

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

NAVAL DEFENSE OF THE SOUTHERN OCEANS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, much has been said in the press and in Congress in recent months about the growing Soviet seapower. On a number of occasions, I have expressed my grave concern to my distinguished colleagues regarding the ever-increasing Soviet sea threat. New and alarming information on this peril we face continues to come to my attention.

Mr. President, this Soviet threat to the South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean has been given a new perspective by Mr. Anthony H. Harrigan, assistant editor of the *News & Courier* in Charleston, S.C. Mr. Harrigan, who has an eminent reputation as a seapower analyst, presents a clear and important analysis of the strategic role South Africa will forge in the deployment of seapower by the United States and the U.S.S.R. in the Southern Hemisphere. It is imperative that the United States maintain good relations with South Africa in this regard.

Mr. President, I commend this article, entitled "Naval Defense of the Southern Oceans," to my distinguished colleagues which was published August 18, 1969, in the American Security Council's Washington Report. I ask unanimous consent for this article to be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

NAVAL DEFENSE OF THE SOUTHERN OCEANS—
THE SOVIET THREAT IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC AND INDIAN OCEANS

(By Anthony Harrigan)

In the hills above the historic Simonstown naval base, near the Cape of Good Hope, will be built the underground naval command headquarters that one day may be of central importance to the Western countries in defense of the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

The South African Navy, which operates from the Simonstown base, currently is in the midst of an expansion program with significant implications for all the free world sea-trading nations. The base is being expanded in order to accommodate the 850-ton Daphne-class submarines South Africa is purchasing from France. The first crews are being trained at the French Navy's submarine school and the complicated details of forming a modern submarine force, albeit small in size, are being handled by the "Daphne Project," similar to the Special Projects Office that supervised development of America's Polaris submarines.

The importance of South Africa's naval build-up is underscored by the fact that the Republic possesses the only strong maritime force in Southern Africa. The expansion takes on special significance in view of the rising tempo of Soviet maritime and naval operations in the South Atlantic and the Indian Oceans.

Only a few years ago, a Soviet maritime or naval presence in the Southern hemi-

sphere was hardly considered possible. The arrival of a single Soviet vessel in African waters attracted worldwide attention. All that is changed. Fifteen Soviet and East Bloc ships pass the Cape of Good Hope every day. In the last year, more than 130 communist vessels called at East African ports. Soviet warships regularly move into the Indian Ocean from the Atlantic side. For example, in late July two Soviet warships, the rocket ship *Uporny* and the naval tanker *Yegorlyk* arrived in Zanzibar. Earlier in the year, a Russian rocket cruiser and a guided missile destroyer paid the first official visit to Mauritius, the strategically located Indian Ocean island 550 miles east of Madagascar.

The Soviet maritime and naval activity make the Simonstown base tremendously important now and in the event of any type of oceanic conflict. In any 10-day period, there are almost 2,000 ships traveling the sea routes off South Africa's shores. These include the supertankers that carry oil from the Middle East to keep the lights burning in Europe. It is essential that the movements of these vessels be monitored.

The USSR's support of the war in Vietnam can be gauged from the number of East Bloc ships in transit around the Cape and the type of cargoes they carry. Military cargoes, including rocket-armed torpedo boats, have been sent to North Korea by the Cape Route. Soviet submarines destined for the Indian Navy also have taken the route around the Cape. If the United States and the NATO nations are to have an accurate, up-to-date picture of Soviet naval activity, it is imperative that comprehensive surveillance be maintained along the Cape Route and that the results of this intelligence activity be fully available.

The United States, with its worldwide naval responsibilities, cannot afford an intelligence blind-spot, especially when the Soviets are in the midst of a maritime build-up in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans. The South African Navy unquestionably is in position to supply the United States with a great deal of valuable information on Soviet and East Bloc ship movements, not simply in waters immediately adjacent to the Republic but in the remote areas of the Indian Ocean.

In a typical day, the Soviet Union may have a warship at Aden at the mouth of the Red Sea, a trawler force off South West Africa, a large factory ship near the Maldives Islands, two space tracker ships in the mid-Indian Ocean, an oceanographic vessel far to the south of the Cape, and a destroyer off the Nigerian coast—plus a dozen or more merchant vessels that could be assigned naval or intelligence tasks.

If the United States were in a position to maintain large task forces and shore stations in the area, together with shore-based, long-range reconnaissance aircraft, it would not have to be especially interested in the capabilities of the South African ships and reconnaissance aircraft. At one time, it seemed likely that the U.S. would establish a major base in the British Indian Ocean territory, but the likelihood is small now because of the rapid rise in defense costs and the development of expensive new weapons systems. Therefore, cooperation with the South Africa defense forces in the area of maritime surveillance is of major importance, in view of the increasing Soviet naval role in the Southern Hemisphere.

Cooperation, which existed under the Eisenhower administration (and which included joint U.S., British, South African and Portuguese naval exercises) all but ceased as a result of policy decisions by the Ken-

nedy and Johnson administrations. Whereas the United States formerly sold torpedoes and other naval weapons to the Republic, sale of naval equipment to South Africa was banned in the 1960's, despite the fact that torpedoes and sonar, for example, have no conceivable application to any internal security measures. South African naval personnel no longer are invited to attend U.S. service schools, even though officers of navies with close links to the Soviets—the Indian Navy, for example—have been invited to attend the U.S. defense schools. This ban, ordered by previous administrations, is extremely unrealistic, not to say hypocritical in view of the importance of naval and air cooperation with the Republic.

The ban has not prevented South Africa from modernizing its armed forces. France has been quick to fill the gap in equipment, technology and theory. French, Italian, German and Swiss companies are eager to sell aircraft, rockets, guns, radar and other equipment necessary for modern armed forces. French and Italian equipment and know-how, plus airframe construction personnel from Britain and the Continent, made possible the opening of the Atlas Aircraft Company plant in South Africa that produces a small, jet aircraft. For its interceptor squadrons, South Africa has the Mirage fighters built in France, the aircraft that performed so splendidly for the Israelis in the Six Day War. South Africa's most critical aircraft need is for maritime reconnaissance planes. This need is likely to be met soon by acquisition of aircraft from Europe.

The United States would have much to gain, however, if South Africa were to purchase the long-range, multi-engine reconnaissance aircraft which the U.S. has pioneered. Aircraft of these type are needed to produce the type and volume of surveillance information required to keep track of Soviet naval units in the Indian Ocean. South Africa is the only country, except Australia on the other side of the Indian Ocean, likely to undertake long-range reconnaissance flights and share the information obtained with the United States.

The urgency of such a surveillance operation may not be understood by many people at the present moment. But if the Soviets acquire a naval presence in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans similar to what they have in the Mediterranean, the need for comprehensive, accurate tracking will be imperative. Actually, the South African Navy's expansion program is of sufficient size to meet the needs of the Western nations for a major Cape communications and control center. In the event of a limited naval war in the South Atlantic or Indian Oceans, the Western powers would have immediate need of the communications facilities for handling the mass of shipping moving between the two oceans. Plotting of this shipping by manual means would be grossly inadequate, and thus the NATO countries have a real stake in helping South Africa install a computerized ship plotting system that could be linked to the Atlantic Fleet Operational Control Center.

The only visible barrier to such a development is the arms ban that is a dead letter for several of America's European allies. The British arms ban almost certainly will be discarded if the Conservative Party wins the next General Election. Sir Alec Douglas-Home, former British Prime Minister and shadow foreign minister, has made plain that military cooperation with South Africa would be resumed, saying that "the sea routes around Africa have become a vital lifeline for Western Europe."

The Nixon administration, for its part, is in a good position to drop the ban on naval

armaments and naval aircraft and to resume the cooperation and exchange of information maintained by the Eisenhower administration.

Critics of U.S. bases overseas cannot logically complain if the U.S. makes increased use of the resources and geographical position of a friendly power with sea frontiers on the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

Ironically, Britain, while paying lip service to the arms ban in order to appease Afro-Asian Nations in the Commonwealth, has sent its warships into the Simonstown base more than 150 times since the closing of the Suez Canal. British warships on patrol in the Mozambique Channel also regularly call at the South African port of Durban.

While the facts are well understood in shipping circles, the public needs greater understanding of the tremendous increase in maritime activity involving Southern Africa. Under construction north of Durban is the new port of Richards Bay, which will be able to handle the 100,000-ton tankers now coming round Southern Africa regularly. The Japanese, which are expected to order 30 million tons of iron ore from South Africa in the next few years, want loading berths for 150,000-ton bulk carriers at Richards Bay.

As a result of its new "outward" foreign policy, South Africa is forging new ties that may markedly affect the global strategic picture. Foreign affairs specialists in Cape Town believe that before the year is out South Africa will establish close economic and political links with the Malagasy Republic on Madagascar, Africa's great offshore island. The French have a naval base and a Foreign Legion Battalion on Madagascar. One possibility is that an agreement with the Malagasy Republic will involve an arrangement whereby the South Africans will have base rights on Madagascar while the French will be free to use Simonstown.

In whatever arrangements are concluded, the facilities at Cape of Good Hope will be of basic importance, if for no other reason that they occupy a central position. Beyond that, however, there is solid evidence that the basic components of a key naval operations center for Western sea powers are being created at the Cape. In the event of a major naval crisis, the naval staffs of the NATO nations and other free world countries such as Japan will find at the southern tip of the African continent the framework necessary for conducting large operations, repairing and refueling warships and merchant ships, and for controlling shipping movements so as to make sure that adequate fuel and other vital cargoes reach Western Europe. From the U.S. standpoint, however, the immediate need is to reestablish vital lines of communication and cooperation and to assist modernization and coordination of naval forces in the Southern Hemisphere.

OUTLOOK APPEARS BRIGHTER FOR 1969 MARITIME REFORM

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the maritime industry is one of America's greatest industries. It is one of the principal engines of our economy, one of our largest employers, and, in a real sense, the foundation of much of the international prestige and prominence this Nation now enjoys. In recent years, however, we have tended to take this great industry for granted. It may be said we have neglected its needs and failed to plan for its

future. Now, it appears that a new day is dawning for the maritime industry. Growing attention is being focused on meeting the present and future needs of this industry, so vital to the economic health of our Nation.

This was the theme of a column by Capt. Thomas L. Lewis, U.S. Navy retired, in the Times Picayune of New Orleans. Captain Lewis is a very knowledgeable man in matters concerning the maritime industry. In this column, he outlines a report on the problems of the industry by the AFL-CIO's Maritime Trades Department. It is an informative and interesting article, and I am taking the opportunity to call it to the attention of my colleagues:

OUTLOOK APPEARS BRIGHTER FOR 1969 MARITIME REFORM: SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS INDICATE OPTIMISM

(By Capt. Thomas L. Lewis, U.S. Navy retired)

An aura of optimism definitely appears to be developing on the maritime front of the nation. More and more speeches and statements by prominent men, whose interests are linked with the maritime industry so vital to our country, seem to be brightening the future of the U.S. Merchant Marine instead of shrouding it with gloom.

An example along those lines is reported in a recent issue of the official publication of the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department's "Maritime". It reports on a meeting of the executive board of MTD, held in Bal Harbour, Fla., earlier this year to chart the course for the coming year.

The report captioned, "MTD Proposes for 1969 A Positive Program of Fleet Development," says that the meeting was held "amid an atmosphere of optimism over the prospects for maritime reform in 1969—."

It says that "the improved outlook was the product of many things" and it listed:

A telegram from President Nixon to the Department's nearly 7 million members pledging the new Administration to the development of a "strong and viable Merchant Marine."

The action by more than 160 Congressmen to date are sponsoring legislation to reestablish the Maritime Administration as an independent agency—legislation passed overwhelmingly by the 90th Congress, only to be vetoed by President Johnson.

The re-introduction in Congress of bills to provide a new Maritime program—measures which in MTD's view, require only "perfecting in Committee to form the base for a long-overdue, forwarding looking Maritime posture.

The presence within the Nixon Administration of such officials as Transportation Secretary John A. Volpe and Undersecretary of Commerce Rocco Siciliano, both of whom, according to the MTD, have demonstrated their "awareness" of Maritime problems.

The fact that both the Republican and Democratic Party platforms contain promises to work for revitalization of the U.S. flag shipping and shipbuilding.

The report by MTD's "Maritime" goes on to say that the message from the White House was the first such message that the labor movement had received since President Nixon took office.

The message addressed to MTD President Hall and Representatives of 39 national and international unions attending the session, spoke of the Administration's "deep interest in seeing our Merchant Marine play a more important role in world commerce." It said that Mr. Nixon looked forward "to working with your Department and all organized labor in achieving this goal."

The publication notes that even before President Nixon's telegram was received there

was a new sense of optimism at the session. It says that Administrator O. William Moody Jr. in a report to the board spoke of "a marked change in attitude about maritime affairs in official Washington circles" and that it "suggests strongly that progress is in sight and that it's achievable."

The legislative report noted that the key to progress must be "a positive program of fleet development" keyed to a fair and equitable solution to our maritime ills. It specified that any new legislation must:

Provide new ships for the unsubsidized segment of the fleet as well as the subsidized segment.

Be in harmony with the national AFL-CIO policy that American-flag ships must be built exclusively in American shipyards.

Provide a mechanism to encourage unsubsidized operators to invest more private capital in new ship construction, including the same privilege of setting up tax-deferred construction reserve funds enjoyed by subsidized operators; giving unsubsidized operators "first call" on government-generated cargoes; and giving unsubsidized operators long-term charters to carry government cargo.

Put an end to the practice of "double subsidies" whereby operating and construction subsidies, granted to 14 liner companies to help them compete fairly with foreign-flag operators for the carriage of commercial cargo, are used to underbid unsubsidized American-flag operators for the carriage of government cargo.

There follows some of the highlights of a wide range of resolutions which MTD's Publication Maritime reports having been adopted at the session:

On "Maritime independence," spelled out full support for legislation to set up the Maritime Administration as an autonomous federal agency.

On "foreign shipbuilding," criticized those who would permit U.S. Flag ships to be built abroad on the basis of lost jobs, consumers and taxpayers at home and called for legislation to assure "build-abroad" does not become national policy.

On the maritime program, in companion resolutions urged that long-overdue action be taken to rebuild the U.S. flag fleet. One endorsed a program for construction of 50 ships a year while the other called for implementations of President Nixon's Campaign pledge to develop a fleet for the carriage of 30 per cent of overseas commerce by the mid-1970's.

On "offshore drilling," resolved that Congress should halt the practice of purchasing oil drilling rigs for offshore drilling from abroad.

On "fishing fleet," expressed concern over the number of incidents of seizure and harassment of U.S. fishing vessels by Latin American countries and proposed action for remedies that should be taken.

On "runway shipping," urged the Congress to investigate the oil industry's "policy of exporting American shipbuilding jobs" and the "inequitable tax favor" enjoyed by that industry.

On "foreign trade zone," criticized the Foreign Trade Zones Board "for granting permission to a shipyard to build marine equipment with duty-free imported materials in a foreign trade 'sub-zone' established in New Orleans. . . ."

LT. GEN. LEONARD D. HEATON, SURGEON GENERAL OF THE ARMY

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on Tuesday, September 30, 1969, Lt. Gen.

Leonard D. Heaton, U.S. Army, will be officially retired from the Army after more than 43 years of distinguished service to his country. For the past 10 years, General Heaton has been the Surgeon General of the Army. He was appointed to this top medical position in the Army by President Eisenhower on June 1, 1959.

Mr. President, I know my distinguished colleagues would like to join me in paying tribute to this great surgeon, outstanding Army officer, and dedicated American. I have known General Heaton for many years. It has been a privilege and a rewarding pleasure to be associated with this eminent surgeon whose advancement of medicine will continue forever to help administer to the sick.

Mr. President, General Heaton is a man of many sterling qualities who has devoted himself for almost half of a century to the health and welfare of our Armed Forces. His accomplishments in the medical field are nationally and internationally recognized. The Army and his many friends in Congress and throughout the country will miss General Heaton's leadership in the medical field; however, I am confident General Heaton will continue to be active in his chosen profession for the benefit of mankind. I would like to join his many friends in wishing him continued good health, happiness, and success in his well deserved retirement.

Mr. President, as a further tribute to General Heaton, in recognition of his outstanding and loyal service to our country, I ask unanimous consent that the following official records of his service and achievements be printed in the Extensions of Remarks of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the materials are ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OFFICIAL BIOGRAPHY

Leonard Dudley Heaton was born in Parkersburg, W. Va., on 18 November 1902. He attended Denison University at Granville, O., 1919-22, and went on to the University of Louisville (Ky.) for his Doctor of Medicine degree, awarded in 1926. In recognition of his outstanding accomplishments, he has since been awarded Honorary Doctor of Science degrees from Denison University in 1958, the University of Louisville in 1959, and the University of West Virginia in 1962. An honorary Doctor of Humane Letters degree was awarded by Brandeis University in 1964, and an honorary Doctor of Medical Science degree by the Seoul National University, Seoul, Korea, in 1966. In 1967, he was awarded an honorary Doctor of Science degree from Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pa.

He entered the military service as a First Lieutenant in the Medical Corps Reserve on 23 July 1926, and was appointed to the Regular Army on 8 August 1927.

While commanding Walter Reed Army Medical Center, he personally operated on such famous patients as President Dwight D. Eisenhower and the late Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles. Throughout his tenure as Army Surgeon General, he has continued the active practice of general surgery, and was awarded the first Oak Leaf Cluster to his Distinguished Service Medal for assuming high responsibility in the care and treatment of the late General of the Army, Douglas MacArthur, while he was a patient at Walter Reed General Hospital.

Among his many decorations are the Distinguished Service Medal with two Oak Leaf Clusters, and the Legion of Merit with two

Oak Leaf Clusters. The first award of the Legion of Merit was for his able handling of mass casualties during the surprise Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor at the beginning of World War II.

A resume of his assignments, promotions, decorations, professional memberships, and publications of note are listed chronologically below.

PERSONAL DATA

Date and place of birth: November 18, 1902, at Parkersburg, W. Va.

Parents: George and Emma (Dudley) Heaton (Both deceased).

Marriage: June 30, 1926, to Sara Hill Richardson of Glasgow, Ky. One daughter—Sara Dudley Heaton, now wife of LTC Preston B. Mayson, Jr., USA, MC.

Local residence: Quarters 1, Walter Reed Army Medical Center, Washington, D.C.

ASSIGNMENTS

1926-27 (12 mo.), Intern, Letterman Gen. Hosp., San Francisco, Calif.

1927 (2 mo.), Surgical Service, Letterman Gen. Hosp.

1928 (8 mo.), Ward Officer, Medical Service, Walter Reed General Hosp., Washington, D.C.

1928-29 (5 mo.), Student, Army Medical School, Walter Reed Army Medical Center.

1929 (4 mo.), Student, Medical Field Service School, Carlisle Barracks, Pa.

1929 (3 mo.), Chief, Surgical Service, Camp Knox, Ky.

1929-30 (12 mo.), Ward Officer, Surgical Service, William Beaumont General Hosp., El Paso, Tex.

1930-31 (4 mo.), Ward Officer, Surgical Service, Schofield Barracks, Hawaii.

1931-32 (20 mo.), Ward Officer, Surgical Service, Tripler Gen. Hosp., Honolulu.

1932-37 (5 yrs.), Chief, General Surgical Section, Station Hosp., Fort Sam Houston, Tex.

1937-40 (42 mo.), Chief, Surgical Service, Fort Warren, Wyo.

1940-42 (22½ mo.), Chief, Surgical Service, North Sector Gen. Hosp., Hawaii.

1942-44 (16 mo.), Executive Officer, Woodrow Wilson Gen. Hosp., Staunton, Va.

1944 (7 mo.), Hospital Commander, 160th Gen. Hosp., 15th Hosp. Ctr., England.

1944-45 (8½ mo.), Medical Unit Commander, 802d Hosp. Ctr., Blanford, England.

1945 (2 mo.), Deputy Chief, Operations Div., OTSG, Washington, D.C.

1945 (2 mo.), Surgical Assistant, Walter Reed General Hospital.

1945-50 (55½ mo.), Chief, Surgical Service, Letterman Gen. Hosp.

1950-53 (33 mo.), Commanding General, Letterman General Hospital.

1953-59 (74 mo.), Commanding General, Walter Reed Army Medical Center.

June 1, 1959 to May 31, 1963, the Army Surgeon General, Washington, D.C. (Appointed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower).

June 1, 1963 to May 31, 1969, the Army Surgeon General, Washington, D.C. (Tenure extended to May 31, 1965 by Order of President Kennedy, and further extended to May 31, 1966 by Order of President Johnson. Retired as of Nov. 9, 1966, and recalled to active duty on Nov. 10, 1966 for additional two years by Order of President Johnson. Tenure again extended from Dec. 1, 1966 to May 31, 1969 by Order of President Johnson).

PROMOTIONS

First lieutenant, AUS 23 Jul. 26; RA 8 Aug. 27.

Captain, RA 1 Aug. 29.

Major, RA 1 Aug. 38.

Lieutenant colonel, AUS 1 Feb. 42; RA 27 Jun. 46.

Colonel, AUS 1 Jan. 43; RA 11 Mar. 48.

Brigadier general, AUS 10 May 48; RA 7 Oct. 51.

Major general, AUS 11 Apr. 50; RA 6 June 52.

Lieutenant general, 9 Sep. 59.

DECORATIONS

Distinguished Service Medal with three Oak Leaf Clusters.

Legion of Merit with two Oak Leaf Clusters.

American Defense Service Medal.

European-African-Middle Eastern Campaign Medal.

World War Two Victory Medal.

Pacific Campaign Medal.

American Campaign Medal.

National Defense Service Medal with cluster.

5 Overseas Bars.

Distinguished Service Order, First Class, Republic of Vietnam.

The Most Exalted Order of the White Elephant (First Class-Knight Grand Cross) Thailand.

The Most Noble Order of the Crown of Thailand (First Class-Knight Grand Cross).

The Guthrie Medal (Presented by the Council of the Royal Army Medical College, London).

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Diplomate, American Board of Surgery, 1948.

Fellow, American Surgical Association, Southern Surgical Association, and American College of Surgeons.

Honorary Fellow, Royal College of Surgeons of Great Britain and Ireland.

Member, Pacific Coast Surgical Association; the Society for Surgery of the Alimentary Tract; International Society of Surgery; Alpha Omega Alpha Honorary Medical Society; Halsted Society; California Academy of Medicine; American Medical Association; Association of Military Surgeons of the United States; and Association of the United States Army.

Ex-Officio Member, Leonard Wood Memorial Advisory Board.

Member, Board of Commissioners, U.S. Soldiers Home, and Board of Directors, Gorgas Memorial Institute of Tropical and Preventive Medicine, Incorporated.

Member, Board of Associates, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pa.

PUBLICATIONS

Appendicitis in army service: report of 2,100 cases. Bliss, R. W., and Heaton, L. D., Ann. Surg. 107:242-247 Feb. 38.

Abdominal War Wounds. Heaton, L. D., Hawaii Med. J., 2:26-28 Sep.-Oct. 42.

Gastrojejunocolic fistula: a new method of treatment. Mathewson, C., Jr., and Heaton, L. D., Stanford Med. Bull., 5:192-196 Nov. 47.

Extension of operability of lesions in the vicinity of the head of the pancreas by use of the Whipple operation: report of 4 cases. Cohn, R., Mathewson, C. Jr., and Heaton, L. D., Stanford M. Bull., 6:298-302 May 48.

Treatment of recurring spontaneous pneumothorax: report of 2 cases. Cohn, R. B., Heaton, L. D., and Davis, J. K., Stanford M. Bull., 7:15-22 Feb. 49.

Surgical treatment of esophageal hiatus hernia and transthoracic herniotomy; preliminary report. Cohn R., and Heaton, L. D., California Med., 70:449-452 Jun. 49.

Mediastinal "tuberculoma" surgical removal in 4 cases. Samson, P.C., Heaton, L.D., and Dugan, D.J., J. Thoracic Surg., 19:333-348 Mar. 50.

Parathyroid adenoma: report of 2 cases. Reiner, D.E., and Heaton, L.D., U.S. Armed Forces M.J., 1:403-408 Apr. 50.

Lipoma of the colon: case report. Smith, M.L., and Heaton, L.D., U.S. Armed Forces M.J., 2:635-641 Apr. 51.

Recent Observations on Frostbite. Heaton, L.D., and Davis, R.M., J. Kentucky M.A., 50:206-211 May 52.

Hyperparathyroidism. Heaton, L.D., and Cohn, R., West, J. Surg., 61:559-565 Act. 53.

Hyperparathyroidism. Heaton, L.D., and Cohn, R., West, J. Surg., 61:651-657 Nov. 53.

Congenital megacolon in an 18-yr-old youth. Cox, P.A., and Heaton, L.D., U.S. Armed Forces M.J., 5:384-388 Mar. 54.

Hypersplenism. Edwards, W.M., and Heaton, L.D., *Am. Pract. & Digest. Treat.*, 6:387-391 Mar. 55.

Early correction of Inguinal hernia. Bruton, O.C., and Heaton, L.D., *J. Pediat.* 46: 437-441 Apr. 55.

Thrombocytopenic purpura occurring with large hemangioma. Meeks, E.A., Jay, J.B., and Heaton, L.D., *AMA Am. J. Dis. Child.*, 90:349-351 Sep. 55.

Splenectomy in the treatment of hypoplasia of the bone marrow: with a report of twelve cases. Heaton, L.D., Crosby, W.H., and Cohen, A., *Ann. Surg.* 637-60 Oct. 57.

General considerations in abdominal wounds. Heaton, L.D., and Glew, D.H., Jr., *Surg. Clinics of No. Amer.*, 1569-76 Dec. 58.

Army medicine: past, present, future. Heaton, L.D., *U.S. Armed Forces M.J.*, 11:4-14 Jan. 60.

The Army Medical Service: its achievements, objectives, and plans. Heaton, L.D., *U.S. Armed Forces M.J.*, 10:1449-62 Dec. 59.

Army Medical Service course on management of mass casualties. Heaton, L.D., *JAMA*, 171:190-191, 12 Sep. 59.

The practice of military medicine: broadening concepts. Heaton, L.D., *Military Medicine* 125:7-11 Jan. 60.

The Army role in medical progress. Heaton, L.D., *Military Medicine* 126: 14-7, Jan. 61.

Hirschsprung's disease with skip area. Sprinz, H., Cohen, A., and Heaton, L.D., *Ann. Surg.*, 153:143-148 Jan. 61.

The role of the Army Medical Service in "America's People-to-People Program." Heaton, L.D., and Tempel, C.W., *Military Medicine*, 126:256-258 Apr. 61.

The Army role in medical progress. Heaton, L.D., *Med. Bull. U.S. Army Europe* 18:96-99 May 61.

"President Eisenhower's Operation for Regional Enteritis: a Footnote to History." Heaton, L.D., Ravdin, I.S., Blades, Brian, and Whelan, T.J., *Ann. Surg.*, 158: 661-666 May 64.

Military Surgical Practices of the United States Army in Viet Nam. Heaton, L.D., Hughes, C.W., Rosegay, H., Fisher, G.W., and Feighny, R.E., *Current Problems in Surgery*, November 1966.

ENGLAND HONORS ARMY SURGEON GENERAL

The Royal College of Surgeons, one of England's oldest and most prestigious surgical societies, last week bestowed an unusual honor on an American surgeon when it named Lieutenant General Leonard D. Heaton, the Army Surgeon General, an Honorary Fellow of the College. In a ceremony held in London to honor General Heaton, the Royal College's President, Sir Hedley Atkins, praised the Surgeon General for his contributions to the care and treatment of civilian and military casualties of the Vietnam War as well as for the care of the late General Eisenhower. Present at the ceremony, which was attended by some of Great Britain's most distinguished surgeons, was LTG Sir Norman Talbot, Director General of the Royal Army Medical Services.

General Heaton, a native of Parkersburg, West Virginia, has been Surgeon General of the Army for the past 10 years. First appointed by President Eisenhower, the general's tenure as Surgeon General was extended five times by President Kennedy, President Johnson, and President Nixon. He will retire on 1 October 1969.

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL FOR GENERAL HEATON

The Distinguished Service Medal, third Oak Leaf Cluster, was presented to Lieutenant General Leonard D. Heaton, the Army Surgeon General, along with a retirement scroll when he was invited to the Office of the Army Chief of Staff where General William C. Westmoreland made the presentation last Wednesday.

The Distinguished Service Medal is the

highest military award given for non-combat duty.

In attendance were Senator Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.); Representatives F. Edward Hebert (D-La) and Daniel J. Flood (D-Pa). Mrs. L. Mendel Rivers represented her husband, Representative Rivers (D-SC). Secretary of the Army Stanley P. Resor, and retired Generals James F. Collins and Harold K. Johnson were present along with Lieutenant General Kenneth E. Pletcher, Surgeon General of the U.S. Air Force.

GENERAL HEATON RETIRES

Lieutenant General Leonard D. Heaton, who has been The Surgeon General of the Army for the past 10 years and the first medical officer to hold that rank, retired from the Army today after more than 43 years of continuous military service.

Accepted for an Army internship at Letterman General Hospital in July 1926, he entered an Army that was only just recovering from the post-World War I upheavals of demobilization and reorganization. Medicine in the United States had begun its rapid growth and the Army Medical Department was called upon to provide the very best in medical care for the soldiers and their families. The Army medical officer of that day knew he could not grow rich from his pay, but this was more than compensated for by the opportunity for service and the professional challenges available.

As a captain he attended the Army Medical School, Walter Reed Army Medical Center, and the Medical Field Service School, then at Carlisle Barracks, Pa. He served early tours as a Ward officer on the Surgical Services of William Beaumont General Hospital, the U.S. Army Hospital at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, and Tripler General Hospital in Honolulu.

During most of his five years as chief of the General Surgical Section, Station Hospital, Fort Sam Houston, Tex., Major (later Major General and The Surgeon General) Raymond W. Bliss was Chief of the Surgical Service. He gave the young captain an uncommon degree of encouragement, wise counsel and guidance, and a deep and lasting personal friendship.

In August 1938, while Chief of the Surgical Service at Fort Warren, Wyo., he was promoted to major. Two years later he went back to Hawaii as Chief of the Surgical Service at North Sector General Hospital and was on duty there during the surprise Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor which touched off World War II. He was awarded the Legion of Merit for successfully handling this mass casualty situation. He came home with the temporary grade of lieutenant colonel and was promoted to temporary colonel during his tour as Executive Officer of Woodrow Wilson General Hospital, Staunton, Va.

In 1944 he went to England as Commander of the 160th General Hospital and was later Medical Unit Commander, 802d Hospital Center at Blandford.

After the war and two short assignments in the Washington area, Colonel Heaton went to San Francisco as Chief of the Surgical Services at Letterman General Hospital, where one of his famous patients was General Joseph W. (Vinegar Joe) Stilwell. He was promoted to Brigadier General in May 1948, and in April 1950, when a second star was added he took command of Letterman General Hospital, remaining there until 1953. He came to Washington that year as Commanding General of the Walter Reed Army Medical Center.

During the five years at Walter Reed the long list of patients he cared for personally read like "Who's Who" of this decade; he gained national prominence and a reputation as a surgeon's surgeon.

In 1959, President Eisenhower appointed him The Army Surgeon General. He accepted the post with the understanding that he

might continue to perform surgery at Walter Reed. That fall a third star was added, making him the highest ranking military physician in the Armed Forces.

When his standard 4-year tour was near its end in 1963, President Kennedy extended his tour for a 2-year period. It was extended again in 1965 by Order of President Johnson. On November 9, 1966, he was retired and recalled to active duty in a quiet Pentagon ceremony; his tenure was again extended to May 31, 1969, when President Nixon asked him to remain on duty until the end of September.

In recognition of his outstanding accomplishments, Honorary Doctor of Science degrees were awarded from Denison University in 1958, the University of Louisville in 1959, the University of West Virginia in 1962, and Gettysburg College in 1967. An honorary Doctor of Humane Letters degree was awarded by Brandeis University in 1964, and an honorary Doctor of Medical Science degree was given by Seoul National University in Korea in 1966.

In an early farewell address to the European-based medical officers assembled for their annual meeting at Garmisch, Germany, this spring, General Heaton said, "Among the more pleasant memories I will carry with me into retirement are the dedication ceremonies of the many hospitals and other facilities completed in the last ten years. We have opened 16 new modern hospitals; 4 more are under construction; 2 more have been authorized, and another is in the programming stage.

"We have also dedicated a great number of dental clinics, medical and dental laboratories, two Research and Development facilities, a new U.S. Army Environmental Hygiene Agency building and even a heliport named after the legendary Major Charles L. Kelly. A new Medical Field Service School is programmed, but much is left to be done.

"I am particularly proud of the increased emphasis on clinical research where we derive the triple value of scientific investigation; the training of our young officers; and the improved standards of patient care."

General Heaton has always been a strong proponent of the necessity for passing on to the younger medical officers the knowledge garnered by those with extensive combat experience. He continued to place special emphasis on the training of the individual soldier for survival and has encouraged continued training of the Medical Department officers and enlisted personnel at special courses conducted by the Medical Field Service School.

In looking back at the first speech he made after becoming Surgeon General, he asked, "Have we achieved our plans, hopes and outlook for the future? The answer must of necessity be 'No'—not in 4 years or even ten. Our operation is one in which we shall never achieve our ultimate goal; for we cannot be satisfied with anything less than perfection."

ADDRESS BY HON. GERALD R. FORD

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday our distinguished minority leader, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. GERALD R. FORD), spoke before the 15th biennial convention of the National Federation of Republic Women in Washington.

It was a speech intended for a special audience. But it also contained one of the finest summaries of the challenges

facing the administration and Congress which I have encountered.

Portions of this speech have been and will be carried by the various news media, but I believe that the speech, in its entirety, should be made available for all of the Members of Congress.

It is my pleasure to submit it for reprint in the RECORD:

SPEECH BY REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD, REPUBLICAN LEADER, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, BEFORE THE 15TH BIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN AT THE WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPTEMBER 27, 1969

Mrs. Nixon, Mamie, Tricia, Julie, David, Madam President, Officers and members of the Board of Directors of the National Federation of Republican Women, honored guests, and leaders of the world:

I call you leaders of the world because I have long felt that it is really the women who are running the show. Maybe it's a behind-the-scenes sort of operation in many cases, but there's no question that the women of the world . . . and particularly women in America . . . wield tremendous power.

It could be you don't quite know just how powerful you are, and that's a lucky circumstance for us men.

You take intelligence, for instance. Women are smarter than men, and they have the figures to prove it.

You outlive the men, and that gives you greater staying power.

Official government figures show that you outnumber men, so you have the edge there, too.

American women are getting married younger now, which means they start running the men sooner than they used to.

Women have taken an increasingly prominent place in the world of work, too. Today nearly four out of 10 American women are employed outside the home. In 1920 it was only two out of 10. Today the average woman worker is married and 41 years old. In 1920 she was single and 28. No wonder that years ago somebody wrote a song called, "Heaven Help the Poor Working Girl."

American women have made tremendous strides in the last half century. And it seems altogether amazing that it is less than 50 years that women have had the vote in this country.

Of course the lack of nationwide woman suffrage didn't stop Jeanette Rankin of Montana from winning election to Congress. She was elected to the House in 1916; the first woman ever to win a seat in Congress. And she was a Republican.

That is how it has always been with Republican women. They have always been in the forefront of every forward-looking movement in America.

Republican women haven't come up with a presidential candidate of their own sex yet. But, then, neither has the other major party produced a woman candidate for the White House. There have been only three women candidates for President. The Equal Rights Party fielded women candidates in 1872 and 1884. And in 1952 Mrs. Linea Jensen was the candidate of the George Washington Peace Party, which claimed to be in communication with the Father of our Country.

We can laugh about some of the foibles in politics, but I seriously believe the day is not too distant—it won't be 1972—when we will see a bona fide woman candidate for the Presidency.

A revolution has been taken place among American women, now that they have finished stepping down from their pedestals—for better or for worse.

One of the developments in that revolution is that women tend to have their last child by the age of 30. This means that by the

time the youngest child is in school, a mother may look forward to 30 or 35 more active years and much of that time can be spent in politics and government.

This is one aspect of the women's revolution I thoroughly agree with—giving women the place they deserve in American government and in the political sphere.

Our whole society today calls for women to play a significant role in nearly every way—not just as wives and mothers but intellectually and politically.

Who shapes the American point of view today? Women do, as much as men.

That's why I am pleased that President Nixon has named 118 women to positions in the Federal Government or related posts.

Those appointed to positions of prominence include such women as Mrs. Patricia Reilly Hitt, assistant secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Mrs. Rita Hauser and Mrs. Shirley Temple Black, both U.S. representatives to the United Nations' Economic and Social Council, Mrs. Elizabeth Koozts, director of the Labor Department's Women's Division, Mrs. C. Wayland Brooks, director of the Mint, Mrs. Dorothy Elston, treasurer of the United States, Mrs. Virginia Knauer, special assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, Mrs. Elizabeth Farrington, director of territories for the Department of Interior, Nancy Hanks, chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, and Mrs. Helen Bentley, chairman of the National Maritime Commission.

These are examples of the New American Woman, this kind of women who have made the National Federation of Republican Women a force to be reckoned with in American politics. Women like you need never, never take a back seat to a man. In fact, I have never known you to make excuses of any kind—or to have to, for that matter.

That reminds me of the fellow who ran for Congress and got beat. He took his defeat like a man. He blamed it on his wife.

Yes, women have come a long way in this country since that day a century ago when the menfolk in Montana Territory had the good sense to give women there the right to vote.

And this country has come a long way since Jan. 20, 1969, when Richard Nixon was sworn in as the 37th President of the United States.

Why do I say this Nation has come a long way since last Jan. 20?

To see the strong proof for that statement we need only look at the Democratic legacy—the situation that Richard Nixon inherited when he entered the White House. Look and compare.

I'm going to give you an assessment of our country in January 1969 that no American can quarrel with, regardless of his political affiliation.

Dick Nixon assumed the leadership of a country deeply enmeshed in a jungle war halfway around the world, a country which had suffered escalating inflation for nearly four years, a country in which the crime rate had climbed nearly 10 times as fast as the population, a country where people were putting the torch to some of America's greatest cities, a country in which the Have-Nots continued to be the Have-Nots despite billions upon billions in Federal aid and the welfare system was like a festering sore, a country in which local, State and Federal taxes had driven taxpayers to the wall and the point of revolt although tax revenues were not solving the horrendous problems rushing in on our citizens from all sides.

Nixon has cooled it. In both foreign and domestic affairs, the fires have been dampened down.

Domestically, the President has succeeded in getting people to lower their voices . . . and their arms, too. We have entered into a period of healing and renewal, although no-

body can say that all storms and upheaval are past.

Again in quest of domestic tranquillity, the Nixon Administration has launched a strong crackdown against organized crime. The President has sent Congress a detailed program for dealing with organized crime and the need for reorganization of the courts. The Nixon Administration has made the fight against crime one of its central concerns. While other departmental budgets have been cut in a hold-down on Federal spending, the Justice Department budget has been increased and the level of enforcement activity and narcotics control has been stepped up. At the same time, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration has revised its procedures the better to assist the states and local governments in fighting street crimes as well as organized crime.

The Nixon Administration recognizes, as do all of you, that the first civil right of every American—black or white—is the right to protection from crime and violence.

It is said that there can be no progress without order. I subscribe to that. I would add that there cannot long be order without progress. And I believe the Nixon Administration is promoting the kind of order and the kind of progress which will operate together to move this country forward.

President Nixon has adopted a responsible common-sense approach to our urban problems. His answer is jobs and job training. The accent is on the solid American ethic of working for a living. The President's approach is based on the idea that a man never stands so tall as when he stands on his own two feet. Workfare instead of welfare. That is the American way. That is Dick Nixon's way. A hand up instead of a handout. That's the only way to bridge the gap between the Haves and the Have-Nots in America.

President Nixon has managed to promote order in this country because he has brought order to the Presidency. The days of government by crisis have been replaced by crisis prevention. The scatter-gun approach is yielding to an assembling of new priorities.

But the obstacle to the new priorities remains. Vietnam remains.

President Nixon has done much to move the Vietnam problem toward the peace table. Unfortunately his moves have not been matched even in small degree by the other side.

We are engaged in winding down the war, in Vietnamizing it. Already this has resulted in cancellation of the November and December draft calls and a stretchout of the October call over three months. Yet there are those in the Congress and elsewhere who by their actions are encouraging the enemy to believe that if they continue to refuse to negotiate at Paris and continue to drag out the war we will abandon all we have fought for in Vietnam and go home.

I personally believe—and I say this knowing there are mothers of young men in this audience—I personally believe a majority of the American people backs President Nixon in his resolve that the fate of South Vietnam be settled through free elections and not through capitulation to Communist aggression.

Mr. Nixon's critics are not charging him with making the mess—only with not cleaning it up overnight.

In Vietnam, on the crime front, in fighting escalating prices, President Nixon cannot correct overnight what piled up for years under a Democratic administration. The tragic conditions Mr. Nixon faces are due to mistakes of the past—and the present effects come.

The gradualism of Lyndon Johnson did not work in Vietnam, but I believe the constructive gradualism of Richard Nixon will work on inflation. If we fight inflation in the Nixon way we have an excellent chance of

cooling down the economy without a recession—and the cooling-off process is already taking hold.

Mr. Nixon inherited a mess when he took over the White House. He has plowed into and analyzed that mess, and the result is a batch of reform proposals.

Now it is not the Nixon Administration that is on trial, it is the Democratic-controlled Congress.

President Nixon has laid an excellent program of reforms before the 91st Congress—welfare reform which will turn all able-bodied Americans from welfare to Workfare; draft reform which will make the selective service system as fair as possible until we can establish a truly volunteer army; postal reform which will create a government-owned self-supporting postal corporation in place of the present impossible system; poverty program reform which keeps the Office of Economic Opportunity as an innovative agency but spins off successful anti-poverty programs to old-line Government departments; manpower training reform which consolidates Federal manpower training programs for greater flexibility in funding and offers the administration of manpower training centers to the states as they are ready to handle it; tax reform which takes millions of poor citizens off the taxrolls, reduces taxes for millions of other low-income Americans and prevents the wealthy from escaping taxation; a New Federalism which provides a percentage slice of Federal income tax revenue for cities and states with no strings attached.

This promises to be the Age of Reform in America, but many of these programs may be blocked by the opposition party in Congress. These are People's Programs and the Nixon Administration is a People's Administration. The American people have good reason to expect the Democratic-controlled Congress to respond to reform proposals of this administration which are in the national interest.

The President cannot implement his legislative program. That is up to the Congress. That is why we are looking here tonight to 1970. We are looking to 1970 because the President needs more Republicans in the Congress and that is when the American people can pass judgment. President Nixon needs men and women in the Congress who will help him achieve the goals he has so properly advanced.

Now, the women! Ah, yes, the women! What a tremendous force you can be in 1970! Latest Census Bureau figures show that your potential voter turnout tops the men by 7½ million.

Let's help Richard Nixon and the Republican Party.

We can approach the voters with confidence in 1970. We will be laying the Nixon program alongside the Democratic Party's record—a long chaotic record of broken promises, spendthrift failures and bungled foreign adventures.

The Republican Party is not a party of promises, not a party of idle conversation, but a party of action. Ours is not only a party of action, but a party of ideas. It is good for America that the Republican Party is alive and well because the Democratic Party has failed America—and we are now approaching the Seventies, a decade of decision.

Here's what we must remember as we approach 1970. We are for; the Democrats are against. We are cooperating with each other, not condemning fellow Republicans. And it is in that spirit that we will campaign—and campaign to win.

We are looking to President Nixon for leadership—and we are getting it. As for us, we all have a responsibility to help him correct this Nation's past failures by individually and collectively seeking the greatest good for the greatest number.

The great English poet John Donne de-

clared that "no man is an island unto himself."

George Bernard Shaw put it another way: "We are all dependent on one another, every soul of us on earth."

The responsibility for molding the future of America lies with all of us, with you as well as the President and the Congress. To the extent that we all live the good life, the unselfish life, the lives of all others will be enriched.

So in keeping with the theme of your convention, I say, we all believe in the American dream . . . now let us live so that all may share in it."

FACTUAL REPORT ON A TRAGEDY

HON. JOHN M. SLACK

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. SLACK. Mr. Speaker, on several occasions during the past 3 years the record of our proceedings has contained statements questioning the safety factors existing at Kanawha Airport in my home city of Charleston, W. Va. On August 10, 1968, there was a tragic accident at the approaches to the airport in which 35 persons lost their lives.

That accident was seized upon as justification for a campaign of slurs, half-truths and fabrications about the airport. It seemed almost as if some persons took satisfaction from the deaths of 35 human beings. The clamor was so great that it became necessary to correct the public record by a statement in the House on November 1, 1968.

