billion annually.

Second. Eliminate the unlimited charitable deduction, a little-known device used by millionaires which costs the Federal Government some $60,000,000 a year in tax income.

Third. Eliminate the special tax treatment on stock options, which enables top executives of large corporations to pay taxes on part of their incomes at low capital gains rate, rather than the full income tax rate. This loophole deprives the Government of an estimated $150,000,000 a year.

Fourth. Eliminate the $100 dividend exclusion, by which taxpayers with stock holdings get their first $100 of dividends tax free. This benefit is not available to the average person, whose savings are in bank accounts or savings bonds. Tax loss to the Government through this loophole has been estimated at $150,000,000.

Fifth. Eliminate the multiple-corporation gimmick, which permits large corporations to be split into a number of smaller corporations, for the purpose of evading full taxation. This loophole cost the Treasury $200,000,000 annually.

Sixth. Remove the tax exemption on municipal industrial development bonds, which subsidize plant construction for large corporations that are fully capable of financing the costs themselves. Closing this loophole would bring in at least $50 million a year.

Seventh. Establish a municipal bond guarantee corporation to guarantee State and local bonds against default, and pay an interest subsidy sufficient to reduce interest payments by one-third. This would discourage the issuance of tax-exempt State and municipal bonds, which are purchased primarily by high-income persons as a tax-savings device. Estimated savings—$900 million.

Eighth. Reduce the oil depletion allowance from 27½ percent to 15 percent, and the mineral depletion allowance from 23 percent to 15 percent. These depletion allowances permit big oil corporations to pay Federal income taxes of only 4 and 5 percent, and some oil companies with multi-million-dollar incomes have used this loophole to avoid payment of any Federal income tax. Reduction of the depletion allowances to 15 percent would mean a revenue gain of nearly a billion dollars a year.

Ninth. Establish similar rates for gift and estate taxes. The present law sets a gift tax rate 25 percent lower than estate taxes, which permits wealthy persons to give away some of their holdings during their lifetime and thus reduce their estate taxes. This reform would mean $150 million in additional Federal revenues.

Tenth. Eliminate payment of estate taxes by redemption of Government bonds at face value. The treasury loses $50 million a year through this little-known gimmick, which is used only by wealthy families with large estates.

Eleventh. Limit the use of farm losses to offset other income. Wealthy persons use "hobby farms" with no intention of making money from them, and then use their loss to reduce the tax rate on their regular income. This is not only a $400 million annual drain on the Treasury, but it provides unfair competition for genuine farmers who depend on farming for their livelihood.

Twelfth. Eliminate the accelerated depreciation on speculative real estate, a loophole that permits real estate speculators to reduce their income tax payments by surprisingly large amounts. Repeal of this gimmick would bring in an estimated $150 million annually.

Thirteenth. Repeal the 7-percent investment tax credit, which permits business firms to subtract, from their tax bills, 7 percent of the value of certain new equipment installed during the year. Originally intended to stimulate the economy, it is now helping to overheat an already inflated economy, as well as costing some $3 billion annually in tax income.

Mr. Speaker, for so long as these loopholes stay in our income tax law as avenues for tax escape for the very-large-income group at the expense of the ordinary middle-class workman, I will oppose the continuance of the 10-percent surtax and any tax increase that falls unfairly and most heavily upon wage earners. We should take note of the statement of outgoing Secretary of the Treasury, Joseph W. Barr, before the Joint Economic Committee on January 17 that we face an incipient "taxpayers revolt" unless we take care of these loopholes.

McCULLOCH URGES CENSUS REFORM

HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, the 1970 census will contain over 120 questions, all compulsory, many infringing on personal privacy, unless action is taken to change present law. I am today introducing legislation to repeal criminal penalties attached to all but subjects essential to counting the population.

The American people should not be faced with a $100 fine or 60 days in jail if they decline to reveal some overly personal information about themselves and their households. I see no justification for the mandatory requirement that forces all citizens to provide such information as first, income, dollar by dollar, from all sources including public assistance, alimony, unemployment and disability insurance, pensions and investments; second, the value of property or the amount of rent paid; third, educational, marital, employment, and military history; fourth, with whom bathroom and kitchen facilities are shared; fifth, a long list of household items including dishwasher, television, radios, automobiles, and second home; and sixth, where each person and his parents were born.

The constitutional purpose of the decennial census is to count the people resulting in the equitable apportionment of the U.S. House of Representatives but the planned 1970 census extends far beyond this objective. I am pleased to join with over 100 of my colleagues who want all questions on a voluntary basis except name, address, age, sex, head of household and persons in the home at the time of the census, which are essential to the enumeration of population. The Government will get better public cooperation if it asks rather than demands answers from our citizens. The Census Bureau missed some 5.7 million people in 1960 which must not be repeated if we are to properly redistrict congressional seats, apportionment of State legislatures and in distribution of billions of dollars in Federal assistance to the States based on a population formula. I believe a largely voluntary and hopefully more

simplified census will lend to a more complete count of our people.

DATELINE WASHINGTON: REPORT FROM YOUR CONGRESSMAN, ED ESHLEMAN

HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, during the 90th Congress, I found it worthwhile to poll periodically the opinions of my constituents on a variety of national issues. I intend to use questionnaires throughout the 91st Congress as a means of sampling the views of the people I am privileged to represent. The text of the first of those questionnaires is as follows:

DATELINE WASHINGTON: REPORT FROM YOUR CONGRESSMAN, ED ESHLEMAN

(1) Vietnam continues to be our most serious foreign problem. Consider each of the following statements and check the *one* that most closely resembles your own opinion about U.S. policy.

(a) The United States should withdraw all of its troops from Vietnam and let South and North Vietnam settle the whole issue by themselves. Agree ( )

(b) The United States should resume the bombing of North Vietnam and try to get a military settlement of the conflict. Agree ( )

(c) The United States should pursue a policy similar to the present one of limited fighting while negotiating. Agree ( )

(d) The United States should assume a more forceful role in the Paris peace talks, but begin a gradual withdrawal of troops from Vietnam. Agree ( )

(e) The United States should let South Vietnam do most of the talking in Paris, and also turn most of the fighting over to the South Vietnamese. Agree ( )

(f) The United States should negotiate with the North Vietnamese strictly about questions involving troop withdrawals and let the South Vietnamese work out a political settlement with the Viet Cong. Agree ( )

(g) None of the above, but my own thoughts as follows:

(2) Some changes in Social Security are likely to be considered in the 91st Congress. Which *one* of the following proposals might you favor?

(a) Provide for automatic cost-of-living adjustments to Social Security benefits. Agree ( )

(b) Increase benefits overall by 13 percent and raise the minimum amount received from $55 a month to $80. Agree ( )

(c) Both of the above. Agree ( )

(d) None of the above. Agree ( )

(3) Are you in favor of the Congress allowing the recommendations of the President's Salary Commission to take effect? Those recommendations would raise Congressional salaries from $30,000 to $42,500 per year, Supreme Court salaries from $39,500 to $60,000 and Cabinet salaries from $35,000 to $60,000.

Yes ( ) No. ( )

(4) Do you believe that the Postal Service should be reorganized and converted into a Government-owned, nonprofit corporation?

Yes ( ) No. ( )

(5) Our economic experts seem to feel that the income tax surcharge must be extended at least until the Vietnam War expenses become less. Would you favor such an extension based upon Vietnam needs?

Yes ( ) No. ( )

(6) Should the first class postage rate be raised to 7¢ with a guarantee of air-mail delivery and the air-mail rate of 10¢ eliminated completely?

Yes ( ) No. ( )

(7) Do you favor a partial dismantling of the Office of Economic Opportunity with a transfer of the more successful antipoverty programs into the regular Cabinet-level Departments?

Yes ( ) No. ( )

(8) Do you believe that the use of tax credits as an incentive for private industry to help in solving social problems is preferable to expanding Federal Government programs in the social field. The use of tax credits would allow private industry a tax break on money it expends for social betterment.

Yes ( ) No. ( )

(9) Do you favor reforming the Electoral College system which we now use to select our Presidents?

Yes ( ) No. ( )

(10) Regardless of the type of electoral reform that may be enacted, would you favor a second runoff election process instead of the House choosing the President?

Yes ( ) No. ( )

(11) Should the United States adopt a more "evenhanded" approach to the problems in the Middle East which would continue support of Israel but also would attempt to better our relations with various receptive Arab nations?

Yes ( ) No. ( )

Please return to:
Hon. Edwin D. Eshleman,
1009 Longworth Building,
Washington, D.C. 20515.

Name and address not required.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Zip Code _____

JESSE P. WOLCOTT

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I regret that I was not present in the Chamber last week when my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. HARVEY) led in the tributes which were expressed to the life and service of the late Jesse P. Wolcott, a former Member of this body from the State of Michigan. I wish to take this opportunity to record my appreciation for the record of public service which Mr. Wolcott compiled during his lifetime and to express my condolences to the members of his family.

As the chairman of the important House Committee on Banking and Currency, Mr. Wolcott left his creative imprint on some of the major legislation enacted by the Congress, particularly in the field of housing. It was obvious from the many tributes paid to him the other day by those who had the opportunity of serving with him that he was not only respected as a legislator but beloved for his personal qualities of steadfastness and courage. He was extremely knowledgeable about those matters within the jurisdiction of his committee, and enjoyed the respect and high regard of Members on both sides of the aisle. Although the record of his life has now been closed, his accomplishments as a dedicated American and a distinguished legislator survive as an integral and living part of the history of our times.

I RISE IN DEFENSE OF MY COUNTRY'S WEALTH

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I rise in defense of my country's wealth.

After a study of the 1970 budget, I find we are failing to make the proper investment in our natural resources; we are creating a "national natural resources debt" and calling it economy. Savings, in this disguise, are a loss.

The point of my statement today is this: We must increase the budget for natural resources development and protection; and we must remove all ceilings, except that of commonsense, on personnel in the Department of the Interior.

This is not a partisan challenge I am issuing, for I am one who fights only to build the Nation, and I fear our country is in jeopardy. No aggressor would have to use armed might to destroy us: we could do it to ourselves by depleting our natural resources.

As an example, the budget we have received does not adequately provide for good forest management and replenishment of our fish resources.

The U.S. Forest Service reports we are importing 13 percent of the lumber we use. Future prospects are even more bleak, for tree planting and forest management practices are limited by budgeting restrictions. In order to have sufficient lumber by the year 2000, the trees must be in the ground now. The critical lumber shortage in America today is linked directly to poor forest management and lack of visionary planting during the 1920's.

We are importing 71 percent of the fish products we consume. Salmon hatched this year will be ready for eating in 4 years. Yet our hatcheries are not being fully funded.

These are perilous and unnecessary steps down the road of unbalanced payments.

While we are skimping in investments in natural resources, the Soviet Union is increasing its emphasis on natural resources.

These economies are going to cost us bitterly. Our savings, based on these premises, are false. Less than 1 percent of the Federal budget, an inadequate amount, goes toward natural resources. Let there be no mystery; the only place meaningful savings are possible is in defense.

I am well aware of the fact that we are fighting a war and I want it to be abundantly clear; every American in combat has my unqualified support. There should be no hesitation in support of them.

But when those servicemen return home, they must find preserved land and enriched environment.

According to the Bureau of the Budget, from 1965 through next fiscal year, this Nation will have spent $419.5 billion for defense. Of that amount, during these

6 years, $108.5 billion was for special support of Southeast Asia.

During the same period, according to the Budget Bureau, the gross outlays for natural resources was $19.9 billion. Because of some $8.5 billion in revenues from the sale or leasing of resources owned by the Federal Government, the net outlay was $11.4 billion.

Following are some interesting figures supplied by the Bureau of the Budget, together with my questions:

Q. How much have we spent for Vietnam since the conflict there escalated?

A. Outlays for "special support of Southeast Asia" began in fiscal 1965. The record is as follows:

[Dollar amounts in billions]

Fiscal year	Outlays for— Special support of Southeast Asia [1]	Total, national defense
1964		$53.6
1965	$0.1	49.6
1966	6.1	56.8
1967	20.6	70.1
1968	26.8	80.5
1969 (estimate)	29.2	81.0
1970 (estimate)	25.7	81.5
Total, 1965–70	108.5	419.5
Annual increase between 1964 and 1970:		
Billions of dollars	25.7	27.9
Percent	(2)	52.2

[1] Includes a small amount of economic assistance classified in "international affairs and finance."
[2] Not available.

Q. How much have we increased outlays for housing activities since the Vietnam war escalated?

A. In many community development and housing programs, outlays are not a good measure of Federal activity. Housing construction is begun, or projects to better the urban environment are started, on the basis of commitments—which include contracts for loan insurance, grants, loans, or annual payments for low- and moderate-income housing. Moreover, in some years sales of Government-held mortgages (or participation certificates involving them) have produced the anomaly of negative outlays. Outlays for community development and housing are shown below, as requested, along with data on publicly assisted housing starts, which are a better measure of Federal activities in housing.

Fiscal year	Outlays for community development and housing (billions of dollars)	Publicly assisted housing starts (thousands)
1964	−0.2	43
1965	.3	59
1966	2.6	49
1967	2.6	51
1968	4.1	159
1969 (estimate)	2.3	225
1970 (estimate)	2.8	500
Total, 1965–70	14.7	1,043
Annual increase between 1964 and 1970:		
Billions of dollars or thousands of starts	3.0	457
Percent	(1)	1,062.8

[1] Not available.

Q. How much have we increased outlays for education since the Vietnam war escalated?

A. Federal education programs serve two main purposes: to support education per se, and to draw upon the resources of educational institutions as a means of advancing knowledge and achieving other national objectives. Outlays for the first are included in the "education and manpower" function of the budget; outlays for the second are included in other functions, including national defense. Outlays for each are as follows:

[Dollar amounts in billions]

Fiscal year	Aids to education	Other educational activities	Total
1964	$1.6	$1.8	$3.1
1965	1.6	2.1	3.6
1966	2.9	2.8	5.7
1967	4.4	3.1	7.5
1968	5.0	3.8	8.8
1969 (estimate)	4.8	4.2	9.0
1970 (estimate)	5.3	4.5	9.8
Total, 1965–70	24.0	20.5	44.4
Annual increase between 1964 and 1970:			
Billions of dollars	4.0	2.7	6.7
Percent	307.7	150.0	216.1

Q. How much have we increased outlays for health activities since the Vietnam War escalated?

A. Federal outlays for health cover a wide range of activities. They are summarized below:

[Dollar amounts in billions]

Fiscal year	Development of health resources: Research, training, and education	Development of health resources: Facilities construction and other	Development of health resources: Total	Provision of services: Direct services	Provision of services: Indirect [1]	Provision of services: Total	Prevention and control of health problems	Total
1964	$1.4	$0.4	$1.8	$2.0	$0.9	$2.9	$0.4	$5.1
1965	1.4	.4	1.8	2.0	.9	2.9	.4	5.2
1966	1.6	.4	2.0	2.2	1.3	3.5	.5	5.9
1967	2.0	.5	2.4	2.6	5.3	7.8	.5	10.8
1968	2.2	.6	2.8	2.7	8.0	10.8	.6	14.1
1969 (estimate)	2.3	.7	3.1	2.9	9.6	12.5	.7	16.3
1970 (estimate)	2.6	.9	3.5	3.0	11.0	14.0	.8	18.3
Total, 1965–70	12.0	3.5	15.5	15.4	36.1	51.5	3.5	70.6
Total increase between 1964–70:								13.2
Dollars	1.2	.5	1.7	1.0	10.0	11.1	.4	
Percent	88.1	111.2	93.6	52.0	1,077.0	381.3	104.6	258.2

[1] Mostly medicare and medicaid.

Q. How much have we increased outlays for natural resources since the Vietnam War escalated?

A. There was a decrease in net outlays for natural resources programs between 1964 and 1970 because of a sharp increase in receipts from the sale or leasing of resources owned by the Federal Government. Gross outlays continued to increase throughout the period. Both net and gross outlays are shown below:

[Dollar amounts in billions]

Fiscal year	Net outlays	Gross outlays
1964	$2.0	$2.6
1965	2.1	2.8
1966	2.0	3.1
1967	1.9	3.3
1968	1.7	3.5
1969 (estimate)	1.9	3.6
1970 (estimate)	1.9	3.7
Total, 1965–70	11.4	19.9
Annual increase between 1964 and 1970:		
Billions of dollars	−$.1	$1.1
Percent	−4.1	42.4

Q. How much have we increased outlays for public works since the Vietnam War escalated?

A. Federal outlays for public works activities during the period 1964–70 (fiscal years) were as follows:

[Dollar amounts in billions]

Fiscal year	Direct Federal construction: Civil	Direct Federal construction: Defense	Direct Federal construction: Total	Grants	Net lending	Total
1964	$2.7	$1.3	$4.0	$4.2	$0.1	$8.3
1965	2.8	1.4	4.2	4.6	.2	8.9
1966	3.0	1.7	4.7	4.4	.3	9.4
1967	2.8	1.7	4.5	4.7	.4	9.6
1968	2.5	1.5	4.0	5.3	.3	9.5
1969 (estimate)	2.4	1.9	4.3	5.4	.3	10.0
1970 (estimate)	2.6	1.8	4.3	6.5	.3	11.1
Total, 1965–70	16.0	9.9	25.9	30.9	1.7	58.5
Annual increase between 1964 and 1970:						
Billions of dollars	−.1	.5	.3	2.3	.2	2.8
Percent	−5.1	34.5	8.2	54.3	126.8	33.3

Mr. Speaker, we have limited employment in the Park Service. Yet, according to page 33 of the Budget in Brief, fiscal 1970, 56 million more Americans and foreign visitors will visit our parks this year than were present last year. We are placing more land into public protection—but are providing inadequate per-

sonnel to see that the trust of the American people is kept through sound public land protection and service.

Let me explain to you what it means to limit the number of employees in the U.S. Forest Service. It means that trees—that is, lumber for homes in the year 2000—will not be planted. Instead, harvested timberland will lie bare.

We have seen in California the havoc caused by unsound geological practices and limited consideration of the forces of weather and nature. It has cost lives, untold millions of dollars, besides grief and suffering.

Yet, in our budget we are thinking of less than $100 million for the U.S. Geological Survey to do its job—studying the crust of the planet.

Last year, during my subcommittee hearings, I warned what budget cuts would do to our national resources. These slim investments, by order of the Bureau of the Budget, are exerting unhealthy pressures on our resources and our economy of tomorrow. We are not keeping a sacred trust that we owe posterity.

So-called economies of last year set the stage for this weak 1970 budget. As I understand things, the new administration is studying the budget and may be suggesting changes. I urge sharp increases in these investments in the future of our resources. The limitation on personnel for our parks, forests, and other essential functions concerning our resources must be lifted.

Mr. Speaker, we must put the necessary money back into our budget and be prepared to defend these increases. It is our Nation which is at stake. I urge the support of my colleagues, the administration, and all Americans to assist us in this vital effort.

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT S. I. HAYAKAWA, OF SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, today the Special Subcommittee on Education of the House Education and Labor Committee began hearings relating to legislation which comes within the jurisdiction of the subcommittee. Testifying before the subcomittee today was Dr. S. I. Hayakawa, the third president of San Francisco State College in less than 12 months and the eighth president of that beleaguered institution in the last 10 years. The disruptive antics of various radical groups have succeeded in keeping the State college in the headlines during the past few months, and with the help of police protection Dr. Hayakawa has succeeded in keeping the school open to complete the first semester. The hard-nosed handling of the dispute by the president has won the support and admiration of many citizens throughout the country who are seriously concerned about the attacks upon our centers of learning by extremist elements.

Indicative of Dr. Hayakawa's approach to the problem is this excerpt from his prepared statement before the subcommittee:

I believe that I have introduced something new to this business of preserving order on campuses. At most institutions the use of police is delayed as long as possible and when assistance is finally requested, the force is usually too small to handle the situation and new troubles develop. I went the other way. I had ample force available and demonstrated a willingness to use it quickly to protect people and property from attack. The opposition has received my message. I think I have communicated successfully.

On February 17 San Francisco State College is scheduled to begin its spring semester. Dr. Hayakawa stated in a TV appearance yesterday that there is a "reasonable chance" that the school would open and that it would complete its academic year.

The recent experience of San Francisco State in dealing with the militants' program of disruption provides an object lesson for educators and administrators in other institutions of learning, and for that reason I place Dr. Hayakawa's prepared statement before the House Special Subcommittee on Education in the RECORD at this point:

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. S. I. HAYAKAWA, PRESIDENT, SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE

INTRODUCTION

San Francisco State College, earlier known as San Francisco State Teachers' College, began as a teacher's training institution just before the turn of the century. It began to offer bachelor's degrees in primary, elementary and junior high school teaching in the 1920s. Since 1935, the institution has been called San Francisco State College, with broad programs in the liberal arts and sciences to supplement the professional work in education. In 1945, the state authorized a five-year program for the general secondary credential and by 1949, the graduate program was extended to grant the Master's degree.

The majority of our liberal arts students come from the San Francisco Bay area. Our creative arts school, with an excellent reputation in drama, film, television and music, draws from the entire country and abroad. Our education school draws from a wide area of the state.

Our students are not rich. Seventy-five percent or more work full or part time to pay their way through college. The average age is between 24 and 25 years, with a substantial number of married students who carry full loads and work at outside jobs. Of our 18,000 undergraduate and graduate students, only 800 live in the two campus dormitories. An additional 800 will be housed when the third dormitory is available later this year.

About 3,500 students received money under federal aid programs. Dr. Helen Bedesem, the college financial aids officer, has detailed information on the entire aid picture. This is one area I cannot discuss with any great degree of competence since my major effort in eight weeks as president has been to restore order and to keep classrooms open for those who wish to teach and to study.

The ethnic composition, unfortunately, does not reflect either the statewide or the area figure. It includes something in the area of 3.6% Negro and a total of 15–17% nonwhite. The Negro percentage is down from an estimated 11% a decade ago, in part because of the growth of the junior colleges and in part because the college entrance standards worked to the disadvantage of many nonwhite young people whose earlier education suffered deficiencies. I do not believe there is any social or educational justification for trying to maintain a student ethnic composition in direct proportion to that of the area or the state, but I do believe that we must do more to increase opportunities for minority and disadvantaged groups, even at the expense of additional teachers and counselors to assist these young people.

A PORTRAIT OF THE FACULTY

San Francisco State College has long been known for its liberal and interesting faculty. It is a college that operated successfully for years with fewer rules and regulations than most any institution of higher education. Academic freedom has been a way of life and an incentive to attract exciting students and professors. This atmosphere may have had something to do with the rise of faculty militancy and the close relationship between some extremely liberal faculty members and students who became leaders of militant or ultra-liberal groups.

The faculty is represented in many ways through professional groupings and by a senate which sets academic policy for the institution. Our senate is only about five years old and still experiencing growing pains.

Generally, administrative control over the faculty cannot be described as dictatorial in the least, despite the present clamor over the state law which says that anyone who absents himself without leave for five consecutive days is considered to have resigned. The faculty has autonomy in essential matters, such as hiring, retention, tenure and promotion. The president cannot even fire a faculty member. He can only recommend action to the Chancellor.

Basically, the turnover rate is low. For the last few years, our faculty turnover rate has been below the rate of the state college system as a whole.

A relatively small segment of the faculty is close to the small segment of the students who are the militant or dissident leadership. This is a strange alliance. I believe that some faculty may be radicals and may develop close association with radical students because of professional inadequacies. For example, a faculty member who is not considered to be a strong scholar among his peers may seek recognition from students. Then there are at least a few, I am sure, who are dedicated revolutionaries. We do know that there is a certain amount of coaching of radical students by radical faculty but I think we have reached the point where the students have much to teach their tutors. The relationship of the faculty to the administration is one of those strange bureaucratic arrangements. Some teachers are professional politicians within the institution, very close to administrators at all levels, influencing decisions, carrying messages and frequently contributing worthwhile feedback of general faculty opinion. Then there are some on our campus—and every other campus—who ignore the administration completely as they come and go from home to the classroom, laboratory and library. Our strongest ties between the administration and the faculty stem from the Council of Academic Deans, which includes all school deans and administrative deans working under the academic vice president. This is the body of experience, reason, intelligence and total college concern that any president will rely on for sound advice and good counsel. The deans are close to their department chairmen who, in most cases, are close to their departmental faculty members.

Our administration is one of the problems in the sense that it needs additional manpower. We have excellent men in every key position, but the budget does not allow for assistance of equal calibre. Thus, when a crisis develops, our first line men are completely occupied. Their routine work suffers and, in the case of a prolonged episode like

our recent 13 weeks, fatigue eventually takes its toll. I imagine the same is true in most other urban colleges and universities and I look for the day when we have time to consider some basic reorganization to add strength in numbers at the top. Our administrative turnover is exceedingly low considering what the college has experienced in recent years—low except in the office of president. As you may know, I am the third president in less than 12 months, the eighth in ten years. This is another story and one that probably has had some effect on administration functions. I have not had time to analyze the effects of frequent presidential changes.

A PORTRAIT OF STUDENT UNREST GROUPS

We have several white radical or ultra-liberal groups. Their numbers total something around 300 when their allies are mobilized. Their central control is probably vested in less than 50 people. These 50 or so are dedicated, experienced and effective in the field of organizing or disruption. And to answer a question in advance, we cannot eliminate any of these people without exercising due process, which includes finding them guilty of offenses. Recent events may have helped to solve our problem since most if not all of the white activist leaders have been arrested at least once each.

Of our 800 or 900 black students, I would estimate that less than 100 have been involved in the recent disruptions, although many more attend rallies under pressure from their leaders. The bravest young people on our campus are the non-violent young black students who keep on attending classes at the risk of physical attack from black militants and in the face of distrust on the part of the majority of white students. I have praised these young people before in public and appreciate the opportunity to repeat my feelings of admiration for them today.

There is an important difference between black and white activists. Generally speaking, the black students are fighting for a place in society. White activists, such as the Students for a Democratic Society, are fighting to destroy the society, even though they have nothing better to propose as a substitute. It is only during periods of particular kinds of strife that both groups find enough in common to join forces as they have on our campus this year. And when they do join together the bonds are weak. The alliance is to execute tactics, not to achieve common objectives.

The Third World Liberation Front is relatively new. It was meant to include all the non-white and non-black minorities. It is supposed to unite the oppressed peoples of the world; it is said to be the rallying point for victims of both capitalism and communism. Since its formation on our campus last April, the Third World has been dominated by a handful of Spanish-speaking students who claim to represent the much larger Latin and Oriental population of the campus and the community. There is little evidence to substantiate this claim.

We have some off-campus agitators involved in the present affair. But actually our home-grown brand need little outside help, except in numbers at those senseless rallies and endless marches. We have all the militant leadership that is needed for a first-class revolt and I understand that we have also exported some talent for disruptions at other campuses on both coasts.

Dissidents of all colors have worked exceedingly hard to build sympathy in ethnic communities throughout the area, with the objective of turning a campus problem into a much larger community problem. But their efforts have failed miserably. They have been able to attract as many as 100 students from other campuses for a one-day rally and march. But they have failed completely to attract any large numbers of citizens from the Spanish-speaking, black or Oriental communities of San Francisco. From these facts, it is clear that the majority of the ethnic minority population is more interested in education as conducted or proposed by the college than in the wild plans for education by mob rule as proposed by our dissident students.

Some militants are genuine in their desire to improve the educational system. But it is also clear that some militants, especially in the Black Students Union, are more concerned with personal power than with education. We saw evidence of this in the very first press conference the BSU conducted on November 6, the first day of the strike. The leaders said boldly that their real objective was to seize power. They have never wavered from this plan. They have never attempted to hide their real purposes. What is unfortunate is that some many well-meaning supporters of increased opportunity for black students have attached different meanings to the struggle. The people on the fringes are the ones saying the noble things about opportunity and progress. The BSU leaders keep saying they want absolute control, with no accountability to anyone except their constituents, constituents ruled by force, intimidation, and gangster tactics.

The white militants are as explicit as the blacks. Their story is now familiar on every major campus. They believe our society is so corrupt that there is no hope except to destroy the entire structure and rebuild from the ground up. But their idea of rebuilding along the lines of a participatory democracy is to deny the very freedoms they claim are sacred. We have seen them in action. In their system, there is no more room for debate than at a Nazi rally in the days of Adolf Hitler. If you doubt this, try defending the American commitment in Vietnam at an S.D.S. meeting.

We are asked frequently whether channels of communications are open to students. I cannot think of a college or university in this country where the channels are more open. Many imaginative proposals for changes in education and administration have resulted from the ability of our students to present new ideas to their professors, departments, schools and presidents. We have supported a large experimental program for years, allowing for experimental courses within the regular structure of the departments and additionally through the Experimental College operated on the campus, usually in the evenings, with unlimited opportunities for either students or faculty to try new modes of teaching or to experiments with new subject matter. Most of the courses now included in the black studies program were first tested through the cooperation of willing faculty and administrators.

The people we are forced to deal with in the present crisis—people trying to seize power or to destroy the institution—have used every device to corrupt the channels of communication. Their style of confrontation to achieve ends does not allow for free and open communication because communication in that sense might lead to reason and negotiation.

Our present difficulties were not triggered by a specific event, even though the temporary suspension of Black Panther George Murray, a part-time instructor and graduate student, is often cited as the reason for the BSU action. The crisis was not triggered at all. It was planned very carefully over a long period of time. To illustrate, the strike started on the anniversary of the date in 1967—November 6—when nine black students attacked the campus newspaper editor and his staff in their offices. Many of those nine are the present student strike leaders.

From the very first day, our present strike has been characterized by planned violence. The objective was to cripple instruction. There was no attempt to seize buildings or to disrupt the administration. The first actions were directed toward the classroom. At first, bands of black students entered academic buildings to terrorize instructors and students by shouting, overturning furniture and just pushing people around. Then we had a rash of minor bombing attempts and arson intended to frighten rather than to damage. For example, on one day, we had fifty fires, all in waste baskets, on desk tops or in rest rooms, so the results would disrupt classes rather than to destroy buildings.

After the white and Third World militants joined the BSU, which was only a matter of a few days, the action took on more massive proportions and for a time, we had a combination of guerilla tactics and mob action. Every midday in December, there was an outdoor rally, usually resulting in attacks on one or more of the classroom buildings.