However, a year has passed by since the tragedy and we now have a dispassionate finding by the National Transportation Safety Board which reports the probable cause and contributing factors. In substance, the report describes a set of conditions which could exist temporarily at any airport. The cause of the accident had no special relationship to the particular airport near which it occurred and certainly the length or condition of existing runways was not a factor. I would hope that the publication of this official report would serve as a stop signal to those who have attempted to gain special advantage from the heartbreak involved in the accidental death of 35 persons. Without further comment, and so that the record may be cleared on just what occurred, I bring to your attention the following summary of the National Transportation Safety Board report on the fatal crash of a Piedmont Airlines plane on August 10, 1968, near Charleston, W. Va. The summary, as released to the press, is as follows:

The National Transportation Safety Board today released its report on the cause of the fatal crash of a Piedmont Airlines Fairchild Hiller FH 227B on its final approach to Kanawha County Airport, Charleston, West Virginia, on August 10, 1968.

Thirty-five of the 37 persons aboard were fatally injured when the turboprop FH 227B struck a steep hillside 250 feet short and 33 feet below the airport after descending through a layer of fog.

The Safety Board determined that the probable cause of the accident was ". . . an unrecognized loss of altitude orientation during the final portion of an approach into shallow, dense fog. The disorientation was

caused by a rapid reduction in the ground guidance segment (segment of approach lights visible) available to the pilot at a point beyond which a go-around could not be successfully effected."

The Board said its investigation showed that the accident flight—Piedmont Flight 230 from Louisville, Kentucky to Roanoke, Virginia, with stops at Cincinnati and Charleston—"was operationally routine until the final phase of the approach" to Charleston. The crew was making an Instrument Landing System (ILS) approach to Runway 23, and was aware that the glide slope of the ILS was inoperative because of technical problems with the automatic ILS monitoring system.

An early morning ground fog at the airport had "severely restricted" visibility in the approach zone for Runway 23, the Board said, but in the 15 minutes just before the accident, visibility from the tower had increased from one-half mile to one mile and visibility along the runway had increased from zero to one and one-half miles. The Board estimated that at the time of the crash, a 150-foot-thick layer of dense fog remained over the runway threshold and roughly the last half of the 2,800-foot approach light system.

Some six seconds before impact, the Board found, the flight began "a rapid descent" which brought the aircraft below field elevation, into the tops of trees and down to the initial point of impact. The plane, catching fire, bounced back into the air, over the hill-top at the edge of the airport, and onto the field beside the approach end of Runway 23.

Because the investigation developed "no indication of any in-flight failure, malfunction, or other abnormality that would have caused or contributed to an unwanted descent," the Safety Board said, "the only logical conclusion . . . is that some phenomenon associated with the reduced visibility upon entering the fog affected the pilot in such a manner that he steepened the descent to the point where recovery could not be effected." The Board said evidence showed an attempted pull-up 2.2 seconds before impact—too late to avoid the crash.

The Board's report of its study of the shallow fog condition noted that the flight probably was operated in visual conditions during most of its approach. But as the aircraft descended into the low-lying fog, the segment of approach lights visible to the pilot "decreased rapidly, reducing from 220 to 37 feet in 1.6 seconds," the Board estimated.

"Also, it has been shown that the sudden reduction in visual range on entering the fog may be misinterpreted" by a pilot as meaning the nose of his aircraft is rising, the Board added. "Pilots unfamiliar with this phenomenon will, therefore, tend to steepen their angle of descent when they encounter this situation."

The Safety Board on January 10, 1969, made six recommendations to the Federal Aviation Administration on the basis of the Board's Charleston investigation and other accidents involving similar final approach problems. The Board recommended that FAA . . .

1. Amend Sections 91.117 and 121.649 of the Federal Aviation Regulations "to prohibit any approach below 200 feet above field level unless the pilot has the runway threshold in sight and require that he continue to have same in sight during the remainder of the approach."

2. "Bring to the attention of all instrument pilots the hazards associated with shallow fog penetration."

3. Include as mandatory items in airline training programs and FAA-approved instrument flight school curriculums "information on shallow fog penetration, the effect upon the guidance segment, and the potential illusions that can be created."

4. "Pursue as expeditiously as possible" its

research into instrumentation which would provide slant visual range information.

5. Set standards and specifications and encourage the development of "realistic" low-visibility-approach flight simulators.

6. Program improved approach zone lighting covering "at least the last 1,000 feet of the approach" for "installation on a priority basis," when and if "financial conditions permit," at airports prone to frequent heavy fog.

Commenting on the first recommendation, the Safety Board said today in its report that as the Federal Aviation Regulations now are written, a pilot may legally descend into shallow fog even though the Charleston accident shows that "continuation of the descent into 'shallow' fog with even marginal ground guidance can be deceptive and hazardous."

"Therefore, from a safety standpoint, the deficiencies in the regulations are apparent," the Board concluded, because in the shallow fog situation "the pilot can legally place his aircraft in a position where a recovery may not safely be accomplished."

THE HIJACKING OF A TWA JET AND DETENTION OF TWO ISRAELI CITIZENS BY SYRIA

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to condemn two ancient crimes—piracy and kidnaping—in particular, the hijacking of a TWA jet and detention of two Israeli citizens by Syria.

For centuries, impairment of free travel on the seas was a dreaded threat to nations and individuals. The case is no different today in terms of air piracy. Carriers of many nations transport citizens of every country. Yet, today, no air carrier and no citizen of any nation is immune to the terror which political fanatics impose when airways are used as a medium of political activity. Each nation, therefore, must deplore the abuse of their citizens or the potential abuse of air facilities which occurs when freedom of the airways is subordinated to violence and terror.

On September 26, 1969, with 58 of my colleagues in the House of Representatives, I sent a copy of the following letter, already signed by 43 Senators, to Secretary of State Rogers asking that the matter of the hijacking and detention be brought before the United Nations Security Council and/or other international meetings. The letter and signatories from the Senate may be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 17, 1969. The letter and a list of its signatories follow:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, D.C., September 26, 1969.

HON. WILLIAM P. ROGERS,
Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: We join with the 43 members of the Senate in condemning the recent hijacking of a TWA jet aircraft in which passengers and crew were detained and the airplane was partially destroyed. This is the first time a hijacker has exploded a bomb on an American-owned airplane, causing serious property damage. We are also deeply concerned that two private Israeli citizens are still being detained in Syria.

We strongly urge to you to bring this criminal and wanton act before the United Nations Security Council immediately so that the full facts of the case can be heard publicly by this international tribunal. On August 30, 1969, you said that condoning this unlawful act by Syria, a United Nations member, could only have the most serious implications for international air travel and world peace. This condition remains.

We believe that actions must be taken—the immediate release of the detainees and appropriate criminal prosecution of the individuals responsible for this illegal act—to right a dangerous situation.

We also believe that procedures must be established to ensure the lives and safety of airline passengers and crew members, and to prevent unlawful seizure of civil aircraft in the future.

In this regard, we are gratified that the United States has ratified the Tokyo Convention on Offenses and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft. The United States should propose at the upcoming Montreal meeting of the International Civil Aviation Organization a new convention, or a protocol to the Tokyo Convention providing for the apprehension, extradition where applicable and punishment of air pirates. This would be, we believe, a vital step toward solution of the problem of air piracy.

Sincerely,

James H. Scheuer, Brock Adams, Joseph P. Addabbo, Frank Annunzio, Thomas L. Ashley, Jonathan B. Bingham, John Brademas, Frank J. Brasco, George E. Brown, Jr., John Buchanan, Phillip Burton, Daniel E. Button, Emanuel Celler, Bill Chappell, Jr., R. Lawrence Coughlin, John R. Dellenback, Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Thaddeus J. Dulski, Joshua Eilberg, Leonard Farbstein, Dante B. Fascell, O. C. Fisher, Thomas S. Foley, James G. Fulton, Sam Gibbons, Seymour Halpern, Henry Helstoski, Edward I. Koch, Allard K. Lowenstein, Donald E. Lukens.

Richard D. McCarthy, Robert McClory, Spark M. Matsunaga, Abner J. Mikva, William S. Moorhead, F. Bradford Morse, John E. Moss, John M. Murphy, Robert N. C. Nix, Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Richard L. Ottinger, Thomas M. Pelly, Claude Pepper, Bertram L. Podell, Howard W. Pollock, Thomas M. Rees, Ogden R. Reid, Henry S. Reuss, Fred B. Rooney, William F. Ryan, Ferdinand J. St Germain, Garner E. Shriver, James W. Symington, Frank Thompson, Jr., John V. Tunney, Jerome R. Waldie, Charles W. Whalen, Jr., Lester L. Wolff, Sidney R. Yates.

COALITION FARM BILL

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the House that several more of my colleagues have joined me in the introduction of the coalition farm bill, first introduced last week. My distinguished colleagues, the gentlemen from Wisconsin (Mr. KASTENMEIER), North Carolina (Mr. TAYLOR and Mr. PREYER), Idaho (Mr. HANSEN), Minnesota (Mr. FRASER), Pennsylvania (Mr. JOHNSON), Tennessee (Mr. BLANTON), Illinois (Mr. PUCINSKI), and South Carolina (Mr. DORN), have all realized the tremendous significance of this legislation not only to the agriculture industry, where it stands as the first truly meaningful united effort of the American

farmer, but also to the Nation, where it will revitalize rural America.

Their sponsorship of this legislation provides strong evidence of its value to this country. I commend these distinguished gentlemen for their concerted efforts on behalf of the American farmer.

LUERY WRITES "30" TO LONG AND DISTINGUISHED CAREER

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, a man who was not only a fine writer, but a talented editor, retired from one of the Nation's best newspapers, the Home News, of New Brunswick, N.J.

"Rod" Luery, as the Home News staff writer, Alvin King, pointed out in his September 28 story, had a "long and distinguished career" in journalism. Besides having "a passion for words," "Rod" was a newspaperman of outstanding ability, dedication, and integrity.

The Home News will miss the valuable contributions of H. Rodney Luery—and so will its many thousands of readers. He may have written "30" to a remarkable and distinguished career, but the strong impact he made on the Home News and its readers, will continue.

H. Rodney Luery helped make the Home News a great newspaper. For this alone, he has earned the thanks and gratitude of both the newspaper and its readers. And a happy and peaceful retirement.

The article by Alvin King, entitled, "Luery Writes '30' to Long and Distinguished Career," follows:

LUERY WRITES "30" TO LONG AND DISTINGUISHED CAREER

(By Alvin King)

H. Rodney Luery has written "30"—the traditional number of reporters used to end their stories—to a long and distinguished newspaper career.

Luery, who resides at 195 Main St., Milltown, and who had been associate editor of the Home News since 1965, retired on Friday. He joined this newspaper in 1942, as a copy reader and later was named city editor. He became managing editor in 1955 after a number of staff changes were made following the death of Elmer Boyd, publisher.

He received his early education in England and attended Boston University.

Actually, he began and ended his newspaper work with the Home News, having started here as a reporter in the late 1920's. He left to serve on the Elizabeth Daily Journal's staff and then went to International News Service, now United Press International. His duties there including working on the cable desk and then serving as night editor.

JOINED NEW HAVEN PAPER

Luery was scheduled to be assigned abroad, but because regulations precluded his family from going with him, he resigned and joined the New Haven, Conn., Register as a rewrite man. He later was promoted to assistant city editor.

The tall, soft spoken Luery later worked for the Boston Globe, the Boston Daily Record and the Leader-Republican in Gloversville.

He left that paper to rejoin the Home News in 1942.

Luery was considered a "newspaper's newspaperman." He was a strict disciplinarian and

demanding the best possible writing from his staff. Reporters who worked under him agreed that when he criticized, it was for a valid reason. While he often gave the impression of being tactful, he had a warm and deep interest in his staff, and was concerned with their personal problems.

Under Luery's leadership as city and managing editor, the Home News' circulation grew. And as it increased, there was a need for more reporters and copy readers, all of whom Luery directed with quiet but strict efficiency.

He had a passion for words. As each edition rolled off the presses, he scanned the paper from the first to the last page and if he found a word that had been improperly used, both reporter and copy reader were promptly advised.

Luery clung to the theory that news stories should be terse, interesting and colorful, but never over-written.

BUILT UP STAFF

In 1966, Luery became critically ill and, on returning to duty, devoted much of his time to building up the staff to meet the Home News' growing needs. Because he loved to write, Luery issued periodical "critiques" in which he would chide writers—without naming them—for using a word inappropriate to the story but would explain why in hopes of preventing the writer from repeating the error.

The same applied to copy readers, whose duties include writing headlines.

Conversely, he was quick to praise stories and headlines he felt were in the best tradition of a good newspaper.

Born in Johannesburg, South Africa, Luery and his wife have two sons and a daughter, all of whom are married.

THE QUIET MAN

HON. DONALD E. LUKENS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. LUKENS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to call attention to a recent article which appeared in the New York Post concerning the mayoralty race in New York City. This three-way campaign is rapidly becoming a two-way contest, with State Senator John Marchi gaining significantly and rapidly in a quiet and effective campaign. It appears he now has a 50-50 chance against Mario Procaccino, providing, for the first time in modern history, a good chance for the election of a real Republican mayor. I wish to include Pete Hamill's article entitled "The Quiet Man" in the RECORD at this point in our proceedings:

[From the New York Post, Sept. 18, 1969]

THE QUIET MAN

(By Pete Hamill)

It is rapidly becoming clear that the most intelligent and impressive campaign being run in this town is the quiet campaign of John Marchi.

While his two opponents claw and struggle with each other, Marchi goes his quiet way. He makes no demagogic speeches about saving the 20-cent fare. He does not accuse voters of bad faith if they disagree with his political ideas. He so far hasn't pandered; he has spoken intelligently about most issues except the non-issue of smut. He seems slightly embarrassed by the funny-hat-and-balloons routine of political campaigning but he endures it as a kind of penance. His temperament is cool, reasoned, even somewhat withdrawn. His style reminds me of a

politician for last season named Eugene McCarthy.

In contrast, his opponents share a common trait: the ability to turn the political air rancorous. With every public appearance, Mario Procaccino seems less suited to be Mayor of a city whose only hope is reason. His disgusting public display of Negro supporters the other day was a case in point; if there is trouble in Harlem or Bed-Stuy, can we expect Mario to preempt all local TV for a Some-Of-My-Best-Friends-Are-Negroes soul show before turning loose the National Guard? If he's pressed will he think, or will he cry? His performance so far is not encouraging. There are many things about Mario which are likable; but hell, I like Ron Swoboda too. I don't want him to be Mayor.

The anti-Mario feelings among a large part of the public are matched only by the anti-Lindsay feelings. Lindsay could double the police force, triple the Sanitation Dept., and pay every municipal employe \$40 an hour and there would be a segment of New York that would vote against him. Not for Mario. Not for Marchi. Against Lindsay.

Much of that anti-Lindsay feeling is focused on his patrician style; a good part of it, I suppose, is somehow rooted in the feeling that he has done too much for blacks and Puerto Ricans; and a lot of it comes from his uneven performance.

Even with his natural supporters, Lindsay has not helped himself much in recent days with his disgraceful attempt to run the two Socialist parties off the ballot. He is, after all, the candidate of the minority Liberal Party.

He told the Post's Paul Hoffman the other day that his continued membership in the Republican Party while running as a Liberal was "very irrelevant." Democrats have the right to ask why this contradiction is "very irrelevant." Lindsay is asking hundreds of thousands of Democrats to cross over the line to vote for him; but he shrugs off the request for him to become a Democrat himself, or at the very least a Liberal.

But party designation isn't that crucial. A major beef against Lindsay's campaign so far is that he hasn't really responded to the message of the primaries: that the tyranny of Manhattan over the four boroughs must end. Procaccino at least understands that the boroughs are as much in revolt against Manhattan as the countryside was once in revolt against Havana. But neither Lindsay nor Procaccino has come forward with a true response, beyond slogans.

Marchi has, Marchi understands that the time is past for the Mayor to impose all solutions, no matter how benevolent, from the top down. He plans to press for revision of the city charter to bring some measure of power back to the Borough Presidents, to make the City Council a true legislative body, and to involve community planning boards more directly in the affairs of the city. It sounds pedestrian and lacks flash; but the general ideas are sound.

I supported Lindsay last time out, and by election day I could support him again. For the moment, Marchi is the class in the room. I am not being perverse, nor trying to sully a good man's memory, when I say that John Marchi is talking sensibly to the people of New York. We might quarrel fiercely in the next seven weeks, but it won't be over matters.

RECKLESS TALK ON VIETNAM

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, some of the voices being raised in support of unilateral withdrawal in Vietnam are be-

coming reckless if not hysterical, both in and out of Congress. No better way to stall meaningful negotiations exists than to provide the enemy with the prospect of certain American withdrawal by a set future time. Why should they negotiate, or make concessions, if the Americans are going to get out anyway?

It is less than helpful to the national interest, to say nothing of the national security, to encourage the enemy to believe that political pressure is such on the home front that our military will be unable to either fight to win or protect our men in combat. Undeniably, Vietnam is an unpopular war in an untenable spot. Clearly the South Vietnamese should take over their own defense—but we simply cannot turn tail and run out in wholesale fashion whatever the voices raised or the violence of protesters.

It is well to consider the recent comment of the lead editorial in the Washington Star of Friday, September 26, 1969, where it was written:

We have an obligation to the people of South Vietnam, because of our encouragement of their firm anti-Communist stand. We have an obligation to millions of free men in Asia to refrain from demonstrating, by a loss of courage now, that they stand completely alone and friendless against the overwhelming presence of China. We have an obligation to the servicemen we have sent to Vietnam not to expose those who remain to the end to enemy attack during a precipitous pullout.

Individual congressmen are doing the country no service by seeking to fan the smoldering public discontent into a fire, or by trying to enlist the Congress as a whole in an unconditional legislative surrender.

WE CAN HELP THE POST OFFICE

HON. ROY A. TAYLOR

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the attached editorial from the Asheville Citizen, of Asheville, N.C., contains some worthwhile suggestions as to how the public can help the post office, and I call it to the attention of my colleagues:

WE CAN HELP THE POST OFFICE

The well-publicized problems besetting the United States Post Office have led the Administration to propose that it be operated on the lines of a private industry. Such a reorganization of the Postal System, say the plan's backers, would induce more original thinking and give postmasters greater authority to correct inefficient practices.

Congress has shown no great enthusiasm for stirring up a political hornet's nest through the Post Office, and such drastic reforms may never come to pass.

There is one side of the P.O.'s troubles, however, which has received almost no attention.

Private business is careful to say that "the customer is always right."

The Post Office can point out, politely, that the customer is often wrong.

Since the United States Post Office handles twice as much mail as all the rest of the world's postal systems combined, the customer problem can be seen for what it is.

Mrs. Yetta Horn Jay, a former postal worker, wrote in This Week magazine last July that the public's manner of handling mail was often "inadequate, sloppy and downright incorrect."

A conservative estimate, she said, is that half the First Class letters are mailed incorrectly. The same mistakes are made repeatedly by large companies and by somebody sending a birthday card to Aunt B.

Asheville Postmaster A. J. Garner III listed the most frequent mistakes of mailers in this area: Incorrectly addressed mail, he said, accounts for a large part of the Post Office's headaches. The mailer continues to send letters to old addresses, uses the rural route number but no box number, forgets to put the name of the city. (Everybody knows where Uncle Joe lives.)

Insufficient postage causes endless delays when a simple check with a postal clerk would remove any doubt. Mailing late in the day, instead of in the morning, when the load is lighter, slows the handling of mail, as well as failure to include the zip code, although the code is now used by about 80 per cent of mailers.

If the sender's return address is not included and the receiver's address is faulty, the mail will end up among the 23 million pieces from all over the nation that go to the dead letter office each year.

Businesses with questions about their mailing problems can always call the Post Office for advice.

As for the rest of the customers, a little more attention to a few simple rules might make the Post Office into a new place.

FEDERAL SPENDING FOR EDUCATION

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, a lot of heat and little light has been generated over the question of support for education by the administration. Some have charged that, in opposing the House-passed billion-dollar increase in the education budget, the administration has shown a complete disregard for education, especially for the poor.

I was pleased to see that the record has finally been set straight in a letter to the New York Times from Mr. Creed Black who is with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Mr. Black documents his argument that the administration has, in fact, given top priority to programs directed at the poor. The actual cutbacks in spending from the fiscal 1969 budget came in the less essential areas such as facility construction. While it may be hard for some to accept that our inflationary times require a tightening of the purse strings across the board, they should at least take greater cognizance of the fact that the administration is giving prudent consideration to priorities while exercising fiscal restraint. Mr. Black is to be commended for bringing this fact home to us:

When forced by economic constraints to make hard choices among priorities, we believe in particular in Federal support of education for the poor.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the entire text of Mr. Black's letter to my colleagues, and insert it at this point in the RECORD:

[From the New York Times, Sept. 28, 1969]

FEDERAL SPENDING FOR EDUCATION

To the Editor:

Curtis G. Benjamin, former president and chairman of McGraw-Hill Book Company, in a letter published Aug. 31 stated that President Nixon's statement of Aug. 12 "scolding" the House of Representatives for adding \$1 billion to his education budget should cause one to wonder whether this Administration truly believes in Federal support of education—of the poor in particular.

This is a harsh conclusion. The reasoning which leads to it should be carefully examined. Mr. Benjamin asserts that the expenditures on education are not an important contributor to inflation and that, moreover, the poor would prefer to have the inflationary fight waged on programs that do not affect educational opportunities for their young people.

Having thus implied that the Administration is more concerned about braking inflation than helping the poor, he observes that "the poor will not fail to note that a large part of the added \$1 billion was earmarked by the House for the special benefit of needy students."

In fact, of course, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare expenditures do contribute to inflation, and we were asked to join other agencies in holding down spending.

In planning our fiscal 1970 education budget, we gave top priority to programs directed at the poor and held back on other programs such as construction of academic facilities which could more reasonably be deferred. Thus, despite the fact that the Administration's fiscal 1970 education budget fell below appropriations for fiscal 1969, programs for the poor and the handicapped were increased by \$235 million in the Administration's budget over the level of fiscal 1969 appropriations.

Programs benefiting the poor and the handicapped constitute more than 65 per cent of this year's budget request for education.

Had the House preserved this emphasis while increasing the education budget, we would at least have had agreement on priorities if not amounts which should be devoted to education in fiscal 1970. But less than one-third of the \$1 billion House increase was in programs directly benefiting the poor.

And the House decreased the Administration's request for scholarships for needy students, reduced our request for the Teacher Corps, and struck the entire increase (over fiscal 1969) we requested for dropout prevention projects targeted on the urban and rural poor.

We do believe in Federal support of education. When forced by economic constraints to make hard choices among priorities, we believe in particular in Federal support of education for the poor.

CREED C. BLACK,

Assistant Secretary for Legislation, Health, Education and Welfare.

WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON REPORT

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, in an effort to keep my constituents informed I am today sending a newsletter to each of the homes in the 18th Congressional District. It summarizes some

of the most important work of the 91st Congress and the new administration as well as some of the issues in which I have been especially interested. I am grateful for this opportunity to share it with my colleagues:

A TURNING POINT

In its first eight months, Nixon's team has begun the task of putting our national goals in a more realistic framework and devising more efficient means of attaining them. The emphasis has been on achieving hard results rather than on making elaborate but unattainable promises.

The President's new foreign policy has begun the removal of troops from Vietnam in keeping with the long-range goal of reducing U.S. involvement throughout the world. At home, the painful chore of restoring the value of the dollar and unravelling years of mismanaged Great Society programs is underway. Progress in some instances has been slowed by political maneuvering in a House and Senate controlled by Democratic majorities.

Despite this, the new Congress and the new Administration have come together to tackle some of our most difficult and oldest problems. Tax reform is probably the most significant single item. Presidents and lawmakers have been talking about it for years without result. Yet, it is likely this Congress will send to the President before year's end the most far-reaching and comprehensive tax reduction and tax reform package in history.

Equally significant is the Congressional challenge to military spending. For the first time in 35 years, Congress has raised serious questions and is insisting on major cuts in defense spending.

Responding to nationwide concern about our outdated Presidential election system, the House approved and sent to the Senate a Constitutional Amendment to make basic changes in the electoral process.

Proposals for the first major overhaul of the postal system in 180 years stand a good chance of approval before the 91st Congress ends. Ahead, are the President's revenue sharing plan to strengthen state and city governments and hopefully ease the local tax burden, an increase and an updating of Social Security, and his far-reaching proposal for transforming a "... welfare system frozen in failure and frustration into a system that would work and would encourage people to work." I want to do all I can in the coming months to provide constructive help in putting these basic programs into effect.

It will require a great deal of time and patience to end the war in Vietnam, redirect our global foreign policy, cure inflation, and to deal effectively with poverty, crime and urban decay. But foundations are being laid on which solutions to the problems of the 1960s will be built in the seventies.

THE PRESIDENT'S NEW FOREIGN POLICY

As the ranking minority member of the Asian Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I have been encouraged by the President's efforts to forge a distinct and fundamental change in the course of U.S. foreign policy. He has gradually unfolded a blueprint which recognizes that, while we have world commitments which must be kept, there are many things we simply cannot do. The long-range goal is to reduce U.S. power and influence to rational limits throughout the world and to replace adventurism with stability.

In Asia, we will do what we can depending on the realities of each situation. We may assist one nation with its economic and political needs, help another with training and equipment. But we should not provide U.S. troops as a substitute for the will, the toughness and resolution required to fight internal

subversion. In our dealings with the Soviets we are ready to "take realistic risks for peace, not foolish risks," the President said. No single step alone can bring an end to East-West tensions. That can come only through hard bargaining on such issues as access to Berlin, a settlement in the Middle East, Vietnam, or strategic arms limits talks.

Identifying, negotiating, and resolving disputed situations must be a continuing process, one that will take time, firmness, and ingenuity.

CONGRESSIONAL BOXSCORE

Tax reform

A 364-page bill containing historic changes in Federal tax law passed the House on August 7th. While I had serious reservations about some aspects of this bill, I voted for it since in my view the benefits outweighed the faults. Hopefully, the Senate will make further improvements.

Electoral reform

My bill to provide for the direct popular election of the President was approved by the House. If adopted by the Senate, it must be ratified by ¾ths of the state legislatures to take effect.

Farm subsidies

My bill would phase out the present program over a 5-year period offering job training for displaced farmers. I voted for a \$20,000 limit on subsidy payments to any single grower.

Social security

I am urging early action on bills to raise benefits—favor linking them to the cost of living. Bill of mine would raise the limits on outside earnings without loss of benefits.

Obscene mail

My bill, drawn to Supreme Court guidelines, would ban mailing of obscene material to any homes with minor children. Sender would be liable for determining if children were present.

Defense spending

I support responsible cuts. Fought earlier this year to keep ABMs out of populated areas. Decisions on weapons deployment must be made by the President based on progress with Soviets. My resolution calls for mutual suspension in multiple warhead (MIRV) testing.

Flooding pollution

I continue to press the Army Corps of Engineers for improvements in Red Run in Oakland-Macomb Counties. I am pushing for full \$1 billion funding of Federal water pollution control legislation.

Draft

I have urged immediate reform of the present system, especially to restrict the period in which young men are liable for call-up. Endorsed study of volunteer army for trial.

Crime

Emphasis is on upgrading the courts and providing more money for better local police. House voted \$250 million with my support. Michigan now getting Federal help under 1968 Crime Act.

Education

I participated in successful effort to add \$1 billion to Elementary and Secondary Education Act. A bill of mine would allow tax credits to offset the cost of higher education.

PAUL L. BURNS

As many of you know, Paul Burns, the district manager of my Congressional office in Royal Oak and my close friend for the past 13 years, died on July 30.

Paul was 53. He devoted his life to helping people. Many of you share my sense of personal loss and I want to thank you for your many, many kindnesses during the past weeks. The following editorial appeared in the Daily Tribune. I thought it was one of

the finest among many wonderful tributes to Paul.

"We mourn the death of Paul Burns, as one who instinctively knew the essence of political life is helping others. We knew Paul Burns, administrative assistant to Congressman William S. Broomfield, as one to whom we could turn when we came across the problems of someone caught in the impersonality, indifference or categorical regulations of governmental agencies.

"Although for many years his was among the most populous Congressional districts in the nation, Burns was never too busy for personal attention. This was, of course good politics, but for Burns responding to the appeals of constituents was neither image-building or vote-getting. Just the simple notion that those in public office are supposed to serve the people. It was his job, and he did it superbly. We have made fetishes out of words like 'service' and 'concern' and it was good to know someone who lived those words without talking about it."

REMEMBER THE PUEBLO

After seizure of the *Pueblo* in 1968 I urged the U.S. territorial limits be adjusted to match those of other nations. It makes no sense to allow unfriendly nations' shipping within three miles of our shores while our vessels are seized 12 to 200 miles at sea. My bill also calls for a worldwide conference of maritime nations at the United Nations to work out uniform world sea boundaries.

MISSING PILOT'S FAMILY KEEPS GOING

HON. ROBERT C. McEWEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, this Congress has shown concern for American servicemen who are either in enemy hands or are listed as missing in action. You and more than 100 of my colleagues joined the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. DICKINSON) during his special order on September 17 in expressing our concern.

I expressed my feelings after meeting with the wife of Maj. Bernard Conklin, an Air Force pilot who has been missing in action for more than 3 years. Mrs. Margaret Conklin, who lives on the Plattsburgh, N.Y., Air Force Base, and her four children were the subjects of a story in the Plattsburgh Press Republican on August 20, 1969, several weeks before we heard of the plight of the wives during the special order.

I was deeply moved by the story, and I want to share it with my colleagues. The story follows:

MISSING PILOT'S FAMILY "KEEPS GOING"

(By Louise Dunn)

PLATTSBURGH.—"When I grow up do I have to be in the war?"

Six-year-old Mark Conklin repeatedly asks this question of his mother, Mrs. Margaret Conklin of 833-B Nevada Oval.

His father, Maj. Bernard Conklin, has been missing in action in Vietnam since 1966.

The Conklins don't know whether he is dead or alive.

The Conklins have four children, Jan, 14, Scott, 13, Jeffrey, 10, and Mark.

"It's harder and harder to keep a normal existence. We can't make plans, it's always hanging over our heads," said Mrs. Margaret Conklin.

Maj. Conklin is one of 1,332 men from the nation who are missing in Southeast Asia.

In 346 of the cases, the United States has some clue that these men are prisoners of war. Mrs. Conklin is not one of these families.

"At least these families know they hit the ground alive," she said.

Mrs. Conklin, a native of Malone, agreed to an interview with a reporter because she feels that making the Hanoi government aware that Americans do care may prompt release of a list of Hanoi prisoners.

Maj. Conklin, a pilot in the Air Force for 16 years, was assigned to Vietnam in the middle of June, 1966, for a 60-day temporary duty.

Just before his assignment he had completed a 13-month tour of duty in South Korea. Upon his return he and his family were stationed in Hawaii.

It was here he received his orders to Vietnam and it was here Mrs. Conklin heard of her husband's plane disappearing.

"I received a letter from him that day (July 29). He was a fine letter writer, I always felt I was sharing his job," she said.

She said she was at her home when she saw from her window four military officials start toward it.

"Oh no! Don't come here," she recalled as having thought when she saw them.

After the initial shock, she said, of not believing it could happen to her husband, her reaction was "if they send me over I'll find him."

Then, she said, came the nightmares. "I thought of all the terrible possibilities. Is he dead! Is he suffering? Is he alone?"

But this feeling abated and after four months of "completely filled with hope one day and despair the next day," Mrs. Conklin said she realized she would have to "maintain a stance."

The stance was that the chance of her husband being alive "is as good as the next."

"I feel there is a very good chance—this is what keeps me going. Without that hope there is bottomless despair," she said.

Mrs. Conklin writes her husband every month and recently sent him a package.

The first Christmas she and other wives of husbands missing in action sent packages directed to Hanoi. The packages were all sent back.

The second Christmas the packages were accepted as has been the third.

"They are careful not to acknowledge he is there. If they send back one package they send them all back. If they accept one, they accept them all," she said.

She praises the U.S. government and the military for their help in making her feel "not abandoned."

She admits a feeling of excitement and hope when the Hanoi government releases some news film of prisoner-of-war camps.

"But I don't really expect it to be him. It's a little bit of news, and a good sign. Somebody at least is delighted," she said.

The Air Force shows the films over at the bases but Mrs. Conklin said many of the films show the same faces and same places.

"At least we know some are getting adequate attention, but this may be a model camp," she said.

Her feelings toward the Hanoi government are bitter. "They signed the Geneva Conventions, it's a very sore point," she said.

Mrs. Conklin said she thinks she would rather know whether her husband is living or dead, yet is fearful that he may be dead.

"Perhaps for the children it should be finalized," she said.

In the first few months after the Conklins were informed their father was missing, they frequently included in their conversations "when Daddy gets back."

Although Mrs. Conklin said she is still optimistic, she has "played down lately" the "when Daddy" questions.

If questioned as to whether Maj. Conklin is living, her response is "We certainly hope so, but we don't know."

Mrs. Conklin said she was glad to return to the North Country this past June, but where she and her children lived before the move, Montgomery, Ala., she has four friends who also had husbands missing in action.

This, she said, was very consoling and something she misses.

"No matter how kind people are, and we have been warmly received on this base, there is the year in and year out anguish and suspense with no way to fall.

"It is not like having a death which gradually eases," she said.

How does she feel living on a military base where everyday she sees men in uniform?

"Every time I see a flight suit I feel a pang, but belonging to this makes up for the possible tension.

"There is a security, the military has a bond, a way of facing this type of thing," she said.

How does she feel about her children entering the service?

"I'm very proud of my husband's work. I don't think if he came home today he would leave the service. If my children entered the service, they would probably have my blessing," she said.

MUNICIPAL BONDS

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, ironically, there is now developing a movement to reform the tax reform bill recently passed by the House of Representatives. While there are several items in the tax reform bill that cause me serious concern, let me address my remarks to the question of altering the tax exempt status of municipal bonds.

Obviously, this measure is stirring a revolt within a taxpayers' revolt. The cities of this Nation—with all other units of local government such as counties, schools, hospitals, water districts, and so forth—are vitally concerned with the sections of H.R. 13270 which affect the municipal bond interest. Local officials know any change would actually be a cost to the taxpayer. Tax exemption is important to cities because it safeguards the integrity, the independence and local authority in fiscal policymaking matters. Tax exempt bonds provide cities independence sources of capital and saves states and cities billions of dollars in interest costs and tax dollars.

The stark truth is—if interest rates are raised on municipal bonds, the local taxpayers will have to pay for it.

The municipal bond provisions should have been taken out of the tax reform bill in the House. Just before the previous question was ordered, I asked Representative VANIK if he would accept a motion later that might remove municipal bonds from the bill. Mr. VANIK said he would like to, but that he had made a promise to a Democratic group to make a straight motion. Later, I asked the Republican side to include in their motion to recommit a provision that would take the municipal issue out of the bill, but the Republicans had already agreed to make a straight motion to recommit. I forced a vote on that issue, but it failed. We tried to slow down the consideration of the bill when it was

presented to the Rules Committee, and one member of that committee made the motion to postpone the vote until after the August recess. He got only four votes to postpone—incidentally, not a single Republican voted to postpone.

Congress does share some of the blame for the deteriorating municipal bond market, but certainly not all of it as has been claimed. Figures will show that the municipal bond market was in a serious decline before hearings were even held on this bill. Inflation, tight money, and high interest rates were taking a toll among all types of bonds. However, Congress has not helped the situation any.

No other issue before this Congress has concerned city officials as much as the proposal to change the status quo of municipal bonds and offer an interest subsidy. The reason is simple. This action strikes at the very fiscal stability of our cities. It could delay needed public works projects.

Until this session of Congress, the Federal Government has maintained a handsoff policy which was enabling local officials to be fully responsive to local conditions and needs—not to the policies of another level of government. This system has given cities a source of money that did not interfere with Federal programs; it did not require Federal financing. And, this system kept the cost of getting local money for local projects relatively low.

Tampering with a process that has proven workable is chipping away at one of the cornerstones of our system of government—the dual sovereignty of our States and cities on one hand and the Federal Government on the other.

The only attempt by the Federal Government to tax interest paid by States and their local subdivisions was declared unconstitutional nearly 74 years ago by the Supreme Court in *Pollock v. Farmer's Loan and Trust Co.*, 157 U.S. 429 (1895).

The tax reform act is structured to provide a more equitable distribution of our tax burden. Obviously, I support this theory in principle and in action. However, in attempting to guarantee a more even-handed distribution of the cost of supporting our Government, we must consider not only the fair distribution of the Federal income tax burden, but also the fair share of the total distribution of the total tax burden—Federal, State, and local.

Much of the alarm over individuals hiding behind the shelter of tax-free municipal bonds stems from testimony that there are 154 individuals who in 1967 had adjusted gross incomes in excess—yet they paid not one penny of Federal income taxes. Unfortunately, the impression was allowed to form that this was accomplished to a large degree through municipal bond ownership.

The stark truth here is: not a one of those individuals had a single dime invested in municipal bonds. They escaped taxes by other loopholes in the tax laws.

But, Mr. Speaker, while we must protect the integrity of local officials to handle their own financing, we might be forced to place restraints on those few who do, indeed, participate very heavily in municipal bond purchases. Perhaps there is an answer. Perhaps one answer

could be to limit the amount of money any individual could invest in municipal bonds. Anything over that limit would be taxable.

However, the best way to handle the matter is to remove the municipal tax issue entirely from the bill.

Hopefully, the Senate will fashion a livable bill for all concerned. But until that time comes, I am concerned about the impact on municipal bonds. They were in trouble anyway. A workable solution must be found before our cities, schools, and hospitals have to abandon projects which would give adequate service to their citizenry.

SMALL BUSINESSMEN PRESSURED BY UNFAIR TAX BURDENS

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, social security regulations are so inequitable to small businessmen and other self-employed people, that some farmers and shopowners pay more social security tax than Federal income tax.

In addition, although social security was designed as retirement security, many small businessmen do not receive benefits after age 65.

One such businessman wrote to the National Federation of Independent Business:

I became 65 this past April, but I cannot accept social security because I am self-employed and I cannot work over 45 hours any month and receive social security. After paying into the pot for years, why should I be penalized for accepting what I have paid for?

And he certainly paid. He has paid 50 percent more than an employee just because he does not have an employer to pay the second share of social security. The law considers him both employer and employee and he must pay 1½ shares or not receive benefits after retirement.

I call your attention to H.R. 7723 which I introduced earlier this year to correct this gross inequity on small businessmen. H.R. 7723 would reduce the self-employment social security tax to the same which any employee would pay on the same income. There would be no increased penalty for the privilege of being self-employed.

A recent poll of independent business owners by the National Federation of Independent Business shows that 76 percent support my bill.

The facts illustrate why H.R. 7723 is so popular among the men who are our economic backbone.

A farmer or small businessman of modest income pays one and one-half times the social security taxes that a salaried person with equal income, and more than a \$100,000-a-year corporation executive pays.

A self-employed businessman earning \$8,000 a year pays \$553.80 of it for social security and medicare coverage while an employee, no matter how high his salary, pays a maximum of \$374.40, an amount also paid by his employer.

The basic social security tax on the self-employed is half again more than on employees—6.3 percent of the first \$7,800 compared to 4.2 percent—while medicare is the same—0.6 percent for both.

Higher social security taxes are a major part of the ballooning payroll taxes which have hurt many businessmen's ability to expand or maintain a consistent profit. One recent study showed that payroll taxes increased 15 percent in 1968, on the average.

However, it is likely that many self-employed persons will draw fewer benefits from the old-age retirement fund, since many will not fully retire at age 65. Old-age benefits are reduced if after-65 earnings exceed \$1,680 a year—and eliminated altogether if \$3,360 is earned—so many farmers and small businessmen, finding the social security inadequate, choose to continue working. This inequity—affecting all recipients—is corrected by another bill I sponsored to effectively eliminate this limit.

For many, the choice is to sell their businesses, or continue active and forgo the social security checks.

Mr. Speaker, how can we endorse this penalty on small businessmen at a time when we encourage the decentralization of economic power away from growing conglomerates and into the hands of healthy, independent businesses?

From our Nation's very beginning, the heart of our business world has been the small businessman. Even today, in a financial climate of conglomerates, the small businessman plays an essential role.

Small businesses provide the necessary diversity for community growth in the urban area. They promote stability and contribute to civic pride and responsible leadership, both public and private.

As an integral part of his community, the small businessman becomes a natural spokesman. His intimate knowledge of the local scene is probably one of our greatest assets.

As we review the President's proposals and pending bills to revise social security laws, we must think of the recipient of these benefits and his preretirement burdens.

We should cease this discriminatory practice of adding a 50-percent surcharge to the social security tax of the self-employed as a penalty for private, independent initiative. By swiftly adopting H.R. 7723, we may earn the faith and respect of the now inequitably burdened small businessman and encourage his ambition and success.

His success is the Nation's success. His additional profits add to the national tax revenue. His faith and respect are the main source of strength for the Federal Government and our economy.

TAX-EXEMPT STATUS OF STATE AND LOCAL BONDS

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, when the House passed the tax reform bill, I

pointed out that certain of its provisions appeared to me to be ill-advised. One such so-called reform which I opposed was the proposed restriction on the present tax exemption of State and local securities. I think it would be wise if the Senate Finance Committee makes some changes in this regard to the House passed bill. I think any law that adversely affects the ability of State and local governmental bodies to meet their borrowing requirements would jeopardize the constitutionally delineated dual sovereignty of government in this country. Removal of the exemption and payment of a portion of the resulting higher interest costs by the Federal Government would mean Federal control of State and municipal financing and could well end independent and autonomous government on the local level. The power to tax is the power to control and is, indeed, the power to destroy.

In support of a healthy federalism and providing a form of government closest to the people, Mr. Speaker, I support retention of existing immunity of State and local government from Federal taxation.

DEDICATION OF HERMAN W. LAY SCIENCE CENTER AT DRURY COLLEGE

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, Drury College, located at Springfield, Mo., was founded in 1873 as a liberal arts college. This small college, believing in personalized education, states in its "Aims and Objectives," that its curriculum is designed to produce a student who—

Is knowledgeable of the major strands of his intellectual heritage as they have been expressed in history, philosophy, religion, and the arts of western civilization;

Is able to reason analytically, critically, and logically in making judgments; Understands the nature and purpose of subjective thought and demonstrates its disciplined application;

Has an understanding of the purposes and methods of science and their practical application;

Understands the social, economic, and political conditions of the society of which he is part;

Develops an understanding of other cultures;

Is able to express his understandings and judgments orally and in writing; and

Achieves learning in depth which builds upon and relates to his other learning.

As a member of the board of trustees of Drury College, it has been my pleasure to watch the growth and progress of this fine institution of higher learning.

In March of this year, the school dedicated the Herman W. Lay Science Center.

Mr. Lay, for whom the building was named, is a member of the board of

trustees of Drury College, and chairman of the board and finance committee of Pepsi-Cola Co., Inc. He is the founder and president of the H. W. Lay & Co., and president of Frito Lay, Inc.

I hereby include in the RECORD, the remarks of Mr. Lay, on the occasion of the dedication of the Herman W. Lay Science Center, named in his honor.

The address follows:

DEDICATION OF HERMAN W. LAY SCIENCE CENTER

(By Herman W. Lay)

A college such as Drury—an independent liberal arts college—must continue to carry on. More importantly, as with all things living, it must continue to grow and expand. Yet, its very existence as an institution is challenged by the times. I could speak for too long about why this is important and about the many problems involved. But I think there has been considerable expounding on this subject—from many people at many times and places, and even from me at Drury graduation exercises in June, 1966.

The question is not whether the liberal arts college must grow but how, in the face of rising costs, and, unfortunately, of competition with state tax-supported institutions.

The answer to continued growth of the independent private college is simple—subsidization—subsidization by private individuals, business or other organizations, or by government.

If we are to continue to grow and prosper under our present free enterprise system, those individuals who have been fortunate enough to create personal wealth will be nothing but wise to support not only our private educational institutions but other worthwhile social, civic, and charitable endeavors to the best of their abilities or they may well lose by government edict or in more violent ways a great deal of what they have accumulated. It may well be more prudent for the affluent to be less selfish in order to protect their own selfish interests.

Will and Ariel Durant, after spending forty years of preparing, then re-editing their *Story of Civilization*, have recently published a 100-page synopsis called *The Lessons of History*. On the one hand they say:

"The experience of the past leaves little doubt that every economic system must sooner or later rely upon some form of the profit motive to stir individuals and groups to productivity. Substitutes like slavery, police supervision, or ideological enthusiasm prove too unproductive, too expensive, or too transient."

On the other hand they warn:

"If our economy of freedom fails to distribute wealth as ably as it has created it, the road to dictatorship will be open to any man who can persuasively promise security to all; and a martial government, under whatever charming phrases, will engulf the democratic world."

I am thankful that in some way I can help protect this Free Enterprise System which has been so good to me and my family.

A former Governor of Florida, Farris Bryant, said recently:

"Man lives today on an escalator. He goes to sleep in one world; he wakes up in another. He graduates from college in one world, but he must deal with and live in and succeed in another, and always it is changing. Life's targets are no longer bull's-eyes, they are bird's eyes, and the birds are in flight, for today is yesterday's tomorrow, and tomorrow has already dawned."

And so, I would say that if our targets are birds in flight, we've got to aim ahead if we expect to hit our target.

There have been times, during this decade fast closing with the flaming fingers of discontent reaching across our land, when each of us has wondered whether we may well

have been aiming behind our targets; and certainly a few times when we have wondered whether we had lost sight completely of our targets and scattered our shots all over the sky.

Again a warning from the Durants:

"If race or class war divides us into hostile camps, changing political arguments into blind hate, one side or the other may overturn the hustings with the rule of the sword."

Some call all of this effort we are talking about a part of our "civilizing process." And—in spite of our many current problems—this civilizing process which I feel requires us continually to aim ahead of our birds in flight has never really stopped. It has not even slowed very much. In fact, it has continued to accelerate with each new day. This new Science Hall stands as visible testimony to this fact.

Regardless of the pace we have set at Drury, however, we must continue to plan primarily for the future in the light of rapid change in current issues and trends.

We are in an era, as someone has said, where the "tidal wave of change threatens our cherished orthodoxy, sacred traditions, and many ancient assumptions. . . ."

I am reminded of a stirring passage, an anecdote, in a contemporary novel. It is from *The Epilogue of Captain Newman, M.D.* by Leo Rosten.

Destiny came down to an island many centuries ago and summoned three of its inhabitants before him. "What would you do," Destiny asked, "if I told you that tomorrow this island would be completely inundated by an immense tidal wave?"

The first man, who was a cynic, said, "Why I would eat, drink, carouse, and make love all night long."

The second man, who was a mystic, said, "I would go to the sacred groves with my loved ones, and make sacrifices to the gods, and pray without ceasing."

But the third man, who loved reason, thought for a while, confused and troubled, and said, "Why I would assemble our wisest men and begin at once to study how to live under water."

What was impossible yesterday is likely today and inevitable tomorrow!

With this dedication at Drury, you are looking to the future—looking to the future when technology will have given us the need for a broader, more liberal education, and the money and time to acquire it. You are looking to the future when our major education will be for living and only our training will be for work. You are looking to the future when our work will not run us down and exhaust us so that we do not, as now, have the time and strength beyond the immediate weariness, the immediate hunger, the immediate confusion.

You are looking to the future when we will have the time and the means and the inner resources to communicate with and understand our fellow man and become more intelligent and responsible citizens.

We still will have problems with us, but they will be different problems, perhaps dealing with a different set of values. The world will be our own expanded community, and all its citizens our fellow members.

The heart of the Drury Science Building is not in the beautiful building you have constructed here in Springfield—it is in the people you will place in it—both student and professional staff.

It has been said that a dedication is not a start or a finish. It is a benchmark—a benchmark for the future.

What is the most important benchmark that we are attempting to establish here now? It is the upgrading of our Human Resources.

I would consider this new science building an investment in human resources—rather than in brick and mortar and instrument.

It should not only provide improved facilities for current students and faculty, but also enable Drury to hold our better teachers and scholars and later to improve the average quality of both—to set a higher benchmark.

I am more than pleased to be able to pay tribute today to all who have made this Science Hall and the other construction projects here possible—to the alumni and friends of Drury College, and especially to the late Dr. Brandenburg, the guiding and determined spirit behind so much of Drury College expansion.

Nor should we forget the contributions made to the planning by the students, faculty, other administrative officers, and librarians.

I am sure that all involved will wish to continue to aim ahead of our targets in flight. I am sure all will wish to establish a higher benchmark for Drury.

To American youth, education should today be a sacred privilege—even if later this privilege becomes a so-called "right." We are spending billions of dollars to enable our young people to search for the truth, to sift fact from rumor, to lift man from the demoralizing influence of ignorance, poverty and tyranny. The university is the workshop of man at his best—a man creating the new, the positive, the beneficial. We should resolve to keep it that way.

MINNESOTA POLICE AND PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION ON GUN CONTROL LEGISLATION

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I have received the text of a resolution adopted by the Minnesota Police and Peace Officers Association in annual convention this past summer, and since the resolution treats with firearms control proposals which are pending in committee, I include it in the RECORD at this point in my remarks:

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE MINNESOTA POLICE AND PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION AT THEIR ANNUAL CONVENTION, WINONA, MINNESOTA, JUNE 24, 1969

Whereas: Governments at various levels continue to pass legislation dealing with firearms ownership, and

Whereas: There continues to be a demand for firearms control laws, and

Whereas: Both of Minnesota's senators have accepted directorships in the Americans for Democratic Action, an organization publicly committed to the total elimination of private ownership of firearms, and

Whereas: There are suggestions from some groups, such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, that law enforcement officers be disarmed, and

Whereas: Many such efforts are misdirected.

Therefore be it resolved: That we, the Minnesota Police and Peace Officers Association, declare in the light of the aforesaid:

(a) Firearms ownership is a basic and traditional right of free citizens;

(b) Elimination of private firearms ownership would add to the problems of crime, not lessen them;

(c) Legislation should be directed against the criminal use of firearms with minimal inconvenience to the law-abiding citizen;

(d) Elimination of police possession of firearms is highly unrealistic and unworthy of serious consideration.

Be it further resolved: That we condemn the Americans for Democratic Action's position on firearms ownership and urge that both of Minnesota's senators resign from their directorships in the A.D.A.

Be it further resolved: That we condemn the Fellowship of Reconciliation's stand on elimination of private and police ownership and use of firearms.

Be it further resolved: That we recommend, for those municipalities which in the interim legislative period feel a need for additional firearms legislation, the following uniform conditions and principles:

(a) A licensing system should cover only the carrying of firearms upon one's person within the boundaries of an incorporated municipality;

(b) Exceptions should be included for all lawful activities;

(c) Such licenses should be granted as a matter of right to citizens who are not minors, recently-released felons, or persons who have been adjudicated mentally incompetent, drug addicts, or alcoholics;

(d) All disabilities should be set forth in the ordinance and without provision for discretionary powers to grant or deny the license;

(e) Licensing procedures should include definite time limits for investigation and issuance and charges should be minimal;

(f) A convenient and inexpensive appeals system must be included;

(g) A stop and frisk provision should enable an officer to search for a dangerous weapon;

(h) A provision should penalize the illegal brandishing or discharge of firearms;

(i) Licenses to own, or registration of sale or ownership, should not be required.

Be it further resolved: That we request the Congress to amend the Gun Control Act of 1968 in general to treat the honest citizen in a more equitable manner and in particular to:

(a) Eliminate rifle, shotgun, and pistol ammunition from registration of purchase through passage of S. 845 amended to include pistol ammunition;

(b) Restore the former practice of transferring dealer licenses to the locations of gun shows;

(c) Liberalize the definition of curios and antiques;

(d) Make penalties for use of a gun to commit a crime mandatory instead of optional;

(e) End the ban on retail mail order sales and instead regulate the trade in the manner suggested by Senator Roman Hruska; in recognition that most mail order firearms sales were legitimate and allowed the citizen competitive pricing on a national market, such trade should be regulated by requiring notice of impending sale, but not registration thereof, to be sent by the vendor to the prospective buyer's local chief of police to either be vetoed on existing legal disabilities or approved within a specified time period prior to completion of the transaction and delivery of the firearm;

Be it further resolved: That we urge the Congress to pass the Metcalf-Dingell-Karth bills, S. 670 and H.R. 1048, which would shift tax monies from the current ten per cent handgun tax from general revenue to wildlife restoration and firearms safety training programs.

Be it further resolved: That we urge federal officials to enforce those crime control laws currently on the books, and particularly to cooperate in prosecuting felons apprehended with firearms in their possession.

Be it further resolved: That the secretary be instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to each of Minnesota's senators and representatives, with a request that the resolution be read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

ARTICLE BY CONGRESSMAN JOHN V. TUNNEY FROM THE LOS ANGELES COUNTY BAR BULLETIN

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, on August 13, J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI issued his annual report on crime in America. As was expected, his statistics told a grim story. In the 1968 Hoover report, there was a 17-percent rise in serious crimes over the rate of 1967. But this sobering statistic was hardly the worst aspect of the FBI report. In 1968, America's police forces solved 7 percent fewer crimes than in 1967.

The evidence is clear. As the rate of crime keeps spiraling upward, our police forces are under greater and greater pressure from criminal elements. Unfortunately, they do not have the resources they require to keep pace with the increasing challenge of crime. Hard-pressed property owners are already being taxed to the limit, yet police budgets are badly in need of additional funds. Obviously, the Federal Government must take a more vigorous role in assisting local law-enforcement agencies than is provided for in the Safe Streets Act.

Because of the need for greater action in combatting crime, I feel it is important to bring to the attention of the Congress an outstanding article written by the gentleman from California, Congressman JOHN V. TUNNEY, and printed in the Los Angeles County Bar Bulletin. While Congressman TUNNEY's article on "The Federal Role in Law Enforcement" discusses the problems of Los Angeles in detail, he is at the same time focusing on a financial crisis that is common to law enforcement agencies throughout America.

The article follows:

THE FEDERAL ROLE IN IMPROVING LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT

(By Hon. JOHN V. TUNNEY 1)

Spiraling increases in crime, instead of becoming one of America's most compelling targets for decisive action, have unfortunately been seized upon for spicing-up political rhetoric which often irresponsibly plays upon legitimate public fears about crime. Crime in America is, however, just too serious a problem to be left to rhetoric. The time for mere talk is long past; the time for action is long overdue. Torrents of talk have, anyway, proven powerless to deal with a challenge so complex and threatening that it is steadily gaining ground against the agencies of crime control.

One significant aspect of any crime control

problem is the quality of training and the number of police officers available to communities. I shall attempt in this article to point out the challenge that faces our nation in establishing and maintaining effective and enlightened local constabularies.

As every lawyer realizes, our ignorance about the causes of crime is vastly greater than our knowledge. In a short article one cannot hope to discuss all of the aspects of the enormously complex problem of controlling crime in America. There is a critical role to be played by the courts and correctional institutions in reducing recidivism and increasing the swiftness of justice in criminal cases. I have, however, chosen to focus on the problem of law enforcement not because I am unaware of the importance of other elements of the crime justice system but because I feel that these problems are especially in need of a fresh discussion.

When one looks at the amount of money we are spending in the United States to operate police forces, the low national priority given to law enforcement becomes obvious. The President's Crime Commission reports that there are about 420,000 policemen in America operating on an annual budget of around \$2½ billion, a figure which is only 1 percent of all taxes collected last year by federal, state and local governments. No other major area of American life receives a lower budgetary priority than do our police.

A quick glance at these statistics immediately tells the concerned citizen that America has sent more men to fight in Viet Nam than are fighting against crime here at home. More importantly, the annual expenditure for police is equivalent to the cost of only one month of the Viet Nam war. When America is spending twelve times more on the war in Viet Nam than on police operations, is it wrong to conclude that rhetoric is being used to hide an unwillingness to take decisive action against crime? And if this conclusion is wrong, then why is it that crime control receives such a low budgetary priority in America?

What those who hide behind their rhetoric have refused to confront is the fact that there is an acute shortage of police in America, that low salaries make recruitment of able policemen difficult, a difficulty that is steadily becoming worse, and that continuing increases in crime are going to require greater budgets for crime control agencies. In short, a more effective fight against crime is going to cost more money, much more than is now being spent, and unless the Federal government lives up to its responsibilities, this money is going to have to come from already hard-pressed local property taxes.

The shortage of policemen in America is no abstraction. According to the most recent survey, two-thirds of the police departments in medium-sized and big cities are below their authorized strength by an average of ten per cent. The President's Crime Commission, moreover, calculated that to bring all police departments in the country up to their 1967 authorized strength would require about 50,000 new policemen. At prevailing salary levels, around \$300 million would be required to pay these additional policemen. But this is just the problem: existing pay scales are not attracting men who can meet present police standards.

Between 1956 and 1961, to cite the Crime Commission once again, the national average of those passing police entrance examinations declined from 30 to 22 per cent. In 1965, the Los Angeles Police Department, which has one of the highest and most rigorously enforced selection standards in the nation, accepted less than 3 percent of all applicants for police service. The declining rate of successful recruitment of policemen comes at a time when not only are crime rates rising alarmingly, but retirement rates of those now in police service are also threatening to rise sharply. This is because of

a rapid increase in police forces after World War II and now that these officers are reaching the twenty years of service required for pension eligibility they are entering the retirement zone. Los Angeles has probably one of the most extreme instances of this nationwide problem. Beginning in 1967, about 41 per cent of the Los Angeles police force has been eligible for retirement.

Police salaries are simply unable any longer to attract enough men who meet existing standards of professionalism for police service. The nationwide average pay for a police officer is less than \$6000, a figure which only hints at the wide variations in salary among different sections of the country. For example the President's Crime Commission reports that starting salaries vary from \$2800 to \$8700, an extreme which reflects the range of police problems from small rural communities to heavily-populated urban areas. Despite this wide variation in beginning pay, there is an extremely important nationwide characteristic of police salaries which tells a great deal about problems of police recruitment. The average maximum pay for a police officer in America is only about \$1200 more than starting pay. In other words, no matter how hard a police officer may work and no matter how outstanding his performance, the financial rewards are not going to be much better at the end of his career than at the start.

Police salaries have obviously not kept pace with competitive pay scales in other professions where men with the qualifications for police service can now find more rewarding opportunities. The rising rate of crime also means that police work is becoming more dangerous at a time when pay scales are declining relative to other competitive careers. Yet, most proposals for greater effectiveness in fighting crime, including the recommendations of the President's Crime Commission, call for even higher standards for police service. Clearly, these standards have little prospect of being realized unless there is a drastic change in the salary structure for policemen.

Such a realignment of police salaries seems totally out of the question so long as police budgets must rely completely on the local tax base. In crime and law enforcement, as in most other aspects of the "Urban Crisis," there is once again the old story. The cities have the problems and the Federal government has the money. And without a decisive Federal response to the challenge of crime, the already harassed property owner may find himself caught between a rising threat of burglary on the one hand and a rising level of exactions from the property tax on the other.

While Los Angeles has one of the highest pay scales for police in America, San Francisco, New York, and Chicago are higher. But all four of these cities are no exception to the national pattern of meager incentives for police careers as reflected in the slight difference between maximum salaries and starting pay. In Los Angeles, there is only a \$1600 difference between the minimum base pay of \$8500 and the maximum of \$10,100, although the top figure can be supplemented depending on length of service. Yet compare these incentives with those open to a man who becomes an FBI agent. He can earn a starting salary of around \$8400 and eventually advance to a salary of \$17,000 in the same FBI assignment. Such opportunities for advancement are one of the principal reasons for the high motivation and keen competition for entry which characterizes the FBI.

As these statistics reveal, however, a major effort has been made to maintain competitive starting salaries for police in Los Angeles. But pay increases have had to compete with rising inflation which in less than two years has boosted prices here by more than 10 percent. The starting police pay of \$8500 should, therefore, be compared with a Department of Commerce report which states that an in-

¹ JOHN V. TUNNEY is a graduate of Yale University where he received a B.A. degree in Anthropology. He thereafter obtained an LL.B. degree from the University of Virginia Law School. Congressman Tunney holds the rank of Captain in the United States Air Force and has traveled extensively in over 50 countries. He was elected to the United States Congress from the 38th Congressional District in November, 1964 and reelected in 1966 and 1968. Congressman TUNNEY is a member of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives. In 1967 he was named a Chubb Fellow by Yale University.

come of \$9,326 is necessary to maintain a moderate standard of living in Los Angeles for a family of four. These and other statistical indices suggest that the average Los Angeles policeman is faced with a real struggle to achieve a moderate standard of living for his family. As difficult as this struggle may be, there is more to it than simply the plight of the individual officer now on the force. If police strength is to be expanded to cope with increases in crime, can existing professional standards be maintained, much less improved upon? In addition, there is a question of even greater urgency. Can the 41 per cent of Los Angeles policemen now in the retirement zone be replaced by men of comparable quality?

Some experts in crime control, however, believe that it is wrong to raise public expectations that more and better police will in themselves be able to blunt the spiraling crime rate. Crime, they say, is the result of too many factors, few of them well-known to be sure what action will produce the greatest reduction in crime. The most certain of all factors is clearly the growing size of population in urban areas. The sharp differentials in crime rates between the largest cities in America and the smallest towns supports this conclusion. For example, the robbery rate in cities over one million in population is ten times greater than in towns ten to twenty-five thousand in population; the homicide rate is more than five times greater; aggravated assault rate three times more; and burglary rate twice as great.

These statistics as well as common sense suggest that increases in police personnel should at least keep pace with increases in population. Wisdom would also suggest that police personnel levels should not lag behind increases in the crime rate, even if it does not prove possible for the growth of police manpower to stay comfortably ahead of spiraling rises in crime. Unfortunately, crime in California since 1960 has risen more than twice as fast as increases in police personnel. Between 1960 and 1967, major crimes in California rose by 89 percent while police personnel increased by only 38 percent. Although these personnel increases were well ahead of the 23 percent rise in the state's population during the period, the situation in Los Angeles county was not as favorable. There has been only a 26 percent increase in law enforcement personnel in the whole of Los Angeles county since 1960, a rate almost half that for the rest of the state and only slightly ahead of population increases.

There are many reasons why increases in police personnel in Los Angeles have not kept pace with other areas of the state, including belated efforts elsewhere in California to remedy their own personnel deficiencies. But surely one of the most critical reasons is the steadily increasing pressure on the property tax and the reluctance of local officials in Los Angeles to place additional burdens on already severely harassed property owners. But as crime increases, the costs of law enforcement will certainly have to rise too—not just in absolute levels of expenditures but also in per capita expenditures. For instance, in the two decades between 1947 and 1967, the expenditure for law enforcement by the Los Angeles county government has risen from \$45 million to \$230 million. When allowances are made for the decreased purchasing power of the dollar and the doubling of the county's population during the period, the per capita cost of law enforcement has still jumped about fifty percent during the two decades or about two and one half percent a year.

Understandably, the local property owner in a highly populated urban area like Los Angeles has looked to the Federal government for relief from what is truly a national problem. When last year the Congress passed the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, many Americans believed that the Federal government had at last become committed

to action in the fight against crime. But the passage of the Safe Streets Act has unjustifiably raised public expectations which it cannot possibly fulfill. At most it has provided for some planning grants as well as funds for training and a limited amount of equipment. But the Safe Streets Act did not confront the main issue in controlling crime in America: 90 per cent of the costs of law enforcement are salaries for personnel. Yet the Safe Streets Act does not provide for general support of salaries or other essential budgetary needs of the localities in controlling crime.

I believe that the time is long overdue when Congressional spokesmen ought to stop talking and start acting on the critical needs for crime control in America. Because of my concern I am introducing a drastically new version of the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act which will provide for general budgetary support for local crime control organizations. This bill will establish priorities for assistance according to the size of cities and in response to plans which call for an integrated effort on the part of police, courts, and correctional institutions. As in the existing Safe Streets Act, my proposal reaffirms the principle that local control over law enforcement must remain the keystone of an effective criminal justice system. As criteria for salary support of police personnel, the bill will also call for implementation of some of the police standards proposed by the President's Crime Commission such as higher maximum salaries providing real incentives for career service and promotion incentives for achieving professional competence. Obviously, to achieve these goals a substantial budget will be needed and I intend to fight for it because I believe that the best and most effective way to support crime control agencies against criminals is by action and not by mere words.

QUESTIONNAIRE BRINGS IN THOUSANDS OF REPLIES, TABULATING TO BEGIN SOON

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, in early September, I mailed approximately 150,000 questionnaires to the residents of my congressional district.

The response has been tremendous.

We are daily receiving thousands of completed forms, and are beginning to tabulate the returns.

For the information of my colleagues, I am inserting the questionnaire in the RECORD and, once tabulation is completed, will insert the results:

QUESTIONNAIRE FOREIGN AFFAIRS

1. Which statement most accurately describes your sentiments regarding a Viet Nam settlement?

(a) The U.S. should apply whatever military pressure is necessary to end the fighting and assure a stable and secure non-communist government.

(b) The U.S. should begin at once a complete withdrawal of American troops to be carried out regardless of the progress of the war.

(c) The U.S. should continue the policy of withdrawal of American troops, begun in June, 1969, relating it to the war's progress and peace negotiations.

(d) The U.S. should try to force a coalition

government with the Communists and then withdraw.

(e) (other, please specify.)

2. Do you believe the U.S. has a global responsibility to prevent the spread of communism by "wars of liberation"?

3. Should the U.S. place a high priority on improving its relations with Latin American countries, even if it requires a significant increase in spending for economic assistance or granting favored trade status?

4. Should the United States negotiate an arms-control treaty with the Soviet Union?

DEFENSE

5. In fiscal year 1969, the U.S. spent approximately \$80 billion on defense. When the Viet Nam War ends, do you believe annual defense spending should be limited to:

(a) \$40 to \$50 billion?

(b) \$50 to \$60 billion?

(c) \$60 to \$70 billion?

(d) no arbitrary limitation?

(e) (other, please specify.)

6. Do you believe the U.S. should go ahead with installation of the Safeguard Defensive Missile System as proposed by President Nixon?

THE COST OF LIVING

7. Should Congress set a ceiling on interest rates?

8. If inflation continues to increase, should wage and price controls be imposed?

TAXES

9. Should the oil and mineral depletion allowances:

(a) be eliminated?

(b) be substantially reduced?

(c) be retained at present levels?

10. Should private charitable and educational foundations lose their tax-exempt status?

11. Should religious institutions lose their tax-exempt status?

CAMPUS DISORDERS, STUDENTS AND THE DRAFT

12. Should the present Selective Service System be:

(a) retained as is?

(b) amended by a form of a lottery system as suggested by President Nixon?

(c) replaced by a volunteer armed service?

(d) (other, please specify.)

13. Should Federal dollars be denied:

(a) colleges and universities which fail to punish or expel students who cause campus disorders?

(b) the students who participate in the campus disorders?

(c) the students punished by the colleges or universities for participation in campus disorders, at the discretion of the institution?

(d) (other, please specify.)

ISSUES OF THE DAY

14. Should the Federal government do more to control pornography?

15. Should the Federal government attempt to impose standards of decency on the movie industry by Constitutional amendment if necessary?

16. Should the present Post Office Department be replaced by a self-sustaining public corporation?

17. Should advertising of cigarettes be controlled or prohibited by the Federal government?

18. Which statement most accurately describes your sentiment regarding the future of the space program:

(a) The U.S. should continue to spend at the present rate of \$4 billion a year in order to continue its space program at the present rate or faster?

(b) Spending should be cut up to 50% for the next few years, permitting fewer manned moon flights and unmanned probes into deeper space?

19. Should the Federal government increase spending and impose user taxes to improve the nation's Air Traffic Control System and other air safety precautions?

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
MASONIC SERVICE ASSOCIATION

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report that the Masonic Service Association of the United States will celebrate its golden anniversary on November 19, 1969.

I am sure all of us in this body are aware of the outstanding record of public service achieved by this fine organization in its first 50 years. I know also that the millions of American servicemen and veterans who have been exposed to the warm hospitality of countless Masonic service centers at military bases and hospitals throughout the United States hold a warm spot in their heart for this association. I join with them in wishing the Masonic Service Association many more successful years of service.

To make the occasion, I wish to insert at this point in the RECORD the text of an article written for the October issue of Connecticut Square and Compasses—a Masonic publication—by Past Grand Master Conrad Hahn, executive secretary of the Masonic Service Association:

THE MASONIC SERVICE ASSOCIATION IS CELEBRATING ITS 50TH ANNIVERSARY

November 25-28, 1918, found representatives from twenty-two United States Grand Lodges meeting in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, to create an agency through which American Freemasonry could help its sons and brothers in wartime. World War I had just ended.

The government had refused to permit Masonry to set up Service Centers near military bases at home and "behind the lines" in France, primarily because it could not deal with forty-nine separate Grand Lodges and other Masonic bodies. "Give us one agency to deal with," had been the official reason for the denial.

Wartime service had been planned by some Grand Lodges long before the conflict ended. Even the Cedar Rapids meeting had been arranged while the war was still in progress. Masonic leaders came to Iowa with the definite purpose of "doing something" to make possible Masonic Service for the military personnel in the "war to make the world safe for democracy." Masons were chagrined by their inability to serve.

The end of the war shortly before the meeting in Cedar Rapids only convinced the Masonic leaders who met there that they had to build for the future, that there were peacetime as well as wartime activities for which American Freemasonry needed an agency through which all Grand Lodges could act cooperatively. Relief at times of catastrophe, education for Masons, service to mankind—all these were obviously areas in which a national Masonic agency could work to assist all Grand Lodges, their constituent lodges and members. The time was ripe for a Masonic Service Association of the United States.

Out of the labors at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in November of 1918, was born a "Constitution of the Masonic Service Association," to be submitted to the individual Grand Lodges for approval or ratification. When fifteen Jurisdictions approved it, the Association was to come into being, and its First Annual Meeting was scheduled for November 11, 1919.

Even while the organization was being discussed, word came that the Grand Lodge of Georgia had approved the new constitution at its Annual Communication on November

27, 1918, and by that act of faith enrolled itself on the records as the first charter member of the Association. The Grand Lodges of Texas and Alabama followed quickly, approving the Constitution of the Masonic Service Association on December 2 and December 3 respectively. Connecticut voiced its approval on February 5, 1919—to become one of the seven charter members which have maintained an unbroken record of membership in the Association for fifty years! By May 14, 1919, seventeen Grand Lodges had joined the Association, fulfilling the constitutional requirement that "whenever so many as fifteen Grand Jurisdictions shall have adopted said Constitution—said Association shall then become established as a permanent organization."

Consequently, 1969 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the Masonic Service Association as "a going concern". At its Annual Meeting held at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C., on February 25 of this year, special observances marked this golden anniversary of the founding of "Freemasonry's Servant," the highlight being an inspirational address by M. W. Brother H. Dwight McAlister, P. G. M. and Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of South Carolina, another of the seven charter members of the Association with fifty years of continuous membership.

When, on November 11, 1919, the first Annual Meeting was called to order in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, thirty-four Grand Lodges were represented, twenty-six of them by their reigning Grand Masters. Only one Grand Lodge which had approved the Constitution was absent; five, Delaware, District of Columbia, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and North Dakota were "there to stay," being the other Grand Lodges which have been members of the Association throughout its first half century.

Harmony, the support of all institutions, was not so easily created. The first decade of the Masonic Service Association is a story of difficulties and doubts. While pursuing its goals of Masonic education and relief, the Servant of Freemasonry sometimes ran into the fear of a "General Grand Lodge" which some Jurisdictions wouldn't touch with a ten foot pole. While the Association's relief activities demonstrated its value and usefulness at the times of the earthquake in Japan in 1923, the Puerto Rican Hurricane in 1928, the Florida Hurricane of 1926, and most brilliantly at the time of the Mississippi Valley Flood in 1927, there were doubts about its educational activities and programs, which sometimes seemed to be running before they had learned to walk. Jealousy sometimes raised its ugly head. By 1928, the Association faced a crisis which only a strong leadership could surmount.

That came in the person of M. W. George R. Sturges, Grand Master of Masons in Connecticut. Attending the Association's Annual Meeting in 1929, he became convinced of its value and usefulness, and as chairman of a special committee, proposed a reorganization of the Association so that it could make progress in the light of existing conditions. He was immediately elected Chairman of the Executive Commission, a position he was to fill for thirteen active and productive years. Engaging the services of the late Carl H. Claudy as Executive Secretary, he helped that master workman to build a Masonic Service Association which carried out its purposes and won the respect of the Masonic world. George Sturges has justifiably been called "the savior of the Masonic Service Association."

For those who would learn the complete story of the Association there is available Brother Allan E. Robert's book: Freemasonry's Servant, The Masonic Service Association of the United States: The First Fifty Years. It was published last February as part of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the organization.

It tells the story of Carl Claudy's work to make the publications of the Association a valuable source of Masonic educational material, including his popular plays and Digests of Masonic Information. It makes clear the fulfillment of the founders' dream—an agency to serve our sons and brothers in wartime. When World War II broke out, American Freemasonry had the tool with which it could bring brotherly love and service to the men in our forces. In seventy-five Masonic Service Centers at military camps and bases, staffed by well-trained Masonic directors who were assisted by thousands of volunteers, millions of servicemen could find relaxation, entertainment, comfort, and the counselling that many a homesick soldier needed. It was truly one of Masonry's finest Hours!

That vast program of Masonic benevolence brought another master builder into the history of the Masonic Service Association, John D. Cunningham of Kansas, the Director of Welfare, whose genius for organization and friendship produced the remarkable corps of volunteers and workers who made the Masonic Service Centers so valuable. It was Brother Cunningham who saw Freemasonry's continuing opportunity for service in the Military and Veterans Hospitals which were filling up so rapidly as the war was coming to a close. He helped to organize the Veterans Administration Voluntary Service and saw to it that the Masons would be able to bring their fraternal love and ministrations to the sick and wounded veterans who spend so many lonely hours lying on beds of pain. That story is still being unfolded. The daily visits and services of the many Hospital Visitors of the Masonic Service Association at Veterans and Service Hospitals are one of the most respected accomplishments of American Freemasonry. The work of the Field Agents who give so much of their time and love to those patients should be one of the Fraternity's most boasted accomplishments. Unfortunately, their story is not known as widely as it should be, and support for this truly Masonic work leaves something to be desired.

When Carl H. Claudy died in 1957, Brother "Jack" Cunningham was elected Executive Secretary and continued to guide the work of the Hospital Visitation Program. He immediately looked for a Brother who could carry on the literary and editorial work which his predecessor had done so splendidly for almost thirty years. In the person of Conrad Hahn, then Grand Master of Masons in Connecticut, he and the Executive Commissioners believed they had found the right Editor. In 1958 they persuaded him to come to Washington to promote the educational services of the Masonic Service Association. When illness forced Brother Cunningham's retirement in 1963, M.W. Brother Hahn became the Executive Secretary, where he continues to work for the Craft as the guiding hand of Freemasonry's Servant, the Masonic Service Association of the United States.

FINANCING

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I want to add my voice to those who support this country's effort to develop a supersonic transport for commercial use.

Much has been said about the tremendous cost involved in the project. Critics have complained about the Government's involvement, saying that this is the re-

sponsibility of private enterprise. I disagree.

I think it is indeed the Government's responsibility to insure the prestige of the country and the aviation industry in world commerce. This project is obviously too costly both in time and money to expect private industry to carry the burden alone.

Under the terms of a contract with Boeing and General Electric signed by the Government on May 1, 1967, commercial production of the plane once the prototype is complete, will be financed wholly by the companies.

The Government will get a royalty on each sale to help reimburse it for its outlays.

It will only take sales of about 300 planes for the United States to recoup its initial investment of over \$1.3 billion. With the sale of 500 planes, which is projected to occur by 1990, the Government will actually be making a profit.

I fail to see how anyone can fault this kind of logic. I, for one, am glad to see a governmental investment which will show such tangible results.

UP TO THE PEOPLE

HON. JACK H. McDONALD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, in recent days we have received encouraging reports that our runaway economy appears to be slowing down. This needed leveling off is no accident. The Nixon administration has taken positive action to bring about this result. I believe every public official and every citizen recognizes the serious economic ramifications if inflation is not curbed. Both the administration and Congress are actively involved in reducing unnecessary expenditures. I am hopeful that a new set of priorities will be formulated so that the effectiveness of vital Federal programs will not be curtailed. However, if we are to succeed in our efforts, some cuts in the budget must be made.

Part of the responsibility for continued progress in achieving fiscal and monetary stability rests with the general public. These people must understand the magnitude of this problem and cooperate in this campaign to preserve the integrity of the dollar.

Mr. Marty Carlson of the Lake Orion Review, a newspaper serving part of my district in Michigan, has written a fine editorial which clearly emphasizes the significance of the public's role in curbing inflation. I would like to share his thoughts with you:

UP TO THE PEOPLE

A new fiscal breeze is blowing through the land and evidence of its impact is seen in the report that the federal budget, after eight years of red ink, ended fiscal 1969 with a surplus of more than \$3 billion. This is a sharp reversal from fiscal year 1968, when the federal government recorded a budget deficit of \$25.2 billion.

It remains to be seen whether any long-term control of federal spending levels will be politically possible. The brakes are on; they are being felt and not always with pleasure by those who are affected. Controlling inflation means such things as high interest rates and difficulty in financing home buying. It means greater resistance to costly settlements in labor negotiations. It means the slowing of business expansion and finally, even though 1970 is a congressional election year, it means restraint in expansion of federal programs and services in which millions of people, who are also voters, have a vested interest.

Only the people of the United States, by their patience, understanding and support of control and common sense in federal spending policies can assure that a few years from now the dollar will still be worth somewhat more than the paper it is printed on.

STILL NEEDED: A STANDING COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, on April 28, 1969, I introduced House Resolution 375, which, if enacted, would establish a Committee on the Environment—a permanent standing committee which would concern itself with many, although not all, of the pressing environmental quality problems which face this Nation and the entire world.

I proposed that this committee be vested with jurisdiction over water quality, air quality, weather modification, waste disposal of all types, pesticides and herbicides, acoustic hazards, and other degrading influences on the integrity of our environment.

Today the front page of the Washington Post carried an article which indicated to me that such a committee of the House, and a comparable organization in the other body of Congress, are desperately needed.

The story, which I am submitting for reprint in the RECORD, described "feuding" over congressional committee authority in creating a national environmental policy.

I am of the opinion that such jurisdictional debates could delay for years one of this Nation's most critical needs—a cohesive crash program to restore the quality of our natural environment.

Nearly everyone agrees that both Congress and the executive branch should overhaul the management systems which have grown, like Topsy, as we have attacked our environmental problems piecemeal. But after several years of debate over procedures we seem unable to get even a consensus about committee authority in Congress, and I am very much afraid that precious years will be lost unless fresh approaches can be implemented.

I would like to repeat a portion of my speech of last April 28. I said:

It is incumbent upon Congress, in my view, to take a single-minded approach in providing the enabling legislation, the funding and—perhaps most important of all—eternal

oversight as the environmental salvage efforts proceed.

We are not talking in terms of a few years or even a decade of environmental therapy. It may well take 100 years or more of research and applied science to restore clean air, with a proper balance of carbon dioxide and oxygen. Or to rescue bodies of water such as Lake Erie, San Francisco Bay and the Potomac River from their current status as open sewers. Or to learn how to dispose of our solid wastes and our chemical and radiological poisons without killing our wildlife and upsetting our ecological balances . . .

In introducing this legislation I want to state very clearly that I do not minimize the excellent work which has been done by a number of our present committees in these very areas.

But I do claim that some of these problems currently are under the scrutiny, irregularly, of two, three and four different committees, a situation which is neither efficient nor conducive to the coordinated leadership which the Nation and the world so desperately need for the environmental quality crusade.

Mr. Speaker, I have urged the House Committee on Rules to schedule hearings on House Resolution 375, as have many of the 29 Members who have joined in sponsoring identical resolutions.

I firmly believe that a Committee on the Environment in the House—matched, I would hope, by an equivalent standing committee in the other body of Congress—is sorely needed to forge some of the landmark legislation which will be needed in the decades ahead.

The Committee on the Environment potentially would represent some of the most prestigious assignments in the Congress. I could think of no greater responsibility to mankind than assuring a high quality of life for current and future generations.

The Washington Post article of September 29, 1969, which I mentioned earlier, follows:

SENATORS MUSKIE AND JACKSON FEUDING OVER CONTROL OF ENVIRONMENTAL BILLS

(By Spencer Rich)

Two of the Senate's most powerful senior Democrats are feuding over their respective authority in creating a national environmental policy.

The disputants are Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, and Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine), chairman of the Senate Public Works Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution and presently his party's front-runner for the 1972 Democratic presidential nomination.

The controversy centers less on substantive issues than on the question of which Senate units should have jurisdiction over general environmental questions. That is not a negligible issue in a legislative body where tradition, seniority, prerequisites and control of legislation are paramount.

Jackson last July pushed through the Senate without debate a bill establishing a national environmental policy and creating a Board of Environmental Advisers in the Executive Office of the President.

A similar measure was passed by the House last week, but Muskie is threatening to block a House-Senate conference to iron out differences because he fears the Jackson bill would give the Interior Committee permanent jurisdiction over general environmental policy questions.

Some sources close to Muskie even suggest that the Jackson bill might be the opening wedge of a campaign to gain for the Interior Committee at least partial power

over legislation on air and water pollution and solid waste disposal, which are now under the jurisdiction of Muskie's subcommittee.

Muskie is also said to be dissatisfied with some of the specific language in the Jackson bill, fearing it may dilute environmental controls in some respects. Muskie's own committee, in approving the water pollution control amendments in August, included a section creating an Office of Environmental Quality in the executive office of the President. This appears to overlap directly on the Board of Environmental Advisers included in the Jackson bill. The Committee whose bill ends up as the one creating the White House unit will be the one that exercises future jurisdiction over the unit.

Muskie has also been pushing for creation of a Select Committee to generally study environmental matters, with no direct legislative jurisdiction, but aides claim Jackson has blocked the advance of this measure in the Government Operations Committee.

Jackson's aides deny that the Interior Committee is seeking to raid Muskie's jurisdiction on environmental programs like air and water pollution and point out that the Jackson bill on environmental policy and a White House unit was passed first, while Muskie's provision has not even reached the floor yet.

The dispute between the two Senators has held up not only Jackson's bill, but Senate floor action on the water pollution bill, though that is supposedly coming to the Senate floor early this week.

Over the past week, spokesmen for the two Senators have been negotiating. With Chairman Jennings Randolph (D.-W. Va.) of the full Public Works Committee, they got the Democratic leadership last Wednesday to postpone a vote on the pollution bill.

All sorts of proposals have been made, but so far none has been accepted by the parties to the dispute: for example, that the Jackson bill, though already passed by the Senate, now be referred to the Public Works Committee for hearings on the environmental policy statement included in the measure; or (on the other side of the issue) that Muskie simply drop from his bill its section on a White House unit, in return for which Muskie might be allowed to go to the House-Senate conference on Jackson's bill and help rewrite the section he doesn't like.

A compromise may be worked out before the water pollution measure reaches the floor; but if not, it is conceivable the two senators will clash openly on the issue during this week's debate.

TRIBUTE TO DON BELDING

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the people of Los Angeles and of the entire country lost a dedicated public servant when Don Belding passed away. The many humanitarian causes that were associated with him will miss his leadership and inspiration. His civic-mindedness created an example for others to follow. Don Belding will be sorely missed by those who knew him and by the community he so ably served.

With this in mind, I would like to enclose in the RECORD the following edi-

torial from the September 19, 1969, Los Angeles Times:

THE EXAMPLE OF DON BELDING

Few men have "retired" to as full and rewarding a life in public service as did Don Belding, who died this week at the age of 74.

Mr. Belding had every reason to rest following a highly successful career as founder and top executive of a major advertising agency.

Instead his retirement from Foote, Cone & Belding in 1957 marked the beginning of an extraordinary series of volunteer projects on behalf of his community and his nation.

One of the most impressive civic monuments he leaves behind is Los Angeles International Airport. Now one of the world's busiest, International's growth was guided by Don Belding and other farsighted members of the City's Board of Airport Commissioners.

In addition, Belding also served in 1958 as national president of the Easter Seal campaign. He was highly motivated, for 35 years earlier he had recovered from a near-fatal attack of tuberculosis—the result of being gassed in World War I.

In addition, Mr. Belding was national fund chairman of the Arthritis and Rheumatism Foundation, president of the Crippled Children's Society of Los Angeles, co-chairman of the Los Angeles Committee for the Handicapped, and in 1965 he succeeded Gen. Eisenhower as president of the board of directors of the Freedoms Foundation.

The Army awarded Mr. Belding its Distinguished Civilian Service Medal in 1961 in recognition of his performance as civilian aide to the Secretary of the Army for Southern California.

Don Belding set an impressive example of public service. His death will be mourned throughout the nation, but nowhere as much as in the community to which he devoted so much time and talent.

VOTE REFORM BILL A BLOW TO STATES

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I insert a column by David Lawrence which appeared in last week's Evening Star. I think Mr. Lawrence makes some excellent points about the direct election of the President and Vice President. The column follows:

VOTE REFORM BILL A BLOW TO STATES

The whole strategy of presidential politics and perhaps congressional campaigns, too, will be completely changed if the proposed amendment to the constitution providing for direct popular election of the president and vice president is adopted. It has just passed the House and soon will be considered by the Senate.

The power and influence of the states may well vanish, and the nation may be ruled by the regions with the largest populations. As persons of voting age who can neither read nor write are made eligible to vote, the opportunity for widespread frauds will be increased.

Presidential candidates would no longer pay much attention to the smaller states in the South and in the Pacific and Rocky Mountain areas, but would concentrate on

getting big majorities in the East and Middle West.

Three fourths of the state legislatures must ratify such an amendment, and there are doubts whether this will happen, as it will take only 12 states to block the adoption of the proposed amendment.

The two plans which were rejected in the House were more in keeping with tradition in America. Under each, the Electoral College would have been continued, but all of a states electoral votes would not have gone to the candidate who received the majority of the popular vote within the state. It has been recognized that the latter, which is the present system, is faulty, and the alternatives being suggested would have allocated an electoral vote to the winner in each Congressional District or divided a states electoral votes in proportion to each candidates popular vote in the state.

If the proposed amendment becomes a part of the Constitution, presidential candidates who make a good appearance on TV or who can deliver clever speeches appealing to the masses will probably be victorious. Campaign expenses will move up by tens of millions of dollars because the emphasis would no longer be on how to win a majority in each state but how to get at least 50 percent of the total votes cast in the whole country. More organization workers would be utilized inside the big cities.

Only if no candidate polls 40 percent of the popular vote would there be a runoff election between the two leading candidates. Experienced politicians, however, know that, even in a three-way race, it is not difficult to get a little more than 40 percent of the popular vote. The 1968 election, with three candidates running, was close between Nixon and Humphrey, but the Nixon and Wallace votes together—which were obviously anti-Johnson—were not enough to keep Humphrey from winning 42.7 percent.

The nature of political conventions is also likely to be modified considerably if the pending amendment is adopted. It will mean that the contest for delegates will be more vigorously fought in those states where there are primaries. In many cases, however, the state political organizations choose the delegates, so that it is possible for political bosses in just a few big cities to select the presidential nominee of a party.

There have been some instances in which a majority in only nine cities in the country were enough to secure the election of a Democratic candidate who already had the South in his pocket. But since the South has changed, this has been impossible. Richard Nixon, the Republican candidate in 1968, would not have won without some of the Southern states and the overwhelming support of the West. He failed to carry some of the more populous states, but was able to overcome this by the electoral votes of smaller states.

Under the proposed amendment, this may no longer be possible, because the candidate with the widest "popular" appeal could get big majorities in the states with the largest populations, and these would offset the vote in other areas.

There are, of course, defects in the present system whereby a popular majority in a state swings the state's entire electoral vote. The practical alternative which has been advocated is that a state would be given an electoral vote for each of its Congressional Districts, plus two statewide, and record them by the majority in each district, with only two electors chosen by the majority vote of the state.

Certainly the new amendment is not going to be in effect in time for the 1972 election. If the state legislatures, with their own interests in mind, examine the matter carefully, the proposal may never be adopted.

COMMUNIST TERROR TACTICS IN VIETNAM

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, many of us in the Congress who have been keeping track of the Communist terror tactics used by the North Vietnamese in South Vietnam have been dismayed that the press coverage on this matter has been almost minimal.

Yet reams have been written about the Green Berets. I am sure that whatever justice is found in that case will be meted out. However, for even one case like this we have had first page articles no end. The assassinations, kidnappings, and injuries done to civilians by the North Vietnamese in South Vietnam are almost unbelievable. Recently, there was placed on the desk of the U.S. negotiators in Paris a 10-page document entitled "Communist Terror Tactics in Vietnam." The columnist, Jack Anderson, has written a story which is quoted in the *Champaign-Urbana News Gazette* of Monday, September 22 on the editorial page. It is entitled "Communist Terror Record Hangs Over Paris Peace Talks." In this column, Mr. Anderson quoted directly from the document.

This relates a great deal to what took place in North Vietnam in the 1950's. Mr. Anderson uses the figure as varying widely between 10,000 and 500,000. The State Department uses the figures 50,000 to 150,000 people shot, starved, or assassinated, and those should be at least fair estimates of what took place.

The figures released last week should have been front-page news in every daily newspaper in the country. AP released a story on Saigon on September 24 including actual figures for the week ending Saturday, September 20, in which it is reported that North Vietnamese terror squads killed 99 civilians, wounded 238, and kidnaped 83. In August, 345 civilians were assassinated, 1,392 were wounded, and 141 kidnaped.

From January 1 to August 20, 1969, 5,030 civilians were assassinated, almost 13,000 wounded, and almost 5,500 South Vietnamese were kidnaped by the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong.