The people who deplore the use of police on campus seem to forget that the first days of this strike saw violence introduced by the students themselves as essential to their plan. The college use of police was a response to violence, not the cause. What we have succeeded in doing is to move the action from the classroom to the space between buildings and from there to the streets surrounding the campus. For weeks now, the classrooms and the inner campus have been quiet and safe.

I believe that I have introduced something new to this business of preserving order on campuses. At most institutions the use of police is delayed as long as possible and when assistance is finally requested, the force is usually too small to handle the situation and new troubles develop. I went the other way. I had ample force available and demonstrated a willingness to use it quickly to protect people and property from attack. The opposition has received my message. I think I have communicated successfully.

During my eight weeks in office, my principal action has been to restore order. But I would not want anyone to believe that I think this is the solution for campus unrest. It is merely a first step. This is where my beliefs vary from those of many of the conservative supporters who have communicated with me. Several things must be accomplished if we are to end the present trend toward confrontation and violence. First, we must reassess many of our educational objectives and administrative systems. We must modernize quickly and on a vast scale to make the entire system more responsive to the times and to the needs of our young people. Second, we must look realistically at problems of discipline and devise systems that will work without resorting to outside help. We must eventually put campus discipline in the hands of responsible faculty and student groups who will work cooperatively with administrations for the greater good of institutions. Our faculty and student disciplinary systems are not geared for today's problems.

In a sense, the issues behind most present troubles are valid. As a nation, we have said that education is vital for success for every citizen. Yet we still have an overwhelming number of elementary and secondary school systems that are crippling the poor and the minorities educationally. What we see now is a body of Negro, Spanish-speaking and other youth hammering on the door for an opportunity to obtain the education we have told them is so important to their future.

If we were dealing with hunger instead of education, you can imagine what would happen if we had a walled city in which the citizens had all the food they needed while outside there were hordes of starving people. We could not open the gates just a little to admit handfuls of the starving and expect the rest to remain patient outside. No. We would have to be prepared to open the gates wide and admit everyone, or be prepared for a riot. That is the situation now with higher education. We have opened the doors just a little with special programs that serve hundreds while thousands are clamoring for education. I believe we should open the gates

fully, even at enormous expense, to provide educational opportunity at every level—in high schools, adult schools, junior colleges, state colleges, and the universities—for our entire minority and poor populations. We should mobilize the best brains available, just as we did when the nation attacked our problems of modern science, to solve an educational crisis that means as much to our national welfare as our efforts in outer space.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF UNREST TO FEDERAL AID PROGRAMS

Generally, students under aid programs are not the ones who have caused the troubles. Dr. Bedesem is better qualified to discuss this matter than I. But from what I understand after a preliminary study of records still being assembled, there may be upward of 100 students receiving aid under one of the many federal programs among those 500 or 600 arrested for all causes during the past thirteen weeks. All people arrested are not necessarily trouble-makers. Some, as in the large group arrested at the recent illegal rally, were just too close and failed to leave when ordered to do so. They are violators of the law, but their crime is far different than being plotters, planners, attackers, or arsonists.

Of the hundreds arrested since November 6, only one has so far been tried by civil authorities. He was not an aid recipient. Our college disciplinary system proved inadequate for the situation and is being revised to provide better procedures. During the next few weeks, we will begin hearings on the people who have been arrested as well as on others who have been involved or cited by college officials. I can assure this Committee that the provisions of Federal law applying to students receiving financial aid will be observed faithfully.

PROGNOSIS

It is not easy at this point to predict the course of events on our campus or elsewhere. I feel that the danger to the nation and to higher education has been vastly underestimated by a majority of people. Most of the news and much of the commentary deals with the action rather than the underlying causes of dissent and the methods to correct obvious ills.

If we are to end campus rebellion without destroying the educational institutions we must redirect our energies. We must look beyond the day-to-day combat to the reasons underlying this deadly attack on higher education. We must learn to deal both with the dedicated revolutionary leaders and the unsolved problems that enable those leaders to enlist followers. The solution to these problems will take time, brains and money. This nation is amply endowed with those resources. But we must act promptly and decisively.

A REMARKABLE PROGRAM

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to inform my colleagues of a remarkable program which has recently been initiated by the New England Telephone & Telegraph Co. in Portland, Maine.

The telephone company has undertaken to provide needy children at the Jackson School, Portland, with a hearty breakfast before the school day begins. I attended the Jackson School, and I can testify from personal experience how important it is for children there to begin the day with sufficient energy for their demanding school activities.

This is, to my knowledge, the first time that a utility company has undertaken such a breakfast program. Up to 80 children will be served breakfast in the cafeteria in the phone company headquarters. Menus will include cereal, scrambled eggs, bacon, sausage, doughnuts and muffins, with milk. Federal and city funds will be used to reimburse the telephone company 22½ cents for each meal served.

This is a heartwarming example of what can be done when the business sector seeks to assist in meeting the needs of the local community. I would like to especially commend Mr. Raymond H. Frost, general manager of the New England Telephone & Telegraph Co. for Maine; Mr. Henry C. Adams, operations staff supervisor for the telephone company; and Mr. William Eckerson, former commercial manager for the telephone company. The idea for this imaginative program originated with Mr. Eckerson. I would also like to thank Mr. Peter Conlon, director of the New England Telephone Co. dining service office in Boston, and Mrs. Edith Armstrong, dining service supervisor in Portland, who have together worked hard to make this program a success. We are also indebted to the members of the Portland Council, Jasper C. Keller Chapter, of the Telephone Pioneers of America and especially to their president, Mr. Joseph W. Walsh, for assistance in providing the breakfast services to the children. I would like to close by thanking my good friends Miss Peggy-Lee Ragan of the Jackson School and the many other persons of the Jackson School and the Portland School Board who have worked hard to see that students can begin the day with sufficient nutrition and energy. I am proud of my school, the Jackson School, and grateful to the New England Telephone & Telegraph Co. for their cooperation in this wonderful effort.

HON. JESSE P. WOLCOTT

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, it was with great sorrow that I learned of the death of our friend, Jesse P. Wolcott.

Jesse Wolcott served in the House for nearly 30 years as the representative of the district I was elected to represent in 1958. His service in the U.S. Congress was outstanding. As the chairman and as the ranking minority member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, he won a well-deserved reputation as a leading authority on the matters within the jurisdiction of that committee. He was one of the great legislators to serve in the House of Representatives.

Jesse Wolcott will be missed by all who knew him and by all who respect integrity, ability, and dedication in our country's public service.

NORTH AMERICAN ROCKWELL: TECHNOLOGY IN THE SERVICE OF MANKIND

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, recently the American Broadcasting Co. and North American Rockwell presented an outstanding television program, "Cosmopolis," meaning "world city," and showing how today's urban problems can be transformed, via technology, into an urban utopia of tomorrow.

Certainly, there is little argument that we must do something to relieve urban congestion and its associated ills before man is completely engulfed by the labyrinthine metropolis he has created. There is argument, however, in just how best to solve these manifold problems.

In "Cosmopolis," ABC and North American Rockwell presented a dazzling visual and verbal view of the future of the city—a hopeful future if the wonders of modern technology coupled with broad-scale regional planning are allowed to operate unfettered. Certainly, despite the problems of today, it is reassuring to know that, if this Nation has the will, we can find the way to solve the urban dilemma. For, indeed, "the center of man's life should be the source of his inspiration."

I am proud that North American Rockwell, an industrial leader in my congressional district, chose to sponsor this excellent program. This outstanding aerospace corporation does not customarily sponsor commercial television programs; indeed, their product cannot be bought, like a bar of soap, by the average consumer-viewer. North American is consistently in the vanguard of public service; it has won wide civic recognition for its laudable efforts in the field of labor-management relations and it has made a valuable contribution to the development of space-age technology and research. Its 115,000 employees are all dedicated to harnessing the miracles of science for the benefit of mankind.

The problems of the cities concern North American Rockwell, for it is a company with a crystal ball: it is vitally interested in the future of America and it is channeling its considerable resources toward meeting the demands of that future.

AIM TO SWAT INFLATION

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, according to figures just released from the Department of Commerce, the cost-of-living index has again increased. Needless to say, we all are concerned with the prob-

lem of inflation. The housewife knows all too well how the cost of groceries has greatly increased in the last few years. Parents throughout the Nation are faced with the alarming cost increase of providing for their families. Without a doubt the persons living on social security and fixed incomes are finding themselves in a position where they are unable to escape from the high cost of living.

The El Dorado Times, a widely respected newspaper in Kansas, recently submitted an editorial which I insert in the RECORD at this time. As the article states, every effort should be made to abate the inflationary evil, regardless of political affiliation.

The editorial referred to follows:

AIM TO SWAT INFLATION

Best news as yet to come out of the fledgling Nixon administration involves a positive action against inflation.

These tidings came from David M. Kennedy, secretary of the Treasury, who said the administration would seek to contain inflation without bringing about any "unnecessary unemployment."

Government officials have always said that inflation, when it gets out of hand, can always be stopped. We have been doubtful about this statement in recent months since about the only move to that end has been a hike in the interest rates by the Federal Reserve banks.

Secretary Kennedy gave relief to many deeply concerned observers when he volunteered the promise that "we will not seek an answer to our problem by a change in the monetary price of gold." When he was first interviewed after his appointment was announced, many financiers had believed he might tinker with the gold price—causing wide speculation.

Asked what measures he would employ to fight inflation, Mr. Kennedy mentioned "tax proposals" and control of expenditures. The tax proposals, he indicated, have to do with the question of whether the 10 per cent income tax surcharge will be maintained or not. "We are going to try to take the steam out of the boiler," he said.

Everybody who read these words must have felt a sense of relief. The rule in the past has been for the government to continue its over-spending while the economy ran wild. That a sincere effort is to be made to abate the inflationary evil should give the public cause for cheer—no matter what party is or what brand of politics any person prefers.

The two biggest problems up for settlement just now are how to end the Vietnam war, and how to remove the sting of inflation. Given a successful solution in those particulars, other knotty problems should help to solve themselves.

Congress, which is Democratic, should forget its partisan beliefs in helping to swat inflation hard.

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, January 22 is a memorable day in the memory of all Ukrainians of America and the entire world. For it was on that day, 51 years ago, that the people of the Ukraine have proclaimed their independence.

The people of Ukraine have long suffered from the oppression of the Romanoffs, the Hapsburgs, and the Hohenzollerns who made every effort to destroy the national traditions and ideals of the Ukrainian people. However, these valiant people have steadfastly repulsed every such effort and have sought to preserve their national identity.

On January 22, 1918, they were able to announce that their efforts have been successful and that they were establishing a free and independent republic.

The history of the Ukraine is one of the great tragedies of our century. Shortly after declaring its independence, Ukraine became one of the first victims of Soviet Russian conquest. The freedom which the Ukrainian people so desired and finally attained was only 3 years in duration. Since then they have been a puppet state of the Soviets, the largest captive non-Russian nation in all of eastern Europe.

The plight of over 45 million people is well known to all the Americans. The freedom-loving people of Ukraine have not accepted the Soviet Russian domination and have been fighting for the re-establishment of their independence by all the means accessible to them for the past 50 years.

From all the available evidence which could be obtained by Western observers we can readily see that the ever increasing tempo of repression has failed to intimidate the Ukrainian people.

Now we are witnessing what may be the final blow to the aspirations of the men and women of central Europe who sought national identity and independence in 1918.

We are faced with the startling truth that the Soviet Union cannot tolerate freedom was confirmed during the past year with the military invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet forces. Czechoslovakia has been able to sustain an appearance of freedom and independence since World War II, but events of recent days indicate that Czechoslovakia may shortly bring to this small nation the same fate suffered by the Ukrainians nearly 50 years ago.

These events should serve as a reminder to everyone that the Communist Soviet Union is and always has been a prison for the people of many nations who aspire to be free.

It is quite fitting that we in this country, regardless of our ethnic or cultural background, pause for a few moments in tribute to the Ukrainian people and their never-ending quest for national sovereignty and individual freedom.

As Americans, let us never forget that freedom was the objective for which our forefathers fought so hard to achieve for us. May we in this country be blessed with the many freedoms we enjoy and may we in the near future be joined in those blessings with the peoples of all the nations of the world.

Mr. Speaker, I say again that it has never been in the minds of the Ukrainians to accept the domination of the Soviet Union and they will continue to fight for their freedom and independence as long as there remains any semblance of hope for these objectives.

REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following report to my constituents:

MEMO

TAX SYSTEM—Speaking in New York last week, I called for immediate action to begin the long, hard job of reforming and revising the federal tax laws. I suggested this task proceed along two paths: first, as a long-range program, the initiation of staff studies leading to a review and revision of the entire Internal Revenue Code, and second, the immediate undertaking by the Ways and Means Committee of a reform of those aspects of the tax law which are being used to produce results not intended by Congress, or results inconsistent with fairness. I am glad to report that the Ways and Means Committee has agreed to begin this latter, short-range task this session.

NEED—One of the results not intended by Congress, for example, is that some 155 taxpayers with adjusted incomes over $200,000 (21 over $1,000,000) pay no taxes at all. This is done perfectly legally by using well-intended tax law provisions both to reduce taxable income and to reduce the rates at which income is taxed. These provisions must be examined and revised. If this kind of situation is allowed to persist, the whole tax system will become victim to a lack of confidence and abuse.

SIMPLIFY—I also suggested we could take steps at once to simplify the job of filing returns for the average taxpayer. One thing that can be done at once is to bring the standard deduction up-to-date. It is now set at 10% of adjusted gross income and it should be made to conform to the *itemized* deduction claimed by the average taxpayer—probably to around 18–20%, with the cut-off at $10,000 raised to $20,000, perhaps by a graduated method. 57% of the taxpayers use the standard deduction; our target should be 90%—with a greatly simplified return thus made possible for all but the most unusual taxpayer.

BUDGET—President Johnson, before leaving office, submitted to Congress a budget which shows a surplus of $2.4 billion for Fiscal 1969 and $3.4 billion for Fiscal 1970. It is important that we not be misled by this optimistic estimate. The "surpluses" are made possible only by including in the total budget the operation of the various federal trust funds, including the Social Security trust fund. These funds, of course, are segregated funds having no bearing upon actual government operations which determine whether the government operates in the red or not, and how much it will have to borrow. Excluding the trust funds, the actual federal deficits, which must be borrowed, are estimated to be $6.9 billion in Fiscal 1969 and the same amount in Fiscal 1970.

POSTMASTERS—In line with my November announcement that I would not recommend postmaster and rural carrier appointments on a political basis, I have written to the Postmaster General informing him that, should my advice be sought, I will request that the appointment be given to the highest ranking competitor in an open Civil Service examination.

OFFICE HOURS—I will hold district office hours in my Green Bay office, 207 Federal Building, on Wednesday, February 12. On Thursday, February 13, I will be at the Manitowoc County Court House, and on Friday, February 14, I will be at the Outa-

gamie County Court House. Hours each day will be from 9:00 a.m. to 12 Noon. I hope you will stop by if you would like to discuss a federal matter.

CONGRESSWOMAN LEONOR K. SULLIVAN CHALLENGES SAVINGS AND LOAN INDUSTRY TO UNDERTAKE LEADERSHIP ROLE IN SOLVING THE URBAN HOUSING CRISIS

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Banking and Currency Committee and of its Subcommittee on Housing since the start of my second term in Congress beginning in 1955, I have learned over the years that the housing goals of this country are nothing more than pious words and meaningless objectives unless the savings and loan industry is able to accumulate the funds through the savings of its member-shareholders to finance the mortgages of individual home buyers at reasonable rates of interest. There is a clear-cut and direct relationship between availability of mortgage funds through the savings and loans and our ability to bring home-ownership to more American families.

The insured savings and loans are strictly regulated by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, and must conform to high standards of responsibility in the use of their members' savings, which are insured by the Federal Government up to $15,000. Sometimes, as noted recently in a series of articles in the Washington Post, abuses have been uncovered, involving a small fraction of this large industry, and these abuses have properly led to demands for more thorough examination of the savings and loans by the regulatory agency, and the full use of powers voted by Congress in 1966 to permit the Board to step in and stop these abuses promptly, through the issuance of cease-and-desist orders.

Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN of the Committee on Banking and Currency has designated me as chairman of an ad hoc subcommittee which he intends to appoint to make a full investigation into the adequacy of regulatory policies in light of the Washington Post series. But this is only a small part of the whole picture of the savings and loan industry and its role in the financing of American home-ownership.

HOW SAVINGS AND LOANS CAN IMPLEMENT 1968 HOUSING ACT

Consequently, when I met at noon today with the legislative committee of the U.S. Savings & Loan League to discuss current problems and concerns in the home finance field, I devoted only a small part of my talk to the pending investigation of the ad hoc subcommittee; instead I talked about the challenges to and opportunities for this great industry in providing intelligent leadership in the drive in every city in this country to solve our urban housing crisis and bring homeownership—and the civic responsibility which goes with it—to more of our low-income families.

This is a terribly complex problem. The Congress last year, in the monumental 1968 Housing Act, provided many new and far-reaching tools to accomplish this goal. But no one savings and loan institution in any city can undertake the burden by itself of meeting and solving the home-financing needs of the urban poor. The entire industry, however, working together with definite goals and an assigned share of the responsibility, can do wonders. This was the theme of my talk today.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of my remarks today at a luncheon meeting of the legislative committee of the U.S. Savings & Loan League. The chairman of the committee, and of the luncheon, was Mr. C. R. Mitchell, president of the First Federal Savings & Loan of Kansas City, Mo., one of the outstanding national leaders of the savings and loan industry and a man who has served his country in a most important role as a member of the Board of Directors of the Panama Canal Company.

The speech referred to is as follows:

ADDRESS BY CONGRESSWOMAN LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, DEMOCRAT, MISSOURI, AT LUNCHEON MEETING OF THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE, U.S. SAVINGS & LOAN LEAGUE, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1969, AT THE STATLER-HILTON, WASHINGTON, D.C.

When Bob Mitchell invited me to speak at this luncheon today, I could think of a lot of reasons why it would be difficult, if not impossible, for me to be here, because of all my responsibilities up on the Hill, the legislation on which I am working, the committee assignments I hold, and so on. Instead, I said I would be glad to accept, not only because I recognize the great importance of the savings and loan industry to so many of the causes to which I am dedicated in the Congress—particularly the task of housing the American people—but also because Bob Mitchell asked me to come, and because he is the head of your Committee.

We are both from Missouri, but we come from opposite ends of the State, and there is not too much community of interest or of action between Kansas City and St. Louis, except in fighting in the State Legislature for policies and programs which will help both our major cities. I came to know Bob Mitchell, and to respect him deeply, as a result of his service on the Board of Directors of the Panama Canal Company, which is a government corporation which operates the Panama Canal for the United States. I am Chairman of the Subcommittee on the Panama Canal of the House Committee of Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and vitally interested in this waterway and in the activities of our government in the Canal Zone, and I was impressed by Mr. Mitchell's grasp of our problems there and his willingness to devote time and effort and thought—to give of himself—to this public service assignment.

As we became friends through discussion of Panama Canal issues, we found we had a great many other interests in common as a result of his work in the savings and loan field and mine as a Member of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, and of the Subcommittee on Housing on which I have served since 1955. So I am indeed happy to be Bob Mitchell's guest, and to speak to his Committee of the United States Savings and Loan League.

WE HAVE ENOUGH HOUSING LAWS FOR THE TIME BEING

Usually when I appear at a meeting of this kind to talk to people whose interest is primarily in the housing field, I try to bring with me a catalogue of issues and proposals pending before the Housing Subcommittee, and to talk about the prospects for further improvements in the Housing Laws, and go into some of the specifics about the amendments I have introduced or the bills I have joined in sponsoring and the prospects for their passage. But I did not bring such a catalogue with me today, and for a good reason. You see, I am not, *at the moment*, proposing any changes or improvements in the Housing Laws. Speaking for myself, at least, and I suspect for the other Members of the Housing Subcommittee, too, I think that when we finished our labors on housing legislation in the 90th Congress last August, we did *enough* for awhile!

We don't *need* any new housing laws right now. We have the most comprehensive housing law ever enacted. It is going to take all of you, and all of the other groups in fields directly related to housing, a long time to learn about all of the things which we put into that law, and about the manner in which you can take advantage of them and put them to good use. So if any of you have a suggestion for a change in the law, or are promoting any new piece of legislation in the housing field, I would just as soon not have you take it up with me right now. Maybe I will be interested in looking at a housing bill later in this session, but frankly I doubt it.

APPROPRIATIONS AND PRIVATE FINANCING BOTH NEEDED

Does that mean I have lost interest in this type of legislation? Not at all. I think we all recognize where the bottlenecks are right now in the effort to provide more and better housing for the American people, and the bottlenecks are not in the housing laws. There is very little wrong with the housing picture today that couldn't be corrected, or vastly improved, by a much more plentiful supply of a single commodity, and I don't mean cement or bricks or steel or copper wiring or that kind of commodity—I mean m-o-n-e-y. The money I am talking about, of course, is the kind which goes into your share accounts, where it is earmarked almost entirely for housing loans, but this same commodity is in great demand and goes into a great many other investment avenues and not enough of it is available, at reasonable rates of interest, for the socially desirable and economically vital housing function.

While we are talking about money as the missing ingredient in making our housing laws more effective, we shouldn't forget the fact that some of the new housing programs are almost completely dependent upon the appropriation process in the Congress of the United States, and some of the programs, like rent supplements and the new home ownership mortgage subsidy program, did not fare very well last year.

Considering the enthusiastic support we received in the Housing Subcommittee, and in the House, for many of the innovative programs included in the 1968 Act, there must have been some surprise throughout the country last fall when the Congress failed to appropriate sufficient funds to put the new programs into effective operation. But anyone who has followed housing legislation over the years should not be too surprised, because for years we have had this same funding problem on almost every new Federal housing aid program—unless we solved the

problem in advance, as we used to do in the Banking Committee, by providing what the late Jesse Wolcott always denounced as "back-door financing." Incidentally, I am sure many of you here were saddened, as I was, at Mr. Wolcott's death a few days ago.

SAVING OUR CENTRAL CITIES

Whether we solve it by back-door financing, front-door financing, direct appropriations, debentures, stock offerings, or by corporation capital aided by government loans or grants or tax write-offs or however, the biggest and most urgent housing problem we have in this country is in our central core areas of our major cities, and the more we do to try to solve it, the more serious the problem seems to become from a social and economic standpoint. I know that the savings and loan business, collectively and individually, is deeply aware of this problem and is already doing a good job in some areas of financing low-cost home ownership and rehabilitating older neighborhoods. The formation nearly a year ago of your Special Joint Committee on Urban Problems is an excellent example of your organization's commitment to this problem, and of its effort to provide leadership to its member organizations.

I have seen the publication "Urban Financing Guide" and I am truly impressed. I think it is one of the best compilations of the opportunities available to the home financing industry in taking advantage of the 1968 Housing Law and of the previous housing laws, including the 1966 Act which contained the Model Cities program. This publication is a very good start, and I was pleased to see that in your descriptions of the programs being undertaken in a number of our cities, the work done in St. Louis receives special attention. We have a very good and forward-looking savings and loan industry in my city and I have always been delighted to work with the leaders of the savings and loans in St. Louis and they in turn have been very helpful to me. Without the help of Mr. Michael A. Burdzy of the Pulaski Savings and Loan, the St. Louis Bicentennial Civic Improvement Corporation would never have gotten off the ground—the whole program, of which all of us in St. Louis are so proud, could never even have gotten started. This is the program, as I think most of you know, which led to the enactment of Section 221(H) in the 1966 Housing Act, and which then led to the much more liberalized mortgage rate subsidy program for home ownership for low-income families in the 1968 Act. There is a good capsule description of the origin of this program in your publication "Urban Financing Guide", as there is also of the work of the St. Louis Service Corporation organized by the Greater St. Louis Savings and Loan League.

EACH SAVINGS AND LOAN MUST SHARE THE BURDEN

All in all, you have an excellent base in this organization, and in your industry, on which to build and expand your role as leaders in the field of rehabilitation of housing in our major cities. I know it is not going to be an easy task. No one segment of the housing and financing industry can solve this problem by itself. There are all sorts of nagging and serious aspects of this problem which will confront you every step of the way. I realize that. It was rather easy for President Johnson—and if anybody had a right to do it, I suppose he did—but it was rather easy for him to set a target goal in terms of the number of housing units which we are going to build in any one year, and it is also a rather easy thing for the insurance industry to set up a dollar-target as to how much it intends to invest in this area of ghetto and central city housing improvement. But, I think, for an industry such as yours, where you are regulated by the Federal Government in all of your activities, including the dividend rate that you can pay on your share accounts and the reserves you must maintain and so on, you have to translate national goals into terms of specific goals for *individual* savings and loan associations. The target has to be one which is meaningful to the Board of Directors of the 'X' Federal Savings and Loan, or the 'Y' Federal Savings and Loan, and be based on some sort of *fairness* doctrine which is *general* in the industry.

WHAT IS A FAIR SHARE OF THE BURDEN?

Whenever a charitable organization sets out to raise a certain amount of money and establishes a goal, and then says to its potential contributors "Give whatever you feel you can," a lot of people give much less than their fair share because they have no way of judging *what* their fair share is of the projected goal. On the other hand, when we are running for election to Congress, or to other office, our Party organizations have a pretty good idea of what a candidate's "fair share" is of the Party's campaign war chest, and we always have to come through with *our share* in order to be included in the Party's campaign literature or advertising of any kind. If each savings and loan which belongs to the United States Savings and Loan League had to figure out for itself what it thought it could afford, or wished, to pay in dues to the League, I am sure at least some of the member-associations would pay far less than they should.

What I am leading up to is, that in this mammoth housing challenge which faces the American people—and particularly in our low-income areas in our cities—the savings and loan industry, as an industry, has to provide not only much of the funds, but a lot more of the leadership. *No one* savings and loan association can afford to undertake, by itself, the major burden of rehabilitating the slum areas of *any* city. But if *all* of the savings and loans in a particular area—all of those belonging to your Association, say—were to figure out how much of their total resources could be devoted to the central city housing problem, and set a guideline to which all of the associations were committed, I think you could undertake a larger share of this challenge without risk to your own financial structure or to your shareholders.

LOTS OF REASONS WHY YOU CANNOT HELP SOLVE THE PROBLEM

I mentioned the outstanding assistance provided by the Pulaski Savings and Loan Association in St. Louis in financing the first efforts of the organization which later became known as the St. Louis Bicentennial Civic Improvement Corporation. But since a single savings and loan could only do *so much*, a point was soon reached where it could not—it dared not—invest a higher percentage of its resources in this kind of effort. Help from other sources was also needed. That is why I say that if you really want to help in this program—as I know you do—then *each* savings and loan has to have a "fair-share" obligation laid out for it. Perhaps it could be 5% of its total portfolio, or 10% or 20% of new financing. Maybe some other figure would be better. But all that the Board of Directors and the members of a savings and loan would have to do in order to see if their *own* association was meeting its obligations in this field, would be to compare its efforts to the percentage objectives set by the U.S. League, or by State or local leagues.

I have heard many reasons from officials of savings and loans why their associations cannot undertake the burden of financing home ownership for low-income families in the poor areas of their cities which so desperately need the stabilizing influence of home ownership. For a while, it was the insurance problem—but I think we have solved that, are on the way to solving it, as a result of the passage of the 1968 Act. Then, of course, there is the lack of family stability, or the lack of income stability, or the other social problems of the slum areas which might jeopardize the investment. This is the problem which the St. Louis Bicentennial Civic Improvement Corporation has been remarkably effective in dealing with.

It has worked with the *families* which are participating in the home ownership experiment in St. Louis and it has taught them how to care for their homes, and how to budget their limited incomes so they can meet their obligations each month in paying off their mortgages; it has helped to instill pride in these people and civic and community consciousness. The greatest boast made to me by the leaders of the St. Louis Bicentennial Civic Improvement Corporation was that not a single member of any family participating in the program had gone to jail. They were so proud of this fact because many of the families participating in this program had previously experienced the periodic absence of a member of the family while serving a jail term. This kind of *caring* about a borrowers ability to cope with the complex problems he faces as a citizen and as a homeowner is a challenge to you. If you do expand your loan program into low-income areas, you have to become involved *with* the family.

THE GOVERNMENT REGULATORY AGENCY MUST ALSO RECOGNIZE THE PROBLEM

If a savings and loan association just doesn't want to get into this area of home ownership financing for low-income families in the central city areas, it can easily find a million reasons not to do so. But even those associations which do want to make greater contribution to their communities by helping to rehabilitate and restore the deteriorating areas of their cities have real problems in doing so, and I think these problems should be recognized by all concerned, *including the* regulatory agency, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board. As I understand it, there is absolutely no special recognition given by the Board to this category of loan. The Board will make allowances for occasional delinquency in FHA-VA loans but it is my understanding that there is a real problem, from a reserves standpoint, growing out of the occasional delinquency or slow-pay status of conventional loans, even when they involve low-income families whose home financing the savings and loan has undertaken more out of the spirit of community service than of "business as usual." Many of the special programs contained in the 1968 Act for the rehabilitation of housing for low-income families, and for the sale of housing to low-income families, do involve FHA insurance and special subsidies, so presumably these would qualify for the less stringent regulatory restrictions the Board now maintains for FHA loans, compared to conventional loans. But I would urge the Board to examine into the possibility of according somewhat more relaxed regulatory surveillance over the conventional loan made to a family which is buying a home say in the $10,000 range. Is there any reason this cannot be done—if this type of loan represents only a small percentage of total assets?

THE RISK IS GREATER THAN FINANCIAL

I realize, of course, that the Federal Home Loan Bank Board is obliged and required to maintain the highest standards of business practice and depositor safety and public confidence in the savings and loans, but I do not think that the savings and loan insurance system, or the industry itself, would topple if there were allowances made for the fact that certain types of loans which *we are anxious* to have the savings and loans un-

dertake for social reasons—for the good of the whole community—are not necessarily gilt-edged, top-drawer investments. Sure, they are a bit riskier than loans made to middle-income, educated families out in the suburbs. But if we can't save our cities—if we cannot restore stability and a sense of ownership participation on the part of the people who live in our cities—the suburbs will eventually be satellites of urban volcanoes spewing ashes and destruction over the entire metropolitan area.