In order that my colleagues may have a clear understanding of what has taken place, I attach herewith the article of Jack Anderson as printed in the *Champaign-Urbana News Gazette* of last Monday and also another article from the *Chicago Tribune* of Thursday, September 25:

COMMUNIST TERROR RECORD HANGS OVER PARIS PEACE TALKS

WASHINGTON.—Among the briefing papers of the U.S. negotiators in Paris is a stark, 10-page document, entitled "Communist Terror Tactics in Vietnam," which casts a shadow over the truce talks and restrains the Americans from making careless concessions.

It presents a sober, documented account of Communist purges in the north and assassinations in the south—a dark reminder of what could be expected if the Communists should ever take over South Vietnam.

"Does it necessarily follow that a Communist victory in South Vietnam would lead to mass arrests and wholesale executions?" This grim question is raised by the document. "Such a prediction can only be based on the past performance and present policies of the Communist party. From the 1945 'August Revolution' purges through the 1968 Hue massacre and beyond, the record is not very reassuring."

Captured enemy documents bring in daily confirmation that it is still Communist policy to eliminate opposition by systematic assassination. Some captured instructions even assign assassination quotas and scold execution squads that fall behind in their murdering.

The victims, of course, are called "cruel tyrants" and "enemies of the people." However, they include women and children whose only crime is being related to government officials or sympathizers.

The document prepared for the U.S. truce team charges that the Communists since 1945 have made "a very considerable effort throughout Vietnam to eliminate any actual or potential opposition through arrests and political murder."

The Communist takeover in the north was followed by large scale executions, which reached massacre proportions during the 1951-56 period. Communist vengeance was first wreaked upon the landowners, but this was broadened in 1953 into a reign of terror known euphemistically as the "political struggle."

In many ways, it resembled the "cultural revolution" that has convulsed Communist China. Instead of using Red Guards, however, the North Vietnamese party "enlisted the lowest elements of society to torture and murder under the motto 'Give the masses a free hand to fight the reactionaries.' This wave of terror spared no class or group, and even party members fell victim to it.

"An immediate result of this action," the document notes wryly, "was a greatly increased willingness to 'volunteer' for 'citizen-labor' and to pay taxes promptly. Also a substantial part of the population became implicated in these executions, thereby removing the sole onus from the party and government. The main effect, however, was to condition the rural population for the next step, the land reform."

The North Vietnamese have put out a lot of rosy propaganda about their land redistribution. They leave unmentioned the death that accompanied it.

Declares the document: "In the implementation of this program, a norm of at least one death sentence per village was set for the first stage and was raised to five per village in the following stage. Since statistics on the number of victims of the over-all land reform campaign were never made public, estimates vary widely from 10,000 to 500,000.

"The actual figure probably lies between 100,000 and 200,000, not including the considerable number who committed suicide to avoid mass trials or who starved to death as a result of the enforced isolation of those victims, with their families, who were not permitted to leave their homes for months at a time during the campaign. By the time the land reform campaign ended in 1956, virtually the entire population was in mourning....

"There is no way of telling how many people subsequently fell victim to the ever-tightening police controls that were systematically fastened on North Vietnam."

The mass bloodletting in the north was accompanied by more refined slaughter in the south.

"Since the late 1950's" alleges the document, "the political terror tactics in the south have resulted in thousands of civilians being killed and tens of thousands wounded or abducted.... These actions have, however,

usually not been indiscriminate. They have been designed to eliminate officials, teachers, revolutionary, development, cadre, and others who represent the government. Or they have been designed to discourage the population, both rural and urban, from cooperating with the government.

"The Tet offensive of 1968 might well, the party believed, have resulted in a Communist victory had the anticipated general uprising in the cities materialized. In anticipation of seizing power, the party reverted to some of the purge tactics it had used in 1945 and 1946 to eliminate or neutralize the opposition leadership....

"The temporary occupation, in February 1968, of a large part of the old imperial capital, Hue, provided the world with a grim foretaste of what a total Communist occupation of South Vietnam might well produce. Despite the intense fighting in the city, cadres equipped with lists of names and addresses on clipboards went about arresting and executing Vietnamese and foreigners who were of significance in the community.

"Often their wives and children were executed with them. In all, approximately 3,000 civilian men, women and children were executed in the Hue area. Some were beheaded and a number were buried alive after hasty executions. The victims were mainly the police, political leaders, provincial and local civil servants, anybody who worked for the Americans, and anybody who was known for his opposition to the Viet Cong.

"The Hue massacre and other similar actions would indicate that the Communists still believe Truong Chinh's dictum: 'For a new-born revolutionary power to be lenient with counter-revolutionaries is tantamount to committing suicide.'"

CONG TERROR CONTINUES AT BLOODY PACE: 99 KILLED IN A WEEK BY GUERRILLAS

SAIGON, VIETNAM, September 24.—A war waged by Viet Cong terrorists against civilians continued at a bloody pace, statistics showed today.

Reports released by government agencies gave these figures:

1. In the week ended Saturday, enemy terror squads killed 99 persons, wounded 238, and kidnaped 83.
2. In August, 345 civilians were killed by terrorists, 1,392 were wounded, and 141 were abducted.
3. From Jan. 1 to Aug. 20, 5,030 civilians were killed, 12,935 wounded, and 5,464 kidnaped.

BOMB IN TIN CANS

Most terror attacks occur in those shadow areas which the government controls by day and the Viet Cong runs by night. Such attacks also happen on the streets of Saigon, Da Nang, and Hue.

This morning, a few minutes after Saigon's midnight to 6 a.m. curfew had lifted, vendors setting up stalls at the central market noticed what appeared to be a homemade bomb in a small tin can.

Police called a bomb disposal unit. A member of the team lifted the can. It exploded, killing him and wounding three bystanders.

Hamlet officials and members of the Peoples Self-Defense force [P.S.D.F.] are particular targets of the terrorists.

National police said that two hamlet chiefs had been assassinated in the last week, a hamlet chief and a village chief wounded, and two other hamlet chiefs abducted.

PAPERS PINNED TO BODIES

Bodies of kidnaped government officials often are found with Viet Cong execution papers pinned on them. The papers accuse them of crimes against the people.

In a raid Monday on a hamlet near Da Nang, Viet Cong guerrillas abducted 30 girls who were P.S.D.F. members, national police

said. The self-defense force is a voluntary, paramilitary organization whose members are issued arms at night to increase security in villages.

In the only new battlefield contact reported by military sources, soldiers of the United States 1st air cavalry division and jet fighter-bombers teamed up to kill 24 North Vietnamese regulars in a fight 55 miles north of Saigon. There were no American casualties.

LOCAL JURISDICTION SHOULD PREVAIL IN OBSCENITY CASES

HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, the decision by the House Judiciary Committee to hold hearings on a number of bills to curb pornography has met with the support of the people of my State of South Carolina. As a sponsor of one of these bills I welcomed the opportunity to testify in its behalf before the Judiciary Subcommittee which is conducting the hearings. I was unable to appear before the subcommittee in person on the opening day of the hearings, because the House Select Committee on Crime, on which I am privileged to serve as ranking minority member, was holding hearings of its own in Boston. Nevertheless, I did submit a statement to the subcommittee, and I would like to include it as a part of my remarks as follows:

Mr. Chairman and my distinguished colleagues serving on the Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, you are to be commended for holding these hearings, and I am grateful for the opportunity to submit a few thoughts that I have on this matter of critical national importance.

I can certainly appreciate the awesome task facing this Subcommittee. Views toward what might be considered obscene or pornographic will of course vary, and in formulating legislation in such an area there is the ever-present and vitally necessary consideration of First Amendment rights.

Nevertheless, I think most of us would agree that the average American citizen is being blasted from every side by the purveyors of smut. In the words of President Nixon, and I quote the President:

"American homes are being bombarded with the largest volume of sex-oriented mail in history." Unquote.

Mr. Chairman, if my constituency in the Second Congressional District of South Carolina can be used as an example, the President has certainly hit the mark. Daily, I receive complaints from justifiably irate parents whose mail contains advertisements for sex-oriented material, and in many instances children open mail which only seems to be an advertisement. Unfortunately, most of these advertisements are not limited to a written description of the product for sale, they are also accompanied with candidly illustrated brochures which leave nothing to the imagination.

In my judgment the mail order pornography business constitutes the most serious, but by no means only, example of the mass obscenity assault on the American people.

Most of the so-called award-winning motion pictures and highly publicized novels these days are also purposely designed to exploit sex in its most prurient form. Only ten years ago or less these same films and books would have been placed in the underground

category, and now the films play in neighborhood theatres and the books are on the best-seller lists.

Admittedly, it is more difficult to place limitations on what motion picture films show or what books say under present federal law. This is a matter for each individual state to decide, and in this connection I would like to discuss my bill, H.R. 11555, later on.

But, there are federal statutes governing smut mail. Of course the Post Office Department has been hampered in its ability to enforce the law as a consequence of various Supreme Court decisions; however, enactment of the President's legislative proposals, which I might add include some good stiff penalties, should help clear the air.

During my service in the House I have written numerous letters to the Post Office Department expressing my concern about the mail system being used as a vehicle to distribute sexually-offensive propaganda. The response from the Department has always been courteous and generally sympathetic, but the replies are always the same—Post Office officials feel that their efforts to enforce the law would go for naught because of the Supreme Court.

As in so many areas in which the Supreme Court fails to exercise judicial restraint, a broad dictum is declared without anyone, including the justices themselves, being prepared for it. The obscenity dictum handed down by the Court has been one of the most confusing of all, especially to the lower courts. And, indeed it is confusing.

According to the language of the Supreme Court in recent years, to pass the very nebulous test that the Court attaches to the First Amendment, a matter is not considered legally obscene unless it is quote:

"Utterly without redeeming social value." Unquote.

Mr. Chairman, I am certain that the Supreme Court never realized the adverse effect this edict would have on curbing pornography. Generally speaking; however, the end result of this intrusion into a delicate area of the law has been a well-organized, calculated scheme on the part of the filth merchants to make obscenity in every form available to every man, woman and child in this country.

While I certainly would not attempt to define the Court's meaning of the term "utterly," it does carry the connotation of being all-embracing, and in this regard has been interpreted by many lower courts and law enforcement officials to simply mean that anything goes, no matter how lewd and licentious it might seem; hence it isn't worth the time trying to get a conviction because it will be overturned by the Supreme Court.

This is indeed unfortunate. It is tragic. By handing down such a totally inane and confusing rule of law, the Supreme Court in my judgment has opened the Pandora's box of unrestricted obscenity.

But, there is a ray of hope. Just this past April the Supreme Court handed down a decision upholding a New York State law which prohibits the selling of various lewd magazines to persons under 17 years of age. As a result of this decision a number of state legislatures are cracking down on the pornography racket.

As I mentioned earlier in this statement, it is difficult to determine what is obscene. The concept of what constitutes pornography will differ from state to state, from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. Therefore, it seems to me that our unique system of federalism which takes into account local customs would allow each state or local jurisdiction to make its own determination as to just what is or is not obscene. In fact, the Constitution clearly shows its respect for local customs through the sanctioning of a state's police powers.

This brings me to my bill, H.R. 11555.

The sole objective of this legislation is to bring order out of chaos concerning the trial and review of criminal actions involving obscenity. It imposes no restrictions on an individual state. It does not infringe upon anyone's freedom of speech. It does uphold the right of the states and local communities to determine for themselves if something is pornographic. What could be fairer than allowing local standards to prevail in this matter?

I am sure you are familiar with the provisions of H.R. 11555 and related bills. It is designed to deny appellate jurisdiction to any Federal court of a decision by a jury in regard to criminal actions involving obscenity. Additionally, no Federal court would have the authority to review, reverse or set aside a decision by a court of a state or its subdivision concerning local obscenity statutes.

Mr. Chairman, I am shocked and alarmed over the flood of indecent movies, books, magazines, and mail advertisements which have cropped up on the American scene in just the past few years. Some call it a sexual revolution. Some say we are just throwing off the yoke of a puritan past. Still others casually dismiss this phenomenon as a passing fancy. I say nonsense. I don't believe that the overwhelming majority of people in this country accept low moral standards as a way of life.

No one has a right to invade a person's privacy by filling his mail with filthy, pandering advertisements. No one has a right to corrupt the morals of youth by selling them vulgar magazines, pictures, etc. And, I believe it is past time for Congress to get tough and break up the activities of these brazen dealers in lasciviousness.

While I am certainly open to consideration of any bill to attain this objective, I do believe that that bill should eliminate the confusion brought about by the Supreme Court's entry into the obscenity business. Once the law is clarified, prosecutors should have little trouble in getting convictions in obscenity cases, especially when the accused has to face local juries.

That concludes my statement. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee for your kind indulgence.

NO PLACE FOR POLITICS IN VIETNAM DEBATE

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, there has been discussion in the House today, as there was comment in the news media over the weekend, about the possibility of partisan attacks on President Nixon on the issue of Vietnam. Since my name has come up in these discussions, I want to make clear just what my position is.

While I believe President Nixon should take additional steps toward disengagement in Vietnam, I am opposed to any partisan action by Democrats in the Congress to force his hand.

For several weeks I have been working quietly with some Members of both parties here in trying to devise ways in which like-minded Democrats and Republicans could counter the pressures on the President by the Thieu-Ky Government and by Americans who would still seek a military victory in Vietnam. This is the only approach that makes any sense to me.

A great majority of Americans of both parties supported our initial involvement and later escalation in Vietnam. I was one of that majority until 1967, and I assume my share of the responsibility. In my judgment, the war will end only when Democrats and Republicans, working together through our political processes, bring about the difficult and painful changes which are necessary to alter our course.

I regret that a private meeting which I attended last week has been publicized in a manner to suggest that I favor steps to exploit the President's present difficulties. I do not. Mr. Nixon did not start this war. His problems, are in large part, inherited. He is the only President we have got, and he is under tremendous, conflicting pressures. His is a difficult job which deserves all the help we can give him.

At the same time, I believe additional steps are needed to get us out of this horrible war, and to that end I introduced a resolution last week calling for the withdrawal of substantially all of our troops by the end of next year. In my judgment the government in Saigon will continue to press for unreasonable objectives, impossible to achieve by arms or negotiations, until we take this kind of definite and irrevocable step.

I commend President Nixon for his May 14 speech, for his start of troop withdrawals, and for his initiative in transferring responsibility to the South Vietnamese. I only hope he will go further and take the additional steps I believe are necessary to extricate us from a war nearly everyone agrees was one of the worst blunders in American history.

HOMEBUILDERS NEED IMMEDIATE HELP

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, during the congressional August recess, I met with representatives of the Home Builders Association of Washington State. They pointed out to me the crisis faced by the residential construction industry due to the existing high interest rates and the consequent drying up of mortgage funds.

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, because of the critical shortage in housing that action by Government is urgent and in this connection I would hope the Federal Reserve Board would promptly take action to roll back the prime interest rate. Also, I would hope this House would take immediate steps, as recommended by the homebuilding industry, to implement some controls on consumer credit.

At this point, I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the position statement on the financial crisis in the residential construction industry:

A POSITION STATEMENT—FINANCIAL CRISIS, HOME BUILDERS ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON STATE

The residential construction industry in this state and throughout the nation is in a most critical period. The need for adequate

housing for the American people is at an all time high and yet skyrocketing prices and interest rates are making it impossible for the industry to build the houses our nation so badly needs.

It has been stated, and with justification, that the Federal Reserve Board has permitted the nation's large banks to undermine the Board's tight money policy. These large banks have fed the inflationary corporate boom instead of turning down loans and rationing credit. Inflation has not been and is not being curbed—higher and higher interest rates have most certainly not slowed consumer credit which is practically unlimited on goods and services in every city in the country. In short, little or nothing has been done to alleviate the plight of the home builder. Many in our industry are either in serious financial difficulties or have shut down operations. It is, thus, apparent that state and national housing goals will not be met and that irreparable damage will be done to the home building industry unless positive, constructive and perhaps even drastic action is taken by the Federal Government.

Therefore—to afford some modicum of relief while a long term solution is sought, the Home Builders Association of Washington State accepts the necessity for the following action:

1. Immediate implementation of effective controls on consumer credit; and
2. An immediate rollback in the Prime Interest Rate to 7½%.

VISION, FAITH, AND COURAGE

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, September 11, Brig. William Harvey, Salvation Army Division commander, addressed the 18th graduating class of the Booth Hospital School of Practical Nurse Education. His exhortation to idealistic and humanitarian pursuit was reported, along with the plans and thoughts of the dedicated graduates, in the following Kentucky Post article written by Nancye Moncrief and appearing on Friday, September 12:

VISION, FAITH, AND COURAGE

(By Nancye Moncrief)

Last night 15 modern day Florence Nightengales were given the prerequisites to success—"vision to see, faith to believe, and the courage to do."

And today all 15, graduates of Booth Hospital's School of Practical Nurse Education, began work in their new profession.

Speaker at the 18th graduation held at First Presbyterian Church, Ft. Wright, was Brig. William Harvey, Salvation Army Division Commander, who urged the graduates to "help patients to the recovery of their individual identifications and a renewed sense of personal worth in the computer age."

"You have the privilege of conveying to your patients," Brig. Harvey said, "a new sense of identification . . . amid the complexities of scientific achievement."

"The important ingredient to being a nurse," explained one of the graduates, Mrs. Geraldine Sterling, "is the love of people."

"That's why I decided to become a nurse. It's always been in the back of my mind that someday I would be a nurse."

Mrs. Sterling of 1102 Central Row, Elsmere, has two children, Joey, 14 and Karen, 10. "Without my husband's (Gerald's) help

and the children's I could never have done it."

Mrs. Dorothy Clarlo became acquainted with work at a hospital 15 years ago when she served as a nurse's aid.

She stopped to rear her family, Carol, 21 and William, 17.

"Since they're grown I was able to take the time to attend school," Mrs. Clarlo, 32 Wilson Road, Newport, said.

Like Mrs. Sterling, Mrs. Clarlo will continue work at Booth.

"I hope to work in the psychiatric ward soon. I enjoy helping the patients there," Mrs. Clarlo said. Mrs. Sterling hopes to eventually work in the emergency room "where there is constant variation."

Barb Fessler, 19 daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Irvin Fessler, 35 Woodlawn, Newport, has taken just the first step in her nursing career.

In February, she begins surgical training at Christ Hospital, Cincinnati.

"I went into nursing because I feel it is the best way for me to help those who can't help themselves," the 1968 graduate of Our Lady of Providence said.

Miss Celeste Mueller, 20, of 449 Ward avenue, Bellevue, will begin work at Children's Hospital in the adolescent ward.

"I want to work in intensive care," the 1968 graduate of Notre Dame said.

A former Candy Stripper at St. Luke Hospital, Miss Mueller went into practical nursing "because I want to work directly with the patients."

"It is a constant learning experience. Every day is different," the daughter of Mrs. Melvin Mueller said.

Work as a Red Cross volunteer grew into a nursing career for Colleen Murphy, 18, of 123 Bonnie Leslie, Bellevue.

She will work at Good Samaritan Hospital, Cincinnati, "because I wanted to work at a larger hospital."

"I worked at the Brighton Street Center during high school and thought for a time I would like to be a social worker."

"When I came into this program I knew it was what I wanted," she added.

She is the daughter of Mrs. Rosemary Murphy.

Nineteen-year-old Rita Lonneman, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Lonneman, 1050 Altavia, Park Hills, will go back to St. Elizabeth Hospital where she did volunteer work during high school at Notre Dame Academy.

"I love people. That's really why I decided to go into nursing," she said.

Other graduates include:

Miss Beverly Burnside, 8639 Chevlot road, Cincinnati; Mrs. LaVerne Feist, Batavia, O.; Mrs. Chirley Hicks, Cincinnati; Miss Rita Kruezkamp, 22 Virginia, Ft. Mitchell; Miss Donna LaFace, 421 Ward, Bellevue.

Also Mrs. Phyllis Manuel, R. 1, Butler; Miss Jackie Poindexter, 4 Pike, Bromley; Mrs. Janice Smith, 10 Valley, Florence, and Miss Diane Tebelman, 905 Kenridge, Villa Hills.

COAL MINE HEALTH AND SAFETY LEGISLATION

HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the drafting of an effective coal mine health and safety bill is an arduous undertaking. Any of those associated with the enactment of legislation on this issue know from past experience that this is a thankless task, and those engaged in it are shot at and subjected to pressures from all sides. As a Represent-

ative in Congress from the largest coal-producing State in the Nation, I feel very keenly and personally the need to obtain the strongest possible legislation. It is for this reason that I have attempted to speak out on behalf of stronger legislation at every opportunity.

I respect the honesty and integrity of all those who are associated with this difficult legislation. Where we have differences of opinion, I have directed my remarks at the substantive provisions of the pending legislation. On two different occasions I presented testimony to the House Committee on Education and Labor urging that the proposed Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Board of Review be eliminated from the bill, and that the distinction between gassy and nongassy mines be eliminated.

On September 23, 1969, at pages 26619 to 26620 of the RECORD, I again presented arguments on these two sections of the bill. At no point in my remarks did I make any reference to any individual Members, and confined my remarks to what I felt were severe shortcomings in these provisions.

Accompanying my remarks, I inserted into the RECORD articles from the New York Times and the Charleston, W. Va., Gazette. One of these articles contains a quotation concerning the waiver beyond 6 years which the Secretary of the Interior may give for electric face equipment in certain mines if the equipment is not available. This article quotes me as stating:

This is an open-end waiver, a sellout, a giveaway.

Although I certainly did characterize this provision as an "open-end waiver," I am confident I did not use words like "sellout" or "giveaway," and in any case did not use the name of any Member during a discussion which was confined to the issues. I have carefully checked all statements, press releases, and remarks issued by my office and find no words such as "sellout" or "giveaway."

It is unfortunate that tempers flare during the passage of legislation as important to the safety, health, and lives of thousands of coal miners. I am appreciative of the diligent work which the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. DENT), has done on this bill, as well as the leadership exercised by the chairman of the full committee, my neighbor, the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. PERKINS). I hope that a strong and effective bill will emerge from the deliberations of the Congress. I trust that the loopholes will be closed and that the coal miners will have the protection which all human beings deserve.

FEDERAL WATER POLLUTION PROGRAM

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the Michigan Municipal League at its recent 71st

annual convention in Grand Rapids adopted a resolution urging the Congress to appropriate the full \$1 billion authorized for fiscal year 1970 under the construction grant program of the Clean Water Restoration Act. The resolution also urges the President to refrain from any cutbacks in this construction program.

The Michigan Municipal League is an association of Michigan cities and villages organized in 1899 for improvement of municipal government by united action. I am pleased that the league adopted this resolution and I include the text of the resolution at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

FEDERAL WATER POLLUTION PROGRAM MICHIGAN MUNICIPAL LEAGUE RESOLUTION NO. 14

Whereas, the approval by the electors of a \$335 million water pollution control bond issue has placed Michigan in the vanguard in seeking to eliminate municipal pollution of our water resources, and

Whereas, the Federal government by the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 made a commitment to the States and local units of government to join with them in a major attack on water pollution and, as a result, the State of Michigan and its cities and villages have worked diligently on a comprehensive action plan within the framework of the Federal program, and

Whereas, the Federal government has not only failed to meet its commitments by failing to appropriate funds in accordance with the 1966 Act but now the administration seems ready to make major cutbacks in even the reduced program, and

Whereas, these changes in the Federal program threaten the success of Michigan's water pollution control program;

Now therefore be it resolved, That the Michigan Municipal League in Convention assembled this 11th Day of September, 1969 urges the Congress to reconsider its ill-adviced withdrawal of full support for the water pollution control program by appropriating the full amounts authorized in the 1966 Act, and

Be it further resolved, That the members of the League urge the President of the United States to refrain from any cutbacks in the construction program that will have an adverse effect on the successful completion of the water pollution program.

ISRAEL'S CAUSE IS JUST

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, it was my particular privilege to be on hand to greet the Prime Minister of Israel, Mrs. Golda Meir, when she arrived in the United States, Wednesday, September 24.

The first stop of this proud, inspiring lady's visit to America was its spiritual birthplace, Philadelphia. Her first public appearance on our shores was at Independence Hall, where she stirred the hearts and minds of 20,000 of my fellow Philadelphians.

At Independence Hall, Mrs. Meir told the cheering crowd that she was pleased to be "near the Liberty Bell, near this room where men sat and declared themselves free and did not fear the large

forces who were against them. They were free in spirit and therefore they were strong. Nowhere else is Israel so well understood as on these grounds and near this bell."

Her message was clear. Israel and America share more than friendship; they share aspirations and the view that free men should govern themselves in strength and in safety.

Twenty-one years and three open conflicts have not changed the basic fact that Israel's cause is just and that Israel and America share the common purposes of justice and freedom.

I issued the following statement on the occasion of Mrs. Meir's arrival in the United States and her visit to Philadelphia and, with the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I offer it here for the RECORD:

MRS. MEIR'S VISIT IS A PROUD MOMENT FOR OUR CITY

Mrs. Meir's visit to Philadelphia is a proud moment for our city of friendship, a city where the friends of Israel always are welcome. Her example is inspiration, her career a mirror of the odysseys and aspirations of many Jews in the last century.

The iron of her life and character has been forged in Russia, the United States and Israel, just those nations where the bellows of history has produced the most intense flame in this century.

Her mission now is to guarantee the peaceful survival of the state of Israel.

Speaking in the Israeli Parliament on June 30 of this year, Mrs. Meir said:

"Anybody who fails to honor the cease fire agreement and shoots at us cannot claim impunity from the results of his aggression. Those who attack us should not be surprised if they are hit seven-fold in response, since our main purpose in retaliating is self defense and deterrence."

Mrs. Meir's mission to the United States includes seeking the wherewithal for self-defense. Grown accustomed to international criticism, Israel has again heard these rumblings as the pace of defensive conflict has stepped up along Suez. As one national journal recently put it, the world expects the Arabs to be fanatic and the Jews to be more reasonable.

I say to this, is it reasonable to lay down your arms in the face of calls for a holy war of vengeance from your avowed enemies? Is it reasonable to risk old solutions which have failed three times to guarantee you peace and security? Is it reasonable to risk annihilation to satisfy international expectations of your character?

I say it is not. Mrs. Meir and the Israelis know it is not.

Perhaps Israel has been too successful for her own good. Her success under arms has smudged her image as underdog. Nevertheless, the essential hazard is unchanged. A nation of 3 million persons surrounded by tens of millions of hostile belligerents must either stand or be pushed into the sea.

It has been reported that Mrs. Meir has come to the United States with a shopping list. On the top of this list are two items, Phantoms and A-4 Skyhawks. In the 90th Congress, I helped lead the fight to ensure that the United States sell Israel 50 Phantoms. The first of those jets was in Israel this month. I am prepared to again help lead the fight for more planes in the 91st Congress. As a friend of Israel—and an advocate of a better break for the consumer—I pledge to help Mrs. Meir fill her shopping list and get top value for her dollar.

I welcome Mrs. Meir to Philadelphia and the United States and wish her shalom and good shopping.

CANISIUS COLLEGE MARKS
100TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, Canisius College in my home city of Buffalo, N.Y., marked its 100th anniversary this past weekend with appropriate ceremonies at which the Very Reverend Michael Walsh, S.J., president of Fordham University, gave the principal address.

In honor of the occasion, Mayor Sedita proclaimed Saturday as Canisius College Day, noting its "immeasurable impact upon the Buffalo community." He described it as the "largest private institution of higher learning on the Niagara Frontier."

Describing Canisius as one of the "enduring institutions on the frontier," Erie County Executive B. John Tutuska said:

Canisius' continuing influence for the good of the community rests heavily on the shoulders of some 5500 alumni and alumnae who live and enrich the level of living in Erie County.

Mr. Speaker, Canisius has played a most important role in the development of the Niagara Frontier and richly deserves the many tributes which it is receiving as it marks its centennial.

Both Buffalo newspapers have spoken highly of the proud history of this Jesuit institution and I include their editorials with my remarks, also a story on the remarks by Father Walsh:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express Sept. 21, 1969]

CANISIUS COLLEGE CENTENNIAL YEAR

Canisius College, long recognized as one of the state's leading institutions of higher learning, today marks the opening of its Centennial Week, spearheading a program of academic and civic events which will continue throughout the current academic year. Unquestionably the steady progress made by Canisius has far out-stripped even the most grandiose dreams of its four Jesuit priests from the University of Innsbruck, Austria, when they first opened the doors of the college to 25 students 100 years ago.

From a modest four-room class building at 434 Ellicott St. Canisius College has marched steadily onward; first to a larger structure at 651 Washington St., adjacent to St. Michael's Church, and 41 years later to its present location at Main and Jefferson. The location of the college in what in 1913 was regarded as a remote section of Buffalo is a testimonial to the foresight of the Jesuit Fathers who planned and guided the growth of the institution because today it is almost centrally located in a rapidly growing section of Metropolitan Buffalo.

Magnificent testimony to this privately financed institution's ability to keep pace with the area's growth and educational demands is seen in the sparkling array of new buildings that have been erected on the expanded campus since the close of World War II; the latest addition being the new physical education center at Main and Delavan.

However, Canisius College's contributions to Greater Buffalo and Western New York are not confined to physical growth. On the contrary, the physical progress is far out-stripped by the contributions the institution has made to society. Canisius College has had an imprint on virtually every phase of

life in Western New York through its alumni.

More than 8,000 living members of the college, 5,500 of whom reside in Erie County, are actively engaged in the professions, in business, in government, in religious life and in various civic enterprises. In addition, the college is training hundreds more young men and women who will enter into the mainstream of Western New York life. Among them will be a number of underprivileged youth who are receiving a college education through the Martin Luther King Scholarship program, a program which provides opportunities that otherwise would have been denied them.

Four years ago in summing up the accomplishments of Canisius College and its prospects for the future, an evaluation team of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools commented: "Canisius College is favored by a tradition of quality, an unswerving dedication to a noble purpose and excellent leadership. There is ample room for optimism about the future."

We concur in the association's evaluation and join with the rest of the community in wishing Canisius College well in the observance of its 100th anniversary with the prediction that the accomplishments of the past will be overshadowed by the successes of the future.

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, Sept. 26, 1969]

CANISIUS CENTENNIAL

With tomorrow's academic convocation marking the formal opening of its splendid new physical education complex at Main St. and Delavan Ave., Canisius College displays impressive evidence of its youthful vision and spirit of urban outreach as it starts its year-long centennial celebration.

As Western New York's largest private institution of higher learning, Canisius is justly proud of its material record of growth. Its continuing expansion of facilities—with new classroom space, dining and residence halls, and an Academic Tower to be built on the quadrangle fronting Main St.—attests to the confident foresight accented from the very beginning of Canisius by its Jesuit founders in 1870.

But it is not such brick and mortar achievements in themselves as much as other qualities of spirit and outlook that give special imprint and character to any academic community. Among those that distinguish Canisius is its firm identity as an essentially urban college committed to its location in the inner city. By its physical presence in the city's hub, and by its curricular offerings, it has contributed significantly to the city's re-development and general betterment. Its participation in Buffalo's Model City program, its Martin Luther King scholarships, and its development of specialized graduate and undergraduate programs are expressions of enlightened concern for contributing to the needs of disadvantaged youths and to the city's economic and cultural life.

Canisius has enjoyed a leadership, as exemplified currently by that of the Very Rev. James M. Damske, S.J., alert to the need for blending a lively openness with fidelity to traditions of intellectual, moral and spiritual development of students.

In an era of explosive growth of higher education and the problems of multiversity anonymity this has fostered, Canisius has striven consciously to guard its own growth as a co-educational liberal arts campus against the loss of close relationships between students and teachers. It cherishes its identity as essentially a "teaching community," with a climate congenial to communication, creative discovery, and an individualized search for values in life beyond those related to abstract knowledge and learning to make a living.

Its maintenance of high standards in the cultivation of excellence has attracted to Canisius students from nine foreign countries and 22 states. Yet it has remained committed to its primary role as a college serving the needs of a metropolitan community. Its 7500 alumni—jurists, executives, legislators, teachers, clergymen, government and business administrators—have contributed immensely to the enrichment of Buffalo's civic and professional life.

With those alumni, and with the whole Canisius community, the city of which they are a part shares pride in a century of accomplishment, and in renewed dedication to the advancement of learning and service to men.

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, Sept. 27, 1969]

COLLEGE INVOLVEMENT IN CITY LIFE CITED AT
CANISIUS CONVOCATION

(By Dick Burke)

"Today's urban college must be actively involved in the problems of the city it resides in.

"Its students must learn that poverty, ignorance, racial discrimination and tensions are not only concepts they read about but situations in which they as citizens are personally involved.

"Its classrooms and laboratories must be not only the ivy-colored halls under spreading shade trees but also the rat-infested tenements of the desperate poor."

This was the direction offered Canisius College today by Very Rev. Michael Walsh, S.J., president of Fordham University. He spoke at the institution's initial commemoration of its 100th anniversary—a centennial convocation in the new physical education complex at the Main-Delavan campus. The complex will open Monday.

The setting was paradoxical; many hundreds of scholars in academic robes of medieval heritage assembled in a multi-million dollar gymnasium.

RELEASE OF NEW FORCES

Father Walsh received his 12th honorary degree, doctor of humane letters, from the Jesuit institution. Charles W. Millard Jr., retired board chairman of Manufacturers & Traders Trust Co. and a member of the state board of regents, was similarly honored. Mr. Millard has honorary degrees from Alfred University and D'Youville College.

"The social, religious, political and scientific forces released during the past ten years are swirling in a blinding storm around us," Father Walsh told his listeners, providing the backdrop for his counsel.

"In every sphere of life the rate of change is accelerating so rapidly that uncertainty and fear tend to immobilize all but the courageous and the ignorant," he continued. "A new-found sense of individual dignity and freedom everywhere is wrestling with the restraints inherent in community or societal life.

EDUCATION CHALLENGED

"Not only are new social structures evolving and old ones dying out but more important, patterns of thought and values are shifting quite perceptibly, as new problems rise and old solutions are questioned.

"It is in this area of thought and values that the role of education is challenged and I would say nowhere will this role be more crucially challenged than in the urban liberal arts college."

Father Walsh noted that urban liberal arts colleges such as Canisius are challenged to prove their relevancy in today's changing society. He put it like this:

"The sprawl of the city has reached out and engulfed most of the countryside colleges. Both they and the original city colleges now face the same situation. Neither can any longer close itself up within its own walls lest it die of suffocation. Every school in a modern

metropolis must be not merely open to the community but it must actively reach out into city life in genuinely helpful ways."

He went on to say: "A Catholic college has an additional challenge . . . it must prove that it can make its own specific contribution to the renewal of the human situation—the 'aggiornamento' called for in Vatican II."

The Jesuit priest explained that "this does not mean that the Catholic College should play its old, defensive role where its prime purpose was to provide for the threatened faith of immigrants in a non-Catholic Society."

"PARTICIPATING CELLS"

He then said: "Catholic Colleges today must transform themselves into organic, participating cells active in the struggle to improve the cities' health with all the educational resources at their command and second, to contribute the extra dimension of practical Christian love needed to assure success . . ."

"Only the catalyst of Christian love spreading out from colleges such as this one can ultimately dissolve these stubborn blocks to a healthier national life and a more genuine Christian community."

Very Rev. James W. Demske, SJ, president of Canisius, welcomed convocation guests. Rev. Thomas A. McGovern, SJ, college chaplain, gave the invocation. The Canisius faculty greeting was from Dr. Joseph F. Bieron, assistant professor of chemistry.

Convocation guests included The Rev. James J. McGinley, SJ, immediate past president of Canisius College. He represented the Association of American Colleges.

The Rev. Edward F. Maloney, SJ, executive vice president of Canisius, presided at the convocation.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR DIRKSEN

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the fleeting September days have painfully reminded us that the passing of Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen silenced the voice and wisdom of one of America's great political leaders.

The loss I felt on learning of his death was not only for the Nation at the loss of a great statesman but also for myself at the loss of a friend and colleague. But to speak only of the death of Everett Dirksen would be an injustice to the life of a proud American—a life filled with great moments.

Everett Dirksen was a passionate human being. He loved his country and dedicated his life to its service. He had a deep moral sense for the right and the wrong. He was not one to waver in his convictions but yet he tempered them with justice. During his 3½ decades in the Congress of the United States, he was instrumental in affecting the passage of numerous pieces of vital legislation. His influence was felt and respected by both parties. In shaping legislation to meet America's changing needs, he truly understood the demands of leadership. However, Senator Dirksen was equally as persistent in his fight against those things which he did not feel were right for his country. The senior Senator from

Illinois will be missed as an orator, remembered as a legislator, and revered as an American.

As he rests in peace, we the living are glad that Everett Dirksen shared his life with us. To Mrs. Dirksen and the family, Mrs. Lipcomb joins me in extending our deepest sympathy at their loss.

INDEPENDENT BUSINESSMEN ENDORSE BROCK LABOR SETTLEMENT BILL

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, as you know, in the first session of this Congress, I introduced H.R. 9245, legislation to establish a voluntary tribunal for the settlement of major interstate labor disputes.

I am happy to say that the public response to this new approach, combining aspects of voluntary negotiation with workable arbitration machinery, has gained widespread support. Most recently, it has been endorsed, in a direct poll by the National Federation of Independent Business, a nationwide organization with over 269,000 members. I submit below the official statement of the federation, which was released today. Needless to say, I welcome the support of this outstanding organization, whose members play such a vital role in our economy and civic life:

THE BRIEF FACTS

Despite strike-settlement machinery in the Taft-Hartley Act, major strikes affecting the public health or safety have continued to be economically disastrous, as was the recent longshoremen's strike. Representative Bill Brock of Tennessee has authorized legislation, H.R. 9245, to establish a Management-Labor Commission and Court with power to settle interstate "national emergency" strikes through adjudication, rather than collective bargaining. Independent business owners polled by the National Federation of Independent Business react with 68 percent in favor, 21 percent opposed and 11 percent undecided.

Delay and economic strangulation are weapons used by both sides in a major strike. Sooner or later—usually later—this brings about labor-management peace.

But must it be this way? A Congressman from Tennessee and many of the nation's independent business owners believe there's a better way than prolonged collective bargaining with its pyramiding economic losses to labor, management and the public.

Representative William Brock believes the U.S. should borrow the Australian system of adjudication of labor disputes by a government panel. Urging use of this technique to settle interstate walkouts or lockouts such as transportation strikes, he has authored a bill which would authorize a Federal Management-Labor Commission and Court empowered to act as judge and jury in major strikes.

It would provide a 110-day suspension period during which work would continue while the Commission heard arguments and proposed a solution. If accord was not reached in 80 days, the Commission would specify terms of settlement during the next 30 days.

This proposal was put before independent business owners, nationwide, by the National Federation of Independent Business, which found 68 percent in favor. Only 21 percent voiced objections and 11 percent were undecided.

The proposed adjudication procedure would be required only in interstate, "national emergency" strikes as defined by the Taft-Hartley Act. This law, which gives the president power to seek a 90-day injunction when a work stoppage affects the public health or safety, has not proved effective because the President often chooses not to exercise this power. (Neither President Johnson or President Nixon acted in the recent East and Gulf Coast maritime strike which brought losses of approximately \$2 billion.)

Congressman Brock hopes that, if adopted, the procedure might prove so beneficial that other labor-management disputes would voluntarily be brought before the seven-man Commission. The bill provides that the Commission membership will reflect the consumers' interest as well as that of labor and management.

The Attorney-General would decide when a dispute would go before the Commission, thus taking it out of the hands of the National Labor Relations Board. Two Commissioners would conduct an inquiry into all issues while mediation and arbitration continued.

If a Commission settlement order was required, the five-man Court would oversee its administration, answering any questions which arose.

Some businessmen polled by the Federation believe that, instead of creating new strike-settlement machinery, the NLRB should be strengthened by new legislation.

The independents, viewing the growing power of big business and big labor to immobilize vast segments of the economy, often with heavy losses to related and dependent industries and the public, believe Congress has dragged its feet in writing new legislation to deal with crippling interstate and industry-wide work stoppages. As Congressman Brock asserts, the public's interest in such labor-management battles should be recognized and protected.

STATE BREAKDOWN FIGURES—BILL TO ESTABLISH MANAGEMENT-LABOR COMMISSION AND COURT TO DEAL WITH INTERSTATE LABOR DISPUTES

State	Percent in favor	Percent against	Percent undecided
Alabama	68	24	8
Alaska	72	17	11
Arizona	63	28	9
Arkansas	68	19	13
California	68	22	10
Colorado	65	26	9
Connecticut	71	18	11
Delaware	71	21	8
Florida	74	19	7
Georgia	71	21	8
Hawaii	82	15	3
Idaho	66	23	11
Illinois	70	20	10
Indiana	65	23	12
Iowa	67	20	13
Kansas	68	21	11
Kentucky	71	22	7
Louisiana	76	16	8
Maine	70	18	12
Maryland	74	16	10
Massachusetts	71	20	9
Michigan	67	23	10
Minnesota	67	22	11
Mississippi	74	16	10
Missouri	69	20	11
Montana	65	26	9
Nebraska	67	19	14
Nevada	80	14	6
New Hampshire	67	25	8
New Jersey	74	18	8
New Mexico	73	20	7
New York	67	22	11
North Carolina	67	23	10
North Dakota	73	16	11
Ohio	67	22	11
Oklahoma	69	20	11
Oregon	66	24	10
Pennsylvania	70	20	10

STATE BREAKDOWN FIGURES—BILL TO ESTABLISH MANAGEMENT-LABOR COMMISSION AND COURT TO DEAL WITH INTERSTATE LABOR DISPUTES—Continued

State	Percent in favor	Percent against	Percent undecided
Rhode Island.....	80	8	12
South Carolina.....	75	17	8
South Dakota.....	64	26	10
Tennessee.....	80	13	7
Texas.....	70	23	7
Utah.....	65	29	6
Vermont.....	60	24	16
Virginia.....	74	18	8
Washington.....	64	24	12
Washington, D.C.....	89	11
West Virginia.....	80	14	6
Wisconsin.....	66	23	11
Wyoming.....	61	30	9

SUPERSONIC—SUPERLUDICROUS

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, the announcement by President Nixon that we must proceed to invest and develop the SST to advance our world air superiority—astounds me and, needless to say—disturbs me. Whether or not the SST can be “deboomed”—it remains a “boondoggle” for which the welfare of the American people must pay.

Opposition to this proposed massive appropriation is well stated in the following editorial from the St. Louis Post Dispatch of September 27, 1969. I commend to the attention of my colleagues this concise but complete comment on the SST—with credits to the editorial staff of the St. Louis Post Dispatch under the leadership of Robert Lasch:

FROM HARLEM TO WATTS IN 2 HOURS

Because the supersonic transport is good business for the aircraft manufacturing industry, its development will proceed. That, in essence, was the rationale offered by President Nixon in his disappointing but hardly surprising announcement that he would ask Congress to appropriate \$96,000,000 this fiscal year so that work on two SST prototypes can continue.

The Russians and, in a joint venture, the British and the French are building supersonic passenger planes. If the United States is to retain this leadership in the world air transportation market, the President said, “it is essential to build this plane.”

The economic benefits of building the plane have always been clear. The question is whether they outweigh the hazards to the human environment that are involved; whether spending on the SST millions of dollars urgently needed to attack our social problems represents a proper sense of priorities.

As the supersonic transport carries the jet set from Harlem to Watts in two hours, as against the taxing five-hour flight required today, it will lay down a 50-mile-wide thunderclap exceeding in intensity any sonic boom to which Americans have up to now been subjected by military aircraft. This is an intolerable intrusion on the peace and quiet of millions of Americans, carrying the peril of physiological harm to infants, the elderly, and persons suffering from nervous disorders.

The Administration says flights will not be permitted over populated areas unless the noise problem can be solved. But it is significant that whereas the Federal Aviation Agency in the past has tried to reassure the nation

by claiming that the SST would be used only in transoceanic flights, Mr. Nixon did not even make this placating gesture. He knows, of course, that the same technological and profit imperatives that motivate construction of the SST will require its maximum use. Flights over populated areas must be expected because transport planes must go where people are.

The enormous environmental consequences of the SST so far outweigh an argument that can be mounted in its favor that government sponsorship of this endeavor must be viewed as a sell-out to the aircraft industry. It is up to Congress to insist that until the SST can be deboosted it cannot be built.

THE U.S.-STATE JOB TRAINING PLAN

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the President's Manpower Training Act of 1969 is a carefully wrought and comprehensive attempt to come to grips with a number of bureaucratic problems which have plagued the delivery of manpower services. There is a danger that the significant advances which this bill represents, both for improved planning and implementation of manpower services, might be lost in the unavoidably technical nature of manpower legislation.

Dr. Alice Rivlin, of the Brookings Institution, recently wrote an excellent article in the Washington Post on the administration's new manpower approach which I would like to introduce into the RECORD at this time:

THE U.S.-STATE JOB TRAINING PLAN

(By Alice M. Rivlin)

President Nixon's proposed “Manpower Training Act of 1969” contains what may be—as advertised—the beginning of a new concept of the role of the federal government in dealing with states and cities. The Manpower Training Bill would consolidate federal manpower programs and give states and cities far more authority and flexibility in administering such programs than they have ever had before. But it would also put the federal government in the position to judge their performance, to reward those who do well and to punish those who do badly.

Most people are agreed that manpower training is important and desirable. Even in our prosperous economy, millions of people have terrible jobs or no jobs at all and nothing better is open to them. Unless we have another extreme labor shortage like that during World War II, when industry was happy to train housewives as welders and bums as bookkeepers, they will not have a chance at better jobs without publicly provided training and related services. For this reason, we have set up over the years federal programs to teach high school students job skills, to retrain adults, to teach illiterates to read, to provide job experience for those without employment history and so forth.

Most of these programs operate through grants to states and local agencies. At the state level some grants go through the governor's office, others to a manpower administration, others to the school system; and there is no reason to believe the people involved speak to each other in Trenton or Sacramento any oftener than their counterparts do in Washington. Indeed, at the local

level things are often worse. The result has been some excellent programs and also some considerable chaos. In one place a training program fails because the participants cannot read; in another a literacy program fails because no job training is available to graduates.

One remedy often proposed—“coordination” at the federal level—is actually impossible to achieve. A federal program administrator who tries to coordinate with all interested parties rarely turns out to be worth his green paycheck. For the fact is that he only gets things done if he barrels ahead on his own and never looks to see who's following. The Nixon administration appears to recognize this fact. The solution it has proposed in the Manpower Training Bill is to consolidate federal money and to decentralize its administration. Decentralization is appealing in this context. After all, local people know what their particular needs are and can presumably design programs to meet them. But decentralization also presents two enormous problems.

The first is the problem of which jurisdiction is to get the money. If it goes to the states, will the cities get their share? Which state agency should be in control? Or, if the money goes directly to localities, then what is to guarantee that suburbs and central cities will work together? And who is to be in charge? The Manpower Training Bill would apportion money to the states, but it guarantees metropolitan areas their share of the money through a formula based on their labor force and population in poverty. The “who's in charge” problem is to be solved by forcing states to set up a “comprehensive manpower agency” to operate manpower programs in accordance with federally approved plans. In each metropolitan area, a “prime sponsor” would be designated by the governor to handle the program. Whether these new agencies would really exercise authority over manpower program decisions at the state and local levels, or simply act as covers for existing fragmented agencies remains a question.

The second problem of decentralization is that of judging whether the states and localities are doing or will do a good job. State and local bureaucracies are not noted for boldness, imagination or excellent management. Thus, turning over federal funds to state and local authorities without accountability for their use strikes many people as irresponsible. The Manpower Training Bill is strewn with provisions which are supposed to ensure performance by rewarding the successful and penalizing the non-achievers.

For one thing, the shift of authority over manpower training funds to the states and localities is to be accomplished in stages. First the state has to show that it has a planning capability in order to gain control of a quarter of the money. Then it must have an approved plan, and a “comprehensive manpower agency” in being to administer the plan before it gets control of two-thirds of the money. Beyond the two-thirds, the idea is to move toward 100 per cent state and local control only on the basis of objective measures of “exemplary performance.” There is also a provision for giving additional funds to states in areas which meet these standards. If the state does not have a plan, or does not comply with its approved plan, the Secretary of Labor has the power to take away control of the money and to operate the programs himself.

The formulation makes sense—the only question is whether it will work. The power to approve or disapprove state plans has never been worth much to federal officials. The Commissioner of Education has the power to disapprove state plans for vocational education, for instance. But no state plan has ever been disapproved, nor have

states ever been asked to show that they were actually carrying out the provisions of their plans. Thus, if the Secretary of Labor is to exercise real power through his authority to approve or disapprove state manpower plans, he will need three things: criteria, information and courage.

The criteria must be objective and must be made known to the states. The states must know whether they are expected to train a lot of people a little bit, say, or a few people intensively, and whether they get extra points for reaching the hard core unemployed, and whether they should try to train people for jobs in the state or relocate them.

The secretary will require reliable sources of information so that he can check on what is actually being done at state and local levels and on how well it is working. He cannot rely on statistical reports alone. He will need a good staff of his own to take a look and to see how the statistics are put together.

Finally, he will need the courage to reject some state plans—perhaps a great many, until states begin to take the provisions seriously. Fortunately, in the beginning at least, he would be dealing from strength. The federal government does control these funds now, and does not have to turn over control until it is satisfied with state capacity. Once control of the two-thirds had been transferred, however, the threat to take it away would not be very credible. At that point, the secretary's power to enforce performance in the states would depend largely on wise use of the incentive funds for exemplary performance.

It will take some time before we know how these provisions may work, even if they are enacted. For the moment it is only possible to say that the Nixon Administration can hardly be accused of trying to avoid the difficult and complex bureaucratic problems that have undermined good intentions in the area of manpower training.

A PLAUDIT TO DR. HENRY H. KESSLER

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH
OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, we hear so much about discrimination and prejudice in this Chamber. In a recent article written by Dr. Henry H. Kessler, director of the Kessler Institute for Rehabilitation in West Orange, N.J., I learned about the type of discrimination and prejudice the crippled and disabled must contend with. After reading this message of hope and courage, I should like to share with my colleagues some of Dr. Kessler's wisdom.

The article is entitled, "Extraordinary People Seek an Ordinary Destiny," and it appeared in the September 1969 issue of the Social Service Outlook, a publication of the New Jersey Department of Social Services. I commend Dr. Kessler on having articulated some of the problems in the field of rehabilitation, and I can agree with his premise that "there is something worse than death and betrayal, and that's indifference." I doubt that my colleagues can remain indifferent to Dr. Kessler's moving article.

The article follows:

EXTRAORDINARY PEOPLE SEEK AN ORDINARY DESTINY

(By Henry H. Kessler, M.D.)

Over the centuries the crippled and the disabled have always been stigmatized. Early man thought crippled persons were the object of divine displeasure. In ancient Greece parents disposed of children born with a cleft palate, harelip, or clubfoot. They threw them over a precipice because their ideal of life was perfection, beauty. And anybody with a physical impairment or defect who didn't measure up to that criterion was disposed of.

This was the traditional attitude. Yet even today in parts of Africa when a child is born with a deformity certain tribes tie the child to a stake in the ground, tie a goat near the child, and let wild animals dispose of both of them.

It is a sad yet ironic fact that despite centuries of enlightenment the man in the street still has this attitude. A person with a physical impairment, in his point of view, is in league with the devil with sin, with malignity, with evil spirits. In the old days, of course, there was no organized body of knowledge, which we call science, to explain physical impairment. And so it was given a supernatural explanation.

With our enlightenment as a result of education one would expect that we had a little different attitude. Apparently, though, this fundamental prejudice is a deep-seated one. Let me use myself as an example. I have been in the field of rehabilitation of the physically handicapped for 50 years, yet I'm as guilty as the next person. Some years ago I sent my son to England to learn to make artificial limbs at the largest artificial limb factory in the world, Rowhampton. He was 27 years of age at the time and single. He hadn't been there long when he wrote: "I found the girl I want to marry, and she is an amputee."

My friends didn't help matters saying things like: "Now look here, Henry, aren't you carrying this rehabilitation gambit a bit too far? Haven't you done enough for the cripples of the world without bringing them into your own home?"

We were in a spot. My wife and I went to England and saw this girl. We fell in love with her. I said to my son: "Jerry, if you don't marry her, I will!"

They were married. Today we have two beautiful grandchildren—a granddaughter and a grandson.

Over the last 50 years I've seen the original attitude of prejudice change to the modern movement of rehabilitation which has dynamically altered the whole approach to things. As a matter of fact, all of this started way back in the beginning of the 18th Century. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars a wave of humanitarianism swept over Europe, and a new attitude was taken toward the crippled and disabled. Homes were established, particularly by religious organizations. These homes or *heims* in Switzerland and Germany provided custodial care for children. In some places they were given medical care; in some they were given education; and in other places some trade training. But nobody had the idea of putting this all together.

It was not until 1906 when a German orthopedic surgeon by the name of Biesalski made a statement which started changing the outlook of the public. He said a crippled child is a sick child. And as people reflected on that statement they began to realize you do something for a sick child. He opened a little clinic in West Berlin with six beds. It was in a slum district. There he served not only as doctor and orthopedic surgeon but also as splint-maker. He was also teacher, propagandist, and vocational counselor. He was the whole rehabilitation team rolled into one.

Two people were especially interested in what he was doing. Their name was Pintsch—

Oscar and Helene Pintsch. They gave him some support in his work. Mrs. Pintsch had had three miscarriages, and finally gave birth to a perfectly normal boy. To celebrate that great event they opened the Oscar Helene Helm in Berlin. This institution encompassed all the components of a comprehensive rehabilitation program; every medical and surgical facility, providing braces and artificial limbs, and education from infancy through high school. Trade training in 30 different trades was provided so that the child was kept there through adolescence. When he was ready to leave, he was ready to go out and face the world perfectly capable of carrying out his responsibilities.

Dr. Fred H. Albee, the great orthopedic surgeon, saw this work of Professor Biesalski prior to World War I. When he came back to America he was determined to emulate this wonderful idea. He found later that the Canadians were not prepared to take care of their disabled casualties of World War I. He wrote to the Surgeon General and told him that the United States must be ready for such casualties. This was early in April 1917, when we declared war. The Surgeon General thought well of it and decided to open three rehabilitation hospitals. One was to be in Newport, one in Washington, D.C., and one in Indiana.

Dr. Albee was directed to select a site for the rehabilitation hospital in Indiana. On the train he met a fellow New Jerseyan who thought putting up a rehabilitation center in Indiana was senseless. "These boys," he said, "will disembark in New York Harbor. Why not build the hospital close to the harbor? I'll tell you what I'll do! I have some land in Colonia, New Jersey. I'll give it to the government for a dollar a year."

Dr. Albee spoke to the Surgeon General, and the offer was accepted. A 2,000-bed rehabilitation hospital, called U.S. General Hospital #3, was built. Hospitals #1 and #2 never got off the drawing boards. Six thousand men went through U.S. General Hospital #3. It had every medical and surgical facility, plus physical therapy, occupational therapy, speech therapy, and hydrotherapy. Social workers were employed along with psychologists and vocational counselors. Thirty trades were taught. It was a comprehensive program. This was in 1919.

The Governor of New Jersey at that time was very proud that the only rehabilitation hospital for war disabled was in his state. He came to Dr. Albee and said: "You ought to do this for our disabled workers!" Dr. Albee was introduced to the state commissioner of labor who at the time was Colonel Lewis T. Bryant. The Colonel had been in the Spanish-American War. He was a lawyer and an engineer. He was in the real estate business, having developed Atlantic City. He was a Sunday school superintendent.

Colonel Bryant was horribly crippled by severe arthritis, so that, although he was 6-foot-four in height, his neck was twisted over at a right angle. He had big black bushy eyebrows, and he was monstrous to look at. Yet, when you spoke to him that whole image disappeared. You knew you were in the presence of a great spirit. I'll never forget the time he said to me, "Henry, don't be an ordinary doctor! Go up to Columbia University! Let them show you the ugly past, and the dreams of the future!"

Imagine the impact of that man on the role of rehabilitation at that time. The first state-sponsored rehabilitation clinic in the country began with a \$5,000 budget in a loft of the third floor of a factory building in Newark, New Jersey. It had four beds, an operating room, and a little physical therapy department. For one entire year I worked at the clinic part-time without pay. My job was the evaluation of disability for the Workmen's Compensation Bureau.

Albee's and Bryant's idea was to select those individuals with rather severe impair-

ments to see what could be done to improve their physical condition and ultimately their vocational and social position. Notice I use the word impairment and not disability. We started out that way, but we were 50 years ahead of our time and the public, meaning the employers and their insurance carriers, weren't ready to accept this, so we had to turn to the civilian population. Colonel Bryant insisted I go out and tell the story of rehabilitation. I went out and told that story. One day I got a call from the president of the county medical society.

"Henry," he said, "do you want to stay in our medical society?"

"What did I do?"

His answer: "Stop this social nonsense!"

So you see we had prejudice all the way back. But worse than prejudice in the field of rehabilitation has been the apathy of people who don't want to get involved. Let George do it! That sort of thing.

Remember the words of that Polish poet who said: "Fear not your enemies, for they can only kill you. Trust not your friends, for they will only betray you. But there is something worse than death and betrayal, and that's indifference."

During the past 50 years I've had a chance to get around the world quite a bit on behalf of the United Nations, the International Society for the Rehabilitation of the Disabled, and the World Veterans' Federation. Things are the same everywhere. This is what makes me such an optimist; gives me enthusiasm to go on. There's always a handful of people who give a damn, who care, who have a concern. Have a concern!—that's a beautiful expression that the Quakers use.

In Indonesia one doctor, who worked in a concentration camp, took the camp over. It was nothing; shacks and palm leaves. Yet he developed it into one of the finest rehabilitation centers in the world.

I'm an optimist because I see the tremendous potential in people. In the Navy I had to take off both arms and one leg of an aviator who had been knocked out of the sky by a Jap Zero. I also had to sew up 60 wounds. I thought he'd never live through it. As he came out of the anesthetic he looked up at me in a hazy fashion and said: "Gee, Doc, you guys sure show me a lot of attention!"

That was more than an expression of gratitude. It was an echo of man's deep-seated instinct for survival. *Homo sapiens* is a tough animal. He's strong. He's irrepresible. Because I see this potential when I look, that's all I look at.

There are people who run around the world and see nothing but evil.

I saw a midwife in Liberia who took in a little child whose mother had died. She made her part of her family of seven children—her private little orphan asylum.

At the Firestone Plantation Hospital, I knew an operating room supervisor. She's been there 28 years, and is one of the finest nurses in the world. She had 11 children, yet she took in a twelfth, who was an orphan.

You can see evil wherever you go. But if you look for good, you'll see good, too.

I've gone from continent to continent, and in the course of my journeys I've discovered a lost continent. This is a place where men and women live lives of quiet desperation. This continent has no borders and no government. It has a soul, but no voice. It has been distilled by the courage and the tragedy of its millions of inhabitants. This is the world of the physically handicapped.

Who are these people? Well, there's a woman who came to me with her armless and legless child.

"Doctor," she said to me, "I have three questions to put to you. Was this my fault? What sin did I commit to make me the victim of this horrible catastrophe?"

"Mrs. Thomas," I said, "this is not your fault. This is a biological accident—just as

much an accident as walking across the street and being struck by a car."

"What can you do for my child?"

I threw up my hands and said: "I don't know! I've been in this work a great many years. There's nothing in the book that tells me what to do, but I'm learning from other parents here. Perhaps what we learn from our other patients can be applied to your child."

Then she said: "I have a third question to put to you. Should I have any more children?"

Well, I was stumped. Then another woman answered: "Doctor, I can answer that question better than you can."

"What do you mean?"

"Well," she said, "I was faced with that problem 10 years ago, when my Dorothy was born without a hand. I've had three children since. They've been perfectly all right. And I'll say to that mother: 'Go ahead and have children'."

She had a second child, a perfectly normal child.

I can't treat a mother like that by giving her a shot of penicillin, or a poultice on her heart. She needs understanding. Every handicapped person needs understanding.

When a man loses his leg he loses more than a leg; he loses his heart. And you've got to give him back not only an artificial leg; you've got to give him back his heart, his idea of himself as a useful, productive citizen. He doesn't want to stay in the backwaters of society; he wants to be out there in the mainstream of life.

This is what rehabilitation is. It's a philosophy as well as a group of techniques and services to restore the individual to his place in society.

This is the heritage of all of us. I think it was Balzac who said: "Most of us are just ordinary people seeking extraordinary destinies. The physically handicapped are extraordinary in that they seek an ordinary destiny."

It is a challenge to you and to me to see that they get it.

WTMJ-TV'S "WORLD VIEW"—IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, WTMJ-TV in Milwaukee last Saturday initiated a new weekly series of programs entitled "World View." A weekly review of current affairs styled to appeal to the young people, the program will also be made available to the Milwaukee public schools and the Milwaukee Catholic school system for telecasting in connection with in-school social studies.

The program was developed with the advice and consultation of curriculum experts from both school systems and represents a unique example of cooperation between educational institutions and a commercial broadcasting station.

This new concept in programing is broadcasting in the public interest. A list of the underlying principles in the production of "World View," provided by WTMJ-TV station manager, Sprague Vonier, follows:

(1) Material in the nature of "current history"—which puts events here and around the world in perspective and updates the

young viewer as to the state of the world around him.

(2) Material which is "just plain fun" for young people. This will be used as leavening for the heavier subject matter which surrounds it.

(3) Material which increases the young person's awareness of himself and his environment, which adds to his understanding of that environment.

(4) Material which is "mind expanding"—challenges his thinking abilities and stretches his imagination.

(5) Material about the constructive activities of young people themselves.

STANDARDS

(1) Special attention to the tempo and brightness of the program style—with a view to providing young people with a stimulating and rewarding experience.

(2) The highest order of accuracy, the soundness perspective, and most authentic treatment are essential.

(3) Standards of grammar, idiomatic usage, pronunciation, and style should be worthy of imitation and secure from justifiable criticism.

(4) "Slanted" treatment or the injection of personal prejudices (overt or covert) must be carefully avoided.

(5) The total character of the program must be one of a *balanced, even-handed* view of the contemporary scene.

AREAS OF PROGRAM CONTENT

World Affairs; National Affairs; State Affairs; Local Affairs; Just Plain Fun (such as the college mudhole fight); Books; Some Cultural Affairs (the opening of a new play, artistically important movie, an art show, an important musical group, etc.); Animals and/or Nature; Science.

The "Practical World" (i.e., the introduction of an important new automobile line, such as the Maverick; shipment of the largest steel mill furnace from a Milwaukee plant; plans for a wheel-less train or a vertical take-off plane, etc.)

The Activities of Young People (Scout Circus; opening of a drag strip or running a soap box derby; participating in the science fair; a 4-H project or a school safety conference).

The World Around Us (examination of an unusual aspect of the world, such as acquisition of a new exhibit at the museum or simply investigation of some common but generally obscure aspect of life: For instance, what's down a manhole?); Sports.

Most of the program will rely on the resources of WTMJ-TV's NEWS-4 operation, the most extensive broadcast news organization in Wisconsin.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART CALENDAR OF EVENTS—OCTOBER 1969

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is again a pleasure to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Calendar of Events for the month of October 1969 of the National Gallery of Art.

Once again, the National Gallery of Art has scheduled outstanding events for the coming month and I am glad to recommend them to my colleagues in the U.S. Congress, as well as the American people.

The calendar follows:

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART—CALENDAR OF EVENTS, OCTOBER 1969

German expressionist watercolors: The current exhibition in the Central Gallery of

watercolors from the remarkable Haubrich Collection of the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne and from important American collections will close October 19th. Illustrated catalogue with introduction by Horst Keller, 8 1/2" x 7 1/2", 92 pages, 6 color plates, 66 black-and-white illustrations. \$2.50 postpaid.

Exhibition poster: The official poster for the exhibition of German Expressionist Watercolors may be purchased in the Publications Rooms or by mail. Colorful rendering of *Riders on the Beach* by Kandinsky, poster paper, 20" x 35", \$3.50 postpaid.

John Constable: October is the final month for an exhibition of 66 paintings by Britain's foremost landscape artist from the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon. Studies of sky and clouds, portraits, and a group of landscapes including *Hadleigh Castle*. Fully illustrated catalogue with introduction by John Walker and notes by Ross Watson, 10" x 7 1/2", 64 pages, 66 black-and-white illustrations, \$2.50 postpaid.

Christmas catalogue: The 1969 catalogue of National Gallery Christmas cards may be requested from the Publications Office by mail or by telephoning (202) 737-4215, ext. 285.

Recent publication: *National Gallery of Art. Report and Studies in the History of Art 1968*. Ten articles include a discussion by Charles Seymour, Jr., of *Mercury* in the Rotunda of the National Gallery, a study by Hermann Kühn of pigments and grounds used by Vermeer, and reports on gallery acquisitions, exhibitions, publications, etc. during 1968. Paper bound, 235 pages, 160 black-and-white illustrations, \$2.75 postpaid.

Free film showings: Saturdays at 2:00 p.m. the NBC-Television film *American Profile: The National Gallery of Art* is shown in the auditorium. 52 minutes.

Gallery Hours: Weekdays 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Sundays 12 noon to 10 p.m. Admission is free to the building and to all scheduled programs.

Cafeteria hours: Weekdays, 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., luncheon service 11 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. Sundays, dinner service 2 p.m. to 7 p.m.

IN SEARCH OF REMBRANDT

The distinguished actor James Mason (shown in gallery 48) is narrator for a National Education Television study of Rembrandt which was made with a grant to the National Gallery by Mrs. Cordelia S. May. Entitled *In Search of Rembrandt*, the program will be broadcast this month—within days of the 300th anniversary of the artist's death—on educational TV channels throughout the United States. Times and dates will be announced by the individual stations. After the premiere showings film copies of *In Search of Rembrandt* will be made available to schools, libraries, and other educational institutions through the Extension Service.

Mr. R. F. Siemanowski, who wrote and produced the hour-long program, describes it as a "pursuit of the elusive truth about Rembrandt's personality, a portrait of the artist as seen through his own work and through contemporary Holland—scenes which are echoes of the paintings and drawings."

With Professor Seymour Slive of Harvard University serving as advisor for the project, NET cameras recorded more than 600 of Rembrandt's paintings and drawings from some 100 museums, including *The "Night Watch"* (Amsterdam), *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp* (The Hague), *Man with a Gilt Helmet* (Berlin), *The Descent from the Cross* (Washington, D.C.), *Aristotle Contemplating the Bust of Homer* (New York), and 40 of the self-portraits that Rembrandt painted throughout his productive life.

IN MEMORIAM

A memorial exhibition of paintings, sculpture, and drawings which have entered the collection of the National Gallery through the generosity of the late Ailsa Mellon Bruce

continues through October 5 in rooms off the East Garden Court.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, THROUGH SUNDAY, OCTOBER 5

*Painting of the week: Toulouse-Lautrec, *Quadrille at the Moulin Rouge* (Chester Dale Collection), gallery 85, Tuesday through Saturday 12 and 2; Sunday 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: *The Andrew Mellon Collection*, Rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday 1; Sunday 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday 11 and 3; Sunday 5.

Sunday lecture: *German Expressionism: Poets, Critics, and Painters*. Guest Speaker: Victor Lange, Chairman, Department of Germanic Languages; Princeton University, Princeton. Lecture hall, 4.

Sunday concert: National Gallery Orchestra, Richard Bales, Conductor, east garden court 8.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 6, THROUGH SUNDAY, OCTOBER 12

*Painting of the week: Louis Le Nain. *Landscape with Peasants* (Samuel H. Kress Collection), gallery 53, Tuesday through Saturday 12 and 2; Sunday 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: *The Samuel H. Kress Collection*, Rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday 1; Sunday 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*, Rotunda, Monday through Saturday 11 and 3; Sunday 5.

Sunday lecture: *Sculpture by German Expressionists*. Guest Speaker: Alfred Werner, Author and Critic, New York. Lecture hall 4.

Sunday concert: National Gallery Orchestra, Richard Bales, Conductor, east garden court 8.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 13, THROUGH SUNDAY, OCTOBER 19

*Painting of the week: Memling, *Saint Veronica* (Samuel H. Kress Collection), gallery 35, Tuesday through Saturday 12 and 2; Sunday 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: *The Widener Collection*, Rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday 1; Sunday 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday 11 and 3; Sunday 5.

Sunday lecture: *Edward Lear as a Landscape Draughtsman*. Guest speaker: Philip Hofer, Curator Emeritus, Graphic Arts, Harvard College Library, Cambridge. Lecture hall 4.

Sunday concert: Bowling Green String Quartet (Concert in Honor of United Nations Day), east garden court 8.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 20, THROUGH SUNDAY, OCTOBER 26

*Painting of the week: William M. Harnett. *My Gems* (Gift of the Avalon Foundation), gallery 68, Tuesday through Saturday 12 and 2; Sunday 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: *The Chester Dale Collection*. Rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday 1; Sunday 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday 11 and 3; Sunday 5.

Sunday lecture: *Artists and Patrons under the Early Stuarts*. Guest speaker: Susan Booth, Assistant Keeper, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England. Lecture hall 4.

*11" x 14" reproductions with texts for sale this week—15c each. (If mailed, 25c each.)

For reproductions and slides of the collection, books, and other related publications, self-service rooms are open daily near the Constitution Avenue Entrance.

All concerts, with intermission talks by members of the National Gallery Staff, are broadcast by Station WGMS-AM (570) and FM (103.5).

Sunday concert: Oliver Colbenson, Violinist; Cary McMurrin, Pianist; east garden court 8.

Inquiries concerning the Gallery's educational services should be addressed to the Educational Office or telephoned to 737-4215, ext. 272.

DO WE WANT TO LOUSE UP ANOTHER RIVER?

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend to the attention of my colleagues a policy question too infrequently raised. Specifically, what right has the Army Corps of Engineers to decide upon Minnesota's, or any other State's, industrial development?

William Sumner, editor of the *St. Paul Dispatch*, hits that question foursquare.

If the corps had an equal concern for evaluating future ecological disturbances, it would indeed be commendable. I think Congress will eventually have to face up to the "free-wheeling" operation of the corps.

I commend to you the following article:

DO WE WANT TO LOUSE UP ANOTHER RIVER?

(By William Sumner)

I suppose that one day we will have to decide what a river is supposed to be. For that matter, we may one day have to define the Army Corps of Engineers. What is it? A band of busy beavers with compulsions—instinctive or learned—to build dams? And straighten rivers? But the river. Is a river a river? Or is it a convenience to be exploited continually? Is a river, for example, merely a highway for barges?

We may react one way or another to such a set of questions, but some of the specifics were to be outlined Thursday morning at Chaska. The Engineers were to explain their latest for the Minnesota River. They want to extend the 9-foot channel upstream from Savage to Chaska, widening the river, straightening it to eliminate five difficult bends inconvenient to barge traffic.

This, said Richard Leonard, chief of the engineering division in St. Paul, would produce an increase of 1.5 million tons annually, to a total of 4 million. The 15-mile improvement would cost \$8 million, \$1.2 million of this to be raised locally and the rest presumably to be appropriated by Congress. It is regarded as a lure for new industry.

Well, there are a few things to raise the hackles here even if you don't regard it as another proposed destructive assault on nature. The state is studying the prospects for a trail system between Ft. Snelling and Le Sueur for hiking and riding. The Metropolitan Park Foundation is acquiring even now land for an 800-acre park west of Savage. I suppose that the loss of additional flood plains can be absorbed by the beaver division of the Corps. But if you can't pick a gripe out of any of it, you still might ask what business it is of the Army Corps of Engineers to plan the industrial development of Minnesota. Things ought to work the other way: the state ought to plan a few things and go to the pork barrel rather than having the trough dropped in its lap before it is even hungry.

But that is not the way it works. The Corps, which has more pluses than minuses I am sure, is in the business of self-perpetuation. It needs projects to stay alive and well. It

has had the utmost cooperation from Congress over the years, for it has been the nature of congressmen to want the great public works of the Corps located in their district. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 got out of the House Rules Committee—a milestone in itself—because the chairman was threatened where it hurt, in his split of the pork barrel, if he refused to pass the bill along to the House floor.

Lately, though there has been a change. Both Sens. Walter Mondale of Minnesota and Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin along with Rep. Joseph Karth of St. Paul, opposed successfully some Corps' ambitions on the St. Croix. Right. Another dam. A marvelous natural valley in Tennessee has been rescued from destruction. It has become apparent that people who want to preserve, conserve and even restore are not necessarily regarded as nuts these days.

But that is our conservation lecture. What is really nutty is the idea of a federal agency stepping into the role of state planning. Sure, it has been done before. But that is no reason to keep the habit. This state, other states, are now stirring their official backsides and are viewing their diminishing resources and natural gifts with some alarm and some idea of planning. Even at this late date it isn't too late for Minnesota. The question of the day, then, is, whether we want to louse up another river to create another industrial bonanza. A bonanza only of sorts.

RED TRADE CONTINUES

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the American people who believe that we are containing communism in Korea, Vietnam, the Middle East, and India cannot understand why our Government and private individuals openly trade with the Communist enemy.

The financial pages of the local paper carried a picture of a Russian scientist, Boris Medovar, with a story of his ice-breaking business dealing with a Bethesda, Md., company.

While Russian steel in arms supplied to the Hanoi government kills American servicemen, our industrialists and our Government collaborate with representatives of the murderers of 40,000 American men.

An earlier paper carried the AP story of President Nixon's adviser on Science and Technology in Bucharest, Rumania, discussing cooperation in science and technology in that Communist country.

In short, it appears that we have no Communist containment policy as long as there is a dollar's worth of profit to be derived. The unfortunate aspect is that any profit will come from the American taxpayers in the way of foreign aid and investments to these Red countries.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington Sunday Star, Sept. 28, 1969]

UNITED STATES-U.S.S.R. DEAL ON PATENT REGARDED AS VITAL FIRST STEP—SOVIET SCIENTIST VISITS BETHESDA TO CLOSE BARGAIN

(By Lyle E. Harris)

A Russian steel alloy process patent sold to a Bethesda company might be the ice-breaking step for needed Soviet-American patent agreements, a Soviet scientist believes.

Dr. Boris Medovar, professor of science at the Paton Welding Institute in Kiev, said the recent trip of American steel experts to Kiev and other Ukrainian cities to view "all they wanted to see" of electroslag remelting (ESR) steel processes was a first step toward future Russian-American business agreements.

Dr. Medovar was in Washington to complete details on an agreement between Paton Institute and Patent Management, Inc., made in July. The agreement gives PMI exclusive U.S. patent and know-how rights for an advanced U.S.S.R. technique on super-strength alloys and other Russian systems and machines.

SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS

The Soviet scientist, speaking English with occasional help from a Russian translator from Amtorg Trading Corp., the Russian office in New York that handles business matters here, said the uses for high-alloy steels produced by ESR in Russia range from surgical tools to gigantic rotors in industrial machinery. He said these uses would have the same applications in any other country.

PMI, headed by Henry Shur and Robert LeBlanc, will build the first ESR furnace in the Pittsburgh area, by early next year, a move that has attracted considerable interest in the American steel industry.

The high-alloy steels, now made in the United States under a different process that limits the ingots to certain sizes, shapes and strengths, are also used in aircraft, space vehicles and undersea vessels.

ALL THE DETAILS

While Paton Institute has patent agreements with several other countries the PMI contract is the first patent and know-how arrangement with a U.S. company. (A know-how clause means that Paton will give PMI the particularly working details and aid in setting up machinery for use of a patent, rather than merely provide a stack of blueprints.)

Because of trade restriction between the United States and Russia there are very few agreements of this type, LeBlanc said. He added, however, that some American companies market products in the Soviet Union.

PMI previously handled the exchange arrangement for a vision substitution device for the blind that the Russians sought. At the same time, the Soviets have offered PMI and other companies medical devices for use in this country.

Unlike Shur and LeBlanc who will get a large part of the profits from sale of ESR furnaces in this country, Dr. Medovar explained that the patent sale to PMI would not result in additional money in his own pocket.

"I am not a businessman," he said. "When I get my rubles at the pay window I won't get any dividends from this exchange."

[From the Washington Evening Star, Sept. 27, 1969]

DR. DUBRIDGE MEETS ROMANIAN PRESIDENT BUCHAREST, ROMANIA.—Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, adviser on science and technology to President Nixon, was received this week by Romania's President-Communist party leader, Nicolae Ceausescu, who was host to Nixon in August.

The Romanian news agency Agerpress said DuBridge's mission discussed ways to cooperate in science and technology.

[From the Florida Times-Union, Sept. 27, 1969]

TRUCKS FOR REDS

RIJEKA, YUGOSLAVIA.—The first of several shipments of trucks built by Romania for Communist China was loaded aboard the English freighter East Sea Friday at this Adriatic port, the news agency Tanjug said.

BIG TRUCK BILL

HON. FRED SCHWENGL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGL. Mr. Speaker, my editorials for today are from the Barstow, Calif., Desert Dispatch, and the Los Angeles Times in the State of California:

[From the Barstow (Calif.), Desert Dispatch, July 24, 1969]

A BREEZY ARGUMENT FOR LARGER TRUCKS

The trucking industry, engaged in a determined campaign for the last year or so to persuade the government to give even larger trucks the run of the nation's roads, has lately come up with a new argument to bolster its case.

Industry spokesmen asserted in congressional hearings that the size and weight hikes desired would actually contribute to highway safety. Their reasoning is that by abandoning the present weight limit—73,280 pounds—for trucks on the interstate system and adopting instead an axle-spacing formula, weight distribution would be improved. Trucks might be heavier—up to 92,500 pounds—and wider, but also better-balanced, and therefore less of a hazard to truckers, passenger car driver, bridges and the roadways themselves.

There is no question that trucking is a vital element in the transport system of a consumption-happy society or that there are valid arguments for bringing existing regulations into line with changing needs of the industry and public, improved technology and highway facilities.

But this is one that is likely to be difficult to sell to drivers who have had white-knuckled experience maneuvering around and among present width and weight trucks, or struggled to keep a car on the road in the gale-force winds frequently created in passing or being passed by trucks.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, July 21, 1969]

INCREASING TRUCK SIZE UNWISE MOVE

Issue: Could local streets and roads stand the impact of heavier truck loads which would be possible under pending legislation?

Once again the trucking industry is pressing for passage of legislation to permit operation of wider, heavier and longer trucks.

The truckers maintain that use of the larger equipment would be more efficient and permit it to keep down shipping costs. Perhaps so. But we suggest that there are other costs which are of more concern to the average motorist and the taxpaying public.

We have in mind, particularly, the heavy outlay which would be required to repair inevitable roadway destruction. There is also, however, the question of the cost to the nervous systems of drivers of passenger cars if the huge truck-trailer rigs become even larger than they are now.

The industry stresses that pending legislation would apply only to the Interstate Highway System, which presumably could stand the heavier load factors involved. Although the bill would permit but not require states to increase truck sizes on their portion of the federal system, we have a strong feeling that state legislature would be hard-pressed to resist the pressures of the trucking lobby.

If the heavier equipment operated only on interstate system there might be no cause for alarm. Yet it is obvious that the gigantic rigs would have to leave the federal system to make deliveries. That would mean they would be traversing secondary highways and local thoroughfares which simply are not designed to stand the load.

During congressional hearings last year testimony indicated that increasing the width of trucks from eight to eight and a half feet might increase the gross weight of the trucks by 16 tons. And it was suggested that the way might be opened for an increase of 33 tons.

The expense of upgrading roads to cope with the heavier loads has been estimated at from \$1.6 billion to \$2.8 billion.

Costs such as those worry us far more than the costs of trucking freight.

Under the circumstances, The Times urges congressional rejection of the proposed legislation. Such action undoubtedly would sadden the truckers, but it would be a boon to the motorists and taxpayers.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF MOHANDAS GANDHI

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the centennial celebrations of the birth of Mohandas K. Gandhi—1869–1948—now being observed throughout the world, serve to recall the extraordinary life and teachings of one of the great men of modern history. As the political leader of the movement for Indian independence, he lived to see the birth of the two great nations of India and Pakistan which replaced the British raj in the vast subcontinent of India. As spiritual father of the modern Indian national and cultural revival, his ideas and ideals have exerted profound influence not only in India but in every area of the world. It is altogether fitting that centennial memorial rites were conducted here in our Nation's Capital at the Washington Cathedral on Sunday, September 28, a gathering marked by the presence of men and women from many lands and of many faiths.

Gandhi's biographer, Louis Fischer, once wrote that "the only nonofficial figure comparable to Gandhi in his effect on man's mind is Karl Marx." The path of modern history suggests that the way of Gandhi may offer a viable alternative to Marxism with its emphasis on determinism and its acceptance of violence. Though identifying himself as a "socialist," Gandhi's understanding of man was deeply rooted in the great religious and cultural tradition of India, Hindu, and Moslem, and in the precepts of the New Testament. Above all he turned to the Bhagavad Gita, a jewel of Hindu spirituality, for his detachment from the things of the world, from envy and uncharitableness, from hatred and resentment.

Gandhi presents the curious paradox, in his words, of a political leader striving for saintliness, a paradox which could only thrive in a land such as India where the life of the spirit has exerted so enormous an influence in every area of thought and action. Moreover, there is a sense in which his life, viewed from without in purely political terms, was a failure: The coming of freedom was attended by frightful massacres which grieved him deeply and by partition, which he bitterly opposed. He lived to

see his principles utilized by those whose chief concern was to seize power. There is sadness in the ironic fact of continuing communal hatred and conflict in India today.

Yet, with the passing of years since his tragic assassination in 1948, the character of Gandhi has steadily grown, and it remains a shining light in a dark time of violence and hate. His remarkably complex personality exerts an ever-deepening influence by his example of fearlessness, truthfulness, and compassion. The high drama of his career—his dedication to the poor and dispossessed, the "harijans"—his own term for India's untouchables—or children of God everywhere; his unwavering commitment to nonviolence even in the fiercest conflicts; the extraordinary way in which his devotional life combined the most generous tolerance and catholicity with a loving respect for the Hindu tradition of his fathers—all these assure that he will be remembered as long as men respond to truth and goodness.

CITIZEN OPPOSITION TO PROJECT SANGUINE ANNOUNCED

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, Project Sanguine, the purpose of which is to provide the Navy with a one-way communications system of coaxial cables in northern Wisconsin to transmit messages particularly to the *Polaris* missile submarines, has aroused, justifiably, considerable concern among Wisconsin citizens.

Many residents are apprehensive that Sanguine, an underground system of 6,000 miles of electric cables which may cost around \$2 billion, will endanger animal and plant life, damage the ecology of Northern Wisconsin, and, doubtlessly, will imperil human life by making northern Wisconsin a nuclear target in the event of war. This apprehension led to a meeting of concerned Wisconsin citizens at Stevens Point on September 21, at which time a State Committee To Stop Sanguine was organized.

Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to reach a judgment on the details of Project Sanguine because of the secrecy involved. However, the Stop Sanguine Committee, at this initial meeting, raised pertinent issues regarding Sanguine that are contained in the following release. These objections deserve our attention:

STATE COMMITTEE TO STOP SANGUINE

A State Committee to Stop Sanguine was formed at special meeting called in Stevens Point on September 21. The purpose of the meeting was to develop an action program to "prevent further damage to Northern Wisconsin's wildlife, fish, and outstanding recreational resources by the Navy's communications project", according to Kent Shifferd of Ashland, who was elected chairman.

The more than 40 people present represented landowners, conservation organizations, university faculty members, labor and farm, and the legal and medical professions, and others concerned with Northern Wis-

consin environment. Presentation of available facts by several speakers on the secret Navy project brought out the following:

(1) 26 Northern Wisconsin counties will be criss-crossed by an enormous antennae (6,000 miles) carrying high electrical voltages.

(2) The danger to human beings is exceeded only by the probabilities of constant risk of severe and lethal shocks to fish and wildlife despite the Navy's claim of "mitigation".

(3) The Navy has admitted that "it is impossible to prove that a Sanguine system would not be a prime target" for atomic bombing.

(4) The Sanguine Project will have a major destructive impact on the recreational industry because large areas will be rendered dangerous to visitors and fish and wildlife driven from accustomed woods, lake and stream areas.

(5) Such great quantities of electricity will be required that atomic power plants on Lake Superior with their heavy radiation and thermal pollutants will be needed by the project.

(6) Preliminary tests in North Carolina caused so much trouble to local telephone, radio and TV reception plus electric shocks that local people rose up in opposition.

In his statement to the meeting, Senator Gaylord Nelson indicated he will not support the project until three major reservations are satisfied: Need for serious debate by Congress to establish necessity of project; assurance that all possible hazards and inconveniences to people in area are evaluated; and more effective and independent research on ecological implications than that now scheduled by the Navy.

The Stop Sanguine Committee took action on two resolutions: The first requested Governor Knowles to order his Department of National Resources to "proceed forthwith" to prepare a staff study of the environmental effects of Sanguine, to make results publicly available, and to direct the Attorney General to "take all necessary legal action to protect the interests of the State of Wisconsin."

A second resolution, directed to President Nixon, Secretary of Defense Laird, and Robert Mayo, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, urged suspension of the project in line with the President's moratorium on new construction as an anti-inflation measure "until such time as independent, unbiased research proves the project both necessary to defense and harmless to men and animals."

In its final action, the group authorized the appointment of Roy Tulane, a former Wisconsin Assistant Attorney General, now residing in Washington, to represent its legal and other interests in the Nation's capital. An active program of enlisting participation by farmer organizations, resort and cottage owners, timber concerns and conservation groups will be shortly launched.

The initial Steering Committee is made up of the following persons:

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF STOP SANGUINE

Kent Shifferd, Rt. 1, Ashland (Chairman); John F. Wilson, Green Bay; Frederik Baumgartner, Stevens Point; Lowell Klessig, Oregon; Mrs. Louis Erickson, Racine; Dr. George Sparks, Marshfield; Jack Bohnon, Winchester; and Charles H. Stoddard, Minong.

U.S. FAILURES IN VIETNAM

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, this past weekend I took one of my frequent trips to Minneapolis. One of the things which

impressed me during this trip was a letter which appeared in the Sunday, September 28, 1969, edition of the Minneapolis Tribune. The letter was originally sent to the Saturday Review.

In his letter, Dr. Gordon S. Livingston—his background is outlined in his letter—describes our alienation from the Vietnamese and our consequent politico-military defeat in the war. The following extract from Dr. Livingston's letter is worthy, I believe, of the attention of my colleagues:

U.S. FAILURES IN VIETNAM

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following letter is reprinted from the Sept. 20 issue of the Saturday Review. The writer, Dr. Gordon S. Livingston, has served as an army doctor in Vietnam. Livingston was sent back to the United States after he wrote and distributed "The Blackhorse Prayer" (reprinted on this page) at ceremonies for Col. George S. Patton, III. Livingston is the son-in-law of Dr. Elizabeth Lowry of Minneapolis and the late Dr. Thomas Lowry, professor of medicine at the University of Minnesota and former medical director of Hennepin County General Hospital.)

Public disaffection with the war in Vietnam is now general, and as a result the American agony there may be near an end. But several of the fundamental reasons for our failure there are not widely acknowledged. Thirty-thousand dead Americans and countless dead Vietnamese require some sort of an accounting.

A few autobiographical notes by way of background. I am a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy. I had decided while still a cadet that I wished to become a physician. At that time, the Army would allow qualified USMA graduates to attend medical school with the understanding that they would make military medicine their career.

First, however, it was necessary to spend two years as an officer with one of the "combat arms." Accordingly, after becoming qualified as a Ranger and a parachutist, I served as an infantry lieutenant with the 82nd Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, N.C. After two years, I applied for a five-year leave of absence and was accepted at Johns Hopkins School of Medicine from which I graduated in 1967. I interned at Walter Reed General Hospital, and in 1968 volunteered for Vietnam.

Before leaving, I managed to get permission to attend a course given by the Foreign Services Institute, a State Department subsidiary, which included six weeks of study on the politics, religions, culture, and history of Vietnam as well as on our own military and civil operations there.

An additional five weeks were devoted to intensive language training from which I emerged considerably short of fluency, but with some limited ability to communicate. This course is one normally presented to prospective CORDS (civil affairs) personnel being assigned to Vietnam. Following this, I spent five weeks at Fort Rucker, Ala., undergoing training as an Army flight surgeon.

PATTON SYMBOLIZES OUR FAILURES

I arrived in Vietnam in November 1968 with the rank of major and was assigned as regimental surgeon (the latter word is without surgical connotation; all Army doctors are called surgeons) to the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment ("Blackhorse"). This is a 5,000-man unit operating generally north of Bien Hoa in the III Corps area.

When I joined it, the regiment was commanded by Col. George S. Patton, III, the son of the World War II general. In the months to follow I was to come to know Patton quite well. As a member of the regimental staff, I ate at his table and attended his nightly briefings.

To a significant degree he symbolized the

actions and attitudes that are a source of our alienation from the Vietnamese and our consequent politico-military defeat in the war.

It is difficult to summarize the experiences that led to my expression of disaffection with our effort. In the end what I objected to was not so much individual atrocities, for these can be found in any war; war itself is the atrocity. What compelled my stand was the evident fact that at an operational level most Americans simply do not care about the Vietnamese.

In spite of our national protestations about self-determination, revolutionary development and the like, the attitude of our people on the ground, military and civilian, is one of nearly universal contempt.

This arrogant feeling is manifested in a variety of ways, from indiscriminate destruction of lives and property to the demeaning handouts that pass for civic action. The Vietnamese, a sensitive and intelligent people, are well aware of our general lack of regard and generally reward our efforts with the indifference or hostility that they deserve.

We in turn attempt to create the illusion of progress by generating meaningless statistics to support predictions of success which have proved invariably incorrect. And the dying goes on.

Specific examples of our disregard for the Vietnamese are legion. At one point the corps commander issued a document entitled "U.S.-Vietnamese Relations" detailing many of these instances. It represented official acknowledgment of the problem, but its exhortation to "avoid creating embarrassing incidents" was an exercise in futility.