Through urban renewal we have been trying since 1949 to make the central city areas more attractive to higher-income families, and we have built many high-rise luxury apartment houses and provided excellent designs for modern living in the downtown areas. Undoubtedly this replacement of urban blight with modern delights will continue. But the poor people who are displaced by the luxury high-rises can't very well go out to the suburbs to take over the housing left behind by the family which moved to the city. We have been considering all sorts of ideas and proposals for rehousing the unhoused, and we have many programs for that, but when you come right down to it, the suburban areas form a solid ring around the cities and say "You keep those people in there—we don't want them out here." I am afraid we have come to the point in our society when the words "low-income" and "undesirable" seem to be synonymous. It certainly wasn't always that way, but it is now.

NEED AREAWIDE COUNCILS OF ALL GROUPS CONCERNED IN HOUSING

I have been urging you gentlemen to take the lead in your associations to involve all of the savings and loans more deeply in the problems of home financing for the low-income families now living in the cities. But *you* do not go out and plan housing developments. *You* do not do the contracting. *You* do not handle the problems of zoning and building codes and all the other things which go hand in hand with the solution of our housing problems. Yet your business is a decisive factor in the solution of housing problems. If you don't finance the housing, the chances are it is not going to get financed.

The savings and loan industry includes in its leadership men with a wide range of skills and interests and abilities. You are respected in your communities; you represent thousands of members of your associations who are the thrifty, home-buying, savings-oriented members of the community. I therefore think that the savings and loan industry *could* take the lead in your metropolitan areas in organizing *committees* and *councils* of *all* of the people involved in housing—the banks, the builders, the engineers and architects, the public officials, including the planners and those who write the zoning ordinances and who determine the geographic development of a community—organize them into a task force to solve housing problems on a *community-wide* basis, an area-wide basis, not just inside the city alone. It can't be done *just* in the city alone.

If you people don't do it, I am afraid *no one* is doing to do it. Our municipalities are compartmentalized and unable to reach across their borders or to take positions which involve any really effective metropolitan planning or cooperation. But *you* people can do it. Your interests cross city lines and county lines. I would like to see you try.

AD HOC SUBCOMMITTEE INVESTIGATION OF SPECULATION IN SLUM HOUSING

And now I would like to touch on several other matters in which I know you are deeply interested—matters involving the Committee on Banking and Currency and which also involve your industry. One is the proposed investigation by an Ad Hoc Subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee into the kind of practices in ghetto area mortgage financing by some savings and loans in the Washington area, uncovered in a series of articles in the *Washington Post*. As you may know, Chairman Patman has asked me to be the Chairman of such an investigation and I have had the Home Loan Bank Board and the Federal Reserve and the Comptroller of the Currency and the FDIC all working on reports to me on the information they have about the prevalence of the kind of thing the *Washington Post* described. In case you are not familiar with that series of articles, it documented numerous instances in which certain savings and loans here in Washington recklessly financed big speculators in slum housing, extending loans at what appeared to be vastly inflated values, and the speculators in turn then disposed of the properties to low-income families whom they saddled with two and three mortgages on which the buyers could not afford the monthly payments.

What I am concerned about, and I am sure you are, too, is that under the laws relating to savings and loans, and under the regulations of the Board and the examination procedures which are carried out by the Board, practices of this kind *can* be prevented. I think the authority we provided in 1966 now gives the Federal Home Loan Bank Board all of the power it needs to issue cease and desist orders when it uncovers abuses of this kind, but we want to make sure that the law is adequate and that the regulations are adequate and that the examination into the individual association's actions is thorough enough.

The savings and loan industry is too vital an industry to the well-being of the American people to permit a small but unprincipled element within the industry—if this element is still operating—to undermine public confidence in the solidity and the integrity and the decency of this great industry. We cannot tolerate that.

Regardless of what you might have heard or might have read about the plans for this investigation—and they are still only tentative because the Committee on Banking and Currency has not as yet authorized this investigation, nor have the members of the Ad Hoc Committee been appointed to it,—but regardless of what you might have heard or read about plans for this investigation, I can assure you that, if I conduct it, I will do my best to do a *constructive* job of investigation to uncover faults *in the law* or *in the regulations which need correction* rather than to seek out morning and afternoon headlines by finding that some fellow, two or three years ago, misused his power as an executive of a savings and loan to conspire with shady characters in violation of his trust and of the law as well. I am a firm believer in the punishment of wrongdoers, but I do not believe a Congressional Committee investigation is a Grand Jury. Our utlimate job is to write necessary legislation—the right kind of legislation. That will be the purpose of any investigation I undertake into the operations of any savings and loans in financing big speculators in ghetto real estate.

REGULATIONS UNDER TRUTH-IN-LENDING ACT

A final note on another subject of close interest to this audience—the proposed regulations of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for the implementation of the Truth-in-Lending Act. I understand that there is some unhappiness in the savings and loan industry over the first draft of those regulations, which treated real estate mortgages in exactly the same way as any other type of consumer credit transaction. As you know, I was under strong pressure at the time the Consumer Credit Protection Act was drafted and introduced, and then during our hearings and the committee deliberations afterwards, to *exempt all first mortgages from the bill*. This I refused to do, even though the Senate had done so. I think the hearings I conducted in the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs established clearly that a first mortgage is not necessarily a good mortgage just because it's a first mortgage. However, there was agreement in Conference that *purchase-money first mortgages* should *not* be subject to all of the restrictions and requirements of the Truth-in-Lending bill as it applied to small loans, and revolving credit, and to installment purchases, and modernization loans, or refinancing. So we did make special provisions in the bill for *purchase-money first mortgages*. To the largest extent possible we allowed for the customary closing costs. And we recognized that the mortgage executed at the time one purchases a home generally provides most, if not all, of the information which the Truth-in-Lending Act is intended to require. Like you, however, I am still awaiting the final version of the Federal Reserve's Truth-in-Lending regulations, so I cannot tell you how they will look. But I can say that it is my intention, once the regulations are issued in final form by the Board, to arrange for hearings on the regulations by my Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs. If there are any serious technical problems for any industry in connection with those regulations, I think we want to have them all ironed out *before* the law takes effect on July 1.

I do not promise that I will take *your* side in any controversy with the Board over any specific regulation applying to real estate mortgages, but I *do* promise to provide an objective forum in which any technical problems can be reviewed in the light of what we are trying to accomplish in the law, and *be reviewed by those who wrote the law*.

If there are any questions about what Congress intended in any provision in this law, I think *we* are the people who would know that. So probably we can be helpful both to the Board and to the various industry groups which would be affected by the Regulations, and also—and of course this is paramount—to the consumers who have the greatest stake of all in this issue.

And now let me conclude by thanking you for inviting me and for listening to me with such courtesy. I have enjoyed our many associations over the years and I look forward to working with you in the 91st Congress. Thank you.

CHARLES W. YOST, U.N. AMBASSADOR

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, since the hearings on Mr. Yost for confirmation as Ambassador to the United Nations may not be published, I include a letter by Mr. Ginzburg to various newspapers and the testimony of Mr. Benjamin Ginzburg before the Foreign Relations Committee in the RECORD:

ARLINGTON, VA.,
January 26, 1969.

Re: Charles W. Yost to the U.N.

SIR: On January 21, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, held hearings on the nomination of Charles W. Yost as Ambassa-

dor to the UN. The Associated Press Report on these hearings gave the mistaken impression that there was no opposition to Mr. Yost. The fact is that two witnesses testified against him. I was one of them.

I pointed out that Mr. Yost had published some strange views about foreign policy and national security. The reason these views have not aroused a storm of controversy is because the public has not been informed of them.

For example, Mr. Yost has said that the quest for military security is the cause of our insecurity. He believes we should abandon the effort to retain military superiority over our potential enemies. He does not think our security is threatened as much by communist aggression as by nuclear arms race.

He has a great deal of difficulty in recognizing communist aggression when he sees it. He has publicly described the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia as "an internally defensive rather than an externally aggressive action". He would appear to regard Czechoslovakia as an integral part of the Soviet empire, not an independent, sovereign state. Not even the Kremlin has dared go that far.

Mr. Yost also advocates dropping our opposition to seating Red China in the UN. He apparently disagrees with this statement by Adlai Stevenson in this issue: "The government of Peiping is not peace-loving; it does not concur in the obligations the charter imposes; and it is clearly neither able nor willing to carry them out."

On all of these issues, Yost is diametrically opposed to President Nixon. President Nixon has said that it is our nuclear superiority that has kept the peace. He believes that we must maintain arms superiority in order to deter aggression. He denounced the invasion of Czechoslovakia as an "outrage against the conscience of the world" that proved again and again that weakness is an invitation to aggression. He has opposed the admission of Red China to the UN, saying that it would only encourage the hardliners in Red China and discourage the noncommunists all over Free Asia.

How can Amb. Yost speak for President Nixon? At best, he will be an insincere advocate of the American position. At worst, he may undermine it. I regret that members of the committee did nothing to expose this contradiction in the views of Mr. Yost and the President in the Foreign Relations Committee hearings.

Sincerely yours,

BENJAMIN GINZBURG.

STATEMENT OF BENJAMIN GINZBURG BEFORE THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE OF THE U.S. SENATE, WITH REGARD TO THE NOMINATION OF CHARLES W. YOST TO SERVE AS AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS, JANUARY 21, 1969

Mr. Chairman, I have come to you as a private citizen to urge your distinguished committee not to recommend the confirmation of Charles W. Yost as Ambassador to the United Nations until you have read, digested and are willing to subscribe to Mr. Yost's published views on national security and foreign policy. Since the members of the committee are endowed with moral common sense, I am confident that you will not knowingly give your approval to Mr. Yost's views by voting to confirm him for the important post to which he has been nominated.

I realize that I am asking you to go counter to the judgment of our new President, who nominated Mr. Yost. But I am convinced that Mr. Yost's nomination resulted from a slip-up in staff work. Somebody made a judgment on the basis of external appearances without inquiring into the substance of Mr. Yost's views. Thus Mr. Yost has had a long career at the State Department; he has just published a book under the sponsorship of the Council on Foreign Relations—the organization that publishes the distinguished periodical, Foreign Affairs; and on top of all that he served as foreign policy adviser to Vice President Humphrey in his presidential campaign. All these things seemed to make Mr. Yost an ideal choice for a position for which President Nixon had decided to select a Democrat.

But anybody who reads, as I have done, Mr. Yost's statement on foreign policy which he presented to the Democratic Party platform writers (it was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Sept. 10, 1968 by Congressman Jonathan Bingham of New York) and then reads the book, the Insecurity of Nations, which endeavors to provide a philosophic basis for Mr. Yost's views, will see at once that a great blunder has been made. President Nixon has nominated a dreamer who rejects all realism in foreign policy.

Thus President Nixon constantly emphasized during his campaign that in negotiating with Russia it was necessary to negotiate from a position of strength. To Mr. Yost this is nonsense. He believes that the quest for national strength, for military security, is the cause of all our troubles. It is the quest of each nation for national security that creates the mounting insecurity of nations. That is the theme and title of his book. He insists that there can be no real security for any nation without security for all nations, and that security for all nations requires international organization and international control and limitation of national armaments.

It may be objected that these eccentric views of Mr. Yost will not do our country any harm since as Ambassador to the United Nations he will not be called upon to make United States policy but rather to expound the policy decisions made by others.

But it is elementary wisdom that in selecting a spokesman for a policy it is best to pick a man who believes in the policy. An insincere advocate is bound to be an ineffective advocate.

I want to point out, however, that much more is involved here than the question of Mr. Yost's fitness to represent the United States at the United Nations. Mr. Yost is not an isolated figure. He represents a line of doctrinaire thought which is strongly intrenched in the State Department and in other sections of our government. Thus if you vote to approve Mr. Yost's nomination as Ambassador, you will be simultaneously voting to approve a line of doctrine which has greatly handicapped the defense of American interests and the protection of the Western way of life.

On the other hand, if you vote to disapprove Mr. Yost's nomination, you will be doing more than to block an unfit appointment—you will be attacking a dangerous delusion.

The delusion is the belief than mankind has now reached the international or world order stage of human behavior. Or, as Mr. Yost puts it, that the time has come to break away from the "nation-state" and "its fatal charisma." This belief has arisen because weak-minded people have taken too literally the glowing rhetoric which accompanied the creation and development of the United Nations. Under the influence of this belief, doctrinaires posing as experts have contended that national policy decisions should be directed towards strengthening international controls and reaching out for a complete system of world government or world law. They think that nations should behave towards one another in accordance with the same tenets of morality which are preached regarding the conduct of individuals in a national community—that is to say, that they should be brotherly and generous to the point of turning the other cheek, and that above all they should abide by the arbitrament of law when disputes break out.

It would be nice if the nations were able to act that way. But unfortunately we are not yet living in what Jews call the Messiatime of the world and what Christians call the era of the Second Coming. We are living in an everyday world in which national governments provide shelter and security for their peoples' way of life. Even if we were not confronted with the ruthless and inhuman drive of communist imperialism—that is to say, even if the world of nations comprised only peoples adhering broadly to the Western way of life—we would still have to go quite slowly in abandoning national interests in favor or as yet uncrystallized international interests. But given the existence of communist imperialism, it is positively immoral to make deals with Russia or China which mitigate against the protection of our way of life. It is just as immoral as to preach the beauties of pacifism and non-resistance to evil to a man who is being attacked by an armed robber. Instead of recognizing today's realities, people like Mr. Yost are so bewitched by the dream of internationalism that they are constantly minimizing and excusing the brutal egoism of Soviet actions while attacking American actions as being insufficiently generous and trusting. They are compelled to do so because in no other way can they sustain the illusion of mankind progressing in our time to a world order.

Thus in surveying U.S.-Soviet relations after World War II, Mr. Yost puts the onus of blame for the part of the Cold War on the American abandonment of economic aid to Russia "for fear it would strengthen a rival." In other words, we should have been more trusting to Stalin. We should have overlooked the vices of his character, even as Mr. Yost overlooks them when he praises Stalin as "a great leader" who led Russia "successfully through the most terrible war to the most brilliant triumph of her history." (Nothing is said of Stalin's role in unleashing World War II through his pact with Hitler nor of the crucial part played by American lend-lease in saving Russia from destruction).

When he discusses United States dealings with Khrushchev, Mr. Yost again harps on our lack of trust and generosity. "It is not suggested," he writes, "that the West could or should have surrendered Berlin or any other essential Western position. It is suggested that a more flexible, imaginative and conciliatory tactic during 1959 and early 1960, including cheerful and constructive participation in a summit meeting, including dignified but ungrudging cordiality toward himself, might have borne fruit in some partial accommodations at the summit, have preserved much longer a decent semblance of detent, and possibly have avoided the two fearsome confrontations" over Berlin and Cuba.

So anxious is Mr. Yost to believe in progress towards internationalism that he is ready to settle for appearances of progress as sufficient for this purpose, and attacks American leaders for demanding substance rather than semblance of progress. In an amazing passage reminiscent of the doctrines of the French psychiatrist Coue, Mr. Yost tells us that "if tension *seems* to have relaxed, it *has* relaxed, and the new psychological climate arising therefrom makes new departures possible, whether or not other objective conditions have changed." He adds that this is the reason why highlevel or summit negotiations "are almost always desirable, whenever they are possible, precisely because the high level of the participants puts a premium on at least partial success." This was written—or at least published—after the Kosygin-Johnson summit at Glassboro and its moonshine of "the spirit of Glassboro." Presumably Mr. Yost would attribute the collapse of the spirit of Glassboro to the failure on our part to follow up the summit with sufficient giveaways of American positions.

Not only is Mr. Yost satisfied to accept a seeming relaxation of tension as equivalent to the real thing, but he is ready to convert all problems, all conflicts of interest, into states of mind. Thus he suggests in a rhetorical question that today's East-West confrontation is "a reflection not so much of clashing interests as of clashing and outdated states of mind." In his summary presentation to the Democratic Party platform writers, he declares categorically that "the chief threat to international and U.S. security is not, at least in the near future, communist aggression but (a) the costly, dangerous and needless nuclear arms race and (b) uncontrolled turbulence in Asia, Africa and Latin America sucking in and contraposing great powers."

What about the threat of war created by the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia?—the man in the street may ask. Is that, too, a fiction created by our own state of mind? Yes, indeed, says Mr. Yost. The invasion of Czechoslovakia though brutal, was "an internally defensive rather than an externally aggressive action." For this reason Mr. Yost recommends that the pursuit of detente should not be abandoned but resumed and that we can look forward to the time when "U.S. troops in the NATO area can and should be gradually reduced."

In vain will the realist point out that as a result of the invasion of Czechoslovakia Soviet troops, for the first time since World War II, are poised on the borders of West Germany, and that the excuse of internal defense has been the standard basis used by both Czarist Russia and the Soviet empire for launching a step-by-step aggressive expansion. Mr. Yost will not hear of these things since he is out to prove that only mental, not real obstacles, stand in the way of achieving and international world order.

The constant attempt to reassure us, by any and all arguments, that there is no threat to the free world from communism makes Mr. Yost's book read at times like a political satire. Thus Mr. Yost tells us, with a straight face, that since the faith of communism has "mostly material goals, its zeal tends to be subdued as these are approached." The last time we heard this type of argument was when Hitler and his apologists told us that the Nazi appetite for "living space" was in process of being appeased, and that all the Nazis wanted was this piece of territory and no more!

Not satisfied with assuring us that the zeal of the communists is being abated, Mr. Yost trots out the hoary argument that the communists and the men of the free world are coming more and more to resemble each other. He puts a scientific gloss on the argument by claiming that the technological processes which we and they use "are causing the various systems more and more to converge and conform," so that "capitalism is tending to become more 'collectivist', communism more 'individualist', and the differences between them more political than structural." Thank God, one may say, that he has left some minor differenecs between the communist regimes and our own. Otherwise we would be really stuck in explaining why the communist rulers have to build Berlin walls and barbed wire fences and station soldiers with machine guns in order to prevent their ungrateful subjects from escaping from the communist paradises.

At any rate for Mr. Yost the international prospect is objectively quite beautiful. The only flaw on the horizon is the addiction of the free world and the Communists to modern nuclear weapons. "Both systems," he tells us, "have become so caught up in the momentum of weapons-making, in the 'military-industrial complex', that many of their managers share an unhealthy vested interest in the continuation of international confrontation and insecurity." Mr. Yost concludes therefore that we shall have to control and eventually limit "these preposterous and seditious arms."

How is this to be accomplished? By turning an intellectual switch which will transmute the activity of weapons-making into the activity of weapons-controlling. "Once people are persuaded generally that these weapons are not a protection but a plague—a plague like malaria, cancer, pollution, overpopulation and venereal disease—then the same ingenuity and resources that cured or are curing those plagues, indeed the same ingenuity and resources that created these weapons, can no doubt be as successfully employed to control, reduce, and eventually do away with them."

What a simple solution for the problem of nuclear weapons! Set up a new Manhattan project to put the genie back into the bottle by devising a scientific scheme for international non-use of these weapons on the theory that they weaken rather than strengthen a nation's security. Unfortunately, while the Russians are quite ready to have us abandon nuclear weapons on the sophistical ground that they weaken our security, they themselves have persistently clung to the belief that weapons are weapons and not crazy things invented when we have nothing to fight about. Thus Mr. Yost's solution, for all its international dress, amounts to an argument for unilateral disarmament and for rendering our country naken in the face of the enemy.

It is part of the sickness of our time that many Americans are seduced by the dream pictures which Mr. Yost and others draw about the world. They portray a world in which men have no values to defend but confront one another and fight because they have invented arms which need to be exercised.

But is this the world we live in? We live in a world of flesh and blood, sin and moral struggle. We live in a world where we have to defend our moral ideals, our civilization, against an upsurge of evil forces, against lunatics like Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin. While the invention of nuclear weapons has heightened the ordeal of human life, it has by no means abolished the necessity of defending moral values. Just as we cannot yield to nuclear blackmail by the Communists—such as Khrushchev attempted when he planted Soviet missiles 90 miles from our shore—so we cannot yield to the nuclear shell game preached by the pacifists and internationalists, who would have us surrender our values in exchange for life in a world government animal farm run by our enemies.

Mr. Chairman, I repeat that much more is involved than the appointment of Mr. Yost as Ambassador to the United Nations. If Mr. Yost's nomination is confirmed, even though with the understanding that he is not to make policy, a great boost will be given to the stultifying doctrines advocated by his school of thought. I therefore pray that you recommend against his nomination, and that President Nixon be persuaded to withdraw his nomination without bringing it to a vote in the Senate.

INFLATION

HON. WILBUR D. MILLS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered by Dr. George S. Benson, president emeritus of Harding College, to the Kiwanis Club, Searcy, Ark., on January 9, 1969:

INFLATION

(An address by Dr. George S. Benson, president emeritus of Harding College, to the Kiwanis Club, Searcy, Ark., January 9, 1969)

In talking with top officials in major national corporations, in talking with leading government officials and from reading leading magazines, I find they now very generally rate inflation as the leading problem facing the nation. First, let me attempt the difficult task of defining inflation. To put it simply, inflation is a situation in which purchasing power is increasing faster than desirable goods to be purchased are increasing. For example, suppose in Searcy all salaries, wages, relief payments and all other sources of income should increase at the rate of 7% a year for five years, making a total increase of 35%, while at the same time incoming goods to be purchased increased at only 2% a year, making a total of 10% in five years. This would definitely cause the prices of goods to go up.

This is actually, in general, what is happening to the entire nation at this time. There are numerous pressures contributing to the increase of purchasing power at a faster rate than desirable goods are becoming available for purchase. In fact, anything that increases the flow of money without increasing the flow of goods correspondingly is inflationary.

An easy example to understand is the way the wages keep going up faster than productivity. Personally, I am very much interested in employees. They constitute a very big segment of our American society and a very important segment. I would like to see wages go up and the standard of living for working people go up, just as fast as it can be sustained without tending to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs.

But wages at the present time are climbing at what is often estimated at about 8% whereas productivity is increasing at about 2% a year. This means that the labor which is producing goods is being paid 8% more for producing goods but is only producing 2% more goods. The steel industry is a fair example. It is estimated that the new wage package in steel is equivalent to about 8% increase per year for the duration of the contract but the rate at which productivity is increasing in the steel industry is approximately 2%. When you apply this to the automobile industry and all other industries, then it means that the wages which create purchasing power were increasing about four times as fast as the goods being produced as a result of those wages.

President Johnson recognized this danger and several years ago set a guideline urging that wages not go up faster than 3.2% but the guideline has ceased to be followed and now wages are going up at two and one-half times the rate of guideline recommendation. Productivity, on the contrary, is going up scarcely as fast as was projected when the guideline was set. All of this definitely creates an inflationary situation. It is estimated that the purchasing power of the American dollar during 1968 alone lost about 4.6% of its power. A savings account created in 1940 or a government bond purchased in 1940 and sold on today's market would purchase only 40% of its 1940 purchasing power. That's an indication of what inflation does to pensions, annuities, and all other fixed dollar incomes.

Another inflationary pressure results from big government spending and extended gov-

ernment credits, all of which is partially financed by new money printed by the Treasury Department. New printed money increases purchasing power but does not increase the goods to be purchased and therefore, is distinctly inflationary. Private borrowing tends to do the same thing. For instance, if I borrow from the bank in Searcy $1000, I have increased my purchasing power by $1000 but I haven't increased the goods to be purchased at all. The borrowings of the federal government, the state governments, the cities and municipalities, and private individuals in America runs far beyond $1 trillion.

A third inflationary pressure comes from the rapid increase of crime and lawlessness. Many businesses which were burned out in the big fires in certain major cities have indicated no desire to build back. Many other business men who had thought of expanding their businesses and increasing the production of goods, on the contrary are delaying action because of the fear of crime and lawlessness. They put their money out on interest instead of investing it to produce goods. This creates additional inflationary pressures and also pushes up the inflated prices of common stocks.

When we combine the fear of rapidly rising wages which some people think will go to the 10% level by the end of 1969 and when we recognize the encouragement this gives to foreign competition in America and accordingly, the squeeze that may be expected on profits, a squeeze made still more serious by rising taxes; and when we recognize the tremendous pressure from big government spending and when we recognize the fears from crime and lawlessness, we can see much to restrain American capital from investing in the production of goods, all of which tends to increase purchasing power faster than desirable goods are being produced.

This can be very, very serious for America's future. It is high time the entire American public take note of these serious problems and move for their correction.

America one time was 85% agricultural. Today, only 6% of the American people live on farms and less than 6% of the national income is from agriculture. We are an industrial nation. Our employers and the 70 million employees are the very backbone of the nation. This is the only country in the world where an employee on hourly wages can look forward to owning a home, an automobile, a radio, a TV, and sending his son to college. Employees fare better here than anywhere else in the world. Personally, I'd like to see these superior wages that make possible superior living conditions long prevail in our country but if the inflationary pressures mentioned above are long continued, these good jobs will be destroyed and America will be reduced to mediocrity.

As the results of these problems are becoming better and better recognized, I think we may feel assured that attempts will be made for a reasonable solution to the imbalance between wages increases and productivity, for reductions in extensive government spending, and for reduction of crime and lawlessness.

Whether these efforts for improvement can succeed or not will depend upon the general atmosphere in the nation. If we can create a general atmosphere in which these problems are properly recognized and in which solutions are really desired, then improvements will come. If, on the contrary, the general public has no realization of the problems and consequently, the problems continue to grow instead of being solved, then the efforts for improvement will fail and America will go on moving in the same direction in all three of these areas, which will be very, very detrimental.

Therefore, I appeal to the American public to encourage an atmosphere favorable to the adoption of some sound method for obtaining a better balance in the industrial area, for properly reducing big government spending, and for effectively curbing lawlessness and crime in America. The final decisions will be determined at the bar of public opinion in this great democratic republic. But remember that sound money is essential to the long range well-being of any nation. Inflation must not be allowed to wreck our financial structure, and with it our industrial structure.

DEALERS IN PORNOGRAPHY

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced legislation which would provide postal authorities with decisive powers to crack down on dealers in pornography who increasingly are using the U.S. mails as a pipeline for the unconscionable flow of smut and obscenity to minors.

Last year alone the Post Office Department received over 165,000 formal complaints from recipients of unsolicited offensive mailings and I am advised that the volume of complaints is growing each month.

The bill that I have introduced is aimed squarely at the odious creatures in our society who deal in pornography. First, the measure would prohibit mail-order sales of obscene materials to children of school age; second, it would make the unsolicited mailing of "hard core" pornography, or offers to sell "hard core" pornography, to any family with children under the age of 16 a Federal crime punishable by fine and jail sentence.

Unlike previous Federal legislation designed to regulate the distribution of objectionable sexual materials, the measure being introduced today is specifically directed to the protection of children. It therefore does not attempt to employ the typical criteria of obscenity set forth by the Supreme Court Roth decision but instead sets forth with particularity the materials proscribed for mailing to children or families with children; namely, explicit portrayals of sexual intercourse, sodomy, homosexuality and sadomasochistic abuse, with no artistic purpose other than appeal to prurient interests.

I want to emphasize that my bill does not seek to limit freedom of speech or expression in the adult world. It does, however, place responsibility for unsolicited offensive mailings to children and families on obscenity racketeers who obviously are little concerned by artistic values. By requiring smut merchants to determine whether their mailing lists include the names of families with schoolage children, traffic in obscenity—especially through the mails—will be substantially reduced and perhaps all but eliminated.

It is high time for Congress to take meaningful action of this kind.

HONOLULU YMCA MARKS ITS CENTENNIAL YEAR: CHARTING A COURSE FOR TODAY AND TOMORROW

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the Young Men's Christian Association is known the world over for its work in helping boys to achieve their maximum potential, physically and mentally, with a solid Christian foundation, as they grow into manhood. During the past 100 years, the YMCA of Honolulu, of which several years ago I was privileged to be a board member, has been involved in this outstanding and laudatory endeavor. While its main concern in the past has been the development of the spirit, mind and body of Island youngsters who sought to avail themselves of its facilities, the Honolulu YMCA, according to Henry B. Clarke, Jr., its president, has now pledged to "go out to seek those who need its services."

Projecting an exciting new role for the Y, Mr. Clarke in his centennial message promises that the Honolulu YMCA workers in the future will become "mobile vendors of a Y idea."

The work of the YMCA in Honolulu began 100 years ago when 10 men signed the rolls of the first meeting. The work then consisted of prayer meetings, helping with Sunday schools and the maintenance of a reading room in the Seaman's Home in Honolulu. The association later came to the aid of immigrant Chinese laborers who arrived in Hawaii in large numbers. It will not until 1883, however, that the Honolulu association was able to erect its first permanent two-story brick building. Later, after a gymnasium was added, classes were held and work with boys was undertaken. Since those early meager years the YMCA in Honolulu has grown to the point where it was necessary to establish branches in the outlying areas.

On April 30, 1969, the Honolulu YMCA will observe its first 100 years of progress. Since those simple beginnings in 1869, the Honolulu association has continually kept pace with the increasing needs of the Island community. As a former member of the board of governors of the Kaimuki branch, YMCA, I commend all who have played a part in the growth of the Honolulu YMCA.

Mr. Speaker, my colleagues and other readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will find of interest, I am sure, the editorial on the Honolulu YMCA centennial which appeared in the January 24, 1969 edition of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin:

"Y" CENTENNIAL

A hundred years ago next April 30, the Honolulu YMCA came into being with 10 members. They had been called together by Peter Cushman Jones, Thomas Rain Walker and Sanford Ballard Dole who became the association's first president and was later to write history as Hawaii's chief executive in

the turbulent years following the overthrow of the monarchy.

Around the triangle that is its symbol it built a program of physical, mental and spiritual development.

One of its earliest decisions was to prove of profound importance in setting the tone for Hawaii's human relations. It offered help to the Chinese who were coming to the Islands in large numbers, encouraging them to become a part of the total community.

A little over half a century ago, the establishment of the Nuuanu YMCA advanced this program. Its mission was to carry on work in the native tongues of the older Japanese, Chinese and Korean generations as well as in English for their Hawaii-born children. Here as much as anywhere was rooted the strong tree of a fully integrated Hawaii. Indeed, Nuuanu Y leaders were prominently identified with the resolute stand Hawaii took when efforts were made to organize the first Lions club here. They insisted that the Lions open membership to all races. This was done and the Lions became the worldwide organization it now is.