THE DEHUMANIZATION OF RELATIONSHIPS

Numerous examples are available from my own experience, including the running down and killing of two Vietnamese women on bicycles with a helicopter (the pilot was exonerated); driving tracked vehicles through rice paddies; throwing C-ration cans at children from moving vehicles; running truck convoys through villages at high speeds on dirt roads (if the people are eating rice at the time it had to be thrown away because of the dust).

In the area of medical civic action, it was the policy to give no more than a two-day supply of medicine to any patient lest the excess fall into Viet Cong hands. Since visits to any given village are generally infrequent, this meant that the illusion of medical care was just that.

Another example of the dehumanization of our relationships with the Vietnamese is evident when a civilian is admitted to one of our military hospitals. He is given a new name. In the place of a perfectly adequate, pronounceable Vietnamese name, he is given an appellation that is easier for Americans to remember.

The nature of some of the designations chosen reveals their impact and intent—"Bubbles," "Ohio," and "Cyclops" for a soldier who had lost an eye.

Finally, one need only listen to a conversation between Americans concerning Vietnamese to appreciate the general lack of regard. The universal designation for the people of Vietnam, friend or enemy, is "gook" (also "slope" and "dink"). On the whole, this has no conscious pejorative connotation as used casually, but it does say something about our underlying attitude toward those for whose sake we are ostensibly fighting.

How we can presume to influence a struggle for the political loyalties of a people for whom we manifest such uniform disdain is to me the great unanswered, indeed unanswerable, question of this war.

The analogy is depressingly clear between our failure to relate successfully to the Vietnamese and to the black people who comprise an "underdeveloped nation" within our own society. In both cases our behavior is racist in the true sense of opposing the over-

whelming forces generated by a people's search for pride and identity. The price of our lack of perception is defeat abroad, and, if not corrected, may be the dissolution of society at home.

And then there is the military. Gen. David Shoup has spoken on this issue more convincingly than I ever could. Vietnam provides a case study of how inimical to the goals of the nation can be individual self-interest of its soldiers.

KILLING RATHER THAN PACIFICATION

Col. Patton may be a case in point. He received numerous decorations while pursuing unrelenting the one major criterion by which a commander's performance is judged: the body count. He was able to make the appropriate public noises about the importance of civic action, but he was never more honest than the night he told his staff that "the present ratio of 90 percent killing to 10 percent pacification is just about right."

In my experience, Patton was neither the best nor the worst of the military there. He is simply the product of the misbegotten and misguided idea that a single-minded dedication to destruction is to be highly rewarded. That he was unable to grasp the essentially political nature of the war is not surprising. What is surprising is that our society should expect its soldiers to function in a political role and believe them when they say they can.

My work with the 11th ACR was mainly in the area of medical civic action. Using the eight general medical officers and 200 enlisted medics assigned to the unit, we attempted to establish regular, frequent, medical visits to a limited number of rural villages.

We also tried to provide evacuation of those people requiring surgery or hospitalization. In addition, attempts were made to attack some of the public health problems (personal hygiene, waste disposal) that were at the root of much of the disease we saw.

Finally, efforts were made to involve Vietnamese health officials in immunization programs, dispensary-building and the like so that something would remain after we had gone. Success in all these areas was very modest. Some necessary surgery was done, many acute illnesses benefited from antibiotic therapy, and a start was made on long-term treatment of the numerous cases of tuberculosis we encountered.

When I left, one dispensary was being built, which the government of Vietnam had promised to staff. Important to me was the idea our efforts represented and to which the Vietnamese responded: namely, that people from different cultures can relate successfully on the basis of mutual regard; that by offering our technical expertise the Vietnamese could help themselves.

There is nothing original about this concept; ostensibly it underlies all U.S. "pacification" efforts. In reality, however, the idea is diluted in its application by the pervasive myth of American superiority, and the result is that civic action in the majority of instances I observed represented little more than patronizing handouts.

I believe that this nation and its institutions are capable of better direction given better information. Mine was a limited view as is that of any one person; I make no claim to the whole truth, but this is what I saw.

CORRECTIVE ACTION NEEDED

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, on July 11 of this year the Washington

Post carried an article by Bernard Nos-siter, Post staff writer, entitled "ABM Foes Flooded With Tips," which described how anti-ABM Senators were provided information from various sources, both inside and outside Government, to support their positions. The Pentagon was one of the sources of information, but whether any classified material was forwarded was not stated.

On September 16 the Chicago Tribune ran an Associated Press story, "Finch Disowns HEW Release On Drugs Aid," which related how Secretary Finch was quoted as strongly backing the inclusion of out-of-hospital drug costs under medicare. Said Finch later:

"The first time I knew about it was when I read about it in the paper this morning."

The article stated that the unauthorized statement appeared to commit Secretary Finch to a step that would increase medicare outlays by between \$600 million and \$1.2 billion a year at a time when the President wants to cut the Federal budget. HEW later explained that the release was made public through inadvertence, which explanation, if true, might be indicative of varying degrees of maladministration. One high-ranking HEW official, according to the AP release, is quoted as saying that:

This place is unbelievable. It appears to run by itself.

A more recent case which cannot possibly be explained away as one of inadvertence was reported in the Evans-Novak column appearing in the Washington Post on September 26. The heading reads, "Circulation of Unofficial OEO Book Adds to Rumsfeld's Reform Problem," and the column opens with this statement:

Without the knowledge and against the wishes of their Nixon-appointed superiors, poverty program bureaucrats have drafted and distributed a manual listing demonstrations, economic boycotts and, ultimately, violence as legitimate weapons of the poor.

The column goes on to say that Director Rumsfeld is handicapped in his efforts to remove troublemakers from OEO policymaking posts by Civil Service regulations and "unbreakable written contracts with nongovernment consultants."

The foregoing examples illustrate how, through inadvertence or design, departmental policies can be frustrated. Faulty administration, as was possibly the case in the HEW incident, is, of course, remedied by corrective action. The OEO problem is much more serious, for if policymakers who disagree with departmental policies cannot be removed, the chances of improving an agency's operation are certainly reduced tremendously. This is a problem that greatly concerns me, and I fully intend to do whatever possible to effectively correct it.

I include the above-mentioned column by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak in the RECORD at this point:

CIRCULATION OF UNOFFICIAL OEO BOOK ADDS TO RUMSFELD'S REFORM PROBLEMS

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

Without the knowledge and against the wishes of their Nixon-appointed superiors, poverty program bureaucrats have drafted

and distributed a manual listing demonstrations, economic boycotts and, ultimately, violence as legitimate weapons of the poor.

The manual, which despite lack of official sanction is now circulating through the network of local community action groups, merely puts in writing what is reality in the field. Regional officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity have been prodding local community action leaders—many of them public-spirited, middle-class professional men—to stir up the poor in revolt against the establishment. The fact that this violates the clear orders of Donald Rumsfeld, OEO's new director, has proved no inhibition.

Thus, the 37-year-old Rumsfeld, who surrendered a safe congressional seat from Illinois to run the government's most battle scarred program, has collided with a permanent political fact of life: The difficulty of a presidential appointee to enforce his wishes on an entrenched bureaucracy. What makes OEO different is that many of its bureaucrats feel their function is less to generate jobs for the poor than to promote social revolution.

This revolutionary bent, more than any other cause, is what has contributed to the poverty program's loss of public support since 1964. In his effort to clear the bomb-throwers out of OEO policymaking posts, Rumsfeld has been stymied by Civil Service regulations and unbreakable written contracts with nongovernment consultants.

The provocative manual is a direct result of Rumsfeld's inability to completely clean house. Completed this summer by a mixed group of OEO employees and contract consultants, a draft copy of "A Trainer's Manual for Community Action Agency Boards" last month was mailed around the country to several local community action groups for comment. Although this draft was widely reproduced and distributed in poverty program channels, Rumsfeld had not even heard about it until we informed him.

What he has now seen runs almost directly contrary to his stated policy of opposition to high-pressure tactics by the poor. Says the manual: "The power strategies that community organization (sic) may apply to make their presence known and felt are: (1) vote power; (2) numbers power; (3) dollar power; and (4) threat power."

In discussing "vote power," the manual suggests community programs review "the positions of elected officials" in guiding the vote of the poor—directly conflicting with OEO's congressional mandate.

The manual's analysis of "dollar power" carries a hint of even stronger pressure: "It (dollar power) can be significant in the very ability to withdraw dollars; therefore, boycotts and strikes can both act as dollar levers for the application of power by a community organization."

Where the manual has lifted most eyebrows, however, is its declaration that "the ultimate threat power is the riot"—a clear threat of blackmail. While asserting that rioting is illegal, the manual adds that community action board members should "recognize the threat power of rioting as a very real power and possibility."

The manual dovetails with repeated urgings by OEO regional officials that community action leaders mobilize the poor in direct action—an activity which has spawned complaints both to Rumsfeld and congressional offices.

One Midwestern congressman sympathetic to the poverty program last week received a complaint from a community action chairman in his district that a regional OEO official in Chicago "has been subtly prodding us into organizing the poor to conduct marches, picketings, boycotts and demonstrations." Simultaneously, a Negro community action leader from Arkansas got word to his congressman that two white OEO officials from Texas had recommended get-

ting poor Negroes into the streets as demonstrators.

Such reports do not help the OEO renewal bill now languishing in the House Labor Committee. They add fuel to demands by Rep. Edith Green of Oregon that state governments be granted greater control over antipoverty efforts, a move that would eviscerate the poverty program in the opinion of both Rumsfeld and its congressional backers.

ANONYMITY ENFOLDS APOLLO BOSSES

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Neal Stanford, staff correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor, in the Tuesday, August 26, 1969, edition of that paper, points to the outstanding but largely anonymous leadership of two men in the Apollo program. Both of these men have demonstrated throughout their careers great dedication to duty and a desire to serve their country well. Lt. Gen. Samuel C. Phillips, former director of the Apollo program and his associate, Col. Rocco Petrone, Apollo launch director at Cape Kennedy, have indeed served their country well as pointed out by Mr. Stanford. I commend this article as an excellent portrayal of the type of men that the success of Apollo has required for its fulfillment:

ANONYMITY ENFOLDS APOLLO BOSSES

(By Neal Stanford)

WASHINGTON.—A few men seek anonymity. Many achieve it. A lot deserve it. A few have it thrust upon them.

Two of those in the space program who have had it thrust upon them are the retiring, and the new, directors of the Apollo program—the program that put men on the moon July 20 and is going to keep on putting them there for some time.

Everyone can name the crew of the Apollo 11 flight: Neil A. Armstrong, Edwin E. Aldrin Jr., and Michael Collins. Everyone knows it is Dr. Wernher von Braun who designed the Saturn V rocket that makes the moon trip possible.

But how many know the man who for five years has been director, or boss, of the Apollo program and set a standard of excellence that is unbeatable: five manned Apollo flights and five successes? Or who knows his successor, the man at Cape Kennedy who has been czar of the Apollo launches, who launched Apollos 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 with such precision that all together they were late in getting off the pads less than one-fiftieth of a second?

THEY KNOW ABOUT ORDERS

Everyone in the Apollo program knows who these men are. All the astronauts know them, for they are entrusting their lives to them. All the newsmen covering the Apollo shots know these two operations managers as "no-nonsense" human computed types, systems engineers or systems managers as they are sometimes called. Interestingly, and possibly not accidentally, they both have military backgrounds. They have learned to take orders and to give them.

The present program director, who leaves his job Sept. 1 to return to the Air Force, is going to boss its space and missiles' systems organization. Back in 1959 as an obscure colonel (he is now a lieutenant gen-

eral) he took over the faltering Minuteman missile program, put the missiles in silos, and made them the country's principal nuclear retaliatory weapon. In 1964 the space agency borrowed him from the Air Force.

TECHNIQUES PAY OFF

His management techniques account for much of the success of both the military Minuteman program and the Apollo space program. Dr. von Braun, who is something of an organizer, administrator and systems man himself, credits him for Apollo's success.

The former program director can be tough when he wants to. He ruffled some industry and space officials some years back by coming out with a very unflattering report on space contractors' workmanship. It was prophetic, for not long after a disastrous pad fire occurred at Cape Kennedy in which three astronauts lost their lives.

Now that he is moving from space back to the Air Force, he presumably will be even more of an anonymity than he is now—that is, with the public. Among his colleagues in space and in the Air Force, he's a name and a man to be reckoned with.

WORKED WITH VON BRAUN

Now a word about his successor, also a military man. He is a West Point graduate who played tackle on the Army team that included Doc Blanchard and Glenn Davis. He earned a masters degree at Massachusetts Institute of Technology in mechanical engineering.

He started his career in rocketry at Dr. von Braun's Huntsville, Ala., shop that in that early year of 1952 was perfecting the Redstone—the rocket that put Alan B. Shepard Jr., into space as America's first astronaut.

The new director of the Apollo program has been at the Cape for nine years. His big chance to climb up the management ladder came when he was told to take the bugs out of the mammoth crawler-transporter, that 6 million-pound platform as big as a football field that has to pick up the Apollo Saturn and mobile launcher and carry them vertically to the launch pad three miles away. It took him a year to do the job, and if he hadn't, there would be no Apollo moon landing program today.

As he moves up from director of launch operations at the Cape to boss of the whole Apollo program, his present place is to be taken by the man who has been his deputy for the last two years, Dr. Walter J. Kapryan, who was project engineer for the Mercury spacecraft.

Although the Air Force's gain will not actually be the space agency's loss, it's going to be hard for the new Apollo program director to equal the record of his predecessor: five successful flights out of five. But he has the same five out of five successes in launching Saturn Apollos.

Oh, yes, about these men's names: It is Lt. Gen. Samuel C. Phillips who is going to the Air Force space and missile systems organization, and Rocco Petrone, whom they call "the Rock" at the Cape, who is replacing him.

LACK OF NARCOTICS TREATMENT CENTERS

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, this final article by Richard Severo in the New York Times discusses what may be the most shocking aspect of the narcotics problem—the overwhelming lack of effective treatment

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centers and facilities. Public and private outrage is constant, yet even the genuinely motivated addict cannot often find the help he needs.

The article follows:

NARCOTICS ADDICTS FIND AID IS SCARCE—ACUTE SHORTAGE OF MEDICAL FACILITIES PLAGUES CITY

(NOTE.—This is the fourth and last in a series written by Richard Severo and prepared with the assistance of Barbara Campbell.)

An acute shortage of medical facilities confronts the addicts in New York City who want to kick his habit and needs help.

There are two kinds of shortages, both of which contribute to the rising rate of narcotics-related crime that is being felt most in sium neighborhoods, which can least afford it.

The first is a shortage of emergency facilities. The city's private and public hospitals may give an addict immediate treatment if he contracts hepatitis from a dirty needle, but they are either unwilling or unable to help if he wants to escape his habit on the spur of the moment—the kind of sudden plea he is most likely to make if he is desperately looking for an alternative to heroin.

Second, and no less important, is the lack of detoxification facilities even if the addict is willing to wait for weeks or even months. The waiting lines are even longer—at least a year, some addicts have been told—to get into one of the few experimental programs dispensing methadone that serve about 2,000 addicts at present. Methadone is a synthetic addictive drug that blocks the need for heroin in many addicts.

While they wait for treatment, some addicts continue to beg, borrow and steal to support their habits.

One addict said he stole \$55 from a waitress after a doctor at Bellevue advised him to "go to the Salvation Army and get a square meal." He has not been arrested for the crime.

Another addict who could not get help at Metropolitan Hospital threw a garbage can through a bar window at 3435 Broadway in Harlem and stole \$300 in liquor and cash. He has not been arrested.

An addict who went to Bellevue and was told to come back the next day and see a doctor who "knows something about drugs," robbed a room in the New Yorker Hotel. He has not been caught, either.

"One of the greatest tragedies of New York," says Supreme Court Justice Samuel A. Spiegel, "is that we are reacting to the addict only after he has broken the law. We are dealing with the addiction problem in the courts and in the prisons, whereas we should be dealing with it in sociological and medical terms."

PHYSICIAN CALLS NEED GREAT

Dr. Milton Luger, president of the Queens County Medical Society, calls the need for emergency facilities "great . . . and epidemic." He adds: "We have no facilities to help these sick people who must resort to crime because there is no help. Action should be taken now on a crash-program basis."

Queens District Attorney Thomas J. Mackell agrees. He has asked Hospitals Commissioner Joseph V. Terenzio to start a detoxification unit at Queens General Hospital, along with back-up services of medical and paramedical personnel.

As for the facilities run by the State Narcotic Addiction Control Commission and the New York City Addiction Services Agency, only a few among the scores of addicts interviewed expressed serious interest in committing themselves to either program. These addicts included those who appeared to be highly motivated, as well as those who were content to live within the drug subculture.

Neither the state nor the city offers its

services on an emergency basis. Both require days and sometimes weeks for admission.

STATE PLAN CRITICIZED

Moreover, the state program in particular has been criticized by judges and physicians as more punitive and custodial than rehabilitative. Its effectiveness is also challenged by addicts who have met other addicts recently released as "cured" but who are again seeking heroin.

Most authorities on addiction agree that simple detoxification—the process of getting the addict off heroin for a few days—is not enough; it should be followed by therapeutic and other medical services. The great need now, they said, is for services available as quickly as addicts need them to stay out of trouble.

Most of the addicts who were interviewed indicated they would occasionally use detoxification facilities, even if they felt they lacked the determination to kick the habit permanently.

The process of detoxification and abstinence from heroin for even a few weeks reduces, temporarily, the amount of the drug the addict requires. A \$50-a-day habit might be cut to \$20. Though the reduction would not last long, in the interim the addict would have less need to steal and to manipulate his relatives and friends to support his habit.

At present the New York State Narcotic Addiction Control Commission's facilities hold 3,500 to 4,000 addicts. About 1,300 more are on aftercare status—less than half the commission's original estimates, according to its initial timetable.

The city's Addiction Services Agency reports that it has 950 to 1,000 inpatients and another 415 outpatients.

If the agency is correct in estimating that New York City has 100,000 heroin users, then the city and state programs together account for less than 7 per cent of the local addict population. Prisons, hospitals and private drug addiction facilities may account for about 10 per cent.

EIGHTY PERCENT OF DRUG ADDICTS FREE

This means, then, that roughly 80 per cent of the city's drug users are free and will presumably try to stay that way. Meanwhile, many of them will go on stealing. The severe shortage of specialized facilities to treat or even confine addicts is aggravated by the fact that New York's hospitals—private voluntary and city-run—generally do not consider themselves as participants in the search for either a permanent or temporary solution to the drug problem.

A spokesman for Columbia-Presbyterian said that when addicts came seeking either beds or methadone they were told to go to a "city clinic." There are no city clinics for addicts.

At St. Vincent's Hospital, assistant administrator, Harold Light said that no facilities existed for either detoxification or methadone maintenance, nor were any planned. He explained that addicts were a security problem because, when hospitalized, they tried to steal drugs.

Both Lenox Hill and New York Hospitals reported they had neither detoxification facilities nor methadone programs and did not plan to start them. The spokesman for Lenox Hill added, however, "Perhaps we should reexamine what our responsibilities are to the community."

SIX IN BELLEVUE PROGRAM

Bellevue, a city hospital with a large psychiatric program, has no medical services for addicts who want to end their addiction. It has a methadone project that has only six patients at present and no new patients are being accepted.

Dr. Alexander Thomas, director of Bellevue's psychiatric division, said the hospital was studying the feasibility of a "substantial" methadone program, however, and

hoped to reach some conclusions by the end of the year.

Other hospitals have equally modest facilities. Metropolitan, for example, offers 18 beds for detoxification, for which there is a waiting period of two and one-half months; Interfaith has 100 beds for detoxification, but reports it has to turn away 35 to 50 addicts every day (some addicts who have been at Interfaith report another problem: drugs, they say are almost as available inside the hospital as out of it).

Mount Sinai has no detoxification facilities but offers methadone for 50 persons and says the waiting list is "discouragingly long."

CARE FOR \$503 A WEEK

Gracie Square, a private hospital, offers a methadone program to 80 patients, but charges \$69 a day for room and board plus \$20 a week for methadone. It serves an upper-middle-class clientele; most of the addicts who are now stealing to support their habits could not afford it.

Bronx State Hospital has begun a methadone program. But in so doing, it phased out 25 beds it maintained for addicts who wanted to detoxify themselves "cold turkey"—without the aid of drugs. A spokesman for Bronx State explained that the detoxification unit was dropped because it was costly and ineffective.

Ray Giella, an ex-heroin addict who is leader of Inward House, a therapeutic community for drug users, is critical of this phasing out. His group had depended on Bronx State to detoxify addicts before they entered Inward House.

The Bernstein Institute of Beth Israel Hospital has the largest number of beds available for detoxification among voluntary (private, nonprofit) hospitals—282. Moreover, it serves nearly 1,500 outpatients with a methadone maintenance program. This will soon be increased to more than 2,000.

ONLY A STOPGAP MEASURE

Dr. Harvey Gollance, who runs the program, reported a two-week to three-week wait for the detoxification applicants. But he views detoxification as only a stopgap measure, especially if it is not accompanied by some sort of therapeutic help.

He pointed out that although Beth Israel makes 9,000 admissions a year for detoxifications, this represents only 3,000 separate patients, because the same addicts kept coming back to cut down on their habits.

Dr. Gollance is a strong advocate of methadone. He said that methadone, administered daily in controlled doses, would allow 80 percent of all addicts now on the streets to begin "self-supporting, normal lives."

Other physicians disagree with him. Indeed, in New York, agencies dealing with drug addiction are a case study in disagreement. What one doctor may advocate as the most hopeful solution in sight may be condemned by another as reckless and unscientific.

Dr. Robert W. Baird, a Fifth Avenue physician who runs a free clinic on East 116th Street for Harlem junkies, attacks the idea of trying to eliminate the use of one addictive drug by getting the addict hooked on another addictive agent.

IDENTIFICATION CALLED KEY

Dr. Baird has no beds available for detoxification. He insists that the 35 patients in his care at any given time visit him faithfully, at least for a year, shave off their sideburns (if they have them), keep their jobs (or get jobs), stay in school and learn to become self-sufficient.

Dr. Baird thinks that the key to reaching addicts is allowing them to identify with "a strong male figure."

Other physicians believe psychiatry, or perhaps such therapy combined with methadone, is the answer. But as the argument goes on about which system holds most

promise there remains at present, no overall, coordinated plan to augment the roles hospitals might play in helping addicts.

The city plans to start a five-year, \$1.6-million methadone maintenance project in Brooklyn in October. The program will not utilize hospitals, but other buildings are being acquired for the purpose.

The goal is to reach 3,000 to 5,000 addicts in the five-year period. The project is described as an effort to learn more about what methadone will and will not do. The addicts are to be carefully selected, and no emergency facilities are contemplated.

As for the plight of the addict in prison, the City Council earlier this month voted to establish a methadone treatment program in city prisons. The program was enacted over the veto of Mayor Lindsay, who felt that the plan would violate Federal regulations for use of the drug.

POSITIONS AS CANDIDATES

A program that strives to reach the addict before he commits a crime—either in or out of hospitals—has not been outlined as yet by any of the three major candidates for Mayor of New York.

Mayor Lindsay, the Liberal-Independent candidate, has not outlined a specific campaign position on the narcotics problem "because he is the incumbent," according to Richard R. Aurelio, Mr. Lindsay's campaign manager. Mr. Aurelio said the Mayor would stand on the record he has made. However, Mr. Lindsay has criticized the narcotics program offered this week by his Democratic opponent, Mario A. Procaccino.

Mr. Procaccino said he wanted to get addicts off the streets, would deny bail to suspected addicts under arrest and would give methadone to any addict who wants it. Martin Steadman, a spokesman for Mr. Procaccino, said Mr. Procaccino "wants to take thousands off the streets and put them in the state's treatment centers."

"He's confident that such a drive will encourage thousands more to leave New York City," Mr. Steadman added.

State Senator John J. Marchi, the Republican-Conservative candidate, thinks that "government programs for detention and treatment of addicts should be pursued further," according to Richard Roth, a spokesman for Mr. Marchi. Mr. Roth added that Mr. Marchi "supports the state program, which has been the matter of some controversy."

ADDICTS DESCRIBE CRIMES

A number of addicts interviewed in the preparation of these articles discussed the crimes they recently committed after being unable to get any kind of help from hospitals at the time they needed a fix. Since drug addicts are not noted for their candor, their stories were checked with both the victims of the crimes and hospital sources.

None of the addicts has been arrested. Three estimate they have stolen almost \$4,000 worth of cash and property just during July and August.

Charlie (the names of addicts are fictitious), a 34-year-old heroin user who has been arrested 22 times (but not recently), contended that he got so desperate after he was refused help at Metropolitan Hospital last June 24 that he threw a garbage can through the window of Jack's Bar & Grill at 3435 Broadway, in order to break in. Charlie has not been questioned by the police.

Frank Fava, owner of Jack's confirmed the loss. He said the police investigated and even found some housekeys on the floor of the bar, apparently dropped there by one of the robbers (two other addicts were with Charlie), but this has failed to produce a lead.

Bruce, 41, who has been taking heroin since he was 16, said that he stole \$55 from a purse that he found in a back room at Hartley Chemists, 1219 Amsterdam Avenue, last winter. He said he committed the theft after a doctor at Bellevue said he could not

give Bruce either a bed for detoxification or drugs to help go through a withdrawal period. (Although some doctors say that withdrawal symptoms have been overstated, Bruce insists it is very painful for him).

GET A SQUARE MEAL

According to Bruce, the doctor suggested he "go to the Salvation Army and get a square meal."

Bernard Cohen, manager of Hartley Chemists, confirmed that someone took the money from the purse of Mrs. Martha Francis, a waitress who works in the luncheonette section of the store. Bruce, when told that he took the money from a waitress who could scarcely afford the loss, snapped:

"What do you want from me? I'm a dope fiend, no more, no less. I don't want to hurt anybody. But if I need a fix, I need it. That's all."

Benjamin, a heroin addict who estimates he has stolen at least \$600 a month for the last 10 years, walked into Bellevue at 8 p.m. last June 27 and told a doctor: "I'm all messed up on junk and I'm gonna do something bad if I don't get help."

Benjamin readily admits he does not think he could kick his habit. He will not seek admission to one of the private therapeutic communities, such as Odyssey House or Synanon, and will not surrender his freedom unless he is caught.

But he is very tired of stealing and was hoping his visit to Bellevue would make another theft unnecessary. He spoke to a doctor who gave him three Librium pills (a tranquilizer) and told him to come back the next day when there would be a doctor on duty who "understands drugs."

Benjamin related what he did next: "I went out into the street. My eyes were watering and I had cramps. I had about a dollar in change on me, I guess. I went into a liquor store and bought a pint of Gypsy Rose (a domestic wine) and washed down a Librium. Nothing happened. I started walking; I was getting panicky."

"I was near the New Yorker Hotel (Eighth Avenue and 34th Street). I got a couple of shopping bags out of a trash basket and put some newspapers in them so it would look like I was carrying something when I went into the hotel."

"I sat down in the lobby and stayed there for a while. I'm not kidding you—I went in there to steal. My stomach was all in a knot. Hell, what a mess—I didn't even have the carfare to go and sponge off another junkie. The roof of my mouth was dry, I remember."

NOBODY PAID ATTENTION

"I got into the elevator. Nobody seemed to pay much attention to me. I pushed the button for 20. Don't ask me why; I just did. I was up there. I couldn't help myself. I was trying doors on the 20th floor like a lunatic. How nobody saw me I can't say."

"Anyhow, I found a door open. I went inside. Nobody there. I guess it was some chick's room because the luggage looked like it belonged to a woman. There were two suitcases on the bed."

"I opened one and dumped it on the bed. I found \$100 in travelers' checks and a small white travel alarm clock. I also found a whistle, a knife and a flashlight on a string. I guess that chick was carrying it for self-protection."

"There were a couple of cameras in the room, too. One of them was a brand-new Kodak Instamatic. I took all the stuff, put it in the shopping bags and walked out of there. Nobody stopped me. I got rid of all the stuff in a Harlem gambling joint. They gave me \$30 for the travelers' checks and \$10 for the cameras."

HEROIN BOUGHT IMMEDIATELY

By 10 P.M., Benjamin was pumping \$40 worth of heroin into his arms. He would need \$40 more within 12 hours.

The theft was verified by the hotel. Benjamin was never questioned by the police. He says he didn't open the second suitcase, although he realized it might have contained even more goods or money.

"I was going to open it," he said. "And you know, I started to cry. Now, maybe you think I'm spinnin' you, but it's the truth. I started to cry. Here I am, damned near 39 years old, stealing in a hotel room. I said to myself, 'What the hell are you doing here?' Damn near 39 years old. What the hell are you doing?'"

RESTLESS CONGRESS TAKES THE INITIATIVE

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, there has been so much nonsense written and spoken about the activities and the role of this 91st Congress in its first session that it is indeed refreshing when an astute journalist such as Richard L. Lyons of the Washington Post tells it like it is.

Mr. Lyons' analysis of the work of this Congress deserves a wider audience so I have requested permission to have the following article, which was published in the Washington Post on September 28, 1969, reprinted in the Extensions of Remarks of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

RESTLESS CONGRESS TAKES THE INITIATIVE (By Richard L. Lyons)

Talk of a "do-nothing" Congress has begun, but in fact a restless, impatient Congress has grabbed the initiative from the President all along the line.

It is true that as the year moves into the last quarter much of the legislative work remains to be done. The appropriation bills are caught in the worst logjam in memory and the government is operating under an unsatisfactory stopgap continuing resolution based on last year's spending levels.

But the delay has been due in good part to the Senate's exhaustive scrutiny of military policy and spending—the first searching challenge of the military since it became a massive institution in World War Two. The delay has been caused also by the unusual slowness with which the administration got its program to Congress.

Who would have thought that the House Ways and Means Committee, carefully shaped over the years by Sam Rayburn to protect the oil depletion allowance, would write the most comprehensive tax reform bill in history and cut the oil men's tax saving by 25 per cent?

If this Congress did nothing more than mark an end to accepting military budgets on faith and produce a more equitable tax structure it would earn a place in history and the slow pace on relatively routine appropriation bills would be soon forgotten.

Consider some other recent events:

While President Nixon vacillated on electoral reform, Republican and Democratic leaders combined to push a constitutional amendment for direct election of the President through the House. If it gets by the Senate and state legislatures, still questionable, this would be the most basic change ever made in the process of electing the President.

The Senate last week converted a routine housing bill extending programs into a \$6 billion measure containing new ideas, including a plan offered by Sen. Edward W.

Brooke (R-Mass.) to help more poor people get into public housing.

After pressuring the administration to come up with a major food stamp program last spring, a bipartisan group of senators expanded it even further on the Senate floor last week. The revolt was led by Sens. George McGovern (D-S.D.) and Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) who made hunger a national issue with their special investigating committee.

The undefeated civil rights team of Reps. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) and William M. McCulloch (R-Ohio) gave short shrift to the administration's voting rights bill and pushed through the House Judiciary Committee a simple extension of the existing law to help southern Negroes register. It is expected to pass the House next month.

The administration had little to offer in the way of tax reform proposals last spring so the House Ways and Means Committee wrote its own bill. It sailed through the House and is now in the Senate. The administration seems to have at least two positions on the oil depletion allowance. It was Reps. Wilbur D. Mills (D-Ark.) and Hale Boggs (D-La.), the top two Democrats on the Ways and Means Committee and both from oil and gas states, who insisted that a reduction in the allowance must be part of the reform bill.

After talking earlier of a 7 per cent increase in Social Security benefits, the President upped it last week to 10 per cent effective next April 1. House leaders of both parties fell over each other to up the ante. They also agreed it should be made effective by the first of January at the latest. Rep. William C. Cramer (R-Fla.), a junior member of the House GOP leadership and a candidate for the Senate from a state full of pensioners, wants a 15 per cent increase retroactive to last Jan. 1.

House Democrats, tired of seeing the big education programs they had authorized only half funded, added \$1 billion to the education appropriation bill and were scolded by the President for inflationary budget-busting.

The House may give the President another billion-dollar headache when the public works appropriation bill hits the floor soon. A drive to appropriate the full \$1 billion authorized to fight water pollution, instead of \$214 million requested by the administration, claims to have 219 firm votes including about 45 Republicans. This is a clear majority of the House.

Not all of these bills will pass both houses this year and some may not make it next year. The food stamp program faces delay in the House and voting rights in the Senate. Congress is dragging its feet on the President's plan to reform the military draft and postal reform. Neither house is expected to act this year on his most innovative proposal, welfare reform.

But this Democratic Congress, which has lost the cohesive, prodding White House leadership exercised for the last eight years and operating under loose congressional leadership, is showing an unexpected amount of self-starting energy. And this initiative has come more through bipartisan efforts at the Capitol than by teamwork between Congress and the White House.

JOSEPH F. McCAFFREY

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, it has been called to my attention that a very good friend, who is a very able journalist,

Joseph F. McCaffrey, last summer celebrated his 25th anniversary as a Washington correspondent, and I would like to take this opportunity to pay him a belated but richly deserved tribute.

There are times, I think, when all of us in Congress have the feeling of being too close to the trees to see the forest. When I have that feeling, I very often listen or watch Joseph F. McCaffrey, who has a remarkable gift for putting things in perspective, for giving his audience a new insight into the significance of major events. Needless to say, his talent is a rare and valuable commodity in this age of instantaneous communication and capsulized news.

Joe McCaffrey is a man who is a master at communicating vital information objectively and without distortion. He is also a fine human being.

It is for these reasons that I am happy to join in paying him tribute in this, his 26th year of covering the Nation's Capital.

BATTLE OF THE BULGE—THE PRICE OF SOVIET TREACHERY

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, last weekend ceremonies commemorating the Battle of the Bulge were held at Bastogne, Belgium. Among those present were the King of the Belgians, Ambassador John Eisenhower, and Gen. Anthony McAuliffe, who commanded at Bastogne during the heavy fighting there.

News accounts of this commemoration were very brief, nonfactual, and did nothing to remind the American people, including those who had participated, that this was one of the bloodiest battles of World War II, and was the turning point which broke the back of the German Army.

Many military historians wonder if the near suppression of this incident was not in the interests of protecting the image of so-called Soviet-Allied cooperation and participation during that war.

Few Americans to this day have been apprised of the fact that Hitler's desperate strategy at the Battle of the Bulge was completely known by Stalin long in advance of the assault against our forces.

Yet, Joe Stalin, who is identified in the history books read by our youth as our great ally, refused and purposefully withheld any and all warning of the impending attack from the Western Allies.

In fact, cooperating with the Nazi battle plan, he deliberately arranged to have Soviet troops fall back on the eastern front, releasing German troops and giving the German commanders additional divisions to attack Americans.

Thinking as a Soviet, any historian could imagine Stalin's satisfaction as he planned to let the Americans and Germans battle each other to annihilation while he would save his Soviet troops for their spring offensive to occupy and control central Europe.

All of which meant that the loss of an estimated 80,000 Allied lives in the Battle of the Bulge was in Stalin's scheme so as to give him more bargaining strength at the Yalta meeting with President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill.

No commemoration of the Battle of the Bulge should ever be held without a reminder to the American people of the treachery of the Soviet.

No American can in good conscience recall the Battle of the Bulge without demanding that the history of World War II be honestly written to show the Soviet treachery and deliberate manipulation of both German and Allied forces by Stalin for the benefit of international communism.

Mr. Speaker, I include a UPI story and an interesting history by R. B. Pitkin, "Did Stalin Betray Us in the Battle of the Bulge?" taken from the American Legion magazine which follow my remarks:

[From the Washington Sunday Star, Sept. 28, 1969]

GENERAL McAULIFFE IN BASTOGNE FOR BATTLE SITE CEREMONY

BASTOGNE, BELGIUM.—Anthony McAuliffe, the U.S. Army general who said "nuts" to a Nazi surrender demand, has arrived to take part in ceremonies commemorating the Battle of the Bulge.

McAuliffe, now 71, was met at Brussels airport by "O'Neill" Guerisse, a hero of the Belgian resistance during World War II.

McAuliffe's one-word reply to the Nazi surrender ultimatum inspired the victorious stand against German forces at Bastogne in 1944.

The general's 101st Airborne Division and the people of Bastogne held out a heroic nine days against eight Nazi divisions until air relief finally arrived.

King Baudouin of Belgium and U.S. Ambassador John Eisenhower, son of the late American president and war-time commander of the allied forces, will join McAuliffe and other allied veterans in the ceremonies today.

A memorial service will be held for the 77,000 allied troops and Belgians who died in the battle.

[FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Jan. 22, 1968]

THE FINAL GUNS: DID STALIN BETRAY US IN THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE?

(By R. B. Pitkin)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article is based on a manuscript, "The Final Guns," by Tony Lazzarino. As will be seen in the text "The Final Guns" encompasses far more than the material summarized here.)

Did our WW 2 ally, Soviet Marshall Joseph Stalin, know in advance that Hitler planned to launch the Battle of the Bulge against the weakest part of our First Army's lines in the Ardennes Forest of Belgium and Luxembourg in December 1944?

Knowing Hitler's plan in advance, did Stalin purposely avoid alerting us to the impending disaster? If he did, he was one of the authors of the battle itself. Hitler's attack on us depended so completely on surprise that his orders were to call it off if we should get wind of it.

Some historians have flirted with these questions, only to back off short of asking them, apparently because such a monstrous betrayal by an ally seemed "unthinkable."

The Bulge battle verged on military disaster for us. Catching our forces entirely off balance, the Nazi offensive permanently unhinged our original plan for the invasion of Germany, threw us on the defensive and cost

us more than 80,000 casualties. For a period of weeks in 1944 the whole free world anxiously wondered if Hitler's rampaging tank armies, plunging up to 60 miles into our rear, might not destroy the foothold that the Western allies had gained on the continent in Normandy in June.

We were spared a disaster approximating that only by the generalship of the lone American soldier, the lone squad, platoon, company, and battalion. Only their isolated resistance, when cut off from friends, supplies or knowledge of what was happening, bought the time for higher commands to organize a counterattack.

Small wonder that it has long been "unthinkable" even to ask if one of our allies—a declared implacable foe of Hitler—might have known all about it ahead of time, and by his silence made sure it would come off.

The question is raised today, however, in a significant work by film producer and writer Tony Lazzarino. Lazzarino's "The Final Guns," unpublished as these words are written, is the fruit of five years' research into the Battle of the Bulge. It is the basic manuscript for a major film on that battle whose anticipated release by Columbia is still nearly two years off.

Mr. Lazzarino is a native of Rhode Island, an Air Force veteran with a passion for military history, and has a background in writing and producing military documentary films. It hardly occurred to Lazzarino at the start of his research into the Battle of the Bulge that Stalin should have had a role in it. The Bulge was in the West. The Soviets were in another sphere of the struggle.

Lazzarino's trial, and his growing manuscript, took him to earlier historians of the battle, then to the surviving generals on both sides. He arranged for talks with Eisenhower, Montgomery and various American and British field and staff officers. Then with the surviving German leaders. He brought Gen. Hasso von Manteuffel, Hitler's Fifth Army Commander and the most successful of the professional German generals in the Bulge, into meetings with his American opposites on the battle front, where the former foes compared battle notes. Lazzarino sought and received personal accounts of the man-to-man struggle in the Ardennes from more than 1,200 readers of this magazine who were there, from privates to colonels. New aspects and tales of the battle poured into his notes.

From the Germans he began to piece together untold details of how and why Hitler planned the attack, and of conflicts within the German military staff. The origins of the battle in Hitler's own mind emerge in Lazzarino's work as a portrait in microscopic exactness of a giant ego challenged by plots, counterplots, disloyalty, defeat and despair. The bomb plot of his generals on *der Fuehrer's* life, as well as the disloyalty, poisoning and cynical funeral of Rommel unfold in intimate detail in Lazzarino's manuscript—reinforced by taped recollections of Rommel's family in 1967. Even Joachim Peiper, the responsible German officer at the Malmédy massacre, talked for Lazzarino's note taking.

Nothing in all of this of the Soviets, far off on another front. Yet the origins and the conduct of the battle, and its results right down to today, raised questions involving Stalin that forced their way in, wanted or not.

Many were old and familiar. In the midst of the struggle, Eisenhower complained that the idleness of Soviet divisions in Poland freed two German armies from the East to attack him in the Bulge.

But some of the questions had never been asked before. Lazzarino's work traces Hitler's every move in hiding his elephant, so that our intelligence had not the slightest idea of the great force piling up in the snowy forests right under our noses. Our blindness to

it, a classic of military intelligence failures, has been talked to death for 23 years. Yet in all this time nobody had even posed the companion mystery. Our Soviet ally had an intelligence system that knew Hitler's plans so well that it was the ruin of German armies and the despair of the Gestapo. Stalin was typically reading Hitler's latest orders over his morning coffee, and setting traps for those who would carry them out. Did the Kremlin's fantastic intelligence web also fail to detect the German buildup for the Ardennes before the battle?

Having no answer, Lazzarino filed this in his mind with other annoying Bulge mysteries, many of which had long been in the public record without being assembled into one picture. Among them, the \$64 question: Why did Germany, with her mortal fear of Russia, squander her last mighty effort against American troops, to leave her back door open for the Red Army? It was a folly for which Germany is still paying, and it seemed beyond reason even for mad Hitler. Why?

One answer to that has always been a mysterious American folly that leads to Stalin again—the Morgenthau plan. Hatched, strangely in the U.S. Treasury Department, the plan sought to dismember Germany, make off with her industry, flood her mines and carve her up into several farming nations under predominantly Soviet occupation. It was read to Churchill and Roosevelt at Ottawa by Harry Dexter White and urged on them by Treasury Sec'y Henry Morgenthau. Churchill and Roosevelt both initialed it in September 1944. The result was predictable. New German fury flowed against us when it became known. Plotters against Hitler rallied to his side again. American soldiers felt the reaction in new enemy desperation at Arnheim, Aachen, in the Huertgen Forest.

The plan was bitterly attacked in the United States. Both the State and War Departments opposed it. Some said it would give the postwar victors 18 million starving Germans to feed, while its announcement would cost the lives of many British and American fighting men against an aroused foe.

Hitler and Goebbels cried that it reduced us to the level of the "Communist beast," that we were out to destroy 50 million German civilians. Without the Morgenthau plan, the German Ardennes effort might have been withheld.

Churchill and Roosevelt abandoned it, and F.D.R. later said that he didn't know what possessed him to initial it at Ottawa. Then, to their utter consternation, when they sat down at Yalta in February 1945 to talk peace conditions in Europe with Stalin, the Soviet Marshall trotted out virtually a carbon copy of the Morgenthau plan as *his own*.

The question cannot be set aside: Did Stalin's propaganda machine in the United States subtly plant the Morgenthau folly in high places in order to direct more German resistance toward us and away from him?

Stalin's complete victory over Roosevelt and Churchill at Yalta, in which he had his way in gobbling eastern Europe establishing puppet regimes and imprisoning East Germany, has been traced ever since in almost a routine way to the effects of the Battle of the Bulge. Until Lazzarino raised the question, historians did not go so far as to suggest that Stalin had a finger in the Ardennes fight, but only that he was his sole beneficiary.

Thus in "The Meaning of Yalta," edited by John Snell for the University of Louisiana Press in 1956: "Western bargaining power at Yalta was limited by the realities of the military situation . . . Two German armies . . . shifted from the eastern front, hit Gen. Eisenhower's First Army on Dec. 16, 1944. In the weeks that followed, Hitler's

forces . . . created the 'Bulge,' forcing American troops back to the Meuse . . . The attack disrupted planning for an Allied spring campaign."

In short, as Stalin did not hesitate to remind the President and the Prime Minister at Yalta, their troops were still bogged down along the Rhine, while his were already in possession of the countries they were discussing, and within a hundred miles of Berlin.

When Roosevelt extricated himself and Churchill from Yalta, every earlier pledge to Poland and the other Eastern European nations lay broken beyond hope. While the three talked, the Red Army held all the cards for Stalin. To Churchill the blow was terrible. England had gone into the war in defense of a free Poland. Now Stalin invited him to support the Communist Polish puppet regime which he had just installed ("in the rear of the Red Army," he added, significantly). Warily, Roosevelt suggested that question after question "be postponed for further study." Both men went to their graves with the postponements still in effect.

If their troops were in the wrong places and Stalin's were in the right places, was it all just bad luck or had Stalin been maneuvering them, even playing Hitler against them, long since?

Roosevelt and Churchill, whatever they put in the public record, knew they had been jockeyed. It was a cruel joke to hear their own cursed Morgenthau plan, whose onus and evil military consequences they had borne, come from the Russians—a reminder of Huertgen and Arnhem and the Bulge and the other reasons why they were still bogged down on the Rhine.

But they needed no such jest, if jest it was. They had asked Stalin for the Yalta meeting back in July. Then they were more like equals. But Stalin had stalled through the summer, and through the fall. As if he had known Hitler's plans, Stalin did not set a date for Yalta until the die was cast to assure him the political victory. Lazzarino's manuscript fixes November 3 as the earliest date Stalin might have known Hitler's plan to attack us in the Ardennes.

If Churchill and Roosevelt had been trapped into bargaining the peace agreements with Stalin after Hitler's Bulge attack had tied them down, they knew too that they'd been trapped into it only after Stalin's great January offensive was rolling. The Western leaders hadn't heard of any Russian winter offensive until after the Nazi armies poured into Belgium on December 16.

"On December 15, 1944," writes Lazzarino, "the sun was rising on Moscow and setting on Washington." About December 20, Ambassador Averell Harriman was told in Moscow that the Red Army would launch a winter offensive. On January 15, Western representatives were told that it had been rolling for three days. Stalin later claimed that he had attacked "to relieve pressure on the Bulge." But he had waited until the struggle in the Ardennes was over. Now the Yalta meeting occurred, at Stalin's pleasure, as we lay licking our wounds while the Soviet offensive roared west against a Nazi army already chewed up in the Bulge.

How else had Stalin jockeyed his two allies?

Lazzarino suggests that as far back as the Normandy landings in June, Stalin's interest lay in locking the Anglo-Saxon and German forces in a wasting combat in France. Once we were safely ashore Hitler was doomed. From that point on we, as well as *der Fuehrer*, were enemies, to be played off against each other and leave Europe to Russia.

Stalin's military intelligence most certainly knew the inner secrets of Hitler's Atlantic defenses in May of 1944, but he let Eisenhower go it blind on Omaha Beach in June. "Perhaps," says Lazzarino, "he foresaw

the possibility of a rapid advance by Eisenhower, and felt that assisting his 'allies' in any way that would speed their advance into Germany was not now in keeping with his long-range designs."

While we were getting a foothold in Normandy in June 1944, Stalin waged a summer offensive toward the Vistula. But as soon as we broke out of Normandy he stopped it cold. The net effect was that he took the pressure off Hitler on the Polish front the moment Patton's spearheads began to break across France.

The pressure was completely off by mid-August. It was still off in December when Eisenhower had complained of German armies from the Russian front in the Ardennes.

During this period, Russian offensives were turned south, against Hungary and along the Danube. By this maneuver, Stalin cemented Soviet dominance all the way west to Yugoslavia on the Adriatic, while creating in Germany the impression that the immediate threat to the Nazi homeland was that of the Western Allies in France.

The Russian attack in Poland was "stalled," we thought, Hitler thought so too, though his eastern generals warned of a buildup of hundreds of Soviet divisions, and urged reinforcements against an enormous danger. Looking back in 1948, British historian Gen. J. C. Fuller noted that it was "strange" that from August to January nothing of importance happened on the Polish front. "The five months rest was spent in regrouping its size made Hitler violent again.

"Where in earth did you get such ridiculous estimates? It's the most colossal bluff since Genghis Khan. I question the sanity of those who suggest it!"

"Then put my chief staff officers in an asylum, and make room for me too," Guderian responded. He was later relieved of command."

Thus did Stalin conceal a force of over 200 divisions, 60 of them fully armored, aimed straight at Berlin. From his allies he concealed them with secrecy, from the Russian armies. Odd, he thought, to rest when the "circumstances of the invasion of France" dictated a vise on Germany from both sides. Fuller only slightly overestimated the seven groups Stalin had amassed in Poland by January. He called them "at least 300 divisions and 25 tank armies, followed by numerous Cossack forces."

Lazzarino tells what happened to Hitler's Commander in the East, Gen. Heinz Guderian, when he "protested using the last German armored reserves for an offensive in the West, and was flabbergasted by Hitler's 'insane' order to withdraw armored units already in Poland to use in the Bulge.

"Hitler was enraged. Guderian was calmed by his fellow officers and withdrew. Later he warned Hitler again of . . . a great Russian force massing east of the Vistula. The estimates he gave of Hitler with the hypnosis of incredibility and five months of lulling inaction. After Hitler committed himself against us, this great force soon rolled over the rest of Poland, East Prussia, to Berlin and beyond to the Elbe. It gave Stalin the whole deck at Yalta, and it determined the division of Europe then, in 1945, now, in 1968, and indefinitely into the future. Meanwhile, the "impossibility" of its existence turned Hitler to his Bulge offensive and a sense of security. There, like a puppet on Stalin's string, he locked his Western enemies in a deadly embrace that left the field of political victory in the war in Europe solely to Stalin.

To any one but Hitler, it should have been incredible that Stalin should assemble such a force. How could he dare strip his other fronts of such great masses of men, armor and supplies to gather it all in Poland?

Stalin could dare such a concentration only if he knew everything his enemy was doing. If he knew there was no danger on

the Danube, in the Balkans; if he knew Hitler was massing strength in front of the distant Ardennes; if he knew what Hitler told Guderian; if he had a daily nose-count of all Hitler's troops and copies of all Hitler's orders, then Stalin had nothing to fear from tactics that would be insanity for an ordinary general with ordinary military intelligence. With such information, a political peasant could become a greater Generalissimo than all the professional generals of history.

A few years ago, Allan Clark revealed in his book "Barbarossa," that from very early in the war, Stalin did, in fact, know everything Hitler was planning—down to the last trivia, and often within ten hours. A mysterious secret informant, known as "Lucy," had direct access to the full knowledge of the German High Command. With information from "Lucy," radioed to him from some foreign source each day, Stalin became in fact the Generalissimo greater than all the other generals. In Russia, he destroyed Hitler's forces at Voronezh, at Stalingrad and in the even more colossal German catastrophe at Orel-Kursk in 1943—simply by having in his hands the orders that the attacking Germans were carrying out. This mysterious "Lucy" (a man) died after the war in the certain and true knowledge that he, more than any other person, had controlled the course of the war in Europe and determined the shape of the peace.

Here is part of Lazzarino's account of what "Lucy's" information did to the last great German effort in Russia at Orel-Kursk, in July 1943. Direct quotes are General von Manteuffel's words in interviews with Lazzarino in 1967. Manteuffel commanded the 7th Panzer Division at Orel-Kursk.

"After Stalingrad [Manteuffel speaking] Hitler had demanded preparation for a secret concentration of armored forces, greater than any assembly of a German striking force in Russia. Seventeen Panzer divisions spearheaded two groups of armies. Hitler waited, at the expense of other Eastern forces, until he could allocate the bulk of new production to this assembly: new Mark VI Tiger tanks, self-propelled assault guns, artillery, a striking force more powerful than any we ever had for a single offensive. The point of attack was on the vast open plains between the Russian cities of Orel and Kursk in the upper Donetz Valley."

After many weeks of secret preparation, Hitler's great assembly was completed.

"We Germans of every rank experienced a strange fatalistic emotion at Orel-Kursk. We saw around us such overwhelming strength—German strength and power—that we soon realized how this would be the event—this would be the place and time—when we must defeat the Russian.

"There at Orel-Kursk, we definitely had the resources—excellent leadership in the field—Zeitler, von Kluge, Guderian, von Rundstedt, Model, Hoth; a group of armies with more than sufficient power to strike a great crippling blow, one from which the Russians would never have recovered. On July 7, 1943, my Panzer division was one moving to the attack alongside seventeen others—elite forces, the best in all Russia."

Weeks before, "Lucy" had put the full details of the plan as conceived by Hitler in Stalin's hands; the assignment of divisions, their transport, type of equipment, new Tiger tanks, allotment of petrol and supplies and everything including the planned order of battle and the top secret "point" of attack.

As Stalin read them his hopes soared to new heights. He could picture the future mosaic of Soviet satellites being placed piece by piece over the length and breadth of Eastern Europe.

Every effort was made. All Soviet resources available were husbanded. Every man and weapon that could be collected in time was sent to the point of the German strike

before the German forces received the attack order.

On July 5, 1943, Hitler's personal message was issued to the soldiers at Orel-Kursk: "Soldiers of the Reich! Today you are to take part in an offensive of such importance that the entire outcome of the war may depend on its outcome. More than anything else, your victory will show the whole world that resistance to the power of the German Army is hopeless."

General Manteuffel recalled bitterly how the German command was staggered by the incredible width and depth of the Russian defense. The German armor was allowed to enter the Great "Bogen" or Bow of well-camouflaged defense. Storms of fire from great concentration of heavy guns, rockets, anti-tank weapons clustered together fired broadsides at the new Tigers . . . The Russians' fire was unimaginable. Their depth of defense went back fifteen or twenty miles. Mines were laid everywhere—mines designed to channel the Panzer spearheads into hundreds of clusters of waiting guns. Broad-sides tore into the armor. Artillery rained down until the vast mantle of cornfields burned fiercely. The battle raged on until that plain at Orel-Kursk consumed a million men and thousands of panzers and guns.

"We made them pay dearly . . . stubbornly throwing our forces head on, hoping desperately to break the Bogen . . . pierce that great Bow of fire and steel."

Stalin knew the Germans could not keep up the pressure against the Bow indefinitely. Tremendous reserves, supplies, petrol, had been piled up by Stalin in his foreknowledge, while the German supply lines went back hundreds of miles. Soon the tonnage coming to the attacking force fell below the minimum required for maintaining the assault. The German pressure against the Bow eased. Then the attacking formations lost momentum.

In that interval, with Hitler's greatest force lying in ruin, Stalin launched his counteroffensive. He utilized forces husbanded earlier from other fronts—forces he knew beforehand could be safely transferred because "Lucy" had told him so. He had them at the exact spot between Orel and Kursk where he knew they would be needed, again because "Lucy" had told him so.

Over a year ago two French journalists, Pierre Accoce and Pierre Quet, revealed the identity and most of the secrets of "Lucy" in their fantastic bestselling book, "A Man Called Lucy." The American edition was published by Coward-McCann, New York, in 1966.

"Lucy" was the code name of a German named Rudolf Roessler. According to the "Lucy" book, Roessler was in league with ten top German generals, all pledged to bring about the downfall of Hitler by helping the Allies. Starting well before Hitler invaded Russia, these ten high-ranking members of the German High Command radioed the most minute details of the plans of the German armies to Roessler in Switzerland every day. "Lucy"—or Roessler—passed them on to a Communist spy web in Switzerland, whose members relayed them in Soviet radio code to the Kremlin intelligence center.

To this day, the ten generals have never been identified, but the Gestapo never doubted their existence. Its agents had seen too many copies of the latest German military plans in captured Soviet documents. They had seen too many German armies walk into traps in Russia that could only have been engineered by someone looking over Hitler's shoulder. When all efforts to track the traitors down failed, the Gestapo gave a top priority to discovering the source of the broadcasts to the Kremlin from Switzerland.

The Swiss allowed the spy ring to operate with their knowledge. The only condition was that the Swiss Government receive file copies of all of the information Roessler got from his friends in the German High Command. But when, late in 1943, Swiss intelligence knew that the Gestapo had narrowed down the source of the broadcasts, Switzerland jalled the members of the ring for safe-keeping. She feared an attack on Switzerland by Hitler, should capture of Roessler and his associates by the Gestapo reveal Swiss complicity in the German disasters in Russia.

Roessler was the last to be jailed for safe-keeping, in May 1944.

An oddity in Accoce's and Quet's book escaped thousands of readers and reviewers until Lazzarino began finding inconsistencies in it in his pursuit of matters bearing on the Battle of the Bulge. The French authors of "A Man Called Lucy" never touched on what it would and would not mean for the Western allies to share Stalin's knowledge of German plans. Their omission was at first amazing, then unbelievable. The end of "A Man Called Lucy" was finally so indigestible that Lazzarino set out on a trail of his own.

According to the two French authors, Roessler was released by the Swiss in September 1944, and by September 15 he was again in touch with his friends in the Nazi High Command. Throughout the fall of 1944, he again received every detail of German military plans. But his Swiss Communist radio contacts with the Kremlin had been broken up. So all Roessler could do was to receive his intelligence from Germany, dutifully file one copy of it with the Swiss, then simply keep his own copies. According to the book, Roessler operated alone all that fall, but sent nothing to Stalin after May 1944.

Still according to the book, this continued until December 15, when Roessler lunched in Switzerland with one Alexander Foote, an English Communist who had been the invisible boss of his earlier radio contacts with the Kremlin.

On December 15, Foote told him the war was just about all over, there was no need to reestablish contact with Stalin. "All over," echoed Roessler, vaguely. Before saying goodbye to Foote he gave him a bag. "It contains all the latest plans of the Wehrmacht," he said. "Take it to the Soviet embassy in Paris when you go there today, they may want it." And so the book ends.

It did not end for Lazzarino, nor should it for anyone else. This was December 15, 1944. The complete German plans for the Battle of the Bulge were in that bag, including the news that it would start the next morning. Furthermore, Roessler had been receiving Hitler's Bulge battle plans since November 3, when Hitler revealed them to his high command, and thus to Roessler's ten informants. On December 15, when Foote and Roessler lunched, the date of the Ardennes attack had just been irrevocably set by Hitler for the next morning.

Hardly any of the book's ending is believable. Roessler would not have told Foote to hand-carry such information to the Soviet embassy in Paris on December 15 unless he had already dispatched it by faster means. If Roessler had been giving the Swiss a copy of his German High Command intelligence every day all fall, then the Swiss had known about the impending Bulge battle since about November 3. Would the Swiss (who had risked invasion by Hitler to help Stalin destroy the Nazis) have neglected for six weeks to have an agent drop a word in the right place with Eisenhower about the big attack planned against him in the Ardennes?

In "The Final Guns" Lazzarino has written a new beginning and a new ending, based on a web of research of his own. It begins almost as far back as 1920, when, contrary to

the book, Roessler's ten German generals (then German military cadets trained in Russia) became Communists, not merely the Hitler-haters that Accoce and Quet believe them to have been.

Lazzarino skips now to September 15, 1944, when Roessler, out of his Swiss jail cell, again contacts his ten German generals. From that day on Roessler again sends complete Nazi battle plans to Stalin. He no longer needs to use Red spy radios in Switzerland. France has fallen and the Soviet embassy with its sophisticated radio gear has reopened there.

Each day a Communist female agent, Rachel Deubendorfer, relays the German military plans from Roessler in Switzerland to one Rado, a top Soviet agent, who sees that they are sent coded to Stalin from the Paris embassy. Roessler gives the Swiss no copies of any information that might be useful to Eisenhower. It is all for Stalin.

Now, looking over Stalin's shoulder, the incredible becomes credible. Stalin, with all the German battle plans once more before him, knows that it is safe to build up his mighty force in Poland with which to beat his allies to Berlin. He is threatened nowhere else. Starting about November 3, Stalin knows of the coming Ardennes battle. All he lacks is the date of the attack, which Hitler constantly postpones. As soon as he can learn when it will come off, the war will be over. Stalin's enemies and his allies will be locked in final conflict in Belgium. Time then to schedule his own secretly planned winter drive to Berlin. Time then, at last, to oblige Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt by fixing the Yalta meeting at a date when they will be stymied west of the Rhine while he will be storming toward Berlin.

On December 15, Roessler tells his female Communist contact that the Bulge battle has been fixed beyond recall for tomorrow. Stalin is told immediately, and this is the last thing Stalin needs from "Lucy." Time to close him out, too. So Alexander Foote, one of the most trusted Red agents in the West, is sent from France to Switzerland to meet face to face with Roessler for the first time in his life. Roessler is told to give him all the documents he has put together since the start of the war. That is what's in the bag, and it is indeed "all over" for Roessler, though he hopes that his documents will induce them to hire him as a permanent agent.

On January 11, 1945, the Battle of the Bulge is over. Germans, Americans and British together have suffered close to 200,000 casualties. On this day Stalin orders his generals in Poland to smash toward Berlin. And on this day the first passenger airplane to fly from Paris to Moscow since the start of the war takes off. Space on it is at an absolute premium. But one man who has a seat on it is Alexander Foote. In his bag is the only evidence remaining outside of Russia of the full knowledge collected by "Lucy" and forwarded to Stalin throughout the war, including the full details of German defenses in Normandy in the spring of 1944, and German plans for the Battle of the Bulge for more than a month before it happened. Stalin knew it all, told nothing.

Lazzarino has one postscript. After "A Man Called Lucy" was published in 1966, the furor in Germany was enormous. Under German pressure, the Swiss delivered up to them all the documents filed with them by Roessler. They are under lock and key today. But a high German informant has advised Lazzarino that the Swiss papers have nothing in them that would have helped Eisenhower. Roessler entrusted all such only to Stalin, who made his own judgment of what his "allies" should and should not know.

This leaves history since 1944 to be rewritten.

NEW ENGLAND AGAIN FACES HARD WINTER WITH FUEL SHORTAGES AND OIL PRICE INCREASES—INEQUITABLE MANDATORY OIL IMPORT QUOTA SYSTEM MUST END

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, autumn is now upon us and as we approach another bitter, cold, snowy winter, New England once again faces shortages in home-heating fuel oil and unnecessary price increases.

The anticipated fuel shortages and accompanying price hikes are in the economic forecast for New Englanders for the 10th successive winter because of the mandatory oil import control program established by the Eisenhower administration in 1959, giving American oil producers a virtual monopoly in the domestic market.

The cost of the inequitable oil import program to the Nation is measured in billions of dollars. Newspaper accounts last week of a study by the Interior Department's Bureau of Mines indicated that the cost of the oil quota system to consumers could reach \$7 billion a year by 1975 and more than \$8 billion a year by 1980. The study also predicted that crude oil prices could drop from \$3.20 to \$2 a barrel if quotas on oil imports are removed.

Mr. Speaker, while the cost of the oil import control program to the Nation as a whole is high, New England bears a disproportionate share of this burden. The 6 percent of the national population which lives in New England consumes 22 percent of the heating oil which this Nation uses.

The New England Council conservatively estimated that the 1967 cost burden shouldered by New England as a result of the oil import control program was close to \$520 million. The price that homeowners in New England pay for heating oil is higher than for any comparable region in the country.

Mr. Speaker, the time has come to abolish the oil import control program. I am one of 54 cosponsors of legislation, H.R. 10799, which would eliminate the oil quota system. I hope that President Nixon's Cabinet task force on oil import control will come forth with a strong recommendation to end this inequitable mandatory oil import quotas program. I have written to President Nixon expressing my opposition to a continuation of the quota system and its adverse effects on New England.

I include with my remarks at this point in the RECORD the reply I received from the White House on August 27, a letter I received today from Mr. Dermot P. Shea, executive secretary of the Consumers' Council of Massachusetts, and the accompanying statement on the heating oil shortage facing Massachusetts this winter; and editorials concerning the oil quota system fuel cost savings from the Boston Globe of August 18 and the Springfield Union of September 25:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, August 27, 1969.

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BOLAND: Thank you for your letter to the President expressing your opposition to the mandatory oil import quota system.

I know the President will appreciate having this careful analysis of your position and it will be called to his early attention. As you are fully aware, this matter is under review and your views will be given careful consideration.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

WILLIAM E. TIMMONS,
Deputy Assistant to the President.

CONSUMERS' COUNCIL,
Boston, September 26, 1969.

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND,
Rayburn Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BOLAND: For your information, I am enclosing the latest statement of the Consumers' Council in connection with the possible shortage and price increase of No. 2 fuel oil (Home Heating Oil).

Sincerely yours,

DERMOT P. SHEA,
Executive Secretary.

POSSIBLE HOME HEATING OIL (No. 2 FUEL OIL) SHORTAGE THIS WINTER

Dr. Edward R. Willett, Chairman of the Consumers' Council issued the following report today on the current situation on the Home Heating Oil (No. 2 Fuel Oil) supply and price situation. He stated that "as of now the East Coast supply of No. 2 Fuel Oil is more than 10% below a year ago according to reports made by the major oil companies to the American Petroleum Institute. Currently, the Federal Oil Import Appeals Board has only 7,000 barrels daily available to ease the short supply and hardships caused by the Federal Oil Import Quota System. Interior Assistant Secretary Hollis Dole who administers this program states that "no change will be made while the White House Task Force is studying this whole question." He is further quoted as admitting that conditions in the Home Heating Oil market are serious, both from a competitive and supply point of view. What this really means is—there is a potential shortage of this commodity with an accompanying price increase.

This is absolutely unnecessary and can be taken care of by restoring to the Northeast region of this country the right to import No. 2 Fuel Oil now barred by the Federal Government. What is needed is *emergency action* by the Secretary of the Interior to allot the unused 22,000 barrels allocated to the Defense Department to the Northeast Region in order to relieve both the price and supply situation of the Home Heating Oil (No. 2 Fuel Oil). Without *emergency action* by the Federal Government, we will have a serious Fuel Oil shortage as well as a sharp rise in the price of this product."

"The Consumers' Council asks that all consumers of the Commonwealth write the Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D.C., and demand that he take the necessary action to relieve this price and supply situation of Home Heating Oil. All that is needed is a 'stroke of the pen' of the Secretary of the Interior to take the Federal Government out of the business of being the 'broker' for the domestic oil refineries and interests."

[From the Boston Globe, Aug. 18, 1969]

THE OIL QUOTA TYRANNY

An encouraging contrast to the Nixon administration's failure to act on Maine's request for an oil refinery at Machiasport is Asst. Atty. Gen. Richard W. McLaren's ad-

vocacy of ending, or curtailing, the oil import quota system.

Predictions of economic doom by the American petroleum industry if the quota system were lifted are not unexpected. U.S. oil producers have enjoyed a virtual monopoly situation since the Eisenhower administration established the mandatory import control program in 1959.

Arguments that lifting the controls would result in swift increases in the price of crude oil because of collusion among petroleum-producing nations are not supported by the recent history of residual oil. Relaxation of controls on residual oil brought about price declines of as much as 25 percent.

New England pays more for home heating oil than any other region of the country, an unfair consequence of the import quota. And, as Maine's Gov. Kenneth M. Curtis has noted, "the tragedy is that this expenditure is unnecessary since the costs of the quota program far outweigh any contributions it makes to the security of our nation."

Mr. Nixon's Cabinet Task Force on Oil Import Controls, which has been studying the problem since January, was given an excellent appraisal by Asst. Atty. Gen. McLaren recently of the drawbacks of the quota system. The program, he said, imposes the obvious direct costs to consumers of oil which arise "from shielding the domestic industry from the impact of, and the consumer from the benefit of, much lower foreign crude prices."

The Nixon administration has been given more than adequate time to study the oil import program. As McLaren has suggested, outright elimination of the quota—or at the very least, extreme changes—should be recommended. And a quick decision should be made on the Machiasport project, the most sensible proposal adduced thus far to bring cheaper fuel oil to New England.

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Union,
Sept. 25, 1969]

HOPE FOR FUEL SAVINGS

A confidential study done for the Department of Interior is said by sources in Congress to estimate that present U.S. restrictions on oil imports are costing Americans \$7 to \$8 billion yearly in gasoline and oil costs.

This should add fuel to the drive for a free trade zone that would allow Middle East oil to be imported duty-free into Maine and to be refined there as well. The study has been submitted to a presidential task force on oil imports, which is to make its recommendations by Thanksgiving.

The administration has already taken the position that oil import quotas should be abandoned because they are costly to the economy, anti-competitive, unnecessary for the national security and unfair to consumers. And when consumers come into the discussion none are more involved than the people of New England, who because of their remoteness from the oil refineries of the West and South have to pay dearly for their petroleum products. For them also there is a greater risk of shortage because of transportation difficulties.

If the 10-year-old oil import quotas are abandoned, a free trade zone in Maine will not be as important to New Englanders. But the oil-producing states can be counted on to resist either or both of these changes. Their contention that the abandoning of quotas—or setting up the free trade zone—would impair the national security by making the country more dependent on foreign oil does not stand up against the Interior Department's study. Its estimate is that the U.S. could store ample oil for emergency purposes at much less cost to the nation than would accrue from the import quotas.

There seems little justification for preserving a condition that makes petroleum products expensive for anyone a great distance

from the refineries. There would have to be a better argument than protection of the domestic oil industry against foreign competition.

DEMOCRATIC STUDY GROUP FACT SHEET 91-9—H.R. 14000, FISCAL YEAR 1970 AUTHORIZATION, MILITARY PROCUREMENT, AND RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday of this week we are scheduled to begin consideration of H.R. 14000, the fiscal 1970 authorization for military procurement and research and development which was reported by the House Armed Services Committee last Friday. This bill, which authorizes over \$23 billion for procurement and R. & D. on new military weapons, is one of the most important measures which will come before the House this year. It should, therefore, be given most careful consideration. Unfortunately, since the bill itself was reported from committee only last Friday and since the committee report did not become available until today—just 2 days prior to House consideration—Members will not have the opportunity to give this important bill that kind of careful consideration before being called upon to vote on it. I, therefore, commend to the attention of all Members the Democratic Study Group's analysis of H.R. 14000 and comparison of the House measure with Department of Defense requests and the Senate-passed authorization bill.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD at this point DSG fact sheet 91-9:

H.R. 14000, FISCAL YEAR 1970 AUTHORIZATION, MILITARY PROCUREMENT AND RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

H.R. 14000, which would authorize \$23,347.9 million (23.35 billion)* for procurement of weapons systems and research and development on new weapons systems by the military services and defense agencies, was reported with minority and supplemental views September 26 by the Armed Services Committee by a vote of 36-3. The bill is scheduled to reach the House floor Wednesday, October 1.

This DSG Fact Sheet will analyze the House bill and compare it with the DOD requests and the Senate authorization. The Fact Sheet contains the following sections:**

- I. Background.
- II. Senate Action.
- III. The DOD Reclamation (DOD's request following Senate action).
- IV. House Action.
- V. Comparison of House and Senate Action and DOD Requests.
- VI. Line-by-line Analysis of Both Bills and DOD Requests.

*To facilitate reference to the line-by-line comparative tables in Section VI, dollar amounts will be given in millions only.

**For detailed analysis of new weapons systems requested in the FY 1970 defense budget see DSG Fact Books title Safeguard ABM (*Congressional Record*, June 20, 1969, pp. 16738-16745) and The FY 1970 Defense Budget (*Congressional Record*, September 26, 1969, pp. 27316-27318).

VII. Mini Fact Sheets on Anticipated Floor Amendments to H.R. 14000, on blue paper. (9 amendments offered by Committee members are on pages 27-35; 4 others on pages 36-39).

SECTION 1

Background and overview of the bill

On January 14, 1969, Secretary Clifford presented to Congress DOD's FY 1970 requests for military procurement and R. & D. They totaled \$23,151.7 million, an increase of \$1,526.0 million over the amount requested for FY 1969 and \$3,660.7 million over the amount actually appropriated for that year.

On April 15, Secretary Laird presented an amended version of the FY 1970 DOD requests totalling \$21,963.7 million, a cut of \$1,188.0 million from the Clifford requests. The Laird revision included a cut of \$1,236.3 million from \$14,977.6 million requested for procurement and an increase of \$48.3 million in the amount requested for R & D on new weapons systems.

The procurement cuts were mainly in the following areas:

\$390.0 million for Army missiles (Sentinel-Safeguard shift).

\$307.6 million for Air Force missiles (slacked Minuteman III needs).

\$66.9 million for new shipbuilding and conversion.

\$159.7 million for Navy aircraft (EA-6B, F-4J, and P-3 reductions).

The R. & D increase was the product of a \$50.0 million increase in the Emergency Fund offset by net reductions of \$1.7 million in the service requests.

The Senate Armed Services Committee proceeded to cut \$1,904.2 million from the Laird request, authorizing \$20,059.5 million of the \$21,963.7 requested. The Committee reported the bill July 2, following which the Senate considered it for two and a half months. Several attempts to remove money from the bill on the floor failed, but amendments cutting an additional \$45.6 million for social science research and \$25 million from the Emergency Fund were successful.

Following Senate passage of the \$20,059.5 million authorization on September 8, DOD submitted to the House Armed Services Committee requests for money restorations (reclammas) of \$968.8 million, largely for R & D programs, for an amended total of \$21,028.3 million.

SECTION 2

Senate action

Title I—Procurement

Aircraft

The Senate Armed Services Committee approved \$484.4 million for Army aircraft, \$457.1 million below the \$941.5 million requested. The deletion of \$362.3 million for the Cheyenne helicopter was accompanied by a recommendation that the program be abandoned.

The Committee approved \$2,287.2 million for Navy aircraft, \$122.0 million below the \$2,409.2 million requested. Major cuts were:

All of \$104.0 million for the A-7E attack fighter, with the recommendation that A-7s already contracted for by the Air Force be made available to the Navy.

\$18.0 million of \$109.5 million requested for CH-46E medium transport helicopter procurement with the recommendation that the program be stretched out.

For the Air Force the Committee approved \$3,965.7 million, a cut of \$135.4 million from the \$4,100.2 million requested. Major changes were:

The transfer of \$374.7 million in A-7D funds to F-4E procurement. The Committee noted that the A-7 series of aircraft was operable only in an environment of complete air superiority whereas the F-4 can do the job of the A-7 in addition to having deep penetration and dogfight capability.

\$22.5 million was cut from \$38.5 million requested for procurement of 96 A-37B tac-

tical fighters and \$21.5 million of \$28.1 million requested for the T-X navigational trainer as a low priority item.

\$50 million for C-5A spares was cut from \$935.3 million for all parts and spares because of a six month slippage in the program.

\$40 million for B-52 modifications to interface the SRAM airground missile was cut from \$510.2 million requested for aircraft modifications.

All of \$15.0 million for a heavy-lift helicopter.

All of \$75.0 million for SAM-D anti-aircraft missiles, citing over-estimation of the Soviet bomber threat.

\$8.0 million of \$17.7 million requested for CBW research.

\$14.9 million of \$44.9 million requested for the MBT-70 tank, recommending re-orientation of the program.

Navy and Marine Corps

The Committee approved \$1921.5 million of \$2,211.5 million requested, for a cut of \$290.0 million, or 13.1%. Major systems reduced or eliminated were:

All of \$66.1 million requested for E2A/C ASW aircraft, recommending termination of the program.

\$25.0 million of \$165.4 million requested for S-3A ASW aircraft, citing delay in finding a contractor.

All of \$20.0 million requested for the ULMS undersea missile system, terminating the program.

\$25.0 million of \$67.9 million requested for ASMS surface missile system, recommending re-orientation of the program.

Air Force

The Committee approved \$3,051.2 million of \$3,561.2 million requested for a cut of \$510.0 million, or 14.3%. Major systems reduced or eliminated were:

All of \$15.0 million for RF-111 aircraft, all of \$1.0 million for LIT light intratheater aircraft, and \$16.0 million of \$18.5 million requested for the CONUS F-105X interceptor.

\$17.0 million of \$84.7 million requested for SRAM air-ground strategic nuclear missiles and all of \$3.0 million requested for AGMX-3 air-ground tactical missiles.

\$400.0 million of \$525.3 million requested for MOL manned orbiting laboratory, the remainder to be used for termination costs of the program.

\$14.0 million of \$121.4 million requested for ABRES ICBM reentry systems and \$45.0 million requested for AWACS air defense systems.

Missiles

The committee approved \$922.5 million for Army missiles, \$35.2 million below the request. \$14 million was cut from \$156 million for the Tow anti-tank missile and \$9.2 million from \$98.7 million for the Hawk anti-aircraft missile because both programs were building up too rapidly. All of \$871.4 million requested was approved for Navy and Marine Corps missiles, \$1,466 million of \$1,486.4 million requested for Air Force missiles was approved. This reflected deletion of \$20.4 million for SRAM air-ground missile procurement pending further R. & D.

Naval Vessels

The committee approved \$2,562.2 million of \$2,631.4 million requested for new ship construction and conversion, a net cut of \$63.2 million. The committee added \$152.7 million for a third nuclear submarine citing an increased Soviet threat. \$186.7 million requested for three fast deployment logistics (FDL) ships was deleted as a low priority item.

Tracked Combat Vehicles

The committee approved \$276.9 million of \$305.8 million requested for Army tanks and personnel carriers, \$5.1 million was directed cut from \$67.7 million requested for the Sheridan tank to permit orderly modifica-

tion of vehicles already in production. \$47.5 million for 117 M60A1 tanks was approved, a cut of \$20 million. The Marine Corps request of \$37.7 million was approved.

Title II—Research and Development

For the first time the Senate Armed Services Committee departed from making across-the-board cuts in the R. & D. budget and instead aimed cuts at specific programs or new weapons systems. The committee approved \$7,179.5 million of \$8,222.4 million requested by the military services and defense agencies. The cuts total \$1,042.9 million, or 12.7%. \$794.4 million, or 9.6%, of the reduction was directed at specific new weapons systems with the remaining 3.1% distributed by the military services and defense agencies.

Army

The committee approved \$1,638.6 million of \$1,849.5 million requested for a cut of \$210.9 million, or 11.2%. Major systems reduced or eliminated were:

All of \$16.5 million for the Cheyenne helicopter, recommending that the program be discontinued.

The House Armed Services Committee began mark-up September 22 and on the 26th reported H.R. 14000, containing \$21,347.9 million for procurement and R & D of new weapons systems. The House bill exceeds the DOD request by \$185.2 million, the DOD reclama by \$319.6 million, and the Senate bill by \$1,288.4 million. \$1,023.3 million was added to the DOD requests for new ship construction and conversion at the insistence of Committee Chairman L. Mendel Rivers.

The \$21,347.9 million authorized reflects cuts of \$615.8 million, or 3%, from the \$21,963.7 DOD request. Excluding the DOD self-denials in the MOL manned orbiting laboratory and Cheyenne helicopter programs, the bill is \$47.1 million, or one fifth of one percent, below the request. Thus House action virtually wipes out the overall Senate cuts totalling \$1,904.2 million, or 8.4%.

Excluding the massive new ship construction and conversion add-on, the House procurement authorizations are \$23.2 million over the Senate amount. The R & D excess is \$241.9 million, which reflects \$352.0 million specifically earmarked in the bill for programs the Senate cut. The overall R & D cut is 9.8% compared to the Senate's 12.7%.

H.R. 14000 contains none of the provisions of the Senate bill relating to Congressional oversight of wasteful and inefficient military spending. The House bill does, however, contain controversial provisions tying research funds to university support for ROTC and on-campus military recruiting and a provision to restrict the flow of Committee information by classifying documents originating within the Committee.

The bill was reported favorably September 27 by a vote of 36-3. Additional and supplemental views dealing with specific controversial weapons systems by Reps. Leggett, Nedzi, Pike, Stafford, and Whalen are appended. A number of amendments deleting funds for new weapons systems and tightening DOD procurement and reporting practices are expected on the floor.

Defense agencies and emergency fund

The Committee approved \$468.2 million of \$500.2 million requested for defense agencies, a cut of \$32.0 million. The Committee approved \$100.0 million for the Emergency Fund but accepted an amendment from the floor to reduce this total by \$25.0 million. \$45.6 million for social science research was also cut from the bill on the floor.

Non-Money Provisions

Troop levels

The Committee approved ceilings of 395,291 men for the Army National Guard, 256,264 men for the Army Reserve, 129,000 men for the Naval Reserve, 49,489 men for the Marine Corps Reserve, 86,999 men for the Air National Guard, 50,775 men for the Air Force

Reserve, and 17,500 men for the Coast Guard Reserve for a total of 985,318 men. The Committee did not adjust active duty troop ceilings but an amendment cutting the overall strength of the Armed Forces by the number of men withdrawn from Vietnam passed on the floor 71 to 10.

Oversight

The Committee directed the DOD to file quarterly reports with the Committee on the costs of new weapons systems. Approved by a vote of 85 to 0 was an amendment by Sen. Proxmire requiring that GAO provide the Committee by Dec. 31, 1970, with a study of profits made by defense contractors on contracts negotiated with DOD. Also approved, by a vote of 47 to 46, was an amendment by Sen. Schweiker requiring that DOD submit quarterly reports on new weapons systems in development or production to the GAO for auditing and then to Congress. Both amendments give the GAO power to subpoena necessary information.

Other

The Committee adopted a provision stipulating that no employee of a Federal Contract Research Center may be paid in excess of \$45,000 per annum.

SECTION 3

The Defense Department reclama¹

Following Senate passage (by a vote of 81 to 5) of authorizations totalling \$20,059.5 million, DOD submitted a request to the House Armed Services Committee for restoration of \$968.8 million in items cut by the Senate for a total reclama of \$21,028.3.

Items not reclama'd

The \$21,028.3 million total reclama was \$935.4 million below the original request of \$21,963.7 million. Major non-reclama'd programs were:

MOL manned orbiting laboratory, but \$400.0 million in R. & D. funds. Secretary Laird abandoned the program before final Senate Armed Services Committee action in an attempt to take credit for the inevitable.

FDL Fast deployment logistic ship construction, at \$186.7 million deleted in its entirety. The Senate Armed Services Committee re-endorsed Senator Russell's FY 1969 deletion of this program because it placed the U.S. in too interventionist a posture.

Cheyenne armed transport helicopter, at \$362.3 million in procurement and \$16.5 in R. & D. funds, deleted in its entirety. The tendency of the aircraft to fall apart in flight caused a DOD reassessment of the value of the program.

C-5A parts and spares, cut \$50 million due to slippage in the aircraft production program.

Emergency Funds, reduced from \$100.0 million to \$75.0 million on the Senate floor.

Abres ICBM reentry systems, cut \$14.0 million in R. & D. funds; AGMX-3 air-ground tactical missile, \$3.0 million in R. & D. funds deleted in its entirety; and \$14.9 million cut for MBT-70 tank R. & D.

Items reclama'd

The \$968.8 million in reclama'd systems were largely in the R & D category. DOD felt that the Senate Armed Services Committee R & D cuts were excessive; DOD particularly resented the Committee's new procedure of singling out programs for cuts rather than the traditional practice of allowing DOD with the advice of the military services to reduction. The 12.7% cut that the Committee inflicted exceeded DOD expectations of a 10% cut, for which preparation had been made. Major reclama'd programs were:

¹Reclama is DOD's term for its revised budget requests following action by one House of Congress. The reclama generally asks that the House or Senate restore funds cut by the other body.

\$104.0 million for A-7E attack fighter procurement. The new Air Force Chief of Staff, unlike his predecessor, is fond of the A-7 series.

\$22.5 million for A-37B attack fighter procurement and \$5 million for parts and spares cut because of the procurement cut.

\$21.5 million cut from T-X navigational trainer procurement.

All of the SRAM air-ground strategic nuclear missile cuts, including \$20.4 million for procurement, \$40.0 million for B-52 interface modifications, and \$17 million for R & D—a \$77.4 million total.

All bomber defense R & D funds cut, including \$75.0 million deleted for SAM-D anti-aircraft missiles, \$16.0 million cut from the F-105X CONUS interceptor, and \$25 million of \$40 million cut from AWACS detection and control systems.

\$10.0 million of \$15.0 million requested for heavy-lift helicopter R & D, all of \$15 million cut from RF-111 reconnaissance aircraft R & D, and all of \$1.0 million cut from LIT light intratheater transport R & D.

All of \$66.1 million deleted for E2A/C ASW aircraft R & D and all of \$25.0 million cut from S-3A ASW aircraft R & D.

All of \$20 million cut from ULMS undersea missile system R & D and all of \$42.9 million cut from ASMS surface missile system R & D.

Other interim DOD action

DOD made a number of changes in its program requests between Senate passage and the end of the House Armed Services Committee mark-up. Most important were:

A request that the \$374.7 million which DOD had originally agreed to shift from A-7D procurement to F-4E attack fighter procurement to be shifted back to the A-7D, because the new Air Force Chief of Staff had ideas different from his predecessor on the relative worth of the two aircraft. The fact that the F-4E was developed by and for the Navy contributed to the decision.

A request that \$86.0 million of the \$362.3 million in procurement funds freed by the abandoning of Cheyenne be used to purchase Cobra helicopters. This decision reflected anticipation of a high level of helicopter attrition in Vietnam or somewhere else during FY 1970.

Abandonment of \$52.0 million originally requested for long lead time procurement of the fifth C-5A squadron.

SECTION 4

House committee action

Title I—Procurement

Aircraft

The House Armed Services Committee approved \$570.4 million for Army aircraft, \$371.1 million below the \$941.5 million requested. The Committee concurred in the Senate's deletion of \$362.3 for Cheyenne helicopters but recommended that \$86.0 million of the money thus freed be used for Cobra helicopter procurement, requested in the DOD reclama.

The Committee approved \$2,391.2 million for Navy aircraft, \$18.0 million below the \$2,409.2 million requested. The Committee accepted the DOD reclama of the Senate cut of all of \$104.0 million for A-7E attack aircraft procurement and let the \$18.0 million non-reclama'd Senate cut in CH46E transport helicopter procurement stand.

For the Air Force the Committee approved \$400.2 million, a cut of \$98.0 million from the \$4,100.2 million requested. Major changes were:

Acceptance of the DOD request following Senate passage that the Senate recommendation for transfer of \$374.7 in A-7D procurement funds to F-4E procurement be reversed.

Restoration of \$38.5 million originally requested for A-37B attack fighter procurement but cut \$22.5 million by the Senate. The original amount buys 96 instead of 36 air-

craft. \$5 million for A-37B spares was also put back. The Committee approved the Air Force proposal to transfer A-37Bs to the Vietnamese Air Force.

Restoration of \$28.1 million originally requested for T-X navigational trainer procurement, but cut \$21.5 million by the Senate.

Restoration of \$40.0 million for B-52 interface modifications for the SRAM air-ground strategic nuclear missile.

Acceptance of the DOD request that \$52 million in procurement funds for the fifth C-5A squadron be deferred. Chairman Rivers allocated \$4.0 million of these funds for F-5 Freedom Fighters, long lead time procurement. His action in allocating the \$4.0 million in the procurement funds and an additional \$48.0 million for R & D was justified on the basis of suddenly increased need to provide our allies, particularly South Vietnam, with such aircraft, according to a hastily released letter from Secretary Packard.

Concurrence in the Senate cut of \$50.0 million for long lead time procurement of C-5A parts and spares.

Missiles

The Committee approved \$780.5 million of \$941.5 million requested for Army missiles, a cut of \$177.2 million. Senate cuts of \$9.2 million of \$98.7 million for Hawk anti-aircraft missiles, all of \$8.5 million for Interrogator tactical air defense systems, and all of \$3.5 million for the Shillelagh anti-tank missile launcher were not reclamation'd by DOD and approved. The Committee bettered the Senate cut of \$14.0 million for TOW missile procurement and deleted the entire \$156.0 million request, noting that the launch vehicle cost almost one-half as much as a Sheridan tank and the missile itself duplicates the Shillelagh at twice the cost.

\$851.3 million requested for Navy missiles and \$20.1 million for Marine Corps missiles was not touched.

The Committee approved the entire \$1,486.4 million request for Air Force missiles, restoring the Senate cut of \$20.4 million for SRAM air-ground strategic nuclear missile procurement.

Naval vessels

The Committee accepted a recommendation by Chairman Rivers that \$1,023.3 million be added to the Senate approved DOD request of \$2,568.2 million for new ship construction and conversion. DOD did not reclamation the net reduction of \$63.2 million resulting from the Senate's addition of a third nuclear submarine and the deletion of the three FDL fast deployment logistic ships. The Committee accepted these recommendations.

The Committee elaborated a massive Soviet naval effort requiring immediate speed-up of the \$30 Billion program to buy a new fleet. A subcommittee on the status of naval ships studied the increased Soviet naval threat in some detail and produced a handsome report replete with photographs of crowded toilets and corroded Liberty Ships.

Highlights of Chairman Rivers' FY 1970 shipbuilding program are:

Additional construction funds totaling \$157.3 million for eight instead of five DD963 class destroyers and an additional \$112.3 million in initial funding for five instead of two LHA assault ships.

Initial long lead time funding for two additional nuclear ships, a cruiser at \$32.1 million and a carrier at \$100.0 million.

Support construction funds totalling \$662.0 million for five research ships, five ocean minesweepers, four salvage tugs, three fleet supply ships, and a floating drydock.

Chairman Rivers' ship conversion program includes:

\$23.0 million for a range instrumentation ship, \$41.0 million for two additional missile frigates, and \$25.0 million for a personnel carrying submarine. This latter item sup-

plements two existing boats whose mission is to land troops and equipment covertly on foreign soil.

Long lead time conversions of \$40 million for an additional nuclear missile cruiser and \$7.0 million for an ocean minesweeper.

The add-on also includes \$154.5 to fatten up requested shipbuilding and conversions and for some reason abolishes a \$150.2 million negative balancing factor for financing included in the DOD submission and the Senate bill.

Tracked combat vehicles

The Committee approved \$105.2 million of \$305.8 million requested for Army tanks and personnel carriers, a cut of \$110.6 million. Cuts included \$57.6 million in new production money from \$72.8 million for the Sheridan tank, \$20.0 million of \$67.5 million for the M60A1 tank, \$25.4 million requested for the MBT-70 tank, and \$7.6 million in related items.

The Committee accepted the recommendations of its subcommittee to investigate the army tank program headed by Rep. Stratton which found deficiencies in virtually every aspect of the program. The Senate Armed Services Committee, on the other hand, went out of its way to comment favorably on the performance of the Sheridan in Vietnam. The overall Committee cut in the army tank program is \$81.7 million greater than the \$28.9 million cut by the Senate.