Today, the YMCA is as alert to contemporary needs as it was 100 or 50 years ago. In the words of Henry B. Clark, Jr., president of the YMCA of Honolulu, the Y "is now caught up in the continuing revolution of our time. Even as we attack our decaying environment, and encounter problems requiring vast concentrations of power to solve, we must also create new institutions and energize old ones like the Y.

"The basic need is human energy—the Liberation of inventive intelligent, flexible energy and its use to develop new processes to meet human need. Relevancy is the modern word and this may be what we are searching for . . ."

Since the early 1950s, the Y has been working to bridge the "generation gap" with its father-and-son Y-Indian Guides program. It has leaped across the Pacific to share a student exchange program with Hiroshima in Japan. It provides a training ground for citizenship in its Model Legislature. It stimulates brotherhood through its world service program. It sends workers out of its buildings to bring help to "disadvantaged" youth in their own neighborhoods.

What of the future? Arthur J. Jackson, the metropolitan executive, puts it this way: "Our future, to be worthy of the past, cannot be envisioned in buildings, services, budgets, public image, or the numbers of people engaged in activities. It must be sought in more subtle fashion—in the quality of life for which we influence youth—and it has to be matched by knowledge of program, materials, and training toward concrete objectives—goals in terms of what we stand and work for."

The YMCA occupies an honored place in the social fabric of Hawaii. It has earned high rank and seems intent upon going even higher by keeping pace with the changing needs of a changing community.

PAY INCREASES

HON. TOM BEVILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, I support the pending resolutions which would prohibit the pay increases of the members of the legislative, judicial, and executive branches of our Government. In my opinion, it is wrong to seek an office knowing the salary that it pays, and then, after election, using the power of the office to get one's own pay increased.

I feel that if any pay raise is made that it should not be effective during the term of office for which the Members of Congress have been elected.

Considering the economic condition of our Government at this time, I feel that the proposed pay raise is not to the best interest of our country.

Therefore, I urge that you support the resolutions which would prohibit the increase in salaries for the members of the U.S. Supreme Court, Members of Congress, and members of the executive branch of the Government.

A GRADUATE PROSECUTOR FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM PROPOSED BY PROFESSOR STARRS

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the District of Columbia is experiencing a serious crime wave and many public and private citizens have rallied to the call and submitted suggested solutions to meet the problem now, and to prevent its recurrence.

One such individual is Mr. James E. Starrs, professor of law, George Washington University, the National Law Center, who has proposed the establishment of a graduate prosecutor fellowship program to expand the expertise of those who must prosecute the criminal defendant.

I insert Professor Starrs' proposal at this point in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues:

A PROPOSAL OF THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY NATIONAL LAW CENTER FOR A GRADUATE PROSECUTOR FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

(Presented by James E. Starrs, professor of law, George Washington University, the National Law Center)

1. BRIEF DESCRIPTION

It is proposed that the George Washington University National Law Center inaugurate a graduate course of training for persons interested in a career as public prosecutors. This training program shall involve a two year program involving evening attendance at classes at the National Law Center and daily assignment for in-service training to the office of the U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia. Qualified persons shall, upon acceptance into this program, be designated Prosecutor Fellows and shall be awarded a stipend for tuition and expenses which shall be sufficient to enable them to devote their full-time efforts to the in-service and academic phases of the program.

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE OF THE PROGRAM

As early as 1931, the Wickersham Commission referred to the prosecutor as "the pivot on which the administration of criminal justice . . . turns." (*National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Report on Prosecution* 11). But the paucity of available programs for intensive training of persons who are interested in a career as public prosecutors, either on the state, local or federal level, has been glaringly apparent in recent days. The *Task Force Report on the Courts* issued by the *President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice* reflects an awareness of the magnitude of this problem. In the words of that Report:

"It is clear that existing programs do not meet the need for prosecutor training techniques in the investigative, administrative, and broader law enforcement policy roles played by the prosecutor. These matters have not been seen as suitable subjects for the attention of law schools and the legal scholarly community . . . the problems posed are challenging, and their resolution should be the object of federal, local and professional projects." (p. 74).

The number of existing, formalized law school-affiliated programs to train potential career prosecutors is indeed spare. Northwestern University has a short one-week course for those who are already prosecutors. Harvard Law School encourages its undergraduate law students to engage in service in the local prosecutor's offices under a unique Massachusetts rule allowing law students to practice as prosecutors in limited situations without formal bar admission. But there is not yet in existence any graduate law program designed for career prosecutors which will enable them to obtain on-the-job training in conjunction with regular attendance at law school classes, all of which will lead towards a master of laws degree. The proposed Prosecutor Fellowship Program is intended as one effort to remedy the inadequacies in the professional training of prosecutors which are described in the Task Force Report of the U.S. Crime Commission.

The dearth of programs designed to train prosecutors is all the more disturbing in light of the development of numerous programs geared to train lawyers on the defense side of a criminal case or to prepare lawyers to undertake the representation of the indigent in civil and criminal litigations in general. This proposal in no way challenges the legitimacy or necessity of those programs. But if effective justice is to be achieved a balanced perspective must be sought so that both sides in any adversary proceeding are at their optimum with respect to competence and responsibility. As Mr. Justice Cardozo once put it:

"Justice, though due to the accused, is due to the accuser also. The concept of fairness must not be strained till it is narrowed to a filament. We are to keep the balance true. *Snyder* v. *Massachusetts*, 291 U.S. 97, 122 (1934)."

In short, justice will not be served by training defense counsel to the exclusion of prosecutor training programs. This proposal is intended to be a medium for keeping the balance true between prosecution and defense in any criminal proceeding.

The necessity for righting the imbalance which presently exists in the training of prosecutors vis-a-vis defense attorneys was recently alluded to in the *Report of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia* (D.C. Crime Commission Report). That report states:

"The improved training for defense counsel through criminal law seminars, law school programs, and coordinated planning by the Legal Aid Agency offers a challenge to prosecution in the District of Columbia which *must be met*." (329) (emphasis supplied)

As an incidental matter, it is interesting to note that the District of Columbia now hosts one of the most seasoned and well-recognized training programs for defense counsel in the nation. Reference is made, of course, to the Georgetown University Prettyman Fellows. To have a Prosecutor Fellowship Program functioning in the same community might provide an ideal opportunity to evaluate the long-range impact of such training programs

upon the operation of the criminal justice system.

It is, of course, an essential, although somewhat collateral, objective of this proposal to encourage prosecutors to engage in a continuing program of training in new developments of law, science and practice related to their functions. The implicit expectation is that the Prosecutor Fellows who complete this program's course of study will depart with a recognition of "the importance of superior training programs" (D.C. Crime Commission Report, p. 328) in the future on a parallel to that which they have just undertaken.

This proposal is submitted, furthermore, in the recognition that the training of a skilled and competent prosecutor requires more than in-classroom time "book learning") but must involve simultaneous activities in service in the prosecutor's office. Indeed, these duties outside the classroom must be a concrete and exacting effort to learn while on the job. And the work experience, we believe, should include exposure to police practices and procedures by tours of police precincts and the like, where feasible. The benefit in this suggestion is obvious. The police-prosecutor relation will be improved and strengthened by the increased insights each will gain of the operations and responsibilities of the other.

In addition, we hope to familiarize the Prosecutor Fellows with the services of the Federal Bureau of Investigation which are available to qualified State, county and municipal law enforcement agencies without charge. This feature of the program will include a tour of the F.B.I. facilities and an explanation of the functions of that agency and the ways in which the F.B.I. can be most useful to these fellows as career prosecutors in the future. We are fortunate in having ready access to the national offices of the F.B.I. in downtown Washington, D.C.

We will also attempt to develop closer ties with the F.B.I. by establishing a continuing working relationship between the F.B.I. Laboratory and our Prosecutor Fellows. Such a relationship could be of great benefit to the fellows by integrating the most advanced scientific investigation techniques and materials with their academic work and making them familiar with the most advantageous methods of presenting this type of evidence to the judge or jury in a trial court. The fact that the F.B.I. Laboratory is located in close proximity to the National Law Center makes it very feasible to undertake such a coordinated program.

2. SPECIFICS OF THE PROGRAM

a. The number of prosecutor fellows:

Eleven qualified applicants will be selected for the program. To insure geographical diversity among the applicants, an attempt shall be made to accept an applicant from each of the Judicial Circuits. However, the primary standard of acceptability will be competence and enthusiasm not geography. Since the total number of fellows is not intended to exceed eleven during any one year and since the program is to have a two year duration, five applicants will be accepted for the first year and six the following. Succeeding years, assuming the program continues beyond the proposed two year term, will be on a five-six applicant rotation basis.

b. Qualifications of prosecutor fellows:

Each applicant in order to qualify for acceptance as a fellow must fulfill at least the following minimum qualifications:

1. The award of a basic degree (either LL.B. or J.D.) from an ABA and AALS approved and accredited law school.

2. A law school class standing in the top 20% of their class.

3. The receipt of any required F.B.I. or police clearances. In certain cases, conditional acceptance will be extended to an applicant conditioned on his later completing this requirement.

4. Acceptance for the program approved by the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia or the Department of Justice or both.

5. Admission to practice before the highest court of any state or the District Court for the District of Columbia. This requirement can be satisfied by admission to practice shortly after acceptance as a Prosecutor Fellow.

6. A demonstrated interest in such a program or in a career of public service as evidenced by the successful completion of specialized courses in undergraduate law school in related areas, such as advanced courses in Criminal Law and Criminal Procedure, participation in Legal Aid or public prosecutor activities at the law student level, etc.

c. Duration of the program

Each Prosecutor Fellow shall be expected to be in full-time residence in the program for two years commencing in the fall of the year in which selected and terminating two years later. This full-time residence requirement shall include assignment to the Office of the United States Attorney of the District of Columbia, where the Prosecutor Fellow will be employed, on a full working day's basis, in those tasks or divisions to which he shall be directed by the U.S. Attorney.

d. Fellowship stipend

Each Prosecutor Fellow shall be awarded an annual stipend in an amount not less than $5000 nor more than $7000, the exact amount of which to be determined by his prior experience and present circumstances of financial necessity. This amount is expected to cover the fellow's living expenses for the year for which awarded. In addition to this stipend, each fellow shall be allowed to complete the in-classroom phase of the program without the payment of tuition or fees.

3. THE PROGRAM OF TRAINING

1. In-classroom phase.

a. In general

Each fellow will be required to complete 24 semester hours of courses listed in the George Washington University Bulletin for the National Law Center as 300 or 400 series (advanced courses) or when special permission is received, 200 series elective courses with a minimum average of 75(B). Ordinarily, each fellow will be in attendance at classes commencing at 5:50 P.M. and ending at 7:40 P.M. Attendance at three such sessions per week will fulfill the classroom requirements for six semester hours. In exceptional circumstances, a fellow may be permitted to undertake more than six semester hours but normally six semester hours will be the maximum allowable.

Assuming that a fellow undertakes a course of study involving six semester hours of training per semester for the required two year fellowship period, he will be able to complete his course-study requirements for his LL.M. (master of laws degree) in two years. Variations from this procedure will be permitted where the fellow wishes to reduce his individual course selections in any one or more semester if he intends to take other courses during the summer school sessions at the National Law Center.

In addition, the fellow may, with the consent of the U.S. Attorney and the Director of this program at the National Law Center, receive credit towards his masters degree for substantial research projects undertaken for and under the supervision of the U.S. Attorney or his assistants. A maximum of four credit hours will be allowed for this type of endeavor. The purpose of this provision is to encourage the fellows to make a positive and constructive contribution of a significant nature within the Office of the U.S. Attorney as well as to enable the fellows to devote themselves to projects which have a realistic and meaningful relation to the real world of the prosecutor's office.

(b) Specific courses of study

The course offerings available to the Prosecutor Fellows will include seminar courses, courses in inter-disciplinary matters and advanced courses in the established curriculum of the National Law Center. It will also include the development of new courses for the National Law Center which shall be open to Prosecutor Fellows as well as other graduate students or, when permitted by the Law Center's applicable rules, under-graduate law students.

The existing courses in the National Law Center for which the Prosecutor Fellows shall be eligible, including a brief description of their contents (as abstracted from our current bulletin) are:

"1. Appellate Practice and Procedure (2 credits).

"Students participate in preparing an actual criminal case on appeal, starting with review of trial transcript and culminating with preparation of brief and oral argument before U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit or the U.S. Supreme Court. Appellate practice and procedure studied through texts; consultation with appellate judges, law clerks, and attorneys with cases pending on appeal; observation of arguments in the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeals. Admission by permission of the instructor.

"2. Forensic Medicine (2 credits).

"Examples drawn from the range of problems arising when the professional interests of lawyers and physicians overlap. Problem contexts include malpractice, personal injury litigation, licensure and discipline, ethics and economics, hospitals and other institutions of practice, and compelled treatment. Open to third-year medical students.

"3. Administration of Criminal Justice (2 credits).

"Consideration and analysis of selected advanced problems in the administration of criminal justice. The subject matter covered will vary from year to year, with concentration in areas of current interest and dynamic change (e.g., right to counsel, arrest and interrogation, search and seizure, prejudicial publicity, discovery, electronic interception, mental impairment). Emphasis will be placed on the role and professional responsibilities of prosecutor and defense counsel and on developmental trends in the law.

"4. Seminar: Constitutional Law (2 credits).

"Group study of contemporary problems in constitutional law; process of constitutional litigation; problems of effectuating constitutional guarantees.

"5. Post-conviction Dispositions—Dynamics of the Law of Criminal Corrections (2 credits).

"Study of the statutes, practice, problems, and potentials of the alternatives facing a defendant including: mental fitness to proceed to trial, probation, sentencing, parole, correctional institutions, rights of prisoners.

"6. Law and Criminology I: Search for the Causes of Criminal Behavior (2 credits).

"Role which criminological knowledge of crime causation may play in assisting lawyers to appraise the effectiveness of various alternative social and legal devices in controlling deviant behavior. The search for factors related to criminal behavior will be developed historically, with emphasis on current causal theories developed by various disciplines. Model as well as operational penal codes, sentencing and probation practices, and specialized facilities will be analyzed in terms of their relationship to such causal theories.

"7. Law and Criminology II: Society's Responses to the Criminal Offender (2 credits).

"Study of the development and current use of society's three major approaches to the handling of offenders: punitive, mechanical, and correctional. Emphasis on society's changing responses to criminal and delinquent behavior, and research findings concerning effectiveness of these responses. Analysis of treatment strategies to facilitate communication between members of the legal profession and behavior scientists charged with effectuating these strategies.

"8. The Police and the Community (2 credits).

"Analysis of the variety, prevalence and causes of urban crime forces and proposals for improvement; the exercise of discretion, abuse or "brutality" at the time of arrest; problems of police-community relations and the role of review boards; crimes of the urban poor (such as vagrancy, "failure to move on," and public drunkenness and their relationship to more serious criminal activity; the poor as victims as crime and efforts to protect them other than by police activity (e.g., compensation for victims of crime and crime prevention through minimization of opportunity).

"9. Interdisciplinary Seminar on the Juvenile Court (2 credits).

"Lectures and reading materials include sociological, psychological, and psychiatric views on prevention, diagnosis, and treatment in addition to analysis of statutes, court rules, and reported cases pertaining to delinquency, dependency, custody, and child abuse. Emphasis on the role of the lawyer in this court.

"10. Seminar: Law and Psychiatry (2 credits)

"This seminar is designed (1) to expose the lawyer to some of the constructs of dynamic psychiatry dealing with human personality and behavior, and to relate them to problems encountered in legal practice; (2) to provide information—both psychiatric and legal—bearing upon such topics as mental illness and tort liability ("traumatic neurosis," malpractice, commission of torts by mentally ill persons); hospitalization of the mentally ill and mentally retarded; guardianship; ad hoc determinations of incompetency (testamentary, contractual, and donative capacity; capacity to marry, have custody of children; mental illness as a ground for divorce; eugenic sterilization); mental illness and the criminal law (psychiatric evaluations in criminal cases, determinations of competency to stand trial, criminal responsibility); and (3) to examine the role of psychiatry in legal settings, including the effective use of the psychiatrist and psychologist as expert witness."

Other courses which would be specially designed and offered to fulfill the objectives of this program would include at least the following subjects as described:

"1. *Advanced Evidence* (2).

"The examination of expert witnesses on scientific matters would be the pre-eminent, although not the exclusive, concern of this course. (It is to be hoped that experts from the F.B.I. Laboratory will be able to participate in structuring and presenting this course. If this possibility materializes, it is expected that experts from the F.B.I. would be available to discuss document examination, serology, petrography, show and tire examinations, etc.)

"2. *Problems in Professional Responsibility* (2).

"This course will include an evaluation of the prosecutor's discretion in charging and dismissing offenses as well as the methods used in the presentation of his case. Matters of current concern and controversy such as the discovery of evidence or information in the possession of the prosecutor will be discussed. The Canons of Ethics and other sources will be employed.

"3. *Criminal Trial Tactics* (2).

"Although there is bound to be some duplication between this course and the materials offered in Advanced Evidence and Problems in Professional Responsibility, it is our conviction that this overlap will not detract from the independent value of this course. This course shall cover matters of strategy in the presentation of the government's case and in cross-examining witnesses. Coverage shall extend from the preliminary hearing to the sentencing phase and shall include situations as basic as preparing witnesses for trial to somewhat more complex matters, such as the prosecutor's opening and closing statements."

2. Field work phase:

Each fellow will be assigned to the Office of the U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia and will be under the direct supervision of that office for his two year fellowship period. Each fellow will be expected to give his full-time attention to the duties and responsibilities assigned to him by the Office of the U.S. Attorney.

It is anticipated that the fellows will be assigned for varying periods, according to a system of rotation designed by the U.S. Attorney to any of the various branches of the U.S. Attorney's office to which the U.S. Attorney may find it desirable and timely to appoint them. The presently existing divisions of the U.S. Attorney's office are the Grand Jury, Criminal Trial, Appellate, General Sessions and Special Proceedings Divisions. The listing of these divisions is not intended in any way to bind the U.S. Attorney to assign any or all of the fellows at any time to any one or more of these divisions. However, it does now seem necessary for these Prosecutor Fellows to receive interim appointments to the U.S. Attorney's Office for the District of Columbia, as special assistant U.S. Attorneys. This would seem to be both a legal and practical prerequisite to their performing their tasks in that office. Discussions are now underway with members of the Department of Justice for the purpose of obtaining the approval of the U.S. Attorney General on this matter.

More complete and specific details on this phase of the program will, it is anticipated, be proposed by the Office of the U.S. Attorney and made a part of this proposal.

Estimated budget

1st year:	
Fellowship stipends: at an average of $6,000 per annum for 6 persons	$36,000
Tuition and fees: at $750 per student	4,500
Faculty support of program at ½ salary	7,000
Preparation of course materials	3,000
Printing and mailing	1,000
Miscellaneous expenses	2,500
Total	54,000
2d year:	
Fellowship stipends: at an average of $6,000 per annum for 11 persons	66,000
Tuition and fees: at $800 per student	8,800
Faculty support of program at ½ salary	11,000
Printing and mailing	1,000
Miscellaneous expenses	2,500
Total	89,300
2-year total	143,300

TRIBUTE TO AVERELL W. HARRIMAN

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I join today in paying tribute to an extraordinary man, Mr. Averell Harriman.

I will leave it to others to recount the remarkable involvement and prodigious contributions of Mr. Harriman to the cause of world peace and domestic progress.

Suffice it to say that Mr. Harriman was at the arm of every Democratic President from Franklin Roosevelt to Lyndon Johnson, offering sage counsel, boundless energy, incisive wit, and total dedication.

Whether at Yalta, Teheran, or Potsdam; in Geneva on a Laos cease-fire; or in Paris on a Vietnam peace, Averell Harriman was an elegant, effective statesman. He is in fact one of the few men in history who in achievement and in ability, and not merely in title, deserved the "rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary."

It was my great pleasure to work with Ambassador Harriman on problems of East-West trade during and subsequent to an American Assembly at Harriman House and to consult with him frequently while he served at the Department of State.

A man of Mr. Harriman's enthusiasm and intelligence will be missed in public life. But he will not be able to retire entirely from public life. His ideas and advice will be of large value to the Nation.

I think, from past experience, that we can expect that we have yet to see the last of Averell Harriman's contributions to the United States of America and the people of the world.

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES MAKES TWO EXCELLENT PROMOTIONS

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Sun-Times announced over the weekend two promotions which I believe will bring to Midwest journalism two outstanding journalists in management positions.

The Sun-Times has promoted its city editor, Kenneth D. Towers, to the position of assistant managing editor in charge of administration and its assistant city editor, James Peneff, to the position of city editor.

The announcements made by James F. Hoge, Jr., editor of the Sun-Times, are particularly welcome to me since it has been my great pleasure to know both Mr. Towers and Mr. Peneff for many, many years and consider both of them newspapermen's newspapermen.

I am extremely happy to see both Mr. Towers and Mr. Peneff promoted and I believe this is in keeping with a policy started by the Chicago Sun-Times some years back in attracting to its management team working newspapermen who know from their own experience the day-to-day problems of running a modern newspaper.

This policy of promoting from within has raised the Chicago Sun-Times to one of the most highly respected newspapers in American journalism and it is not by accident that this fine publica-

tion is today called—with a considerable degree of pride—the bright one.

Mr. Towers and Mr. Peneff join an excellent management team at the Chicago Sun-Times and I am sure their promotion will add to the paper's stature and growth.

It is my privilege today to place in the RECORD Mr. Hoge's official announcement as published in the Sunday editions of the Chicago Sun-Times. I wish both Mr. Towers and Mr. Peneff the very best of success in their difficult assignment. American journalism benefits when men of their caliber are promoted to responsible management positions.

The Sun-Times article follows:

TOWERS NAMED AN ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITOR—PENEFF IS APPOINTED CITY EDITOR

The promotion of Kenneth D. Towers to assistant managing editor-administration was announced Sunday by James F. Hoge Jr., editor of The Sunday Times.

Hoge also announced that James Peneff has been promoted to city editor, succeeding Towers in that post. Peneff formerly was first assistant city editor.

"These appointments reflect the continued growth of The Sun-Times and the consequent need of an expanded executive structure," Hoge said.

"In addition to his wide-ranging administrative duties, Ken Towers will participate in editorial planning and supervise special news projects that take advantage of his knowledge of Chicago and of the newspaper business.

AWARD WINNER

"Jim Peneff brings to his new post the repertorial understanding of an award-winning labor correspondent and the administrative know-how of an excellent assistant city editor."

Towers, 33, who has served as city editor since 1967, began his newspaper career as copy boy for The Sun-Times. He worked as a reporter and rewriteman for 10 years before he was named assistant city editor in 1965.

As a reporter, Towers won a Chicago Newspaper Guild award for the best feature story of 1959—an account of how a steelworker's family weathered a long strike.

NATIVE CHICAGOAN

Towers is a native Chicagoan and the holder of a bachelor's degree in philosophy from Northwestern University.

He and his wife, Rita, live in the South Shore district.

Peneff, 57, is marking his 25th year with this newspaper. He started with The Chicago Times, a predecessor of The Sun-Times in 1944 and quickly won a reputation as a top labor reporter.

WIDE EXPERIENCE

He received a Chicago Newspaper Guild award in 1946 for a series of articles on the life of a coal miner. Peneff took a job in a mine to get the story.

In addition to labor coverage, he has worked as a rewriteman and on a wide variety of general assignments.

Peneff has been first assistant city editor since 1967 and served as an assistant city editor for seven years prior to that promotion.

He attended Crane Junior College from 1929 to 1931 and Lewis Institute (now Illinois Institute of Technology) from 1931 to 1933, majoring in chemistry.

Peneff and his wife, Jean, live in Mount Prospect. They have three children.

GUNNAR MYRDAL

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, Gunnar Myrdal is probably the best known sociologist in the world. The Swedes are known for excellence in many fields and Gunnar Myrdal year after year has added to that reputation. His work on the Negro in America which delineated problems few of our social scientists recognized at the time, established his reputation in this country many years ago. Last year, social scientists and students of world problems anxiously received his great new three-volume work, "Asian Drama: An Inquiry Into the Poverty of Nations." It was the product of many years of study and observation in Asia.

Mr. Speaker, I have had the honor of knowing this brilliant and charming man, and it gives me great pleasure to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a recent trenchant and down-to-earth statement made to the second Asian Regional Conference on the subject of the public work force in the so-called underdeveloped countries. I trust that not only my colleagues will read Mr. Myrdal's analysis, but that our AID and State Department people will do likewise:

THE ROLE OF THE PUBLIC SERVICES IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

(Lecture at the Second Asian Regional Conference of Public Services International in Singapore, November 14, 1968, by Gunnar Myrdal)

I

I would first like to express my great appreciation for having been invited to appear before this important assembly to express my views on the role of the Public Services in the efforts to spur and direct development in underdeveloped countries through planning.

I have read with great interest the Report of Proceedings of the First Asian Conference of the Public Services International held at Kuala Lumpur in September 1965. That Report has increased my insight into the practical problems in the several countries of the region that are meeting the drive to organize the public employees: in regard to freedom of association, methods of fixing conditions of employment and settling disputes, unifying the organizations by counteracting splits along ethnic and religious lines, making the unions instruments for education and entertainment of the members and their families, and bringing about the participation of the unions and their members in planning, and so on. I have also noted the importance to them of being affiliated with the Public Services International and of their bringing to use the activity of the International Labor Organization. The deliberations of this conference, like the one three years ago, have been focussed upon these practical problems, and to listen in today and yesterday has contributed to my continuing strivings to inform myself of the development problems of the region.

I have not understood my function at this conference to be to discuss those specific problems that for natural reasons have priority when you meet for a regional conference. From me you must expect rather an attempt to sketch in broad outlines the general problems of development in the underdeveloped countries of the region and, more particularly, the role the public services play, and could play, in planning. In my opinion that role is important.

Although the title of my lecture is more encompassing and although underdeveloped countries in the whole world have problems in common, I will be speaking primarily about the region I call South Asia—including Southeast Asia—stretching from Pakistan in the West to the Philippines in the East. That delimitation includes the majority of the countries actually represented here and of those whose presence should have been desirable and appropriate. About the problems in West Asia—what is commonly called the "Middle East" or "Near East"—Northern Asia, including Russian Siberia and China, or East Asia with Japan, Korea and Formosa, my knowledge is more scanty.

For substantiation of what I have to say, I refer to a work of mine published this spring under the title Asian Drama, An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations (Twentieth Century Fund and Pantheon Books, New York; Penguin Books, London).

II

Except for Thailand, the countries in the region were not countries at all until after the Second World War but were colonial dependencies of one appellation or another, and they were commonly referred to as "backward areas." After their gaining independence, a political revolution that went forward as an avalanche in the wake of the war, this static term became changed into a dynamic one: they characterized themselves, and were generally recognized, as "underdeveloped countries." The later terminological change to "developing countries" represents in my view confusion of thought. Their problem is not that they are "developing"—some are actually not, others are not developing very rapidly or in the right direction—but that they are underdeveloped and have set as their goals to develop by means of state planning.[1]

This matter of terminology is not altogether unimportant. The term "developing countries" signifies a deeper tendency to severely biased thinking about their development problems. In both the highly developed and the underdeveloped countries, the problems we are facing together would be very much less serious if this "diplomacy in terminology," as I have called it, actually represented a realistic view.[2]

This opportunistic—and generally over-optimistic—bias in appraising the situation of the underdeveloped countries is strengthened by the tendency to use the concepts, models and theories we have forged for the analysis of the economic problems of the highly developed countries, without questioning whether they are adequate to reality in South Asia. Most of these conceptual tools are meaningless, or nearly so, for the larger part of the economic life in this region. When in the entire economic discussion and in all plans we reason in terms of national product or income, savings, investment, employment and underemployment, markets, prices, and technical coefficients, and so on, what we are abstracting from is attitudes, institutions, and the productivity-depressing effects of substandard levels of living. We have the right to make this simplification in highly developed countries—although in my opinion less completely than most of my colleagues believe—but in the underdeveloped countries this abstraction is closing our

Footnotes at end of speech.

eyes to some of the peculiar traits that raise difficulties for development.

A realistic analysis must be in terms of institutional economics and must account also for levels of living, attitudes and institutions. And planning for development must include policies directed upon changing these elements of reality that are excluded in the conventional economic analysis.

Let me add here that if I thus insist that the analysis of the underdeveloped countries in the region, in order to be realistic, must take into account factors that are irrational from a modernization point of view, this does not imply that the value premises should not be the modernization ideals.[3] As we all know, these ideals—and among them, in the first hand, the gradual breaking down of the inegalitarian social and economic stratification inherited from colonialism and before that from the traditional society—have become a sort of modern state religion and have determined the conceptual frame and the vocabulary of all present discussion of public issues in countries of the region. Moreover, all these countries have in one sense passed the point of no return. With the present and for decades foreseeable development of the population and the labor force, a rather rapid modernization of these societies is necessary not only to speed development but to prevent a turn towards increased misery.

III

There are several reasons why conditions in the underdeveloped countries in South Asia are very much less favorable to development than they once were in the now highly developed countries.[4]

The climate in the tropical and subtropical zones implies on the whole for many reasons greater inhibitions for development. Generally speaking, the resource basis in the region is poorer. The trading position of these countries has on the whole been deteriorating almost since the First World War. The population increase is two or three times faster than it ever was in Europe.

Although there is a very much improved technology that can be borrowed—which by itself should imply a comparative advantage—its adjustment to local conditions in South Asia meets various difficulties. More important is, however, the dynamic effect of the fact that the development of science and technology to the very largest extent is directed upon the further development of the highly developed countries, whose governments, universities and industries are paying for it. When for natural reasons it is steered by interests in those countries, it often works to the detriment of the underdeveloped countries. The continuous substitution of synthetic products for traditional exports from the region is one example.

In view of the facts I have thus hinted at, the presently underdeveloped countries in South Asia cannot expect to develop rapidly and continuously by leaving their economies to the free evolution of economic forces, as was largely true in the now highly developed countries during the liberal era. They need state planning, which means the instigation of coordinated state policies aimed at spurring and directing developments, and as I have already mentioned, these policies must include systematic efforts to change attitudes and institutions in the direction of modernization.[5]

Planning in this sense of coordinated policies will imply the state itself going into enterprises and investment in public utilities of all sorts, banking, sometimes trading, and even in manufacturing industry. Some countries in the region prefer to call their policies "socialistic", while others characterize themselves as "free enterprise societies"; but a study of what actually is taking place in the two types of countries does not show too great differences.[6] All countries, though to a different degree, must control private enterprise in various respects.[7]

The state both as entrepreneur and when controlling private enterprise has to rely on public services as the instrument of carrying out its policies. The very fact of planning, therefore, enhances very decisively the role of the public services for development. These countries will have little chance of rapid and continuing development, if they do not succeed to build up an efficient cadre of public servants, reaching from the highest positions in the state civil service down to the local men in the police forces, the teachers in the schools, and all the others employed by public authorities.

IV

The role of public services in development is thus to be the executors of public policies, and this role is becoming ever more important as these countries find themselves under the desirability and, indeed, necessity of planning for development. Let me on this point first stress that the organization of the public services in unions should from a planning point of view be viewed as a mighty vehicle for progress.

It is an experience from all over the world that when workers in a particular profession or trade organize themselves in an association, this has regularly led to building up pride in their responsibility and their work, the demand for proper education and training, and generally the raising by collective efforts of standards of work being done and the status in society of the workers. As I will come to develop later, even the raising of levels of remuneration in the public services in the region, if that becomes an effect of organization, will in the ordinary case imply greater efficiency and even higher economy in the longer run.

When the political authorities in some of the countries in South Asia have not understood this, but tried to restrict freedom of association of public employees, to evade the settlement of wages and other conditions of employment by collective bargaining, and to counteract the efforts to strengthen and centralize the unions, they have acted against the true national interest in development. They have then not understood that, by itself, the organization of the public servants in unions represents a change towards the realization of the modernization ideals that are the basic value premises for planning for development, a change that should be the more important because of the crucial role in the development process of the public services.

V

The student can detect several serious and systematic deficiencies in the functioning of the public services present to a varying degree in all South Asian countries. These deficiencies are all interrelated and they are all signs of, or rather elements in, these countries' state of underdevelopment. With the crucial role of the public services in the development process, the overcoming of these deficiencies becomes a particularly important part in the policies to spur and direct development by planning.

One common deficiency of the public services is *overstaffing*, particularly at the lower levels.[8] They are overstaffed at the present, irrationally extensive and complicated system of rules and regulations (see below) and would be still more so in a more rational system of administration. The tremendously rapid increase of persons employed in public services since liberation is generally known. The great numbers of "hangers around", who do little useful work, in offices and the low efficiency generally in work performance is apparent at even a superficial inspection.

The *low wages* paid public employees is related to overstaffing. Exceedingly low wages are the rule almost everywhere at the lower levels of public services and often also at the highest levels, particularly in those countries of the region which have not been British dependencies and which after liberation adhered to the British tradition of paying higher officials generously. At the lower levels the low wages and also the overstaffing in the public services are related to the underutilization of labor generally in these economies and the cheapness of labor that is a main characteristic of underdevelopment in all the countries of the region.[9]

Related to both overstaffing and low wages is *inferior competence* for fulfilling their duties, due to deficient education and training. Better trained personnel in public services would decrease the need—and the excuse—for having the overgrown staffs and would, at the same time, motivate higher wages.

Having better trained but fewer employees even at higher wages would not only raise the efficiency of the public services in the interest of development but would in the normal case actually imply an economy in the total costs for public services. Reforms in these directions would be easier to carry out if there was not that tremendous pressure of unused, or underutilized, cheap labor in the whole economy that now characterizes these countries. It is a main goal of planning for development to reach a higher level of the utilization of the labor force, but a main policy instrument in the planning for that development is an improvement of the public services.

This is the type of circular causation that is sometimes characterized as a vicious circle, holding down an underdeveloped country in continued relative stagnation. But it should be remembered that the circle can be changed into becoming a virtuous one. This is actually what we mean by development, in this case implying an improvement of the public services *pari passu* with a better utilization of the labor force all around.[10]

Conditions vary, of course, as between different countries. And there are also partial exceptions to the above broad generalizations. The schools, for instance, are not overstaffed by teachers, and certainly not if we count only the qualified ones.[11] Particularly in the largest and poorest countries of the region, Pakistan and India, a main deterrent for choosing the teaching profession and also a hindrance for the teachers to win the social status in their communities necessary for having the beneficient influence that from a development point of view they should have, is the exceedingly low wages. Also when tax assessment and tax payment is deplorably inefficient in the countries of the region, part of the explanation is that both the number and the competence of officials engaged for this purpose have been kept down by the vested interests of people who want to avoid as much as possible paying taxes; keeping the salaries low also has made the officials more amenable to corruption (see below).[12]

One important cause of deficiencies in public services is the *extended and complicated system of rules and regulations* in these countries and generally their *excessive bureaucracy*. Part of this characteristic is an inheritance from the paternalistic colonial regimes that preceded the present politically independent governments. To most of those newly independent governments, and of all individual persons stepping into responsibility, doing the things the foreign rulers had been doing, and exerting the controls they had exerted, was seen to be the essence of their countries' independence. Generally, the proliferation of regulations in every section of national life and on every level became their ambition, as again can be observed even in a superficial contact with these countries. Meanwhile the administrative services on the higher level had been severely depleted by the expatriation of the colonial officials, par-

Footnotes at end of speech.

ticularly in countries like Burma and Indonesia where in colonial time few of the indigenous peoples had been permitted to aspire to entrance to the services on that level, but even in Pakistan where the great majority of them opted for India.

In regard to economic planning, all the countries in the region—although to a varying degree—have preferred what I call *discretionary operational controls* over private enterprise before non-discretionary ones carried out through price policy measures and other non-discretionary measures.[12] They usually institute all sorts of what I call positive controls in order to promote private enterprise and investment, such as import controls and other protective measures, low interest rates, tax holidays, et cetera, and they do it so much that they then have to counteract their effects by negative controls.

This is like driving a car with the accelerator to the floor and all brakes on, which is not an economic way of getting it to move at the desired speed and in the desired direction. In the present context, the important thing is that this type of planning economic development is severely overtaxing the administrative resources, which are weak to begin with.

All the countries in the region are *soft states*, again to a varying degree.[14] By that term I want to characterize a general lack of social discipline, signified by deficiencies in their legislation and, in particular, in law observance and enforcement, lack of obedience to rules and directives handed down to public officials on various levels, often their collusion with powerful persons or groups of persons whose conduct they should regulate, and, at the bottom, a general inclination of people in all strata to resist public controls and their implementation. This situation is to a large extent an inheritance from colonial and precolonial time and from the struggle for independence. The proliferation of regulations and controls and the overstaffing of the public services, particularly at the lower strate, have not improved it. It is my opinion that without much more social discipline, development will meet great difficulties and, in any case, be hampered and delayed.

To the concept of the soft state belongs also *corruption*, which also has a long history.[15] It seems generally to be on the increase in the countries of the region under the influence of almost everything that happens and particularly the increase of discretionary controls. There are too many permissions worth money, depending upon the decisions of officials and sometimes politicians. There has been a tendency in the scientific literature to play down the detrimental effects of corruption on development. The situation is sometimes rationalized in the idea that corruption is natural in a "developing" country. The effect of this is to spread cynicism and to lower further the resistance to giving or taking bribes.

Corruption is, however, endangering stability of governments, as any analysis of the political coups in the region will testify. Besides this, it counteracts the strivings for greater integration of these newly independent countries and for building up loyalties of their peoples to the state and to all communities in the infrastructure. It introduces an element of irrationality in all planning and plan fulfillment. As a common method of exploiting a position of public responsibility for private gain is by obstruction and delay, it impedes the processes of decision-making and execution on all levels. It increases the needs for controls to check the dishonest official, at the same time as it makes the honest official reluctant to make decisions on his own. In both ways it tends to make administration cumbersome and slow and contributes to the bureaucratization of the public services and the trend to overstaffing.

VI

The deficiencies in the public services represent serious impediments blocking and slowing down development in the South Asian countries. As they are rooted in the present state of underdevelopment and have become fastened upon society by a long history, they are not easily remedied.

The general underutilization of labor in these countries and, of course, the misdirection of education resulting in the phenomenon known as the "educated unemployed" raise hindrances against overcoming the general overstaffing in the public services. Without a radical reform of the direction and content of education it is also difficult to raise competence levels in the public services. Higher wage levels are difficult to press through in countries with severely strained public finances and with cheap labor available all around. The rationalization of the overextended system of rules and procedures and of bureaucracy assumes a rather fundamental change in people's ideas about policies and administration and, what is even more difficult to bring about, the gradual overcoming of the "soft state". Part of this huge practical problem is the eradication of corruption as a widespread pattern of life and work.

I am then in condensed form formulating some important tasks for planning for development which are generally overlooked in most economic literature, which is focused on investment, including the most recent contributions that are also stressing "investment in man". The important problem I finally want to raise with this assembly of representatives for the organizations of public employees is the following: what role can they play in the gradual overcoming of the deficiencies in the functioning of the public services which social and economic studies of these countries reveal, and thus for furthering development which is now hindered, and inhibited by those deficiencies? I feel no hesitation to answer this question very definitely that they can play an important and positive role.

I have already pointed out that by itself the organization of workers implies a change towards *modernization*. When workers become organized this will tend to lift them from the apathy and aimlessness which is so much at the root of underdevelopment. Becoming organized implies to the public employees their becoming conscious of their problems. The leaders of the organizations, in particular, will be brought to become aware of the wider social and economic problems which provide the setting of the workers' own personal and group interests. An almost necessary condition for organizing workers is to appeal to, and build up, pride in performance. All experiences in all countries testify to this truth. As one of the more hopeful things in this region may actually be reckoned the fact that public employees are becoming organized at an earlier stage of development than usually was the case in the now highly developed countries.

Another general experience is that with organization follows an interest in raising and standardizing the level of competence set for entrance into a particular type of public employment. It is incredible that a strong organization of the several groups of teachers will not insist on improved teachers' training and on progressive strivings to fill the jobs only with qualified teachers, as on a higher level medical personnel and engineers have already done in most South Asian countries.

The immediate natural efforts of the unions to raise wage levels are in harmony with these attempts to raise and standardize levels of competence. To the extent the organizations succeeded in raising wage levels, the authorities will be pressed to enforce the competence requirements and also to decrease overstaffing. What I am here sketching is nothing but the general theory of the effects of unionization which has been tested in many countries for long times.

In such a development the organizations and their leaders will undoubtedly encounter conflicts of interest. One obvious case is to what extent they shall defend those employees who should lose their jobs in any effort to counteract overstaffing or the enforcement of *stricter competence* requirements. Such efforts conflict, of course, with the interests to press up wage levels. It is my opinion that the latter interests should be given precedence although I am aware of the fact that often union policy will have to strike a compromise and move by gradual steps.

Generally speaking, I believe that the policies of the public employees unions, in order to be maximally successful over the longer stretch of time, need to keep themselves aware of the broader problems of planning for development and the need to fashion their own policies to fit the wider goals of development. I can see few conflicts between the true interests of public employees and the development interests of the wider society, if both types of interests are viewed in the broader and longer perspective and conceived in the light of a more accomplished theory of underdevelopment, development and planning for development than the conventional one.

When in this as in the first Asian Conference of the Public Services International the demand has been raised for participation of the organizations in planning, I see in this a recognition of this fundamental interdependence and congruity between your strivings as labor unions and the wider goals for induced change of your society to higher rationality and productive efficiency.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Ibid., Appendix 1.
[2] Ibid., Prologue.
[3] Ibid., Chapter 2, Sections 3 and 4; Postscript, Section 2.
[4] Ibid., Chapter 14.
[5] Ibid., Chapter 15 *et passim*.
[6] Ibid., Chapter 17.
[7] Ibid., Chapter 19.
[8] Ibid., Chapter 11, Section 4, and Chapter 23, Section 4.
[9] Ibid., Fifth Part *passim*.
[10] Ibid., Appendix 2, *et passim*.
[11] Ibid., Chapter 33.
[12] Ibid., Appendix 8, Part 3.
[13] Ibid., Chapter 19.
[14] Ibid., Chapter 18, Sections 13 and 14 *et passim*.
[15] Ibid., Chapter 20.

LAST WEEK CULVER BLACK HORSE TROOP PARTICIPANTS IN PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURAL PARADE

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to call to the attention of the Members of the House a unique anniversary this month. Culver Military Academy, Culver, Ind., an internationally famous college preparatory school in the district I have the honor to represent, made its sixth appearance in a Presidential Inaugural Parade on January 20.

In keeping with President Nixon's theme of "Forward Together," the alumni, staff, and students of the Black Horse Troop organized a presentation of

the flags of all States and territories in America.

The flags are gifts of alumni and friends of Culver throughout the country and will remain for years to come as tangible evidence of the affection and esteem in which they regard the Culver Military Academy.

U.N. ASSOCIATION SUGGESTS NATO IMPROVEMENTS

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, a policy panel headed by Theodore C. Sorensen, counsel to former Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, yesterday announced a series of recommendations intended to elevate the prestige and utility of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

This was done under the auspices of the United Nations Association. The proposals come like a breath of fresh air and show that President Nixon can expect broad public support if, as expected, he acts to end the stagnation that has set in concerning Atlantic community development.

Several of the proposals—upgrading the prestige of U.S. Ambassador to NATO; inviting other NATO nations to join in space exploration in order to give it an Atlantic character; calling for a NATO summit meeting; the selection of a European SACEUR, the exploration of the Atlantic free-trade association idea; the use of NATO for broader consultation at the highest possible level—have been previously proposed by the House Republican task forces on NATO and the Atlantic community. This makes the recommendations of the UNA group doubly welcome.

Here is the text of the recommendations of the panel under the caption, "New Measures for Strengthening the Unity of the West":

NEW MEASURES FOR STRENGTHENING THE UNITY OF THE WEST

The invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and four of its Warsaw Pact allies and the subsequent stationing of Soviet forces on the Czech-West German border have set back progress in relaxing East-West tensions and in resolving the problem of Germany.

What should be the Western response? How can that response be handled in a manner which does not fuel a mutual escalation—only adding to the dangers of military confrontation? What should United States policy now be?

The Panel believes that the answers lie in a dual approach: new measures to strengthen the West and, at the same time, new efforts to reduce both the dangers and ultimately the division in present day Germany and Europe.

We turn first to the measures we believe to be required to strengthen the West.

THE CHARACTER AND QUALITY OF CONSULTATION IN THE ALLIANCE

As the United States has become more and more deeply involved in Vietnam and Southeast Asia, major new strains have developed in the Alliance. Our allies believe that they were not adequately consulted about our growing Vietnam involvement. Some were fearful that Asia had replaced Europe in our scale of priorities.

But U.S. Vietnam policy has not been the only European anxiety. Their growing awareness of a major technological gap, new anxieties over the inroads of American business in Europe and over financial and monetary instability in the Atlantic area, and uncertainties over future nuclear security policies—based on the Non-Proliferation Treaty and on the anticipated U.S.-Soviet negotiations on strategic weapons—have all contributed to the malaise in U.S.-West European relationships.

The Panel recommends that the new Administration, as one of its first moves, stress the importance which the United States attaches to its relationships to Western Europe, and stress likewise its belief that those relationships can become the foundation for a more stable and more lasting security system for all Europe.

Cohesion and unity of the West will be required if negotiations for such a system are to be successful and not be endangered by the unpredictabilities of East-West bilateral relationships.

Mechanisms for consultation can be important to strengthen the Alliance. But the real key is the frequency and character of consultation. Our North Atlantic partners must feel that on the issues which touch their vital interests, the U.S. will consult them promptly, at the most senior level, and in whatever forum is most appropriate, and with a deep perception as to their options and dilemmas. Of equal importance is their understanding of our options and dilemmas—and their willingness to engage in close consultation on matters of concern to the United States.

The Panel recommends that the United States make clear to our European allies our intention to engage in close and continuing consultations with them, covering, inter alia, any principal new political or military commitments to be undertaken outside the Treaty area, and any basic developments in weapons technology which could significantly change the value and effectiveness of national defense programs within the Alliance and the defensive posture of the Alliance.

As the U.S. and the Soviet Union move into bilateral negotiations in an effort to bring the strategic arms race under control, our partners in the North Atlantic Alliance should be kept informed. Of equal if not grater importance, they should have an opportunity to assist in formulating overall nuclear doctrine and policy as that applies to the defense of Western Europe. The sensitive manner in which these new bilateral consultations are handled could either facilitate or complicate the necessary European adherence to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The Panel believes that according our Permanent Representative on the North Atlantic Council membership on the President's National Security Council would give both symbol and reality to a higher priority in our Alliance relationships.

April 1969 will mark the 20th Anniversary of NATO. The NATO Council meeting is presently scheduled to be in the United States at that time.

The Panel recommends that the occasion be used for a NATO summit meeting—designed both to develop and to reinforce a new sense of solidarity in the Alliance.

THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE

The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia has already given a new sense of purpose to NATO.

The apparent arrangement for the indefinite stationing of Soviet forces on the Czech-West German frontier is only one of the aspects of the recent crisis which has altered the outlook in Central Europe. We face increased uncertainty concerning Soviet intentions and grave misgivings about stability in Soviet decision-making.

Taken together, the new stationing of forces and the new uncertainties in decision-making have made necessary, the Panel believes, both the retention of present United States forces in Europe and enlargement of present military contingents of other NATO partners much nearer to previously agreed force levels.

Questions of force levels in NATO have been accompanied in the past, and continue to be beset, by problems of how the forces are to be financed. The principle that foreign exchange consequences of deployments in the common defense are a common problem seems unexceptionable. In view of the recurring serious balance of payment problems, the Panel believes that the time has come for a new approach. It proposes that troop unit costs be projected on a four-year basis with the understanding that, if balance of payment problems prevent the payment of obligated costs in any one year, payment can be deferred for one year. No country would be permitted to fall more than two years behind in its payments.

In order to prevent the cumulative effects of continued bilateral borrowing from those countries in a surplus position, the Panel believes that NATO should establish a NATO Payments Settlements Authority (NPSA) whose membership would include all NATO countries (except France). NPSA would "buy" medium-term bonds, paying normal commercial interest, from deficit countries in the amount of their deficit. It would, in turn, issue to surplus countries bonds of its own for the same total face value and period.

If a country wished, for balance of payment reasons, to pay in advance for more than one year, for costs arising from deployments in the common defense, it would be free to do so.

The Panel believes that moves such as those above to reinforce NATO's military capabilities should be accompanied by assurances to the East, either in public or in private, that the North Atlantic Council will be used actively for consultation on measures designed to decrease tension over Germany and work toward a new pattern of all-European security. The "message to the East" communicated following the NATO meeting in June 1968, indicating a continued interest in mutual NATO-Warsaw Pact force reductions, should be re-emphasized as official and continuing NATO policy.

A GREATER EUROPEAN ROLE IN NATO

Another divisive factor has been the dominant United States role in NATO. This role has been based, of course, on the predominant power of the United States, especially in strategic nuclear weapons for deterrence. It is clear that the United States should not and will not give up its statutory control over nuclear weapons. With the rapid continuing development of new weapons systems, such as Multiple Independently-targeted Re-entry Vehicles (MIRVs), that predominant power position is likely to continue. For that very reason it would behoove the United States to seek actively ways of helping to promote the sense of collective responsibility of European NATO members.

The Panel believes that the United States should encourage the development of a European caucus in NATO. The Europeans themselves should determine those issues on which they would attempt to reach a concensus. The United States should continue to be available for discussions on any issue and indeed, as we shall point out later, will need on certain issues such as arms control to take more leadership than it has heretofore. However, for the United States to encourage the Europeans to develop more of their own initiative in the NATO framework would be one way to remove some of the ambiguity which has characterized United

States' relationships with Europe during the past decade. Such European consultation should lead to the Europeans strengthening their joint decision-making on matters of defense and military procurement.

Should the impetus to improve NATO force levels, generated by the repositioning of Soviet forces, result in larger and more effective contributions by the European members, questions of command and control may well arise. The United States should make it clear that in principle it would support an appointment of a European Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, provided an American remains in a position to fulfill U.S. statutory requirements on the control of nuclear weapons.

The Nuclear Planning Group of NATO and the Defense Planning Committee have now become a part of the Alliance structure. The deliberations in these bodies seem to have satisfied some the needs for allied consultation about Europe's nuclear defense that gave rise to the ill-fated Multilateral Force (MLF) proposal. The concept of a European caucus would be appropriate in these bodies. The caucus might want at some point to consider movement toward a European defense community within the Atlantic Alliance.

ATLANTIC FINANCIAL AND TRADE POLICY: A NEW "NIXON ROUND"

We have referred earlier to the strains in Atlantic relationships based on financial and monetary instability and balance of payment problems. While these sets of problems are not the primary concern of this report, they cannot be avoided in our considerations.

Strengthened international cooperation in the financial field will be essential to assure the continued growth and stability of the economies of the North Atlantic nations and of the less-developed countries as well. To assure an adequate supply of liquidity to finance a growing volume of trade, it is essential that the new facility for Special Drawing Rights in the International Monetary Fund be quickly activated, in sufficient amounts to assure an orderly growth in the total reserves over the years.

Even if the problems of liquidity are dealt with successfully, there will still remain the difficult problems of confidence and of improving the balance of payments adjustment process. Intensified efforts should be made through the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the IMF and the Group of Ten, supplemented by central bank cooperation, to encourage surplus and deficit nations to assume their fair share of responsibility for adjustment. Surplus countries like Germany can do more by accelerating their economic growth and enlarging their contributions to cooperative aid and military programs, but the U.S. must also do a better job than it has in the past in managing its domestic economy in the direction of non-inflationary economic growth in order to reduce its payments deficit and maintain confidence in the dollar.

One of the destablizing elements in the present situation is the uncertainty over whether and when Britain will be accepted into the Common Market. This is a major inhibition to orderly planning by British, and indeed by Western business and commercial enterprise. It is a principal source of instability for the pound. The Common Market is more than an economic union. With its supra-national character it constitutes an important political force in Western Europe—one which would be greatly strengthened with British membership.

Further explorations might be undertaken of the advantages and disadvantages of an Atlantic free trade area which would be openended, but which might be composed initially of the United States, United Kingdom and Canada. But this would not be an adequate substitute for British entry into the Common Market.

The Panel urges, therefore, that the new Administration shape its new European policy in ways which would favor and not impede British entry—although Europe itself must take the initiative in this field. This may mean interim steps prior to full British membership.

One of the unexpected developments in Atlantic relationships was the speed with which United States business interests jumped the tariff walls of the Common Market and established operations in Europe—at times aided by the new instrument of the multinational corporation. A substantial number of national barriers still exist which inhibit West Europeans from doing more efficient business in neighboring Common Market countries. One approach to stimulate more U.S.-West European business competition within the Atlantic area would be the development of multinational corporations whose stock ownership as well as whose management are more equally distributed among Atlantic Alliance countries. This will require a study of the extent to which changes in domestic legislation in the U.S. and Western Europe are needed to permit the lowering of a wide variety of national barriers in such areas as taxes, patents, payments restraints and corporation charter restrictions.

A concerted new effort is required to free trade from present nontariff restrictions, such as import surcharges, export rebates, and border taxes. Governmental price support policies are in many cases in need of review.

The Panel recommends that the new Administration propose at the earliest date a "Nixon Round" of negotiation on non-tariff barriers to trade.

COMMON APPROACHES TO COMMON PROBLEMS

It is not enough for the countries of the Atlantic Alliance to join together in the defense of their countries, of their currencies, or of their balance of payments.

If such defenses are to mean something beyond a shelter against the future, the Western Alliance must join together in more far-reaching approaches to the common problems we share in national life. It is imperative that our technology and our affluence become invested with more meaning to people. A more humanistic approach, the Panel believes, is required by the contemporary setting.

Current ratios comparing our national effort on measures of national security to our efforts to cope with the problems of our urban ghettos and the pollution of our environment are causing increasing uneasiness and concern.

Urban Life: We might best begin by saying to Europeans that they have made their cities more habitable, more human, than ours. We might find them saying their cities are not habitable enough.

The Panel believes the United States should encourage the Europeans to set up an International Urban Institute either in Europe, or wherever our allies would prefer, in which the U.S. would participate.[1]

Such an Institute would bring together the leading urban practitioners, scholars, builders, and most certainly students to look at our urban crisis, and to consider and propose new and more adequate approaches. These approaches need not only the discipline of scholars, and the rules of pragmatism, but the utopian impulse of our youth—endowed with a new sense of common international purpose.

The Institute would coalesce the piecemeal efforts of individual disciplines. It could mount a concerted attack on the pollution of air and water, the irony of poverty and joblessness in the midst of affluence, the paradox of supersonic speeds in the air and slow crowded commuting on the ground, and congested housing for the poor.

Some important work in these areas is currently underway within the United Nations system, in UNESCO and the UN regional Economic Commission for Europe. The International Urban Institute would need to draw on the work of appropriate UN bodies and commissions. At its most recent session, the 23rd, the General Assembly, on the initiative of Sweden, decided to convene in 1972 a UN Conference on Human Environment. Atlantic Alliance countries, whose technologies are responsible for so much of the changes in the planet's environment, should make every effort to assist the UN Conference in identifying those aspects of the problem that can best be handled through international cooperation and agreement.

The urban crisis, however, is more than a physical disarrangement in our societies—on both side of all "curtains". Our young people believe that at the same time as we proclaim the morals of personal welfare and individual liberty, our political and social systems tend to become more massive, more rigid, more insensitive, more monolithic and impersonal, and less human. In an era of constant technological innovation we continue to rely on unchanged political processes and establishments. Thus the International Urban Institute needs to do more than develop systems for coping with the physical disarrangements of our time; it needs to address itself to this wider set of social relationships.

Technological Partnership: Technological exploration should not remain another area of U.S. domination and superiority. Upsetting the "balance of science", like upsetting the balance of payments, can be divisive and destructive. As we have pointed out, technological development knows no national boundaries. To make it a national pursuit is not consistent with the goal of making the Western Alliance a contemporary and common adventure. For example, the Panel strongly supports action now going forward in the NATO Science Council to create a European institute for computer programming.

We would recommend that the Nixon Administration take immediate steps to invite our allies to join in a space program, to join us on the moon and beyond. Our allies need to see and feel a new spirit of common adventure and an Atlantic astronaut could do much to symbolize this to the man on the street.

The Soviet Union should be offered the opportunity to decide if it would join in a more cooperative international space program.[2]

Education: We have moved, in the Atlantic area, toward freer trade in commodities by tariff reduction and a common market. We have moved to internationalize money through convertible currencies.

The time is now at hand to explore ways in which the ultimate "commodity" in the modern world—education—can be more firmly established on an international base.

An "educational common market" should be devised—a program of "free trade" of students and faculty between countries—beginning in the Atlantic area. Multi-national educational institutions, faculty, and students should become commonplace in a contemporary world. We again need to call upon our humility to recognize and admit that we know little about some of the seminal educational questions we should be asking.

What are the best ways to educate the very young? How can we reach the culturally disadvantaged, to remotivate their flagging aspirations? How can we develop the innova-

[1] For reservation by James N. Hyde, see page 34.

[2] For comment by Richard N. Gardner, see page 34.

tiveness that the modern world demands? How do we train the skilled workers and the scarce but vital entrepreneurs and managers that a modern technological world demands?

The Panel recommends the creation of an International Foundation for Education supported by private and governmental funds and directed multi-nationally. This project could lead the way in setting up mutually agreeable trans-national standards that would allow students and faculty to move more freely from country to country; in sponsoring both educational research and the development and assessment of international educational levels; in pooling the knowledge of the educational process into a "World Bank" of knowledge; and by energetically supporting a greatly expanded international scholarship program—one which might indeed emphasize environmental studies.[2]

If we are to build a meaningful Atlantic Community in the modern context, it must be rooted firmly in a genuine community of objectives—not just military and economic objectives—but one based on common aspirations to improve the quality of human life in a world where things tend to become more important than people.

Mr. Speaker, the panel consisted of the following:

Theodore C. Sorensen, chairman, partner, Paul, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison.

Walker L. Cisler, chairman of the board, the Detroit Edison Co.

Oscar A. de Lima, chairman of the board, Roger Smith Hotels, Inc.

Thomas K. Finletter, partner, Coudert Bros.

Richard N. Gardner, Henry L. Moses professor of law and international organization, Columbia University.

Ernest A. Gross, partner, Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle.

Edwin Huddleson, Jr., partner, Cooley, Crowley, Gaither, Godward, Castro & Huddleson.

James N. Hyde, lawyer, consultant to Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Peter G. Peterson, vice chairman, chairman of the board, Bell & Howell Co.

Joseph D. Keenan, international secretary, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Henry A. Kissinger, professor of government, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. Dr. Kissinger served as a member of the panel until his selection by the President-elect as his special assistant for National Security Affairs. He did not participate in the drafting of the final report.

Robert Kleiman, editorial board of the New York Times.

Philip M. Klutznick, senior partner, Urban Investment & Development Co.

Col. Laurence J. Legere, Institute for Defense Analyses.

John J. McCloy, Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy.

James S. McDonnell, chairman of the board, McDonnell-Douglas Corp.

G. William Miller, president, Textron, Inc.

Emanuel R. Piore, vice president and chief scientist, International Business Machines Corp.

Thomas C. Schelling, professor of economics, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

Gen. Cortland V. R. Schuyler, commissioner of general services, executive department, State of New York.

Marshall D. Shulman, director, Russian Institute, Columbia University.

Joseph E. Slater, president, Salk Institute for Biological Studies.

Mrs. Robert J. Stuart, former president, League of Women Voters of the U.S.A.

[2] For reservation by James N. Hyde, see page 34.

FOREIGN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ON ROADS AND ROAD TRANSPORT

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, a recently completed survey of current research and development on roads and road transport in 40 countries outside the United States discloses the fact that over 5,000 research projects in those countries are currently active, have recently been completed, or are planned for the immediate future. The results of this survey have just been released in a report prepared for the Federal Highway Administration, Bureau of Public Roads, by the International Road Federation of Washington, D.C., under a cost sharing, cooperative contract entered into between FHWA and IRF.

The report contains brief information on each of the 5,000-plus projects which comprise the broadest possible coverage of specific areas of concern from highway planning and design to the psychology of drivers and the causes of accidents. The rapid increase in the volume of such research, the diversity of subjects directly or indirectly affecting roads and road transport and the utilization of modern technology therein, especially during recent years, has made it impossible for an individual involved in research to maintain, from his own perusal of research reports and technical publications, an awareness of the research activity going on even in his own specialized field of competence. The report itself illustrates the extent to which research projects have been undertaken on the same subject in many different countries and even by numerous research organizations in some individual countries.

It has become a matter of prime concern and immediate urgency that a system be developed through which information on specific research projects can be collected from research organizations wherever they are, stored in a computerized or other type type of storage and retrieval system, and made available to researchers on request as "file searches" by manual or computer retrieval, printouts of information stored on single projects, or as lists of references on particular subjects. A computerized storage and retrieval system has been developed by the Highway Research Information Service of the Highway Research Board here in the United States and a partially computerized system by the Road Research Laboratory in the United Kingdom. A somewhat different system has been developed and is being used by the International Road Research Documentation Scheme of the OECD in Paris. Utilization of these storage and retrieval services permits a researcher to determine, with a minimum of time and effort, what is going on in a chosen field of interest. He can determine the ground already covered by research, which may make unnecessary, or restrict the scope of, a project which is being considered or planned, with a resultant saving of funds. The information can be of great help to organizations in the planning of their own research programs, and it can also serve as a stimulus to further research efforts.

Research budgets and research personnel are both too limited to afford the luxury of unnecessary and wasteful duplication and overlapping of effort. Both funds and personnel must be used in such a way that optimum utilization of both will be achieved.

It was recently discovered that in Germany and Australia, as well as in some other countries, studies were being made of the visual comprehension of motor vehicle drivers. Studies have been made in many countries, including the United States, to determine the relation between alcohol and/or drug consumption by drivers and the rate of involvement in accidents. In certain countries this has led to the adoption of stringent regulations affecting drivers and their use of alcohol or drugs. High mast lighting of road intersections and interchanges, the IRF reports, has been the subject of research in the United Kingdom, France, and Holland as well as in the United States.

The survey report by IRF, the information facilities of HRIS and the similar facilities of IRRD are sources of information available to researchers not only in the United States but throughout the world. Some 2,000 copies of the report prepared by IRF will be distributed free of charge to research organizations and researchers in all of the countries contributing to it as well as in the United States.

Many hundreds, probably thousands, of highway administrators and researchers in the countries surveyed have cooperated with the International Road Federation by furnishing assistance to the professional surveyors sent out by IRF and by supplying the information requested. Their knowledge of and interest in the current research activities reported will be augmented as a result. The survey will be continued on an annual basis by IRF under its contract with BPR, thus keeping the fund of information on current research and development activities as nearly current as possible.

IRAQI HANGINGS: A BRUTAL SPECTACLE

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, on January 27, 1969, it appeared the world was swept back to the dark ages by the inhuman and intemporate acts that tran-

spired in the main square of the city of Baghdad. Civilized man, for all his progress and sensitivity to the well-being of his fellows, was given a rude view of just how far we may have come, and a shocking realization that there were still people on this earth who had not yet cast off the savagery of primitive man. Not since Hitler has the world of civilized men witnessed such insane behavior, and the parallel is an appropriate one, for the reasons that drove the Iraqi generals were the same reasons spouted by the murderer of Europe three decades ago.

It is inconceivable that today men should die because of their religious faith, but that was the case in Iraq. It is inconceivable that the world should again see the return of Nazi racism, but it lives in Iraq. It is inconceivable that law should be corrupted by the forced lending of its name to the so-called trial that condemned to death nine Jews in Iraq, but the kangaroo court did just that. It is inconceivable that the screams of anguish from respectable people in nations around the globe should not shatter the night, but too few have raised the voice of protest against the hangings in Baghdad. All humanity stood with those nine men on the scaffolds of tyranny, and all humanity suffers for their loss.

The immediate repercussions of the mass execution in Iraq will be an increase in the already electric atmosphere of the Middle East, where an embattled Israel awaits another thrust at its borders. Israel's defensive measures in the past have drawn strong protest from many governments and world leaders, but as Israeli officials have noted, not to answer could only be considered a sign of weakness in the Arab capitals. So long as the United Nations and the diplomats can find no solution and can gain no cooperation from the intransigent few, the only course open to Israel is to maintain its strength and fight fire with fire. The thousands of appeals for peace that have come from Israel have been met with thousands of acts of terrorism and violence.

The possibilities of another war in the Middle East are great and the chance that another war could entangle the United States and the Soviet Union in a nuclear confrontation is particularly frightening. President Johnson referred to the "fires of hostility" in the Middle East and President Nixon has said those fires could set off the "powder keg." The task of extinguishing those fires and defusing that powder keg was made all the more difficult by the Iraqis and their death penalty to the 14 supposed spies. It is up to the statesmen to dissuade the Iraqis from pursuing their course of political folly and inhumanity.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not recall the many times I have stood in this House to reaffirm my support for Israel, the record is clear and I am proud of that record. It was satisfying to me that the United States and Israel have concluded the preliminary discussions for the sale of the F–4 Phantom jet aircraft so vitally necessary for the defense of Israel. It would be even more satisfying if the other suggestions for mutual defense and a firm commitment of support were also enacted. It is saddening, however, to hear the rebukes cast at the Israelis for the defensive measures they have taken to protect themselves. After the public execution of 14 men in Baghdad, nine of whom were apparently killed because of their religious faith, I wonder if perhaps some of those who castigated Israel can now see the necessity for self-preservation that motivates the Israeli defense policy.

SOVIET ECONOMIC BLOC STALLED BY TWO KEY PROBLEMS

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, continually there is a barrage of Soviet propaganda boasting of the tremendous economic progress that they are making. Apparently, these boasts are aimed principally at the uncommitted nations of the world to convince them that the communistic economic system is the wave of the future, as well as to indict our own economic system.

Because these Soviet claims are really their own Alice in Wonderland edition of economics, I thought the following news story, which appeared in the Sunday, February 2, 1969, edition of the New York Times, describes the true state of affairs in their economy, and would be of interest to the Members. In all events, I think the news story shows that they are not telling it like it is.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, Feb. 2, 1969]

SOVIET ECONOMIC BLOC STALLED BY TWO KEY PROBLEMS

(By Tad Szulc)

VIENNA, January 31.—After 20 years of existence, Comecon, the Soviet-bloc Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, finds itself at a crossroads and bogged down in controversies and disagreements.

Public speeches and articles in Communist capitals as Comecon was celebrating its twentieth anniversary on Jan. 25 in East Berlin reflected the organization's shortcomings.

Trade statistics show that most of Comecon's eight members—the Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Mongolia—run deficits with the West and even with underdeveloped nations because of their inability to gain solid export markets and compete with Western producers.

Within the bloc, Poland, for example, buys from East Germany almost twice as much as she is capable of selling the Germans. Czechoslovakia is owed by the Soviet Union perhaps as much as $1-billion for credits and the delivery of industrial goods, although precise amounts cannot be calculated because of the complexity of artificial exchange rates within Comecon.

DEVELOPMENT GAP WIDENS

Open criticism in the European Communist countries shows concern not only that Comecon is lagging in foreign trade, but also that the gap in economic development between Eastern and Western Europe is steadily widening.

The Comecon countries recognize that they have not come to grips with the modern technical-scientific revolution, ranging from adequate use of computers to quality control in production.

When individual countries have attempted to remedy these problems, Communist ideological considerations dictated from Moscow and the weight of tradition and bureaucracy have interfered.

Czechoslovakia's plans to reform and modernize the economy to make it competitive were halted by the Soviet-led invasion last Aug. 20–21. Hungary is proceeding slowly and cautiously with her economical reform. Bulgaria, in grave economic trouble, has mapped but not yet begun a "new economic mode."

RUMANIA TESTS REFORMS

Rumania, still something of a maverick in the Communist system despite the Soviet example in Czechoslovakia, has been experimenting for a year with an economic reform. This emphasizes decentralization, self-management in industry and "intensive," rather than "extensive" industrialization.

Rumania has broken with Soviet dogma in de-emphasizing "extensive" development, spreading all through a country's industries in favor of "intensive" development of specific industries in selected areas.

The two key problems facing Comecon are possible economic integration—advocated by the Soviet Union, which launched Comecon in 1949—and appeals for the creation of a multilateral convertible currency to make trade more realistic.

The Comecon council session in East Berlin pointed up the disagreements within the bloc on these two points. Aside from Poland, Bulgaria and Mongolia, the other Comecon countries oppose integration because they think it will damage their economies.

The Soviet Union is against a "hard" bloc currency presumably because this would deprive it of control over Comecon trade through the manipulation of the others' artificial currency rates.

EARLY MEETING WAS FORESEEN

Since late last year, the expectation was that the top Communist party and Government leaders of the eight countries would convene early this spring to debate the problems of both economic integration within Comecon and greater military integration under the Warsaw Pact military alliance.

Indications that the economic integration problem had not been resolved in East Berlin were given by Horst Maurer, writing last Sunday in Neuer Weg, a German-language daily published in Rumania. Because the Rumanians stanchly oppose economic integration in Comecon and all other forms of communist "supra-national" arrangements? Mr. Maurer remarked, integration would have to be discussed at a "fuller meeting" of Comecon members and Government leaders.

Sentiments on integration vary sharply from country to country, according to individual economic positions.

SOVIET WANTS INTEGRATION

The Soviet Union advocates integration, with a meshing of national economic plans, joint investment policies and a controlled division of industrial production. The Soviet stand reflects annoyance over the country's position as a supplier of raw materials to Comecon partners.

Soviet statistics published last month show that in the last 16 years the Soviet Union was the only Comecon country where the percentage share of national income derived from industry had fallen.

Economists attribute this situation to new Soviet concentration on agriculture and to trade patterns in Comecon.

To combat this trend, Soviet publications indicate, Moscow would like to raise the prices of raw materials sold to Comecon partners in the 1970–75 period and to encourage industrial investments by them in the Soviet Union. Neither possibility appears to have produced much enthusiasm in Com-

econ, many of whose members are heavy exporters of industrial goods to the Russians.

Poland strongly favors integration because of concern that without it East Germany's trade links with the West will be further strengthened. Poland has a deficit in trade with the East Germans.

The East Germans are perhaps the closest to Moscow in ideology, but they nonetheless oppose Comecon integration because of advantages of their mounting trade with West Germany. The East Germans' relatively high living standards likewise make the thought of integration with less-developed Communist countries unattractive.

For this reason, presumably, a member of the Polish Communist leadership, Zenon Kliszko emphasized in a speech last week that political as well as economic considerations must be weighed in Comecon integration.

Rumania opposes integration for political reasons, contending that under integration smaller nations would be penalized.

COMPULSORY INTEGRATION BARRED

The East Berlin communiqué stressed this point, too, recognizing in effect that integration could not be compulsory. Under Comecon statutes, all decisions must be unanimous and this gives opponents of Soviet policies a veto right.

Hungary, to judge from recent public comments, pays lip service to integration. But as the country's economic reform progresses, Hungary's interest is in practical measures such as the agreement, resisted by Moscow, on convertible currency.

Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria have not taken public positions on integration. Mongolia favors it.

COLUMN BY JOSEPH ALSOP APPEARS TO SUPPORT POSITION TAKEN BY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HON. DEL CLAWSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, in recent days it has been encouraging to note the editorial recognition granted by the Washington Post to the festering crime situation in the District of Columbia and the dawning realization by the Post that the problem may even be of the exact proportions outlined by the President during the campaign. Perhaps similar sanguine emotions are also to be invoked by a column in this morning's Post by Joseph Alsop which would appear to support the position taken by the House Committee on Un-American Activities that there are subversive forces at work in much of the strife in our educational system. Mr. Alsop should be warned that such a point of view automatically makes him eligible for dismissal as a mere "red-baiter" and "alarmist" in some quarters, as committee members individually and as groups have discovered. Whether Mr. Alsop is willing to assume the titles which go to those who furnish reports like his, or whether those of us who have been so labelled are now to be publicly absolved is still not clear. Hopefully, as in the fight against District of Columbia crime we will go "forward together" to cope with the problem, with the editorial policy of the Post lagging only slightly behind. Under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the column by Joseph Alsop is included:

FBI SEES NEW YORK SCHOOL CRISIS AS SIGN OF NATIONAL SUBVERSION

(By Joseph Alsop)

NEW YORK.—Anyone who wants to measure the real depth and danger of the race problem in America, has only to come to this worried city, endlessly strife-torn by an endless school crisis. The FBI reached the same conclusion as early as mid-October, and has been on the job ever since.

J. Edgar Hoover was shrewd enough, apparently, to spot something that almost everyone else has rather unaccountably missed. The New York school crisis, which is really a horrendous racial confrontation, has been generally treated as a dire but strictly local mess. Instead, it is a national portent.

Obviously, the school crisis, in and of itself, has no interest for the FBI. But if one may judge by the questions FBI agents have been asking large numbers of persons, notably including the able city school superintendent, Dr. Bernard Donovan, the FBI has developed a lively interest in a good many individuals and organizations with major roles in the school crisis.

Nor is this so very surprising, if you think about it. It is normal, to begin with, for the FBI to interest itself in the Revolutionary Action Movement. RAM, as it is better known, openly professes allegiance to Robert Williams, Mao Tse-Tung's Peking-based house Negro; and RAM has equally openly sought to recruit "black guards"—junior guerrillas modelled on China's Red Guards.

The RAM leader, Herman Ferguson, recently convicted of conspiracy to murder the two black moderates, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young, has played a considerable role in both the "demonstration school districts" where the present devil's brew first boiled up in the New York schools. But Ferguson is an old story. What is new is the suggestion, now rather widely heard, that Ferguson's peculiar affiliations are far from unique among the black extremists.

If that were all, however, the whole matter could be left to the FBI. Unfortunately, it is by no means all. Consider, for instance, the just published, truly despairing report on student dissent in New York's High schools by the city's High School Principals Association. The report remarks pointedly:

"Evidence strongly suggest that outside groups and individuals are providing encouragement, leadership and legal advice to students involved in these campaigns (of disruption)."

Abraham Lass, of Abraham Lincoln High School, Brooklyn, chairman of the committee that wrote the report, was asked the real meaning of the foregoing fairly ominous statement. He replied that "kids all over the city don't do the same thing in the same way at the same time without some organization somewhere; and that organization seems to us to be of a highly professional character."

He had some details to add, such as the existence of the well printed, widely circulated High School Free Press, bristling with incitements to violence. "Somebody's paying for it, and the kids certainly aren't," he said.

He would name no names, but it is commonly believed that elements in the Students for Democratic Action and the African-American Teachers Association are among the "outside groups" mentioned in the principals' report. The African-American teachers, incidentally, are headed by Albert Vann, now under charges for vicious anti-semitism.

A week hardly passes in New York without bringing news that violent student dissent and outbursts of race hatred have forced the closing of this or that high school, or have required police action to keep the school open. Here again, is something very new.

In former, happier times, the Board of Education would not permit plain clothes policemen to enter any New York school, even in cases of suspected dope-peddling to the school's pupils. Today, uniformed policemen are on regular duty at 165 of the city's 900 schools, by the Board of Education's own request.

What is going on, in plain truth, is nothing more nor less than an attempt to take over the New York schools by very far out extremists, both black and white. Their tools are hot-headed kids—in most schools, a small minority—and those people in "the black community," again a small minority, whom the black extremists can lead by the nose.

"Community control" is the slogan. Extremists' control is the aim, and behind this aim is the larger purpose of using the schools for propaganda and indoctrination, including black racist propaganda that might embarrass the Ku Klux Klan. And if all this goes on and gets worse, as seems likely, some very hard choices will unavoidably have to be made.

WHAT A LAYMAN EXPECTS OF HIS MINISTER

HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, while in Davidson County in my district in North Carolina this past week, a talk by Mr. Sim DeLapp before the Civitan Club on Monday came to my attention. Mr. DeLapp is a lifelong resident of Davidson County, and is an outstanding leader and Sunday school teacher in his church.

A copy of his lay speech was handed to me and I was very much impressed by it. How we could all benefit from the challenges offered by Mr. DeLapp. I feel that his message could not only apply to the ministers of our country, but to all laymen of our churches as well.

One generation's Christian experiences will not suffice for another, but each generation must have its own personal experience with the Person of Christ. What a tragedy it would be if the ministers of today should fail this generation. Or will they respond to the commandmant the Lord gave to Peter: "Feed my sheep!"

With permission given, I place Mr. DeLapp's speech at this point in the RECORD, thinking that my colleagues would like the opportunity of reading it:

WHAT A LAYMAN EXPECTS OF HIS MINISTER

Please be assured that only the specific request of the members of this Civitan Club that I speak briefly to the ministers of Davidson County was sufficient to persuade me to brave the dangers incident to my speaking here today on the subject, "What A Layman Expects of the Minister". It was only when your president promised me the security of a rear, escape door that I finally came.

One of the simple, but essential things that the layman expects of his minister is that he be a devout, godly man. Of course, he does not expect perfection, but he expects the minister to be a better man than he is. The minister must have a clearer, more direct line to the Almighty. He must be more like Him, more like His Son, Jesus Christ. The blind can never lead the blind.

2. The serious layman expects his minister to keep the religion he preaches and practices pure and unadulterated. There must be no dilution of religion, no getting down in the gutter, no stretching of the moral code, no happy-go-lucky drinking, no profanity spreading or dirty joke telling in order to bridge the gap between goodness and evil. I have never yet met a worldly man who admired or even respected a loose living, insincere preacher.

3. None of us selects for our family physician or for our surgeon, in case of an operation, a man who does not know more about medicine or surgery than we. He must be a specialist in his field. The layman feels that way about his preacher—if the minister is not a man of God, he should not pose as one. He must have love and forgiveness, tolerance and goodness. The godliness of his profession must show on his face and in his life.

4. Since God made an orderly world, since the quadrillion of solar systems and the satellites surrounding them are never a second late or an inch off course in this vast universe, it is apparent that God is a being who believes in law and order. Thus, His servants should be. No serious minded layman wants his minister to encourage or to countenance the breaking of federal, state or local laws, regardless of the cause being espoused or of his own opinion of the justice of the law. The savior of mankind favored rendering to "Caesar the Things That Are Caesar's." He was no insurrectionist. St. Paul, the greatest preacher since Christ, and living at a time when the tyranny of Rome was most brutal, and when slavery was a well-established institution, was never an insurrectionist. Yet there two, Jesus Christ and St. Paul, by their preaching of Christianity, without the pressures of lobbying, rioting, and without sponsoring or introducing a single bill or the enactment of a single law, so moved and changed the hearts and minds of men that the leaven of their religious philosophy brought freedom and true civilization to a dark world in a few short centuries. The present ministry must have no place for insurrectionists.

5. The Mighty Ruler of our universe believes in work. The tree in the forest grows night and day. The sun pours out its warm rays every second, even if part of our world is turned away from it a portion of the twenty-four hour period. The rivers roll endlessly and constantly toward the sea. Nature works tirelessly in its manufacture of oxygen for us to breathe and carbon dioxide for the plant, and throughout the day and night, it pulls up moisture out of the seas to form clouds, out of which the rain falls to prevent the burning and the parching of the blessed earth. God means for man to work and save, to earn for himself. Christianity has no place for louts and loafers. Thus, the layman expects his minister to work and to preach the sacredness and the necessity for work for all able-bodied people. Thus, the minister must not be afraid to say with Abraham Lincoln:

"You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift. You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong. You cannot help the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer. You cannot further the brotherhood of man by encouraging class hatred. You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich. You cannot keep out of trouble by spending more than you earn. You cannot build character and courage by taking away man's initiative and independence. You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves."

6. One simple but fundamental truth must prevail in every minister's mind and heart if he is to satisfy the expectations of the layman. Man has the power to destroy himself. But great as he is, he does not have the power to save himself. Somebody greater than he, something more powerful, more saving, more everlasting than he must complete the job. A layman has the right to expect his minister to point the way to that saving power.

7. The layman expects his minister to preach the doctrine of a forgiving God and of a redeeming Savior, Jesus Christ. That is his job. The doctor attends to the problems of health. The lawyer looks after the matters of justice and the courts. The educator strives to master the task of teaching children. The statesmen and the political leaders study the affairs of government. Of course, they all blend into each other, but each should know his field better than the other. The preacher cannot properly operate a gallstone, or try a lawsuit or run the government any better than a lawyer can lead a flock of church people to the gates of heaven. Each must stick to his field. The bird dog that starts running rabbits is always discarded.

After all, why should a minister want to veer away from his profession? He works for the greatest employer in all the universe. The one who hires him runs a billion worlds. He makes our sun and billions of other suns to rise and set. All the oxygen, all the rocks and trees, all the stars and moons, all the diamonds, the uranium, the food, the soil, the silver and gold, all the lives of all the people belong to Him. Why should the minister ever want to leave His employment and go elsewhere? His profession is the most honored of any in the world. The products he is supposed to handle are more powerful than those of U.S. Steel, General Motors, and all the rest; they are love, kindness, humility, goodness, cleanliness, morality, and everlasting life.

You represent the grandest profession of them all. Stay with your job. Preach sincerely about the love of God, the Father of mankind. Close within your heart, fix your aim upon making the individual man better. Forget the idea of mass production of Christians by legislative fiat and save each individual soul by pointing him to the matchless one, the one altogether lovely, spread a ring of goodness around the world. Turn loose the love of God and let it permeate education, medicine, law, business, justice, politics, race, science, morality, men, women and children. That is your honored calling. Do not expect government to make the world better. That is your work, and it is the greatest, the most challenging task in all this confused world.

Maybe this sounds old fashioned, and contains nothing new and spectacular, certainly it will not please the hippies and the anarchists and the troublemakers, but these are the things the layman, young and old expects of his minister and the things for which his heart hungers. Feed him.

APOLLO 9: NEXT STEP TOWARD THE MOON

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on February 28, 1969, the United States of America will launch the mission of Apollo 9. Designed to test and evaluate the lunar excursion module, this mission is an important step in our progress toward a lunar landing later this very year.

It is a pleasure to call the attention of Congress to an excellent description of the Apollo 9 flight appearing in the February 3 edition of Aviation Week & Space Technology. Without becoming too technical, this article provides us with an appreciation of the intricate and precise maneuvers planned for our next venture into space.

The article follows:

APOLLO 9 READIED TO TEST LUNAR MODULE

HOUSTON.—Most complex and critical U.S. manned space flight to date will concentrate on a complete evaluation of the lunar module, without which astronauts cannot land on the moon and return to earth.

Flight plan for the Apollo 9 mission is divided into two primary portions:

Full exercise of the lunar module as both an integral and independent member of the Apollo system—a period lasting for about half of the 9-day 22-hr. mission.

Subsequent evaluation by the crew of the command module as a final man-rating of the vehicle for a lunar landing mission.

Flight readiness review for the Apollo 9 flight was completed without major problem areas here last week. National Aeronautics and Space Administration Headquarters Office of Manned Space Flight will be briefed on the operational readiness of the Apollo 9 systems Feb. 6.

There is a list of about a half dozen items still outstanding on the pre-flight check list. These are being resolved, according to program officials at the Manned Spacecraft Center here.

They include items which were found to be behind schedule or lacking in complete qualification some time ago, and which are being routinely brought into the flight system loop.

Pending final approval, the Apollo 9 flight is to be launched at 11 a.m. EST Feb. 28 from Complex 39A at the Kennedy Space Center into a nearly circular, 103-naut. mi. orbit on a Saturn 5.

It is to be the second manned flight of the Saturn 5. The first was so successful that it placed the three-man Apollo 8 crew onto an almost-precise lunar trajectory.

The Apollo 9 Boeing S-1C first stage, the North American Rockwell S-2 second stage and the McDonnell Douglas S-4B third and injection stage are programed to achieve insertion at 11 min. 35 sec. of flight with the payload still mated to the S-4B.

It will be the first time in which the North American Rockwell command and service modules will be orbited manned with an operational Grumman Aircraft Engineering lunar module.

NASA has programed the specific flight time into six periods of activity. Five of them are concerned directly with a demonstration of crew/space vehicle interface covering half of the overall mission.

The Apollo 9 crew throughout the mission will, in effect, be simulating an actual lunar landing and return.

The crew includes Air Force Cols. James M. McDivitt and David R. Scott, both of whom flew in Gemini missions, and a space rookie, Russell L. Schweickart, one of the first civilian astronauts selected.

McDivitt, as spacecraft commander, will initiate separation of the command and service module from the S-4B and lunar module. Separation, at about 2 hr. 43 min. ground-elapsed time, will be effected with a 7-sec. burn of the service module's reaction control system for a 1-fps. velocity increase.

Planners expect that the command and service modules will be maintained at about 10-50 ft. from the S-4B stage and the lunar module during a 1 hr. 25 min. coast period for continued systems evaluation.

At about 4 hr. 8 min. ground-elapsed time, McDivitt and his crew will turn the command and service module around to face the lunar module and begin the docking and ejection sequence.

NASA has completed a relatively major change in that sequence. It involves explosive separation of the four panels of the spacecraft/lunar module adapter, blowing the panels physically away from the S-4B and leaving the lunar module exposed.

There was some fear that the exhaust plume of the command module's reaction control system might impinge on thermal protective areas of the lunar module if the panels were left open at 45 deg. as it had been originally planned.

The command and service module will be docked to the upper hatch of the lunar module, and the mated system will be separated from the S-4B at about 3 fps. to a distance of 500 ft. The S-4B itself will be fired out of plane to a solar trajectory in the same method used during the Apollo 8 mission.

In a docked mode, the Apollo 9 crew will initiate a series of firings of the Aerojet-General service module engine, the Rocketdyne attitude control system and the TRW lunar module descent engine.

The Bell lunar module ascent engine, critical to the lunar landing in that it is necessary to launch the upper stage of the module from the moon's surface, will be fired on the flight only briefly while the system is docked.

First docked burn of the service propulsion system's 20,500-lb.-thrust engine will be at 6 hr. 1 min. ground-elapsed time to change orbit to 131 x 113 naut. mi. The 5-sec. burn will effect a 36.8-fps. velocity increase.

After that, the crew will be permitted to rest—starting at about 8 p.m. EST—lasting to the second activity period beginning at 22 hr. ground-elapsed time.

The second period will make extensive use of the service propulsion system, which is necessary on a lunar-oriented flight to achieve lunar-orbital insertion and a transfer to an earth-return trajectory.

THREE BURNS SET

Three burns are scheduled, resulting in a 115 x 271 naut. mi. orbit over a 6-hr. duration. The burns range from 28 sec. to 277.6 sec., the last imparting a 2,548-fps. velocity increase.

Key period of evaluation of the lunar module systems is to start at 40 hr. ground-elapsed time.

A major concern during lunar module systems evaluation is the necessity of removing the probe and drogue connecting the two spacecraft through a combined docking hatch and tunnel.

Schweickart is to open the command module hatch and remove the probe and drogue. He will store them inside the command module, crawl through the tunnel and attach his environmental control system to the lunar module hookups.

Schweickart will be joined by McDivitt, and the two will activate the lunar module systems while Scott, remaining in the command module, will monitor command module systems.

McDivitt and Schweickart will fire the descent propulsion engine of the lunar module for 364 sec. at about 49 hr. 43 min. ground-elapsed time.

The total velocity increase of 1,698 fps. will be exercised under full use of the lunar module's primary guidance/navigation/communications system but will have little effect upon orbital parameters.

On that maneuver, the crew will throttle the descent engine over its full range, from about 10% of thrust to 100%.

If they are satisfied that the lunar module systems are operative, the crew will return to the command module for a fifth burn of the service propulsion system.

The burn will circularize the orbit at 133 naut. mi. to prepare for the fourth period of activity.

After a period of rest ending at about 69 hr. into the flight, Schweickart and McDivitt again will transfer into the lunar module. Schweickart will don his Hamilton Standard portable life-support system and will exit the lunar module through the forward hatch.

Schweickart's extra-vehicular activity first for the U.S. manned space flight program since the end of the Gemini series in November, 1966, will last about 2 hr.

Schweickart will leave the lunar module at about 71 hr. 40 min. ground-elapsed time and will first stand on the small ledge outside the hatch to evaluate the so-called "golden slippers" placed there to enhance stability while he takes photographs.

Schweickart's main task during initial extra-vehicular activity will be to examine whatever pluming of the reaction control system has impinged on the lunar module's thermal skin and to retrieve some samples of affected areas.

HAND RAILS

His primary task will be to work his way, using small hand rails, over the top of the lunar module to the command module and to enter it. He will deposit his camera and samples there, and then will exit the command module and return to the lunar module along the same route.

NASA wants to insure that it is possible for crew members to transfer from the lunar module through a separate hatch to the command module if, for some reason, the docking tunnel is blocked.

McDivitt is not scheduled to perform any extra-vehicular activities during the mission, although he will have a portable life-support system in case Schweickart needs assistance.

Schweickart need be attached only by tether, since his backpack will supply both environmental controls and communications to the lunar module.

The two crewmen will transfer back to the command module for a rest period.

The next critical phase of the mission will be to have the two crewmen return to the lunar module and separate it from the command and service modules.

The service module's reaction control system will be fired at about 93 hr. ground-elapsed time to effect separation at a rate of 5 fps. for 10.9 sec. The maneuver will phase the two spacecraft over a period of 5 hr. to simulate the descent and ascent portions of the lunar landing mission.

The first lunar module descent stage burn in the rendezvous profile for 5 fps. will be radially down. In gross perspective, the path will resemble a football, in that the lunar module's motion follows such an outline.

The command module will be relatively passive, but can maneuver in mirror image of the lunar module's profile if the smaller vehicle does not perform as well as expected.

McDivitt and Schweickart will fire the descent propulsion system first for 7 sec. to settle propellant ullage, then at 10% thrust for 15 sec. and again at 40% throttle for 10.2 sec.

That will initiate an 85-fps. velocity change radially upward and backward from the command module to start the trace of the football.

The equiperiod trajectory will have an apogee and perigee about 11.2 naut. mi. above and below that of the command module. Maximum range between the two at the horizontal crossing of the football will be 47.9 naut. mi.

The maneuver to simulate insertion into lunar orbit after ascent from the surface is designed to fire the descent engine for 24.8 sec. at 10% thrust level.

Resulting coast period of 40.32 min. will be interrupted by manual staging of the lunar module, firing the reaction control jets on it for about 30 sec. to achieve a downward thrust that will bring the spacecraft curving forward again along the football profile. The descent stage will remain in orbit.

Alone in the ascent stage, McDivitt and Schweickart will once again thrust, this time firing the Bell engine for 3.1 sec. to provide forward and increasing upward motion to reach the command module.

Final maneuvering along that trajectory will use the lunar module's reaction controls to complete the terminal phase and permit docking.

The crew will transfer to the command module and will jettison the lunar module ascent stage after setting up the program to fire the ascent engine in an unmanned mode.

That burn, of 360 sec., is designed in length to simulate the lunar ascent from the surface of the moon to the orbit of the command module.

NASA has deliberately scheduled the period between 121 hr. ground-elapsed time to the re-entry and landing at 238 hr. after liftoff for the three-man crew to have time to evaluate the command module and to rest.

They will fire the service propulsion system at least three more times and will prepare the reaction control system as a backup re-entry propulsion in case the main engine becomes inoperable.

But major objectives will have been accomplished during the maneuvers with the lunar module. In addition to firing of the various engines and docking of the spacecraft, the rendezvous radar will have been exercised along with the abort guidance system.

The abort guidance system is only scheduled to be used once. The TRW system will be used in place of the AC Electronics primary guidance and navigation as a test during the phasing maneuver while the descent propulsion engine is being fired.

TAX REVOLT

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, most Americans are good loyal citzens and comply voluntarily with the laws—including the payment of their taxes to insure proper operation of their Government.

But taxes continue to rise, seemingly commensurate with inflation, and there is a growing discontent—a revolt—by the taxpayers of America, who have grown tired of a continued barrage of tax increases with a showing of less return from Government for their voluntary contribution.

In the payment of taxes most Americans feel in fairness that every producer or owner should pay his just share and that no one should be given preferential treatments or loopholes to avoid his share of the debt obligation.

I include an interesting report from the U.S. News & World Report for February 10 on the tax revolt and a clipping from the Evening Star for January 31, 1969, following my comments:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Jan. 31, 1969]

WHAT EVER HAPPENED TO PIERRE SALINGER?

Pierre Salinger is alive—and living in Paris. His former neighbors in Lake Barcroft, Va., will be happy to hear that he's doing quite

well on more than $50,000 a year from a new endeavor.

He and several other former Kennedy men have gone into real estate. And they've done it in a whooping, far-flung, jet-set way typical of that indomitable cigar chewer and his fellow knights of Camelot.

Salinger, who was President Kennedy's press secretary, is board chairman of GRAM-CO International, a holding company headquartered in Paris. It operates a Bahamas-based real estate mutual fund that bought $185 million worth of income-producing property in the United States last year.

The fund's first investment in the Washington area was announced last week—the six-story Wilson Plaza office building at 2425 Wilson Blvd., Arlington, bought for $1.5 million.

But a spokesman said the fund, favoring New York, Washington, Atlanta, Los Angeles and Detroit for its investments, is studying the purchase of another $50 million worth of property in the Washington area.

Known as the United States Investment Fund, it seeks to sell foreigners on the profit potential of owning a bit of America. It has been successful in Central and South America and is catching on in the Middle East and Europe.

Investment in the fund is barred to American citizens, however, because it offers secret, numbered accounts and is based in the Bahamas—where there are no income, sales or inheritance taxes, and where American taxes cannot apply.

With Salinger, overseeing the ambitious two-year-old fund, is Richard K. Donahue, one of Kennedy's staff assistants and close friends. He is board chairman of the Great America Management & Research Co., Ltd., which manages the investment fund.

And among the board members are William P. Mahoney Jr., Kennedy's ambassador to Ghana; Ivan A. Nestigen, who served as undersecretary of health, education and welfare, and other Kennedy men.

But the real estate expert behind the whole organization is incredibly young Keith Barish, a 25-year-old Miami investor who started his first bank at age 19. He originated the international real estate mutual fund concept and brought in the other well-known figures as stockholders.

"Our acquisition program in the past year has made us one of the world's largest purchasers of U.S. income property," said Barish. "By the end of this year, our real estate holdings should approach the half-billion-dollar mark."

[From U.S. News & World Report, Feb. 10, 1969]

TAX REVOLT BREWING IN UNITED STATES

(NOTE.—People are starting to rebel against the tax crunch. In local elections, the lid is being slammed on spending. Politicians are getting the message. But many States, even so, are forced to propose additional levies.)

All over the U.S., taxpayers are showing signs of revolt.

More and more bond issues are being turned down. School districts are having to pare budgets as voters get tough.

One city—Youngstown, Ohio—had to close all schools for four weeks at the end of 1968 when money ran out. Similar shutdowns are threatened in some other places. Many schools have had to cut out "frills," pull back on plans to add to teaching staffs.

In the State of New York, Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller seeks to hold down tax boosts by cutting spending on education, health and welfare programs.

An outcry against the constant rise in property taxes is heard almost everywhere. In California, more than 2 million voters are on record as favoring a fixed limit on these levies.

Cities find themselves at the end of the rope on taxation. Voters are not in a mood to put up with heavier burdens. Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York City leads a nationwide chorus of mayors in calls for more help from Washington and State capitals.

Pressure on Congress: President Nixon seeks sharp cuts in federal spending and promises to get rid of the 10 per cent income surtax as soon as practicable. Congress is under tremendous pressure to end that tax.

Politicians on all levels are having to pay attention to the clamor against tax increases. This points toward limitations on pay boosts for such public employes as teachers and policemen, and less spending by local governments on welfare programs.

Also, it adds to demands that the Federal Government find ways to siphon more of its tax revenue to States and localities.

Intensifying the reluctance to submit to heavier taxes is the purchasing-power shrinkage that goes along with the rise in prices.

What taxpayers are doing: Surveys by staff members of "U.S. News & World Report" show how resistance to higher taxes is being expressed.

In the Midwest, particularly, this resistance is having a marked effect on school operations.

A large number of school districts have had to eliminate some teaching positions and cut out extracurricular activities after voters turned down proposals for school-tax rises.

A case in point: At La Crosse, Wis., the board of education was forced to slash the school budget by 10 percent—$707,000. The cutback eliminated interscholastic athletics, killed plans to hire 43 new teachers, wiped out 23 specialist jobs in the school system, did away with after-school intramural sports involving faculty supervision, ended free bus transportation for students who live inside the city limits, and spiked proposed purchases of new textbooks.

In Champaign, Ill., where tax boosts for education were defeated last year, the school district has started paying its teachers with "teacher orders" that can be cashed only at a local bank which is helping to bail the school district out of its financial mess.

A taxpayers' group in Champaign which fought the tax boost charged that there was "too much fat" in the school budgets.

In Danville, Ill., taxpayer refusal to vote more funds for schools has necessitated budget reductions which have resulted in half-day sessions for elementary schools and junior high schools and drastic curtailment of extracurricular activities at the senior-high level.

In Decatur, Ill., schools, officials cut out 84 teaching positions and trimmed 1 million dollars off a 13-million-dollar budget when voters rejected tax-increase proposals. The school day has been reduced by one hour.

Three times during 1968, voters in St. Louis defeated a bond issue of 30 million dollars for schools.

Rising burden of State and local taxes—tax collections, 1957

[In billions of dollars]

Property taxes	12.9
Sales tax	9.5
Personal income taxes	1.8
Corporate income taxes	1.0
Other taxes	3.6
Total	28.8

"All they can pay . . .": Why are people voting against school taxes?

Said Maurice W. Scott, executive secretary of the Taxpayers Federation of Illinois: "I think people feel they're paying all they can pay, that they should have a few dollars left for themselves. School spending is one thing they can control, so they vote 'No' "

Mr. Scott added that opposition to taxes generally "is the worst I've seen in 22 years." He said he feared that when the State legislature considers new tax bills this spring "there'll be strikes or marches on the Statehouse for property tax relief."

Farmers in Du Page County, Ill., staged a tax-protest march on the courthouse last August. An organizer of the march said that "farmers' taxes have risen, in various instances, between 33 and 150 per cent in one year—and this is just too big a hike."

In Detroit—where voters rejected a school-levy rise last November—an extended shutdown may occur later this year, officials warn. The school system will show an 8-million-dollar deficit in the current fiscal year.

Detroit's school district is suing the State for more aid, contending that costs of "equal education" are greater in city slums than in affluent suburbs.

A month-long closing of the schools in Youngstown came after voters, over a two-year period, had turned down six consecutive requests for more money.

On another front in the tax rebellion, opposition to higher property taxes is growing rapidly. This is particularly evident in California, according to Howard Jarvis, the chairman of United Organizations, which includes 300 affiliated groups of taxpayers in the State. Mr. Jarvis said:

"If the legislature does not make a very substantial move this year toward total tax reform, they're going to have a real revolt on taxes." Property owners, Mr. Jarvis contends, pay an inordinate share of State taxes.

Tax collections, 1967

[In billions of dollars; latest available]

Property taxes	26.3
Sales taxes	20.6
Personal income taxes	5.8
Corporate income taxes	2.2
Other taxes	6.3
Total	61.2

Thus: State and local taxes more than doubled from 1957 to 1967. In 1968, State levies of one kind or another were raised in 14 States and the District of Columbia, and 13 States and D.C. already have announced plans for boosts in 1969. Thousands of counties, cities, towns and special tax districts also are increasing taxes, through higher property assessments or tax-rate increases, or both.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

Tripled taxes ahead? Current property tax rates in Los Angeles County average about $10.35 per $100 of assessed valuation. Mr. Javits said that the rate may triple in five years "unless something is done to create a new system." He added:

"It's pretty well conceded among our members that some will be forced out of their homes. At the end of the year, we were getting 80 telephone calls a day from people asking such questions as, 'What in the world can I do to save my home?' I tell you, there is a revolt in the making, no question about it."

From Melvin Horton, executive vice president of the Property Owners Tax Association of California: "I don't see any organized refusal to pay taxes. Any revolt is likely to be the denial by the voters of various public-financing proposals, such as bond issues and school taxes, where the voting public has the opportunity to express directly its feeling that, as taxpayers, they've had it."

An indication of taxpayer dissatisfaction in California was seen in last November's election:

Although defeated, a proposition to limit property taxes to 1 per cent of market value and to remove property taxes as a source of revenue for welfare and schools was backed by more than 2 million voters.

Also defeated on the November ballot was a 2.5-billion-dollar bond issue to finance con-

struction of a rapid-transit system for Los Angeles County. It would have been paid for by an increase in the sales tax. The proposed tax rise was considered a major reason for rejection of the bond issue.

WHY YOUR STATE AND LOCAL TAXES ARE CLIMBING: SPENDING BY GOVERNMENT GOES UP . . . UP . . . UP

[Dollar amounts in billions]

	State-local expenditures		
	1957	1967	Increase (in per-cent)
Social programs:			
Education	$14.1	$38.2	171
Welfare	3.5	8.2	134
Health	3.1	6.6	113
Housing, urban renewal	.5	1.5	200
Public services:			
Police	1.5	3.0	100
Fire protection	.8	1.5	88
Sanitation	1.4	2.6	86
Recreation, natural resources	1.5	3.6	140
Transportation:			
Highways	7.8	14.0	79
Airports, water transportation	.4	.8	100
General administration	1.7	3.3	94
Interest on debt	1.1	3.0	172
Other programs	3.0	7.5	150
Total	40.4	93.8	132

Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

Potential trouble: In northern California, trouble is brewing over a proposed sales-tax boost in San Francisco, Alameda and Contra Costa counties to finance the half-completed 1.2-billion-dollar bay Area Rapid Transit system, which needs another 146 million dollars before it can be operable.

Opponents of the sales-tax rise claim that the levy would "soak the poor" who would not use the system. One group is demanding that the money be raised through special assessments on property whose value would be enhanced by the system. Affected property owners oppose that idea.

If some way isn't found to raise the money, San Francisco Bay area residents will wind up with a billion-dollar system of holes in the ground and no rapid transit.

Property taxes in San Francisco were hoisted in December from $8.60 per $100 of assessed valuation to $10.23. This has led to higher rents and bitter complaints from tenants. Taxes elsewhere in the area also are skyrocketing.

Says a "San Francisco Chronicle" reporter, about to retire, whose home in Berkeley now costs him $120 a month in property taxes: "I've heard of people being taxed out of their homes, but now it looks like it's happening to me. It's unbelievable."

Discontent in Southwest: Signs of taxpayer unrest are seen even in the Southwest, where the total tax load generally is lighter than in most other parts of the country. Take Houston, Tex., for instance:

In January, 1968, Houston voters refused to sanction pay boosts for the mayor and city council, and approved only 4 million dollars out of public-works proposals totaling 70 million. Another attempt was made to win approval of the remaining 66 million dollars in public-works outlays. Again, the voters' answer was, "No."

In the same area, in July, 1968, voters cold-shouldered a 61-million-dollar county proposal for flood-control and road bonds. Two months later, a 75-million-dollar proposal for a community-college system was voted down.

In Louisiana, Governor John J. McKeithen asked his State legislature for 123.5 million dollars in a broadly based program of new taxes late last year. The legislators balked at adding taxes on anything but gasoline and special fuels.

One strong indication of how politicians are reacting to an "austerity" mood among taxpayers came in New York on January 21, when Governor Rockefeller sent the legislature a 6.7-billion-dollar budget, but asked the legislators to trim that request "across the board" to 6.4 billion.

The Governor said that such a cutback, combined with a 1-cent rise in the State sales tax, would bring the budget into balance. Mr. Rockefeller said that to raise State taxes any higher than the proposed sales-tax boost would harm New York's competitive position with other States and, furthermore, would "wreck our economy." One budget official commented:

"The basic thing was that we decided we'd had it on taxes."

Governor Rockefeller called for cuts in State aid to education, in welfare spending, and in the State's medicaid program. The Governor said: "To put the brakes on accelerating expenditures will require courage, but a proper sense of responsibility makes the task inescapable."

For the past 10 years, New Yorkers have been asked, year after year, to accept big tax increases to pay for increases in State aid for social programs.

Here are comments from several authorities on tax matters, sizing up the new attitudes of taxpayers—

"GROUNDSWELL OF REVOLT": James E. Finke, executive vice president of Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, a taxpayers' organization based in New York City:

"The groundswell of revolt against the continued upward leaps of taxes is very strong. But as yet it is unorganized."

C. Lowell Harriss, professor of economics, Columbia University: "Where increases in local expenditures are for welfare and schools, the retired person who has worked and saved may have little sympathy for giving additional pay to teachers or for welfare payments to persons who are alleged to be on welfare because of unwillingness to work."

Elsie M. Watters, director of State and local tax research for the Tax Foundation, with headquarters in New York City: "Reports from taxpayers' associations across the country show that there is more feeling on the part of businessmen and other voters that property taxes are as high as they should go."

Hubert W. Stone, executive director, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council:

"The biggest opposition is to additional taxes to provide additional government spending in the whole area of welfare. Generally the feeling in Connecticut is that this is an area which has gotten out of hand."

A NATIONWIDE TREND: Frank J. Zeo, executive vice president, Massachusetts Taxpayers Foundation:

"We have noticed in recent months an increased resistance to the whole tax situation, which encompasses federal as well as State and local taxes. I view it as part of a nationwide trend."

Sentiments that appear to be widely held were expressed this way in an editorial—headed "Rebellion by Taxpayers"—in a Wisconsin newspaper, "The Wausau Daily Record-Herald":

". . . [There are] a number of indications that taxpayers everywhere are insisting that government services be curtailed to check the spiraling taxes. . . . Economy in budgets . . . will be insisted upon. Attempting to find new sources of revenue, or new taxes, or substantial increase in aid from either the State or Federal Government, is not the answer, because taxes at all levels are pinching the purse of the average American."

STATES PLANNING TO RAISE TAXES IN 1969

Proposals by Governors and official groups

Arkansas: Raise income taxes, boost sales tax from 3 to 4 per cent, cigarette tax by a nickel a pack.

Colorado: Increase gasoline tax a penny a gallon, raise income taxes.

District of Columbia: Sweeping increases in sales taxes—3¢ a pack on cigarettes; autos from 3 to 4 per cent; liquor, restaurant meals from 4 to 5 per cent; new tax on movies, repairs.

Indiana: Plans to close tax "loopholes," raising tax collections.

Maine: New personal income tax equal to 25 per cent of individual's federal tax bill; new corporate income tax; penny-a-gallon-increase in gasoline taxes.

New Mexico: A 50 per cent boost in personal income tax.

Nevada: Liquor and cigarette taxes heading higher.

New York: Sales tax to go from 2 to 3 per cent.

Oregon: A new 3 per cent sales tax, along with higher income taxes.

Pennsylvania: New tax on personal incomes.

Vermont: New sales tax of 4 per cent; higher liquor, tobacco, corporate taxes.

These are just samples of proposals made in the opening weeks of 1969. Plans for tax boosts in other States are expected as the year goes on.

UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, 20 years ago the United States embarked on the noble adventure of providing economic assistance to nations less well off than ourselves.

With diminishing vigor we have continued to contribute to the development of the rest of the world.

At the same time our enthusiasm has slackened, the prospects of a world food shortage or overpopulation, or poverty-induced political instability have not slackened.

Today, the two-thirds of the world's population who exist on per capita incomes of around $100 a year are looking to the United States and the developed countries for help. With the new administration in Washington, these people's governments are searching for an indication that the United States will continue, with increased determination, the effort to help the development of their nations.

One of the most effective, and underappreciated programs of assistance to this development effort is the United Nations Development Program, headed by the extraordinarily able Mr. Paul G. Hoffman. The UNDP efforts have been quite successful. Their success serves to kindle the optimism of Mr. Hoffman that the developed nations can be convinced to provide adequate and timely aid to the less developed.

A recent article in the San Juan Star reports on the interest of representatives of developing nations in the U.S. attitude toward foreign aid and the accomplishments of the U.N. Development Program under Mr. Hoffman.

I commend this article to the readers of this RECORD and include it at this point:

THE COST OF FOREIGN AID

(By William R. Frye)

MAYAGUEZ.—The greatest challenge, and the greatest opportunity, facing President-elect Richard M. Nixon, in the eyes of many foreign observers, is not the Middle East or Vietnam or Soviet-American relations. It is the need to recover lost momentum in the area of foreign aid.

The extent to which development assistance (as they call it) dominates the mental horizons of millions of people in a phenomenon little appreciated in the richer parts of the world. To poor countries, there is no preoccupation that remotely approaches it in importance and urgency.

I have just had this fact brought home to me, once again, here at an Inter-American "Water for Peace" conference at the Mayaguez Hilton Hotel, a pleasant country-club-sized resort on the attractive but little-visited west coast of Puerto Rico.

Of the 35 governmental and private experts from 22 countries and seven international organizations here to study ways of using water more effectively in economic development, eight approached me in the first 24 hours to ask anxiously and earnestly what Nixon would do about foreign aid.

They are well aware that in recent weeks two major American study groups have released comprehensive reports, after long inquiry, urging a revamping and revitalization of the foreign-aid program.

But, they ask, will Nixon's heart be in it? Does he understand its importance? If so, can he get it through Congress? Have the American people irrevocably soured on foreign aid?

There are no ready answers. Nixon has not shown his hand; he may not have given the subject much thought. It probably has low priority with him.

The President-elect was exposed during a UN visit last month, to the highly persuasive and superbly informed commander-in-chief of the UN's war on poverty, Paul G. Hoffman. Nixon came away sounding impressed.

Hoffman is still the grand old man of economic development. Despite all rebuffs for the UN's first "Decade of Development" (1961–1971), he refuses to take a defeatist view.

It took a generation for the idea of conservation to catch on with the American people he recalls. When first broached by Gifford Pinchot in 1912, it was scorned as nonsense. Two hundred years may be necessary before everyone pitches in to help with development, he says.

Things are moving somewhat faster than that.

Ten years ago, when Hoffman first joined the UN's humanitarian "general staff," there was exactly $26.5 million a year to spend on helping two-thirds of the world—2 billion people—lift themselves by their bootstraps.

Now the UN Development Program has a yearly budget of $180 million. This is still peanuts, but it is a lot more than it was.

It is not enough to win the war. Population growth in many of the poorer countries is eating up so much of the increase in gross national product (GNP) that the average net per capita improvement is something like 1.5 per cent—roughly $1.50 a year, the average per capita income in two-thirds of the world being $100 a year or less.

But that is not the full story. In 25 of the 44 countries getting the most UN aid, the unadjusted growth rate has been boosted to 5 per cent or more, and in two (South Korea and Malawi) it is over 10 per cent. When adjusted to population, economic growth in the 25 countries averaged 3 per cent per capita.

This is not sensational; it is nowhere near good enough. But it represents some progress, and proves that poverty can be licked.

If the birth rate could be kept under reasonable control, the results would be good. The per capita American growth rate is about 5 per cent.

Public dissatisfaction with foreign aid, especially in leading donor countries, is a drag on development and a serious challenge to the second Development Decade (1971–1981).

The United States no longer is the world's principal donor country. In proportion to GNP, it ranks seventh.

The American contribution has slipped to 0.7 per cent of the GNP (1967 figures) as against 1.24 per cent for France and 1.01 per cent for the Netherlands, Germany, Britain, Belgium and Australia also devote more of their GNP to development aid than the United States does, though in several cases "aid" is broadly defined. The figure for the Soviet Union is roughly 0.1 per cent.

Roughly 85 per cent of the cost of development has been paid, and must be paid, Hoffman says, by the people of the developing countries themselves. The remaining 15 per cent, while relatively small, is indispensible "if we are to compress within 30–40 years the process of development which took the western world 200 years."

Growing recognition that this goal must be reached, he says, is "one of the most important developments in the history of mankind." If so, he is having a great deal to do with making history.

STRIKES AGAINST THE PUBLIC

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, recent experiences in the area of strikes by public employees illustrate that not only is there required adequate laws to discourage this disruption of public service but firm authorities fully prepared to punish violators. As the Chicago Tribune noted in one of its editorials of February 3, the State of New York has had its share of difficulties in trying to cope with strikes of public employees. The Condon-Wadlin law of 1947 was considered too harsh and was replaced in New York by the Taylor law. Since this law went into effect in 1966 there have been nine illegal strikes to date, the statute has been described as too lenient, and at the present time corrective legislation is again being considered.

As the controversy continues in New York as to best protect the public welfare against strikes by those on public payrolls, it would behoove other States throughout the Nation to review their legislative machinery for coping with similar eventualities. New York's recent history regarding public employee strikes should be a warning that this issue is fraught with potential strife in which, it seems, the public has suffered the most.

I include the above-mentioned editorial, "New York's Quest for Labor Peace," from the Chicago Tribune of February 3, 1969, in the RECORD at this point:

NEW YORK'S QUEST FOR LABOR PEACE

Nothing that New York state does, as it thrashes about in search of a law which will stop a crippling series of strikes by public employes, seems to work.

The Condon-Wadlin law, passed in 1947 when Thomas E. Dewey was governor, was never wholeheartedly enforced. Its failure was blamed on its severity. It required that any public employe engaging in a strike be summarily fired.

After the particularly frustrating transit strike of early 1966, Gov. Rockefeller urged revision of the law, and appointed a committee headed by Prof. George W. Taylor of the University of Pennsylvania to suggest changes. The committee recommended doing away with the mandatory provision for dismissal but proposed that courts be able to impose unlimited fines against unions and deprive them of their dues checkoff privilege [whereby the employer deducts union dues from paychecks and turns the money over to the union] for an unlimited period.

The unions denounced these proposals and demanded a law, if it can be called that, without any penalties at all. The haggling went on for two months, until the threat of a police and fire strike in New York City brought passage of a compromise bill backed by Gov. Rockefeller. The Taylor law, as it is called, limits the maximum fine against a union to $10,000 a day and limits the dues checkoff suspension to 18 months.

The strikes against the public have gone on as usual. The garbage collectors are appealing a fine of $80,000 against the union and $250 against their president, but even if they lose, the amount involved is too small to be an adequate deterrent. Teachers, transit workers, and hospital workers, too, have walked off their jobs. In all, there have been nine illegal strikes since the Taylor law was enacted. Dr. Taylor lamented that New York was setting a bad example for other states which face the same problem.

What is wrong? Gov. Rockefeller asked the committee to study the matter again, and the committee reported that the Taylor law is too weak. It repeated its original recommendations with respect to fines and dues checkoffs. Gov. Rockefeller says that the recommendations will be put before the legislature, and we can expect another long verbal battle in Albany.

New York's trouble should serve as an example for the Illinois legislature, which is going to have to face the problems of strikes against the public here. Already there have been strikes by teachers and bus drivers. The Supreme court has ruled such strikes illegal, but a law is still needed to provide for procedures and penalties to avert them.

New York's experiences should help our legislature to draft the best law possible. But they should also serve as a reminder that the best law possible is not going to stop strikes by public employes unless local authorities are determined to enforce it. The unions in New York have made up their minds that they are going to strike when they want, no matter who is hurt or what the law says, and neither Gov. Rockefeller nor Mayor Lindsay has done very much to cure them of their arrogance.

A TRIBUTE TO A LEADING CLEVELAND CITIZEN

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, some weeks ago, an old and dear friend, Judge Felix T. Matia, of the court of common pleas, Cleveland, Ohio, celebrated his 78th birthday. This festive occasion served to remind us in Cleveland how fortunate we are that our city can claim a man of Judge Matia's talent.

Since Judge Matia has over 50 years of dedicated public service to his credit, together with a host of other laudable

endeavors, I thought my colleagues would certainly want to share in a most deserving tribute to a man of great stature and intergrity.

Judge Matia has been a longtime leader of the Polish community and Greater Cleveland. When city parks director, he vigorously championed thoughtful and innovative programs to benefit Cleveland's residents. Judge Matia made an enviable record as city prosecutor. He performed ably as a member of the board of elections and his chairmanship of the executive and central committee was noteworthy.

Judge Matia participated actively in our military efforts during World War I as a lieutenant in the Cavalry and has unceasingly continued to work for the ideas and aims that have helped to make this country great.

Cleveland is proud of him and I am proud to have him as my friend.

STUDENT STATION WRHS OPENS EDUCATIONAL DOORS

HON. ROY A. TAYLOR

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the National Observer of January 20, 1969, tells an interesting story of a unique radio station serving the town of Robbinsville, N.C., located near the Smoky Mountains National Park.

This radio station is unique because it was built and is operated by students of Robbinsville High School, assisted by two faculty members. The students prepare educational and community interest programs, do the announcing, and operate the technical equipment. On two occasions I was interviewed on this station by student announcers, and I was impressed by their dedication and skills and knowledge of government. I know of no better example of the energy and creativity of youth being channeled into a worthwhile operation.

The article follows:

VILLAGE VOICE: STUDENT STATION WRHS OPENS EDUCATIONAL DOORS

Among the giants of broadcasting, radio station WRHS speaks with a whisper, but its voice is having an unmistakable impact in its community. Through the interest the station has aroused, its voice is echoing too in dozens of other communities in other states.

WRHS is a year-old campus radio station designed and built by two teachers and staffed by students at Robbinsville, N.C., High School. WRHS is on the air six days a week, providing educational programs to schools and news and features to 3,000 of Graham County's residents who can tune in within its seven-mile range. It is the county's only radio station.

By itself, WRHS would be only an interesting and minor exercise in ingenuity in the village of 587 isolated in the Smoky Mountains. But speech teacher Henry W. Lamb, Jr., hit upon the radio station as a way to motivate the students to learn better speech. He and electronics-teacher Walter Denton wangled $2,000 from the Graham County school system, and built the station.

The idea, of course, isn't new. There are student stations in towns such as Albuquerque; Portland, Oreg.; St. Louis, East Orange, N.J.; and Buffalo, Mo. But these are FM stations, which limit student participation. WRHS is an AM station, whose signal is fed into power lines, which act as antenna. Under Federal Communications Commission rules, students can handle any job on such a station with limited range.

WRHS' key is student involvement. They write many of the programs, do all the announcing, and learn the electronics skills needed to run a radio station. For the parents, of course, there is news, cultural enrichment, and a chance to catch up on some of their own missing education.

WRHS' success has brought inquiries from scores of towns in North Carolina, Ohio, Florida, Georgia, and Colorado, all of which see campus radio as a useful educational tool.

DR. BETTELHEIM CALLS UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO REBELS PARANOIC

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Bruno Bettelheim, the very distinguished psychologist and educator who teaches at the University of Chicago, said during a press conference in Chicago this weekend that student demonstrators are "sick and in need of psychiatric treatment."

Professor Bettelheim, who was in Germany during the 1930's and saw the rise of Adolf Hitler and fascism, said the demonstrators at the University of Chicago remind him of student unrest in that country.

Dr. Bettelheim personally endured indescribable brutality and terror at the hands of the Nazis and he speaks today of their brutal tactics with a voice of bitter experience.

I am placing in the RECORD today the interview with Dr. Bettelheim as printed in Sunday's Chicago Tribune.

I call my colleagues' attention particularly to that statement by Dr. Bettelheim in which he points out that the leaders of the demonstrations are "very rational people" who use the mass of "irrational students" to gain their ends.

Dr. Bettelheim's observations follow:

DR. BETTELHEIM CALLS UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO REBELS PARANOIC

Dr. Bruno Bettelheim, widely known University of Chicago educator and psychologist, said yesterday that student demonstrators are "sick and in need of psychiatric treatment."

Prof. Bettelheim, who was in Germany during the 1930s and the rise of Adolf Hitler and facism, said the demonstrations at the U. of C. remind him of the student unrests in that country.

"I saw the same thing in German universities which spearheaded the facist government which led to the rule of Hitler," he said. "More disturbing than the minorities who are trying to take over the universities is the attitude of the nation which promotes it."

SPEAKS FOR HIMSELF

Bettelheim, who called a press conference to give his views on the student sit-in which has halted the activities of the school's administration offices, emphasized that he was speaking only for himself.

He said some of the demonstrators are "paranoics," but that "there are no more paranoics around than before, but now the mass media give them more attention."

Bettelheim, professor of education, psychology, and psychiatry at the university, is a well known authority on child psychology.

He said the leaders of the demonstrators are "very rational people who are trying to foment a revolution."

"They use the mass of irrational students to gain this end," he said. "What they want is Maoism, nihilism, and anarchy."

He said he hoped that the university administration will not try to use force to clear the six-story administration building of the protestors who have taken it over and held it since Thursday noon.

"I don't believe in violence and I don't want to make martyrs out of anyone," he said.

SYMPATHY REACTION NOTED

He said universities in all countries are "soft spots" in society because students get public sympathy when they are involved in a "confrontation" with police.

He said the ringleaders of anarchy often go to universities to breed revolt because "one, there are lots of young people who are excitable, two, universities won't call in police, and three, if police are called they won't shoot."

Students attending the university enter into a contract with the school, he said, and "if a student disrupts this university, then, in my opinion, he is guilty of a breach of contract."

HON. WILBUR J. COHEN RETURNS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the tremendous contributions of Wilbur J. Cohen to this Nation for the past 35 years were climaxed by his appointment last year as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. His 9 months as Secretary served to emphasize Mr. Cohen's great insight into the problems of our country, and his amazing ability to find ways of solving them.

Mr. Cohen has returned to the University of Michigan faculty as dean of the School of Education, but he has left an indelible mark on the history of this Nation.

Judith Randal, in an article in the Washington Star, commented:

Cohen has so long been the workhorse of HEW that it is hard to realize he is gone.

We in Michigan are exceedingly proud of Wilbur J. Cohen. Miss Randal's article, reprinted January 26 by the Detroit News, gives an excellent analysis of his many contributions, and I insert it at this point in the RECORD:

CAPITAL APPLAUSE SPEEDS COHEN TO UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

(By Judith Randal)

WASHINGTON.—Probably no top-ranking official involved in the Democratic exodus from Washington evoked so much affectionate respect from his staff as the nation's eighth secretary of health, education and welfare.

Wilbur J. Cohen came to Washington in 1934 as a $1,500-a-year aide to help draft the

original social security legislation. He remained here almost continuously for a third of a century, in the last eight years guiding HEW as a top echelon adviser to a succession of politically appointed superiors.

(Cohen, on the University of Michigan faculty since 1955 but on leave since 1961, is returning to Ann Arbor as the new dean of the School of Education.)

"It's too bad," one young Washington associate mused recently, "that Wilbur couldn't have been the J. Edgar Hoover of this department. No one knows social issues as he does or can present them as palatably to Congress. And no one knows the temper of the country so well either—its regional and professional pressure groups, its leaders, its rank and file."

Cohen has so long been the workhorse of HEW that it is hard to realize he is gone. For example, when Anthony J. Celebrezze, the former mayor of Cleveland, was secretary during the Kennedy administration, he was so inept at dealing with the multi-billion dollar agency that it was Cohen who kept a large part of the department on an even keel.

He also could be a loyal and effective alter ego. When John Gardner was secretary in Mr. Johnson's time, Cohen's knowledgeable assistance as under-secretary was of inestimable help to the Great Society programs that concerned HEW, most of which—including medicare—bore a strong Cohen imprimatur.

The ardor of many a lesser man than Cohen might have been dampened by a lame duck appointment as secretary made just before Mr. Johnson announced that he would not seek reelection. But that was not Cohen's style.

His record in nine months as secretary reflected a vigorous, ongoing concern with the needs of the American people rather than what must have been his disappointment at being several times a bridesmaid and only belatedly and briefly the bride.

As recently as his last week in office, Cohen was still holding news briefings to explain the 11½ pounds of recommendations and reports he submitted after Congress reconvened on January 3.

The 90-page annual report of HEW alone contains 106 recommendations—a measure of Cohen's breadth of interest and grasp of his department's functions and limitations.

They range from the suggested enactment of legislation which would pump money into education by using federal revenues from oil shale and other mineral deposits, to the extension of medicare to the disabled, higher social security benefits for the aged and stepped up efforts against hunger, poverty, disease and environmental pollution.

What is perhaps more important than the details of these proposals is a warning found in the report:

"We are," said Cohen, "increasingly required to make very important and very expensive long-range decisions which, while not irreversible, are very hard to change. If we are not careful, inaction—or doing nothing—will become our chief strategic device, our policy tool."

To lessen this danger Cohen would have the federal government become more active in gathering and disseminating the kind of information which the public can use in formulating its thinking about social planning. He is ever a populist at heart.

Cohen is also a visionary, who sees need of a new approach to top-level public service, at least in the department he once headed. The secretary of health, education and welfare should not, he believes, be a man or woman who intends to seek election to public office, or a professional specialist in one of the fields of the department's work.

"The decision-making responsibility for health, education and welfare . . . should not be based even in part upon possible impact on the secretary's political future . . . (nor should he) lean toward any individual specialty or group," he has written.

Wilbur Cohen obviously believes that the stewardship of the nation's largest agency concerned with domestic matters should be an end in itself. As he remarked rather wistfully to an acquaintance just before leaving office: "Had it been possible, I would have paid government for the privilege of having this job."

CULLMAN, DE KALB TOP COUNTIES IN FARM INCOME

HON. TOM BEVILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, the Alabama counties of Cullman and De Kalb in my congressional district, placed one-two among all Alabama counties in farm income last year for the fifth consecutive time.

This is a record of which we are very proud, Mr. Speaker, and at this time I place in the Extensions of Remarks a recent news story covering farm income in Alabama. The story follows:

CULLMAN, DE KALB TOP TWO COUNTIES IN FARM INCOME

(By Bob Chesnutt)

AUBURN.—Cullman and DeKalb placed one-two among Alabama counties in farm income last year for the fifth consecutive time.

The gross was $36 million in Cullman and $32.5 million in DeKalb, according to Auburn University estimates.

Madison County's $25.2 million was enough to rank it third, the spot Baldwin had held for several years. Monroe was the only newcomer on the list of 10 counties with highest gross farm income in 1968. It placed seventh with $19.3 million, and Dallas dropped from the list.

The other seven counties ranking highest and the income of each (in millions of dollars) were Marshall $25; Mobile $23.4; Baldwin $23.2; Blount $20.1; Houston $18.1; and Walker 17.7.

Figures were compiled from preliminary estimates in annual reports of county Extension chairmen, explained Allen Brown, Extension Service marketing specialist with government farm payments included.

Overall, the state's 1968 gross farm income has been estimated at 165 million. That's $82 million more than in 1967 and $37 million above 1966, the previous high year.

Livestock accounted for $444 million and crops $321 million of the 1968 gross.

Brown's report also ranked counties according to gross income by commodities. The high five in each of the state's major commodities, with income listed in millions of dollars, were:

Beef cattle: Dallas $5.3; Marengo $5.3; Madison $5.2; Sumter $5.0; Montgomery $4.5.

Broilers: Cullman 17.5; Walker $13.5; Winston $11.9; DeKalb 11.0; Marshall $10.0.

Cash grain (including corn): DeKalb $3.4; Marshall $2.6; Jackson $2.4; Cullman $2.2; Monroe $2.1.

Cotton: Madison 8.3; Limestone $7.7; Lawrence 6.3; Marshall $4.6; Cherokee $4.3.

Dairying: Montgomery $4.0; Hale $3.1; Shelby $3.0; Baldwin $3.0; Perry $2.5.

Eggs: DeKalb 6.9; Cullman $5.4; St. Clair $4.3; Shelby 3.6; Marshall $3.4.

Fruits and Vegetables: Chilton $3.0; Baldwin $2.7; Jackson $2.4; Houston 2.3.

Hogs: Madison $2.6; Houston $2.6; Geneva $2.4; Covington 2.2; Pike $2.2; Cullman $2.1.

Peanuts: Houston 5.9; Henry 3.8; Coffee $3.0; Geneva $2.8; Pike $2.8.

Soybeans: Baldwin $5.0; Morgan $1.9; Escambia 1.5; Marengo $1.5; Jackson $1.4.

Timber: Monroe $5.5; Covington $5.4; Clarke $5.3; Mobile $3.9; Tallapoosa $3.7.

THE SUPREME COURT AND ITS WEIRD DECISIONS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, more and more Americans are being jolted into the realization that a revolution is being forced on our people under the smokescreen of "social justice."

The average American is quiet and law-abiding, and may never come in conflict with the laws of his society which were tempered by his ancestors in order to perpetuate a society with mutual duties and responsibilities as well as rights.

Now many of these same quiet Americans are being rudely awakened by the enforcement of court decisions which are destructive in nature and are not law in the historic sense that they represent the direction or the feelings of the masses of the people.

The overwhelming majority of the problems which confront the average American today can readily be traced back to the weird and warped opinions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

These awakened citizens are demanding action to regain control of our country under the constitutional system of limited powers always responsible to the people.

Two interesting editorials by Eugene Butler, the editor-in-chief, appeared in the Progressive Farmer for November 1968, entitled, "The Supreme Court and its Weird Decisions," and for December 1968 entitled "The Constitution and the Court."

Under unanimous consent I submit the editorials for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

[From the Progressive Farmer, November 1968]

THE SUPREME COURT AND ITS WEIRD DECISIONS

(By Eugene Butler, editor-in-chief)

There are several clauses in the U.S. Constitution which the legal gymnasts and mental contortionists on the Supreme Court have misconstrued time and time again in such a way as to riddle the spirit and intention of the Constitution.

One of these is the general welfare clause in the preamble to the Constitution which says: "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States. . . ."

This has been interpreted to mean that Congress can do anything that contributes to the general welfare of the nation, regardless of whether it is included among the powers specifically delegated to Congress. Such an interpretation ignores the 10th amendment which reserves to the individual states all powers not granted to the Federal Government. Moreover, it destroys the major parts and purpose of the entire Constitution. Under such an interpretation, the Federal Government can go into any field of activity on the ground that it is promoting the public welfare. If this had been intended, there

would have been no need for the founding fathers to specify the fields into which the Federal Government could enter.

Another gadget the Supreme Court has used to amend the Constitution by judicial interpretation is the interstate commerce clause. The Constitution gives Congress the power to regulate interstate commerce. But where does interstate commerce begin and where does it end? For instance, the trade of a restaurant in Birmingham, Ala., was limited to local people; but it was ruled in interstate commerce because some of the food it serves was produced outside the state.

Certainly Congress has the power to regulate interstate commerce. But if the phrase "interstate commerce" is to be applied arbitrarily to regulate the entire economic and social life of the nation, the power of the Federal Government goes far beyond the intentions of the founding fathers.

A number of years ago, Woodrow Wilson raised the question and gave the answer as to what part of commerce Congress can regulate under the Constitution. "Clearly," he said, "any part of the active movement of merchandise and persons from state to state.

"May it also regulate the conditions under which the merchandise is produced? May it regulate the conditions of labor in field and factory?

"Clearly not—for that would be to destroy all lines of division between the field of state legislation and the field of federal legislation. Back of the conditions of labor in field and factory lie all the intimate matters of morals and of domestic and business relations, which have always been recognized as the undisputed field of state law."

A third gadget the Court has used time and time again to sanction its interference in local affairs is that part of the 14th amendment which states: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

It was this part of the amendment that the Court used to force integration of the races and practically take schools out of the hands of local people. Yet the original Constitution does not mention education and neither does the 14th nor any other amendment. The debates in Congress when the amendment was passed and in the States when it was submitted clearly show there was no intention by its supporters that it should affect the systems of education maintained by the states. In fact, of the 37 states in the Union at that time, 24 had legally sanctioned segregation in their schools. None of the framers of the amendment referred to segregation in any way. At the time, it simply was not an issue. And there is every reason to believe that had such an interpretation been placed upon it, the amendment would have been rejected.

In its historic school desegregation decision in 1954, the Court was unable to point to a single law or legal precedent to support its position. It refused to consider what the framers of the 14th amendment had in mind or the soundness of previous court decisions. Basing its decisions on the unsworn writings of psychologists of questionable background, the Court excused itself by saying "we cannot turn the clock back" to 1868 when the amendment was adopted or to 1891 when a former Court ruled in favor of state control of education. What it meant to say was that the Constitution changes with the times and that it is the prerogative of nine men appointed for life to modify and amend the Constitution by judicial interpretation rather than allow these changes to be made by the people through Constitutional amendments.

Laws must be reasonably stable so that people may know what to expect. If they come to believe that constitutional law is nothing more than what the Supreme Court thinks it is on a particular day, there is danger that acceptance of and respect for the Court will decline, and public support for law and order will suffer.

The present Court has made a fetish of overturning decisions of previous Courts composed of men with far greater knowledge of the law and understanding of the Constitution. For example, the Supreme Court on which sat such eminent judges as Taft, Holmes, Brandeis, and Stone unanimously ruled in favor of the right of states to decide the issue of segregation without interference of federal courts under the Constitution. How could a Court composed of Taft, Holmes, Brandeis, and Stone be wrong, and one dominated by Warren, Black, and Douglas be right?

As a result of its usurpation of legislative power, some weird decisions have been handed down by the Warren Court during the past 10 or 15 years. In a series of decisions, the Court has produced these changes in our lives:

1. Barred all religious exercises in schools.
2. Given the green light to obscenity.
3. Made the task of law enforcement more difficult.
4. Weakened our internal security.
5. Ordered a drastic and unprecedented reapportionment of state legislatures and other government bodies. (By forcing government bodies to base representation on the one man-one vote principle, the Court destroyed a practice of two centuries and did serious damage to our system of checks and balances. To conform to the wishes of the majority of a power-mad Court, we have been forced to alter our whole political structure.)
6. Invalidated state trespass law.
7. Ruled that the 14th amendment prohibits a state from denying aid to mothers living with men other than their husbands.
8. Forced schools to move their students into particular buildings.
9. Ordered states to allow illiterates to vote.
10. Ordered states to ask a federal court to approve the validity of a law before it is enforced.
11. Acted to wipe out local self-government and the rights of the people and states.
12. Upheld the right of demonstrators to invade a privately owned supermarket in a privately owned shopping center. (Ironically, nine days later the Court's own building was overrun by a group of demonstrators who were quickly evicted. The Court had ruled that under the Constitution's free speech guarantee, peaceful demonstrators may invade any location "generally open to the public" because it is the "functional equivalent of public property." But the Court locked demonstrators out of its own building, which is not only the functional equivalent of public property. but is public property.)
13. Practically forced the abolishment of the death penalty by abrogating the right to exclude from juries those with scruples against the death penalty.

Members of the Supreme Court are responsible to no one but themselves. They are appointed for life so that they may be above and beyond political strife. Far too often now, appointment to the Court is not based on judicial wisdom and experience. The Court is often used as a sop to Labor, to reward political favors, to give balance to racial and religious groups, or to balance off one section of the country against another. Many of the reasons for life tenure seem to have vanished. So maybe we should recognize the political nature of the Court and subject its members to the same controls imposed on other branches of the Government. Perhaps a constitutional amendment limiting Supreme Court members to 12 years' service is in order. Certainly if the Court is to continue to revise the Constitution to achieve its ideals, it should be made accountable to the people. But how much better it would be if its members imposed on themselves that judicial restraint so important if we are to continue to have a Government of balanced powers.

[From the Progressive Farmer, December 1968]

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE COURT

(By Eugene Butler, editor-in-chief)

The great majority of people in this country couldn't care less about appointments to the U.S. Supreme Court. Even the U.S. Senate, which is specifically charged in the Constitution with passing judgment on Presidential nominations to the Court, seldom shows much more than perfunctory interest. It has been 30 years since the Senate blocked a President's nomination to the Court. But if five men (court majority) appointed to the office for life are to decide for us such intimate and close-to-home matters as where and how our children go to school and how we are represented in the state legislature, it is high time all of us took more interest in such appointments.

Time was when the Supreme Court interpreted the Constitution as it was written and in the light of the intentions of the wise men who framed it.

In recent years, however, the Court has embraced the philosophy that the Constitution is not a declaration of fixed or definite principles. The Court's majority now believes that as social and economic conditions change, the Constitution also changes. In fact, the Court has acted as though anything it considers good for the nation is possible under the Constitution. And so it is if the Constitution is amended by the people. But certainly our founding fathers never intended to place so great powers over the lives and property of all the people in the hands of nine men appointed for life.

No matter how clearly a document is written, it is likely to be interpreted differently by different people at different times. So it is reasonable to expect some disagreement between Supreme Courts of different periods of our history. But today's Court has gone far beyond any reasonable interpretation as to what the Constitution meant to say. It has so twisted, tortured, and strained its meaning that it would not be recognized by its framers.

Some say that each age is better than the preceding one and that the spirit of our times is more important than adherence to a written constitution. Therefore, they insist, the Constitution must be a living document that changes with the times. They argue that the framers of the Constitution, having never seen an airplane nor having lived under the threat of a nuclear bomb, couldn't possibly know the demands of modern morality and equity.

Except for relatively few amendments, the text of the Constitution has remained unchanged. The old symbols are still there. But the present Court keeps dragging new meanings from the same old text. It reinterprets the text according to what it regards as the felt needs of our contemporary society. It seeks to find in the Constitution an "ideal." Then when it thinks the country is ready to accept that "ideal," it acts to give it effect. What this means is that the Court is revising the Constitution by judicial interpretation.

In fact, the Court has come to consider itself the conscience of the nation. It says in effect: "The President has failed to urge and Congress has failed to act in doing what needs to be done. Therefore, we will do the job they failed to do."

But there is nothing in the Constitution that gives the Supreme Court this right, and to the degree to which it has usurped the legislative function, the balance of power between the executive, judicial, and legislative branches has been destroyed.

The Courts' use of judicial power to force social and political reform on the nation is endorsed by many because they approve of the reforms. And we are certain that the

majority of our people fully recognize that many of the governmental changes made during the past 30 to 40 years, although of dubious constitutionality, were badly needed. But everything good for the nation is not necessarily constitutional. And many such changes, badly needed as they were, would cause the constitutional fathers to writhe in their graves. Such changes should have been made by the people through amendments to the Constitution rather than by nine fallible men sitting on a high court. This is important because if the Court is allowed to amend the Constitution through judicial interpretation to accomplish good results, in time the use of such power by the Court will be firmly established and in the hands of those who will abuse it.

George Washington recognized this danger, and in his farewell address, he cautioned:

"If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way in which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free government is destroyed."

Our forefathers came to this country to escape an oppressive government. They had had a belly full of an arbitrary central government far removed from local affairs. And they were in no frame of mind to allow members of a court appointed for life to rule the country through judicial interpretation. The 39 men who signed the document realized they could not draft a Constitution that would be right for all time to come. So they provided a manner and means of adapting it to changing conditions. This method—amendment by the people—has been used 24 times and is the only legal way to change the meaning of the Constitution from that intended by its framers.

THE MILITARY SPENDING SPONGE

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, increasingly Congress, the press, and the American public are becoming aware of the tremendous drain on our economy and on the quality of American life that our defense expenditures now exert. The intricacy of complex defense weapons systems, the lack of competition which would insure efficient production, and the tenuous nature of checking defense profits—all these make even more urgent the need for carefully scrutinizing defense budget requests and for auditing defense expenditures.

The United States was rightfully impressed in 1960 when President Dwight Eisenhower, in a speech that promises to have historical significance, warned us about the dangers of the industrial-military complex. At that time the Department of Defense was awarding approximately $29 billion a year in prime contracts. Now the figure has grown to more than $43 billion. The so-called thin antiballistic-missile deployment alone will cost over $5 billion.

Recently, in its lead editorial for January 30, the Washington Post sounded a timely warning to Congress about the disproportionate demands which the military makes in comparison with funds spent on domestic programs, so crucial to the well-being of our citizens. It warns that somewhere, in the maze of increasingly fantastic demands, "Congress must begin to face the realities. Military needs seem to be like a sponge that is never filled."

Mr. Speaker, I insert the full text of the editorial at this time and urge its careful consideration by Congress, as follows:

THE MILITARY SPENDING SPONGE

Any survey of Federal spending these days leads inevitably to the conclusion that the needs of national defense outrank, in our priorities, the urgent domestic programs which may make the difference between a bearable and an unbearable life in the Nation's cities or farms. There is some logic in this, of course, for we cannot deal effectively with our domestic ills unless we are, first of all, free from external threat. So, on its face, there is nothing wrong with the fact that it is easier to sell Congress a shiny new missile than a slum clearance project, or that the Defense Department gets almost 40 percent of the Federal budget, or that just one part of the Pentagon's activities—research, development and testing of new weapons—gets more money than all the programs of the Department of Urban Development. There is some logic in this, however, only if this massive grant of money to the military is wisely spent. And that is what is so disquieting about the recent report by Bernard D. Nossiter in this newspaper about the performance of our defense planners and our military contractors—because what it says, quite starkly, is that new weapons systems consistently cost far more than originally estimated and consistently fail to perform up to the specifications set for them.

A report by a Government analyst involved in military programs says that weapons systems with sophisticated electronic components encounter delays averaging two years in their completion, run up costs of 200 to 300 per cent more than anticipated, and have reliability, when they are completed, of less than half of that promised. It is hard to keep from wondering whether military dollars are being well spent and whether Congress would authorize the new systems in the first place if it knew what the ultimate results would be. It is even harder to keep from wondering about these questions when it is clear that the failure of some aerospace contractors to meet the terms of the contracts they win has nothing to do with the profits they make.

It is undoubtedly true, as the Pentagon is sure to tell us soon, that modern weapons systems are fantastically complex and that a high degree of risk is involved in their development. It may also be true that a new weapons system, developed at three times its anticipated cost and reliable at less than 50 per cent of its contract specifications, provides, nevertheless, a substantial improvement in the Nation's defenses. But the question that needs to be answered is whether the aerospace contractors and the military promise far more than they can deliver in order to win funds from Congress. If Congress approves a new system that is claimed to improve our defenses by a factor of 4 three years from now at a cost of $1 billion, it ought not to wind up buying a system that takes 5 years to install at a cost of $2 billion and improves defenses by a factor of 2. It may be that the latter would be worth the additional cost and time but it may also be that Congress wouldn't have approved the program if it had known what it was really buying.

On this kind of issue, of course, it is almost impossible for laymen to oppose the judgment of military experts and systems analysts. Yet, the questions persist. Why does the Government accounting Office have more men poking into the affairs of Pride, Inc., the local antipoverty agency, than it does poking into the affairs of the aerospace contractors who spend more money before lunch than Pride will ever spend? Would Congress tolerate for a second the kind of performance on the development of antipoverty and anticrime programs that it tolerates on the development of military weapons systems? Why does a company that consistently promises more than it delivers continue to make substantial profits? Do the vast outlays for weapons development and procurement really bolster national defense as much as they appear to?

These questions are particularly pertinent this year. The military wants to embark on a vast, new antiballistic missile system that will, before it is completed, eat up billions of dollars. Yet every proposal to Congress for mundane things from funds for the Washington area's rapid transit system to new outlays for housing or education—encounters the argument that the money simply isn't there. Even the hope of many that an end to the war in Vietnam would free great sums of money for domestic programs—programs, we are now told, which may be illusory. Pentagon officials now warn that lower expenditures in Vietnam will simply break the dam that has been imposed on requests for all three military services for substantial investments in new weapons systems.

Somewhere in this maze, Congress must begin to face the realities. Military needs seem to be like a sponge that is never filled. If the money soaked up frequently buys less than is bargained for, the question is how much more should be poured in before the methods of development and procurement are radically changed. Just as there is a minimum level of national security that must be maintained, so there is a minimum level of domestic programs that must be sustained; the Government ought not to have lower standards of performance in one field than in the other; on the contrary, the greatest caution and the greatest care should be given to that category of spending which has been granted, of necessity, the highest priority; it is the ease with which Congress will contemplate an outpouring of billions in the name of defense that makes it so easy for this sort of spending to get out of hand.

IRV KUPCINET—DEAN OF AMERICA'S CONVERSATIONALISTS—OBSERVES 11TH ANNIVERSARY OF KUP'S SHOW

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, this week marks the 11th anniversary of one of the most interesting, innovative, enterprising, informative, and intelligent television shows in America.

It marks the anniversary of Kup's Show, which is telecast every Saturday evening on the National Broadcasting affiliate in Chicago, WMAQ—Channel 5.

The originator of this very exciting program is Sun-Times columnist, Irv Kupcinet, who today stands out as one of the Nation's most eloquent columnists and whose reputation as a perceptive conversationalist is recognized all over the world.

Kup is today the dean of American conversationalists. During the past 11 years, Kup has brought to the people of the Midwest conversations with practically every individual of consequence in every sector of social achievement.

Kup's Show is an institution and one

in which every American can take pride. Through his Saturday evening talk sessions, Kup has given television a whole new dimension of meaning.

Because of his own personal sense of fair play, he has been able to bring into the living rooms of millions of American families discussions and conversations with people from all over the world whom Americans otherwise would never have an opportunity to meet or hear.

The fact that this program has survived 11 years in the highly competitive marketplace of American television is perhaps the highest singular tribute that anyone can pay to Kup and all those who assist him in putting his program together every week.

Kup's "secret weapon" is his lovely wife, Essee, who does a great deal of the research for his programs and who in her own right stands today as one of the most highly respected ladies of television in America.

Working together, the Kupcinets have made a tremendous impact on our Nation. It would be difficult to fully measure the enormous contribution Kup has made for American televiewers to observe first hand the lively art of discussion on major issues and problems confronting our Nation and the world.

Kup's own uncanny ability to lead a discussion into never-ending facets of excitement has helped build and keep an audience for more than a decade.

The National Broadcasting Co. and Television Station WMAQ in Chicago perform an outstanding service to the American community by carrying Kup's show.

The distinguished television critic Paul Molloy paid a well deserved tribute to Irv Kupcinet in last Sunday's edition of the Chicago Sun-Times.

I consider it a privilege to reprint Mr. Molloy's article in the RECORD today.

Irv Kupcinet belongs among those meaningful Americans who through hard work, zeal, dedication, and an undaunted search for the truth, has given television an imposing dimension of service to the Nation.

Kup is no ordinary reporter. His 11 years on television and his many years as a columnist for the Chicago Sun-Times raise him to enviable heights in American journalism.

It is a privilege to join today in the tribute to Irv Kupcinet, and his wife Essee, on their 11th anniversary as moderators of Kup's Show.

Mr. Paul Molloy's article follows:

HARDIEST TALK SHOW

(By Paul Molloy)

The cover picture of Sun-Times columnist Irv Kupcinet in this issue of TV Prevue shows him in possession of a very ordinary-looking left ear. This is extraordinary because the appendage should bear some resemblance to a cauliflower.

That it appears normal is remarkable for Kupcinet, as part of the hazards of being a newspaper-television-radio celebrity, receives or makes at least 100 telephone calls each day.

"There are many days," says his secretary, Raeona Jordan, "when the calls go as high as 135."

This week, Kupcinet's videoaudience-grabber, Kup's Show, now on Ch. 5, goes into its 11th year—the longest-running conversation program on American television. For most of its video run Kup's Show was seen, on other stations, at the post-midnight hour on Saturdays and, for various reasons, a good many viewers found it difficult or impossible to sit through 3 a.m. (or sometimes later) to hear all of his guests.

Kup's show started as At Random on Ch. 2 during the first week of February in 1958. Four years later it moved to Ch. 7 and, last November, found a more comfortable berth at Ch. 5, the NBC outlet. It now airs after Ch. 5's 10 p.m. newscast, a welcome change of niche for viewers who must be out-of-bed-and-about on Sunday mornings.

One of the things that are little known about Kupcinet is that his wife, Essee, spends a great deal of time doing research for him.

Kupcinet's format, whose guests have ranged from heads of state to hopeful Hollywood starlets, is now syndicated in Rockford, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Philadelphia and San Francisco. This year there will be an increase in out-of-town originations, such as New York and Washington, and, in April, Kupcinet will emanate a show-business discussion from Hollywood during the Oscar Awards hoopla.

The wonder of it all is that Kupcinet can squeeze so many activities within his allotted working time which takes in most of the day and a good part of the night. Besides his widely-quoted six-a-week column in The Sun-Times and his Kup's Show on television, he is also Jack Brickhouse's WGN-Radio partner during the Chicago Bears broadcasts and does numerous radio and television appearances here and in many other cities.

His other public appearances are simply too numerous to mention. They include benefits and charity functions for individuals as well as civic, business, church and school groups and being master of ceremonies or guest speaker at countless public affairs. Often, when he shows up late at a luncheon, it is because he is on his third or fourth in-and-out stop-in since noon.

Kupcinet is both too busy and modest to talk about his activities. But Paul Frumkin, who has been his TV producer since the video program started in 1958, puts it this way:

"Despite all of the things that Kup does, he has always considered himself (and still does) a newspaperman who happens to do television and radio and other chores.

"A couple of days before the taping of his show he does his homework, preparing for the program, reading up on his guests and their accomplishments. He gets to the studio a couple of hours before taping begins, still making notes. When taping is to begin and he walks to the set he looks completely relaxed. But he does admit having butterflies in the stomach. After all, even Bob Hope, who is supposed to be the most relaxed person on television, concedes to a certain nervousness before the show begins.

"With him, it's a matter of a good constitution, an excellent memory, lots of preparation and very little sleep."

Quite often readers will ask me, or ask "Mr. Chicago" himself, the recipe for breaking into television and making a go of it.

I can think of no better response than to repeat Frumkin's words: ". . . a good constitution, an excellent memory, lots of preparation and very little sleep."

And the key phrase is: "Lots of preparation."

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Tuesday, February 4, 1969*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

This I command you, that you love one another.—John 15: 17.

Dear Lord and Father of mankind, our spirit's unseen friend, we pray for every effort which is being made for peace and justice, for brotherhood and good will in our Nation, and throughout the world.

Breathe Thy spirit into every human heart that men may brothers be, and learn to live together in love, with understanding, and for the benefit of all Thy creatures.

Bless Thou our President, our Speaker, the Members of this House of Representatives, and all who labor under the glowing dome of this glorious Capitol. Preserve their health, give them wisdom, broaden their vision, and guide their aspirations that together we may seek the good of all mankind.

In the Master's name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

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

APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 2(b), Public Law 89-491, as amended, the Chair appoints as members of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. DONOHUE, Mr. MARSH, Mr. SAYLOR, and Mr. WHITEHURST.

APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON CONSUMER FINANCE

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 402(a), Public Law 90-321, the Chair appoints as members of the National Commission on Consumer Finance the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. PATMAN, Mrs. SULLIVAN, and Mr. HALPERN.

APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL FOREST RESERVATION COMMISSION

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of title 16, United States Code, section 513, the Chair appoints as members of the National Forest Reservation Commission the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. COLMER and Mr. SAYLOR.

APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 3(a), Public Law 86-380,