The Committee approved all of \$37.7 million requested for Marine Corps tanks.

Title II—Research and Development

Chairman Rivers declined to follow the example set by the Senate Armed Services Committee of directing R & D cuts into specific controversial new weapons programs. In fact, Chairman Rivers in the bill itself did the reverse: he directed that all but \$54.6 million of \$794.4 million in itemized Senate cuts be restored. DOD requested all of these restorations in its reclamation.

Chairman Rivers promised his Committee during consideration of the bill that he would cut the \$8,222.4 million DOD request for R & D by at least 10% across the board. He fell \$78.8 million short of this goal, largely because late on the last day of mark-up he added \$48.0 million to the R & D budget for the F-5 Freedom Fighter. This \$48.0 million was transferred from the procurement budget as a result of Deputy Secretary Packard's deferral of the fifth C-5A squadron.

The Committee authorized \$7,421.4 million of the \$8,222.4 million requested for R & D, a cut of \$801.0 million, or 9.8%. The percentage cut was equally distributed among the services.

Army

The Committee approved \$1,664.5 million of \$1,849.5 requested, a \$185.0 million cut. Major changes included:

Restoration of \$10.0 million of \$15.0 million deleted for a heavy lift helicopter.

Restoration of all of \$75.0 million deleted from the Sam-D anti-aircraft missile. The Committee quoted testimony from Assistant Secretary Poor that to cut the \$75.0 million would waste the \$134.0 million already invested in the program.

Specification that no funds be used for Cheyenne helicopter R & D, thereby deleting all of the \$16.5 million and terminating the program. The Committee agreed with the Army's suggestion that \$21.5 million of the \$86.0 million transferred from Cheyenne to Cobra in the procurement requests be shifted to the R & D budget for R & D on improvements to the Cobra.

Navy

The Committee approved \$1,990.5 million of \$2,211.5 million requested, a cut of \$221.0 million. Major changes included:

Restoration of all of \$66.1 million deleted for the E2A/C ASW aircraft in addition to

\$25.0 million cut from \$165.4 million requested for S-3A ASW aircraft. The Committee took note of the Senate Committee contention that the new ASW aircraft and the AWACS Air Defense system were redundant, but nonetheless restored all funds requested for both ASW aircraft and for AWACS.

Restored all of \$20.0 million deleted entirely for the ULMS undersea missile system. The Committee cited a need to hit Soviet targets from 360 degrees around the Soviet Union.

Restored all of \$42.9 million cut from \$67.9 million requested for the ASMS surface missile system, citing the need to get the system ready for production next year in time for the ships constructed with funds authorized in Chairman Rivers' \$1,023.3 ship construction and conversion add-on.

Air Force

The Committee approved \$3,241.2 million of \$3,561.2 million requested, a \$320.0 million cut. Major changes include:

Restoration of \$15.0 million deleted for RF-111 reconnaissance aircraft, \$1.0 million deleted from LIT light intratheater transport, and all of \$16.0 million cut from \$18.5 million for the CONUS interceptor.

Restoration of \$25.0 million of \$45.0 million cut from a requested total of \$60.0 million for the AWACS bomber defense system, noting that a "major portion" of the 150 1950s vintage Soviet bombers composing the threat were capable of low penetration.

Restoration of all of \$17.0 million cut from \$84.7 million requested for SRAM air-ground strategic nuclear missile R & D. The Committee cited Air Force assurance that cost overrun and management problems would be righted.

Specification that no funds may be used for AX attack fighter R & D. The Senate had approved \$12.0 million for the AX. The reason behind the cut may be a decision to adapt the OV-10 for the AX mission; the OV-10 has a unit cost less than half of the \$1.22 currently estimated for the AX.

Addition of \$48.0 million for F-5 Freedom Fighter R & D to make the aircraft more attractive to our allies. The DOD made no request for F-5 funds.

Senate cuts of \$400.0 million for the MOL manned orbiting laboratory, \$14.0 million for ABRES ICBM reentry systems, and a \$3.0 million deletion for the AGMX-3 air-ground tactical missile were left standing, although the Committee action does not exclude DOD restoration of funding for these programs.

Defense agencies and emergency fund

The Committee recommended \$450.2 of \$500.2 million requested for defense agencies, a \$50.0 million cut. The Committee recommended \$75.0 million of \$100.0 for the Emergency Fund, concurring in the Senate cut.

Non-Money Provisions

Troop levels

The temporary active duty troop ceiling was set at 3,285,000 men as of July 1, 1970, a reduction in manpower of 176,000 men. This troop cut reflects recent DOD recommendations for overall troop reductions.

The Committee approved ceilings of 393,298 men for the Army National Guard, 255,591 men for the Army Reserve, 129,000 men for the Naval Reserve, 49,489 men for the Marine Corps Reserve, 86,624 men for the Air National Guard, and 17,500 men for the Coast Guard Reserve for a total of 982,277 men.

Oversight

H.R. 14000 contains routine general language requiring the furnishing of information by government agencies at the request of the Armed Services Committees. The bill also contains an interesting provision designed apparently to oversee the flow of information from the Committee and its members. This provision authorizes the Com-

mittee to classify information originating within the Committee in the same way that the Federal Government classifies national security information. The provision has been criticized as a device to gag dissident members of the Committee.

Restrictions

H.R. 14000 contains a provision requiring full disclosure after January 1, 1970 of the purposes, cost, and duration of new grants or contracts to universities or university personnel before new contracts or grants can be negotiated. Disclosure must be made sixty days prior to negotiation of the contract or grant. In addition, where a university is involved the disclosure must be accompanied by a statement summarizing the record of the university regarding cooperation with campus ROTC programs and on-campus military recruitment drives. This provision has been criticized as a device to coerce universities to support ROTC and on-campus military recruitment.

The bill also stipulates that funds may only be used for projects or studies with a direct and apparent relationship to a specific military function or operation. The Committee recommended in its report the "narrowest possible" interpretation of the language.

A final restriction limits the salary that can be paid Federal Contract Research Center personnel to a maximum of \$45,000 per annum.

Other

The bill creates an Assistant Secretary of Defense for Health Affairs and a Deputy Assistant Secretary for Dental Affairs.

SECTION 5

Comparison of major House-Senate differences

Procurement

The total House Armed Services Committee procurement authorization is \$1,046.5 million above the Senate amount. \$1,023.3 million of this House excess is for Chairman Rivers' new shipbuilding and conversion program. For aircraft the House is \$226.5 million over the Senate but \$121.6 million lower for missiles and \$81.7 million lower for tracked combat vehicles. This represents a net plus over the Senate of \$23.2 million (excluding the ship add-on).

Research and development

The total House authorization is \$241.9 million over the Senate amount (a 12.7% cut by the Senate vs. a 9.8% cut by the House Committee), almost all due to House Committee acceptance of DOD reclaims for R & D on expensive and sophisticated new weapons systems. House Committee stipulation in the bill that \$382.0 must be put back for various systems itemized in the Senate cut means that the percentage House cuts will fall heavily in those R & D programs which the Senate specifically did not cut. \$154.0

(40%) of the successful reclaims were earmarked for new Navy weapons systems, with the other services dividing the rest.

Non-money provisions

The following key differences exist between the two bills:

The House bill cuts 176,000 men of as of July 1, 1970 from the temporary manpower ceiling, and provides for 2,541 fewer National Guardsmen and Reservists than the Senate bill. The Senate bill contains no reduction of the temporary ceiling but instead provides for a reduction in the overall total equivalent to the number of men withdrawn from Vietnam and a corresponding reduction in reserve strength.

The House bill contains neither the Proxmire contractor profits study amendment nor the Schweiker GAO auditing amendment successfully offered from the Senate floor. No requirement parallel to that in the Senate report requiring complete quarterly reports to the Committee on the progress or lack thereof in new weapons systems development is in the House report.

The oversight of information provision permitting classification of information developed by Committee members is absent from the Senate bill.

The Senate bill contains none of the restrictive provisions of the House bill tying university contracts and grants to university support of ROTC and on-campus military recruiting.

TITLE I. PROCUREMENT

[Amounts in millions]

Item 1	Administration request (Apr. 15)	House committee action	Senate committee action	Difference between House and Senate
Aircraft.....	\$7,450.9	\$6,963.8 (-\$487.1)	\$6,737.3 (-\$713.6)	2 + \$226.5
Army.....	941.5	570.4 (-371.4)	484.4 (-457.1)	2 + \$86.0
Mohawk observation aircraft.....	33.4	5.3 (-28.0)	5.3 (-28.0)	
Cheyenne helicopter.....	362.3	0 (-362.3)	0 (-362.3)	
Aircraft modification.....	69.5	68.5 (-1.0)	68.5 (-1.0)	
Aircraft spares and parts.....	227.4	161.7 (-65.7)	161.7 (-65.7)	
Cobra helicopter.....	0	86.0 (+86.0)	0	2 + \$86.0
Navy and Marine Corps.....	2,409.2	2,391.2 (-18.0)	2,287.2 (-122.0)	2 + \$104.0
A-7E attack fighter.....	104.0	104.0	0 (-104.0)	2 + \$104.0
CH46E helicopter.....	109.5	91.5 (-18.0)	91.5 (-18.0)	
Air Force.....	4,100.2	4,002.2 (-98.0)	3,965.7 (-134.5)	2 + \$36.5
A-7D attack fighter.....	374.7	0 (-374.7)	0 (-374.7)	
F-4E attack fighter.....	25.7	400.4 (+374.7)	400.4 (+374.7)	
A-37B attack fighter.....	38.5	38.5	16.0 (-22.5)	2 + \$22.5
T-X navigation trainer.....	28.1	21.5	6.6 (-21.5)	2 + \$21.5
Aircraft modification.....	\$550.2	550.2	510.2 (-40.0)	2 + \$40.0
Aircraft spares and parts.....	\$935.6	885.6 (-50.0)	885.1 (-50.5)	2 + \$5.5
F-5 freedom fighter.....	0	4.0	0	2 + \$4.0
C-5A long lead items.....	52.0	0 (-52.0)	52.0	2 - \$52.0
Missiles.....	3,315.5	3,138.3 (-177.2)	3,259.9 (-55.6)	2 - \$121.6
Army.....	957.7	780.5 (-177.2)	922.5 (-35.2)	2 - \$142.0
TOW antitank missile.....	156.0	0 (-156.0)	142.0 (-14.0)	2 - \$142.0
Hawk anti-aircraft missile.....	98.7	89.5 (-9.2)	89.5 (-9.2)	
Interrogator air defense.....	8.5	8.5	0 (-8.5)	
Shillelagh launcher.....	3.5	0 (-3.5)	0 (-3.5)	
Navy.....	851.3	851.3	851.3	
Marine Corps.....	20.1	20.1	20.1	
Air Force.....	1,486.4	1,486.4	1,466.0 (-20.4)	2 + \$20.4
SRAM air-ground.....	20.4	20.4	0	2 + \$20.4
Naval vessels.....	2,631.4	3,591.5 (+960.1)	2,568.2 (-63.2)	2 1,023.3
Warship construction.....	1,516.3	1,941.5 (+425.2)	1,669.0 (+152.7)	+272.5
CVAN 69 carrier.....	(1) 377.1	(1) 383.0 (+5.9)	(1) 377.1	+5.9
SSN nuclear submarines.....	(2) 351.8	(3) 504.5 (+152.7)	(3) 504.5 (+152.7)	
DXGN nuclear frigate.....	(1) 196.0	(1) 196.0	(1) 196.0	
DD 963 destroyer.....	(5) 317.7	(8) 475.0 (+157.3)	(5) 317.7	(+3) +157.3
LHA assault ship.....	(2) 270.7	(5) 383.0 (+112.3)	(2) 270.7	(+3) +112.3
PGM gunboat.....	(2) 1.1	0 (-1.1)	(2) 1.1	(-2) -1.1
PC coast patrol boat.....	(2) 1.9	0 (-1.9)	(2) 1.9	(-2) -1.9
Long-lead construction.....	221.7	357.0 (+135.3)	192.5 (-29.2)	2 + \$164.5
CVAN 70 carrier.....	0	100.0 (+100.0)	0	(+1) +100.0
SSN nuclear submarines.....	(5) 119.2	(5) 110.0 (-9.2)	(5) 90.0 (-29.2)	+20.0
DLGN frigate.....	(2) 67.9	(3) 100.0 (+32.1)	(2) 67.9	(+1) +32.1
DD963 destroyer.....	(8) 17.6	(8) 30.0 (+12.4)	(8) 17.6	2 + \$12.4

See footnotes at end of table.

TITLE I. PROCUREMENT—Continued

[Amounts in millions]

Item ¹	Administration request (Apr. 15)	House committee action	Senate committee action	Difference between House and Senate
Naval vessels—Continued				
Support construction.....	\$207.5	\$460.0 (+\$252.5)	\$20.8 (-\$186.7)	² +\$439.2
ATS salvage tug.....	0	(4) 60.0 (+60.0)	0	(+4) ² +60.0
AOR fleet supply.....	0	(3) 200.0 (+200.0)	0	(+3) ² +200.0
Research ships.....	0	(5) 40.0 (+40.0)	0	(+5) ² +40.0
MSO ocean minesweeper.....	0	(5) 70.0 (+70.0)	0	(+5) ² +70.0
AFDB floating drydock.....	0	(1) 50.0 (+50.0)	0	(+1) ² +50.0
Landing and service craft.....	20.8	40.0 (+19.2)	20.8	² +19.2
Conversions.....	366.1	466.0 (+99.9)	366.1	² +99.9
SSBN missile submarine.....	(6)301.4	(6)310.0 (+8.6)	(6)301.4	² +8.6
RIS instrument ship.....	0	(1)23.0 (+23.0)	0	(1) ² +23.0
DLG missile frigate.....	(1) 24.0	(3) 65.0 (+41.0)	(1) 24.0	(2) ² +41.0
MSO ocean minesweeper.....	(10) 40.7	(10) 43.0 (+2.3)	(10) 40.7	² +2.3
LPSS covert troop submarine.....	0	(1) 25.0 (+25.0)	0	(1) ² +25.0
Long lead conversions.....	176.5	257.0 (+80.5)	176.5	² 80.5
SSBN missile submarine.....	157.5	160.0 (+2.5)	157.5	² +2.5
CGN nuclear missile cruiser.....	0	40.0 (+40.0)	0	² +40.0
DLG missile frigate.....	19.0	50.0 (+31.0)	19.0	² +31.0
MSO ocean minesweeper.....	0	7.0 (+7.0)	0	² +7.0
Miscellaneous.....	293.5	110.0 (-183.5)	293.5	² 183.5
CVAN spare parts.....	48.0	50.0 (+2.0)	48.0	² +2.0
Outfitting spares.....	55.4	55.0 (-0.4)	55.4	² -0.4
Post delivery costs.....	23.1	0 (-23.1)	0	² -23.1
Cost growth.....	167.0	0 (-167.0)	167.0	² -167.0
Advance on contract design.....	0	5.0 (+5.0)	0	² +5.0
Financing.....	(-)150.2	0	(-)150.2	
TRACKED COMBAT VEHICLES				
Tracked combat vehicles.....	345.3	232.9 (-110.6)	314.6 (-28.9)	² 81.6
Army.....	305.8	232.9 (-110.6)	314.6 (-28.9)	² 81.7
SHERIDAN tank.....	72.8	15.2 (-57.6)	67.7 (-5.1)	² -52.5
M60A1 tank.....	67.5	47.5 (-20.0)	47.5 (-20.0)	
Laser rangefinder.....	3.8	0 (-3.8)	0 (-3.8)	
M60A1E2 tank.....	3.8	0 (-3.8)	3.8	² -3.8
MBT-70 prod base support.....	33.4	8.0 (-25.4)	33.4	² -25.4
Marine Corps.....	37.7	37.7	37.7	
Grand total, procurement.....	13,974.3	13,926.5 (-48.8)	12,880.0 (-1,094.3)	² +1,046.5

¹ Only weapons systems where House or Senate action differed from the April 15 DOD request are broken out below the lines.

² House.

³ Following the Senate Cheyenne cut, DOD requested \$86,000,000 for Cobra from the House ASC.

⁴ The \$40,000,000 cut by the Senate was for B-52 modifications to accommodate the SRAM air-to-ground missile.

⁵ This \$50,000,000 cut results from production delays in the C-5A program. The \$500,000 is for A-37B spares.

TITLE II.—RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

[Amounts in millions]

Item ¹	Administration request (Apr. 15)	House committee action	Senate committee action	Difference between House and Senate
Army.....	\$1,849.5	\$1,664.5 (-\$185.0)	\$1,638.6 (-\$210.9)	¹ +\$25.9
Cheyenne helicopter.....	16.5	0 (-16.5)	0 (-16.5)	
Heavy lift helicopter.....	15.0	10.0 (-5.0)	0 (-15.0)	¹ 10.0
Sam-D antiaircraft missile.....	75.0	75.0	0 (-75.0)	¹ 75.0
CBW.....	25.7	(?)	17.7 (-8.0)	
MBT-70.....	44.9	(?)	30.0 (-14.9)	
Navy and Marine Corps.....	2,211.5	1,990.5 (-221.0)	1,921.5 (-290.0)	¹ 69.0
E2A/C ASW aircraft.....	66.1	66.1	0 (-66.1)	¹ +66.1
S-3A ASW aircraft.....	165.4	165.4	140.4 (-25.0)	¹ +25.0
ULMS undersea missiles.....	20.0	20.0	0 (-20.0)	¹ 20.0
ASMS surface missiles.....	67.9	67.9	25.0 (-42.9)	¹ +42.9
Air Force.....	3,561.2	3,241.2 (-320.0)	3,051.2 (-510.0)	¹ +190.0
RF-111 aircraft.....	15.0	15.0	0 (-15.0)	¹ +15.0
Light transport aircraft.....	1.0	1.0	0 (-1.0)	¹ +1.0
F-106X Interceptor.....	18.5	18.5	2.5 (-16.0)	¹ +16.0
SRAM air-ground missile.....	84.7	84.7	67.7 (-17.0)	¹ +17.0
AWACS air defense.....	60.0	40.0 (-20.0)	15.0 (-45.0)	¹ +25.0
MOL.....	525.3	125.3 (-400.0)	125.3 (-400.0)	
ABRES ICBM reentry systems.....	121.4	(?)	107.4 (-14.0)	
AGMX-3 air-ground missile.....	3.0	(?)	0 (-3.0)	
AX attack fighter.....	12.0	0 (-12.0)	12.0	¹ -12.0
F-5 Freedom Fighter.....	0	48.0 (+48.0)	0	¹ +48.0
Defense agencies.....	500.2	450.2 (-50.0)	468.2 (-32.0)	¹ -18.0
Defense emergency fund.....	100.0	75.0 (-25.0)	² 100.0	¹ -25.0
Grand total, research and development.....	8,222.4	7,421.4 (-801.0)	² 7,179.5 (-1,042.9)	¹ +241.9
Overall total.....	21,963.7	21,347.9 (-615.8)	20,059.5 (-1,904.2)	¹ +1,288.4

¹ House.

² No cut specified.

³ This amount was cut by an additional \$70,600,000 on the Senate floor.

TITLE I. PROCUREMENT

Item	DOD request (Apr. 15)	HASC action	SASC action	¹ House and Senate ASC comparison
Aircraft	\$7,450.9	\$6,963.8 (-\$487.1)	\$6,737.3 (-\$713.6)	¹ \$226.5
Army	941.5	570.4 (-371.1)	484.4 (-457.1)	¹ +86.0
Navy and Marine Corps	2,409.2	2,391.2 (-18.0)	2,287.2 (-122.0)	¹ +104.0
Air Force	4,100.2	4,002.2 (-98.0)	3,965.7 (-134.5)	¹ +36.5
Missiles	3,315.5	3,138.3 (-177.2)	3,259.9 (-55.6)	¹ -121.6
Army	957.7	780.5 (-177.2)	922.5 (-35.2)	¹ -142.0
Navy	851.3	851.3	851.3	
Marine Corps	20.1	20.1	20.1	
Air Force	1,486.4	1,486.4	1,466.0 (-20.4)	¹ +20.4
Naval vessels	2,631.4	3,591.5 (+960.1)	2,568.2 (-63.2)	¹ +1,023.3
Warship construction	1,516.3	1,941.5 (+425.2)	1,669.0 (+152.7)	¹ +272.5
Long lead construction	221.7	357.0 (+135.3)	192.5 (-29.2)	¹ +164.5
Support construction	207.5	460.0 (+252.5)	20.8 (-186.7)	¹ +439.2
Conversions	366.1	466.0 (+99.9)	366.1	¹ +99.9
Long lead conversions	176.5	257.0 (+80.5)	176.5	¹ +80.5
Miscellaneous	293.5 (-\$150.2)	110.0 (-183.5)	293.5 (-150.2)	¹ -183.5
Tracked combat vehicles	343.5	232.9 (-110.6)	314.6 (-28.9)	¹ -81.7
Army	305.8	195.2 (-110.6)	276.9 (-28.9)	¹ -81.7
Marine Corps	37.7	37.7	37.7	
Grand total, procurement	13,741.3	13,926.5 (+185.2)	12,880.0 (-861.3)	¹ +1,046.

TITLE II. RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

[Amounts in millions]

Army	\$1,849.5	\$1,664.5 (-\$185.0)	\$1,638.6 (-\$210.9)	¹ +\$25.9
Navy and Marine Corps	2,211.5	1,990.5 (-221.0)	1,921.5 (290.0)	¹ 69.0
Air Force	3,561.2	3,241.2 (-320.0)	3,051.2 (-510.0)	¹ +190.0
Defense agencies	500.2	450.2 (-50.0)	468.2 (-32.0)	¹ -18.0
Defense emergency fund	100.0	75.0 (-25.0)	100.0	¹ -25.0
Grand total, research and development	8,222.4	7,421.4 (-801.0)	7,179.5 (-1,042.9)	¹ +241.9
Overall total	21,963.7	21,347.9 (-615.8)	20,059.5 (-1,904.2)	¹ +1,288.4

¹ House.*C-5A amendment*

Effect

This amendment would defer the \$481.0 million requested for procurement of the fourth C-5A giant transport aircraft squadron.

Explanation

The Air Force has not justified the military necessity of the fourth squadron. Studies show that three squadrons are more than sufficient to meet emergency demands for equipment during the first week of a crisis, after which ships can take over from the C-5A. Even if the fourth squadron could be justified, this amendment would not upset production schedules, already six months behind with further delays expected. Fourth squadron delivery is not expected before FY 1972.

Proponents of the C-5A program argue that more squadrons will enable the U.S. to bring troops and supplies home which are now stationed abroad and still meet our commitments.

Senate action

A similar amendment was defeated in the Senate 64 to 23.

House committee action

Rep. Pike introduced the amendment in the House Armed Services Committee, where it was defeated.

During hearings, Chairman Rivers provided a forum for former Air Force Assistant Secretary Robert Charles to defend the program. Mr. Charles provided the Committee with his insights into the contract: "I have never known a greater distortion of the truth . . . the critics of this program are unwittingly performing a disservice to the taxpayer and to the nation's defense . . . the C-5A contract is the toughest contract . . . ever entered into by the Pentagon." The Committee placed the C-5A overrun at \$1.3 billion in its report.

Sponsors

Reps. Pike (D-N.Y.), Moorhead (D-Pa.), and Coughlin (R-Pa.).

AMSA amendment

Effect

This amendment would maintain the R & D funding level for a new manned bomber proposed in the Clifford request, by deleting \$23.0 million of \$100.2 million for stepped up R & D requested by Secretary Laird in his budget amendments.

Explanation

For a number of years, the Defense Department has been carrying on a steady but carefully-paced R & D program on AMSA. Secretary Laird, by inflating that effort, has caused concern that the Pentagon may be committing the nation to a multi-billion-dollar program for an obsolete strategy.

It has not been resolved whether manned bombers have any role in our future nuclear deterrent or damage-limiting force. If they do, it has not been proven that our present bombers cannot perform the role. Opponents of the amendment argue that AMSA would provide insurance against a Soviet capability to destroy both our land and sea-based missiles, and increase flexibility in the event of a nuclear attack. They contend that the B-52, designed during the 1950's, will not be able to perform these roles during the 1970's.

Senate action

An amendment to cut AMSA R & D expenditures by \$80.2 million was defeated, 56-32.

House committee action

Chairman Rivers heard testimony only from proponents of AMSA, and the increased DOD request was routinely approved. Rep. Leggett moved to maintain the R & D effort at \$77.2 million, the level of the Clifford request, but this proposal was rejected.

Sponsors

Rep. Leggett (D-Calif.).

Cobra amendment

Effect

The amendment would cut \$86.0 million from the bill for COBRA helicopter procurement, thereby restoring the amount to the level originally requested by the Administration.

Explanation

After the abandonment of the Cheyenne helicopter program for technical reasons the Pentagon appealed to Chairman Rivers to add funds for 170 Cobra helicopter gunships. These aircraft are for use in limited-war situations in terrain inaccessible to ground vehicles, or in airmobile tactics. If the Administration is ending the war in Viet Nam and plans to avoid similar wars in the 1970's, there is no need for these aircraft.

Senate action

The Senate Armed Services Committee deleted all funds requested for the similar-purpose Cheyenne. The Cobra helicopter addition was not considered in the Senate.

House committee action

Chairman Rivers responded favorably to the Pentagon request Rep. Nedzi opposed the request, but was defeated.

Sponsor

Rep. Nedzi (D-Mich.)

Safeguard ABM amendment

Effect

This amendment will delete \$345.5 million in procurement funds for President Nixon's proposed Safeguard ABM system, while allowing R. & D. to proceed in accordance with the Administration's request. The action can be reversed at any time if Soviet or Chinese strategic missile deployment policies change unexpectedly.

Explanation

While Safeguard is intended to protect the U.S. land-based missile force from the So-

viet Union, there is no hard evidence that the Soviets intend or would even be able to challenge the U.S. deterrent in the next decade. Should a threat materialize, the evidence will be clear enough to allow adequate time to permit countermeasures. In any event, Safeguard is not the optimum response to a Soviet threat. There is doubt about the workability of the system. Even if it did work, it could be easily overwhelmed.

Senate action

The Safeguard ABM request was approved by the Senate in a series of votes following an intensive two month debate. The two key votes were the Smith amendment to proceed with any alternative but Safeguard, which failed in a 50 to 50 deadlock, and the Hart-Cooper amendment to proceed with R. & D. but defer deployment, which failed by a vote of 51 to 49.

The earlier vote in the Senate Armed Services Committee also carried by a narrow margin, 10 to 7 with 1 abstention.

House committee action

The Committee, in an unusual move, heard testimony both for and against the ABM from witnesses inside and outside the DOD.

Rep. Leggett moved to delete \$345.5 million from the procurement request and \$200.0 million from the R & D request. The amendment was defeated by a vote of 30 to 8.

Sponsors

Reps. Leggett (D.-Calif.) and Whalen (R.-Ohio).

F-5 Freedom Fighter amendment

Effect

This amendment would delete \$36 million in R & D for the Northrup F-5 Freedom Fighter, leaving \$12 million for R & D and all of the \$4 million for procurement. The remaining funds are to be used to subsidize the private industry development of the aircraft.

Explanation

The amendment supports the Administration. DOD feels it should not underwrite the costs to private industry of developing another aircraft with which to equip our allies and sell to other nations. The DOD believes that developmental costs of the F-5 should be low, and that, if it is saleable, Northrup will easily make good its investment. Accordingly, the DOD requested no funds for this program.

Senate action

Because the DOD did not request these funds, the Senate did not deal with the F-5. The Senate-approved bill contains no money for the F-5 subsidy.

House committee action

Chairman Rivers has been concerned for some time about the expense of equipping allies with aircraft from our present forces, and about loss of sales to U.S. companies from foreign competition. He maintains that the Air Force should pay for the development of a cheaper aircraft. On the last day of markup, when \$52 million of C-5A funds were released, he transferred the money to the Northrup F-5. Rep. Leggett moved to change this amount to \$26 million; but this motion was defeated in the Committee.

Sponsor

Rep. Leggett (D.-Calif.)

SRAM amendment

Effect

This amendment would duplicate the action of the Senate Armed Services Committee in cutting \$17.0 million from R & D and \$60.4 million from procurement, a \$77.4 million total. The amendment would leave \$67.7 million for R & D.

Explanation

The SRAM air-ground strategic nuclear missile program is two years behind schedule, has a cost overrun of 194% of the orig-

inal estimate, and has yet to produce a successful series of flight tests. The R & D program is considered one of the worst-managed in years. The missile was designed for the B-52, which may not still be flying when SRAM becomes operational, and the FB-111, which was not finally designed when SRAM design started. Every time the FB-111 design changed, SRAM design had to be altered. The missile calls for a motor which did not exist when the proposal was approved, and still does not work. Nevertheless, a successful SRAM could lessen the need for AMSA, and for that reason further R & D might be warranted.

Senate action

The Senate Armed Services Committee moved to slow down development by cutting R & D by \$17.0 million. Because no working models were yet available, the Committee voted to delete procurement request of \$0.4 million for production and \$40.0 million for B-52 interface modification.

House committee action

Rep. Leggett introduced this amendment in the Committee, but was defeated. Chairman Rivers exempted SRAM in H.R. 14000 from his 9.8% across-the-board R & D cut.

Sponsor

Rep. Leggett (D.-Calif.)

GAO auditing amendment

Effect

This amendment would require DOD to submit quarterly reports on major weapons systems and projects in R & D or production. The reports would be audited by the General Accounting Office and transmitted to the Congress. The GAO would be empowered to conduct independent audits of the projects and to subpoena books which defense contractors have in the past refused to supply.

Explanation

Recent testimony has indicated that major defense contractors have kept two sets of accounts when cost overruns or delays were developing in projects. Similarly, the services have hidden information on mismanagement from the Secretary of Defense. DOD has also attempted to prevent Congress from receiving information on cost and schedule changes in major contracts. The amendment would establish a reporting system designed to improve the quality and quantity of information sent to the Congress on major defense programs.

Senate action

The Senate passed a similar amendment (the Schweiker amendment) by a vote of 47-46. The Senate Armed Services Committee has set up an informal reporting system partially accomplishing the purpose of the amendment. The Schweiker amendment focused on contracts, rather than programs (which include contracts). It is generally felt, therefore, that the House amendment is an improvement over the Senate-passed language.

House committee action

A similar amendment was defeated in the House Armed Services Committee. H.R. 14000 requires the DOD to provide all information requested specifically by the Armed Services Committees, and to keep the Committees informed about current DOD activities. In Committee testimony, Comptroller-General Staats generally endorsed some kind of cost-reporting system for the Congress.

Sponsors

Reps. Podell (D.-N.Y.) and Whalen (R.-Ohio).

CBW amendment

Effect

This amendment would establish a semi-annual reporting procedure on expenditures and programs for CBW and prohibit development of delivery vehicles for lethal agents. It would also prohibit secrecy in

foreign and domestic shipping and storage of material, thereby improving U.S. compliance with international treaty commitments. It would also ensure notice of open-air testing, and put a ceiling on stockpiles as of June 30, 1970. It does not cut any funds from the bill.

Explanation

DOD research, testing, shipping, and storage programs for CBW have repeatedly proved unsafe in recent years, culminating in accidents and injuries both in the U.S. and abroad. The program has been conducted in such secrecy that neither the Congress nor the electorate can review or even be aware of the costs and dangers involved. Current CBW shipping and storage practices present a public danger of contamination by accidentally released toxic agents.

Secretary Laird has stated that this amendment is consistent with both public safety and national security.

Senate action

A slightly more restrictive amendment passed the Senate 91 to 0, with Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Stennis voting for it.

In the Senate Armed Services Committee, all funds for R & D on offensive chemical and biological agents were deleted, a total of \$16.0 million.

House committee action

A similar amendment was offered but rejected in the House Armed Services Committee. Part of the R & D funds for CBW may be affected by the Committee's 9.8% across-the-board R & D cut. The DOD apparently did not reaffirm its support for this amendment to the Committee, and the Committee did not alter the original DOD request.

Sponsors

Reps. Nedzi (D.-Mich.) and McCarthy (D.-N.Y.)

Naval shipbuilding amendment

Effect

The amendment would eliminate \$1,023.3 million added to the bill by Chairman Rivers, thereby restoring the level of funding to the Administration's reclamation (revised request following Senate action).

Explanation

The Administration's request was only slightly modified by the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Administration concurred in this action. Chairman Rivers' billion-dollar increase primarily affects support vessels rather than firstline ships. National security is not impaired by deferring funding until required in the Navy's established shipbuilding and conversion program. The huge sum proposed to be added in H.R. 14000 could seriously upset the entire Naval modernization plan. Passage of the amendment would support the Administration's position as reflected in the original request and in the reclamation.

Senate action

The Senate Armed Services Committee added \$152.7 million for an additional nuclear attack submarine but deleted \$186.7 million for three FDL (Fast Deployment Logistics) ships. Extensive floor debate on the role of carriers culminated in passage of an amendment to re-study the entire role of carrier-centered fleets before approval of the next capital ship, CVAN-70. The Senate Authorization was concurred in by DOD.

House committee action

Chairman Rivers approved funds for shipbuilding and conversion exceeding the Senate and the Navy's program by \$1,023.3 million. The House Armed Services Committee did not restore the FDL ships, deleted by the Senate, but added funds for construction of two additional nuclear ships (one carrier and one cruiser), six additional major vessels, and eighteen additional lesser ships. (See page 14 for complete add-on). Conversion funds

were increased for two cruisers and two smaller vessels. Funds totaling \$154.5 million were added for general ship construction and conversion. All these additions were in excess of the Administration's submission. Rivers added the money in a successful Committee amendment.

Sponsors

Reps. Nedzi (D-Mich.), and Whalen (R-Ohio).

Contractor Profits Study Amendment

Effect

This amendment would require the General Accounting Office to provide the Armed Services Committees by December 31, 1970, with a study of the profits made by contractors and subcontractors on negotiated contracts with the DOD. It provides the GAO with subpoena power to obtain needed information.

Explanation

There is no recent study of profits on negotiated defense-related contracts which is comprehensive or objective. Partial studies have developed widely differing figures. A DOD-supported study indicated that profits were generally low, however a study by a recently-appointed Assistant Secretary of the Treasury indicated the profits were 155% of the industry average. There is no dispute over the ability of GAO to carry out such a study. The amendment is supported by the Comptroller General.

Senate action

This amendment passed the Senate by an 85-0 vote. It was endorsed by Chairman Stennis of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

House committee action

None.

Sponsor

Rep. Jacobs (D-Ind.).

Bomber defense amendment

Effect

This amendment would incorporate the specified cuts made by the Senate Armed Services Committee into the House Armed Services Committee's bill. The Senate deleted \$45.0 million for the new AWACS airborne radar system, \$16.0 million for an improved CONUS interceptor, and \$75.0 million for the new SAM-D missile.

Explanation

The House should support the careful analysis given these items by the Senate Armed Services Committee and delete them.

The Soviet manned bomber threat is small and primitive, and there are no signs that a new bomber force is being developed. Our present system was hastily constructed at a cost of tens of billions of dollars, is of low effectiveness, and, in view of the threat, has almost no use. Development of a multi-billion dollar improved system should be deferred until the threat is carefully re-examined. There is also little point in developing protection from bombers when a workable ABM is not available.

Proponents of the new system argue that they will deter the Soviet Union from constructing another manned bomber; and if they do not, the Russians will have to spend billions extra on their bomber program to penetrate U.S. defenses.

Senate action

The Senate Armed Services Committee not only deferred funding of the program, but required the Defense Department to produce a detailed analysis of the Soviet bomber threat before submitting further requests for funds.

House committee action

No similar amendment was offered in the Committee. Chairman Rivers specifically exempted these systems from his across-the-board R & D fund cut in H.R. 14000.

Sponsor

Rep. Reuss (D-Wis.)

The Aircraft Carrier Amendment

Effect

This amendment would defer authorization of funds for the third and fourth nuclear carriers, CVAN-69 and CVAN-70, pending a study of the foreign-policy and strategic roles of carriers, their vulnerability, and their costs. The study would be made by the Senate and House Foreign Affairs and Armed Services Committees. Funds deferred by this amendment would total \$483.0 million.

Explanation

The U.S. is the only nation in the world to maintain an extensive carrier fleet, and the purpose of that strategy has never been critically examined. Naval capital ship force levels have been set at 15 since 1921, except during wartime. Carriers are symbols of the U.S. "world-policeman" foreign policy. The annual operating costs of carriers exceed \$5 billion, exclusive of investment in the new multi-billion-dollar nuclear task forces.

Opponents argue that carriers are substitutes for land bases, are necessary for quick involvement in overseas conflicts, and can deter brushfire wars by demonstrating the U.S. presence.

Senate action

A similar amendment was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 75 to 7 after its sponsors (Mondale & Case) unsuccessfully tried to withdraw it in favor of a substitute approving CVAN-69 but requiring a study of the role of carriers before funding any additional carriers. As a result, the two sponsors and other supporters voted against their original amendment and in favor of their substitute amendment which was approved by a vote of 84 to 0.

House committee action

The House Armed Services Committee not only approved DOD's request for CVAN-69 by authorizing \$383.0 million (\$5.9 million more than requested), but it also approved an additional \$100.0 million—which was not requested—for CVAN-70.

Chairman Rivers also formed a Sea Power Subcommittee this year to publicize the status of the U.S. and Soviet fleets and the difficulty the Navy has encountered in proceeding with its \$30 billion shipbuilding program.

Sponsors

Reps. Moorehead (D-Pa.); and Gude (R-Md.).

Manpower amendment

Effect

This amendment would require that the overall strength of the Armed Forces be reduced by the number of men withdrawn from Vietnam.

Explanation

An estimated 800,000 men have been added to the Armed Forces as a result of the war, of which only 540,000 have been stationed in Vietnam at one time. In order to return to peacetime levels, men withdrawn from Vietnam will have to be either discharged from the Armed Forces or, if redeployed, be matched by cuts in other forces. This amendment would provide for such conservative reductions. The restriction would be eliminated in the event a President—or Congress—declared national emergency.

Senate action

The Senate approved a similar amendment by a vote of 71 to 10.

House committee action

The Committee rejected tying troop level reductions to Vietnam troop withdrawals. However, the Committee bill does require a troop reduction of 176,000 by June 30, 1970.

Sponsor

Rep. Mikva (D-Ill.)

GREECE—BASTION OF FREEDOM
IN MEDITERRANEAN

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in the entire Mediterranean area, the left consistently attacks only the Governments of Greece and Spain. This program follows the pattern which I last week pointed out in connection with the continued leftist assaults on the Governments of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal.

Whenever free men have defeated communism they can immediately expect to be subjected to the repeated slurs and smears of the international left.

Americans are rightfully concerned about the threat of a Red Mediterranean—especially since an attack on one of our warships, flying the American flag, in daylight and in international waters has already cost American lives. And Americans should be aware that the Russian fleet is welcomed in all ports of the Mediterranean except those of Greece and Spain.

The present Government of Greece is pro-American and anti-Communist. The distorted press constantly maligns the Government of Greece as a military dictatorship, but fails to remind its readers that this coup by loyal Greek officers foiled a Communist takeover of their country.

To balance hysterical extremists attacks by the left on Greece largely by those who have never visited that country or by those who are fugitives from Greek justice, it is truly refreshing to read an objective report by a distinguished American writer of unquestioned patriotism who gives his personal on-the-scene account of the situation which actually exists in the cradle of democracy—Greece.

Mr. Speaker, I include two reports from Greece by Victor Riesel, as follows:

NOW HEAR THIS

(By Victor Riesel)

ATHENS, Greece.—It's all very relaxed in the gardens and foyers of the old Parliamentary palace. You pass the usual single guard with the usual single gun. Then into the usual vaulted gilded rooms of ancient royalty.

And soon you are with a very informal Prime Minister who doesn't mind if you spill hot Greek coffee on his new desk and doesn't look, act, talk nor dodge questions like a military dictator world intellectuals make him out to be.

After an hour of coffee and questions Prime Minister George Papadopoulos chuckled when I said on departing I had come expecting to find a tough soldier but had found him to be a social devolutional and intellectual.

He is both. Why then do American intellectuals and many world labor leaders attack him and his military junta each day? The answer is that he is not their kind of intellectual.

Prime Minister Papadopoulos is anti-Communist. He is pro-American. He runs the only Balkan nation outside the iron curtain.

His nation—parliament-less though it is—loathes the dictatorships to the north. In the words of one of the Prime Minister's cabinet members, Greece is an ally of the

Americans and will continue as long as it is not "the slave of the Slavs."

Apparently many an American intellectual, and especially the bearded Victor Reuther (heavy spending director of the United Auto Workers Union International Dept.), take all this as a personal insult.

Walter Reuther, for example, has visited Yugoslavia and accepted Marshall Tito's hospitality. But the Detroit redhead would not visit Greece. Why? Doesn't the state-controlled radio of Yugoslavia daily blister the U.S. foreign policy? Of course it does.

Doesn't Greece cooperate with the U.S. and its armed forces and its foreign and commercial policies each day? Of course it does. Why then is there empathy for Marshal Tito's Yugoslavia and enmity for Prime Minister Papadopoulos's Greece?

For example, European labor leaders have forced the International Labor Organization (ILO) of Geneva, Switzerland to investigate Greece's handling of the labor movement here, called the General Confederation of Greek Labor (GSEE) which had and still has some 400,000 members. Western European labor leaders, many egged on by the Reuthers, want Greece expelled from the ILO because the movement here has been reorganized by the military junta.

But, now hear this! These very same labor leaders happily sit with Communist "union" chiefs on the ILO governing board. They rub shoulders with Communist Bloc labor men who often are members of the secret police or controlled by them, sent to Geneva by Bulgaria (represented on the governing board), Hungary, Poland, the Soviet Union, etc. The ILO approves aid to Poland and the dispatch of electronic and computer scientists to Communist lands. They sit with Ahmed Fahim, whom I have met personally in Cairo, head of the United Arab Federation of Labor. Mr. Fahim is rigidly controlled by Col. Nasser's secret police. He is violently anti-Israel and despises America.

Western labor leaders and intellectuals will fraternize with these men, yet they want Greece booted from the ILO—which under the direction of an American Director General, Dave Morse, is investigating Greek labor.

Well, the Greek labor law is tough. It says that the old crowd has had it real fine and now Greek labor leaders must work in the industry at least 100 days a year and must have worked that much time each year for the past six years to qualify for leadership.

And the law says that a union can strike for only three days if it doesn't get the approval of the rank and file at a membership meeting. Well, perhaps there will be no strikes under the military rule. But no one here gets shot, no one is imprisoned in slave labor camps as they are in the USSR. And what of the Czech labor movement. And what of the Soviet "Labor federation"? Is it not headed by Alexander Shelepin, former head of the Soviet secret police.

Of course, it is. Yet Victor Reuther approves of this Soviet movement—and incidentally of the Soviet educational system. Very much so. But he and his colleagues and friend Melina Mercouri, the actress, and her husband of old Hollywood and Zorba the Greek fame doesn't approve of Greek educational reform. Why?

Until the military revolution led by Col. George Papadopoulos in April, 1967 (he is now minister of education as well as prime minister) the universities here were corrupt. College students had to pay anywhere from \$15 to \$20 for each book. The books were written by the professors who received heavy royalties. And the books were bought in college bookstores which sent lists of purchasers to the professors so they would know who was the "good" student and the bad.

The professors lived handsomely. So well, indeed, that they would stay on forever. It got so that 73 was middle age. They bought land and built villas. The educational system was in the worst, most corrupt chaos. At one

law school, some 750 students would crowd into a theatre, which was a movie house at night, to hear the professor's lecture.

Professors were paid to give final exams. And you know the rest.

Now all universities and colleges are free. All books are free. All professors retire at 65. The acquisitive ones, all quite wealthy, were discharged, purged, booted out; call it what you will. Student bus fares, mess hall costs and dormitory payments have been drastically slashed.

The Ministry of Education, where in the past not one employee could speak a foreign language fluently, has been reorganized. There is a law that all letters and applications must be answered in a week. In the past such mail was ignored for four years.

New universities are going up. Some of the world's most modern colleges are being built here by the military junta the intellectuals needle so much. I'm asked especially to flag professor John Kenneth Galbraith to come and see. He'll notice, incidentally, no sandbags, no militia on the streets and in the universities as in Communist cities; just outdoor cafes where you can cuss the government and the service.

A \$50 million college is being built on 400 acres here in Athens, another on 800 in Patras, still another 800 acres are being readied for a university at Ioannina. And the university of Salonika is being expanded. Yet this is a small nation of 8 million.

Today students need only qualify scholastically to enter universities. They qualify by taking exams, even as in the U.S.—academic exams. Not political.

Let's not mistake it. This nation is being ruled by a military junta. It replaced one of the most corrupt, dirtiest, landgrabbing regimes in history. The documents are here to prove it.

There is no democracy as we know it. There is no parliament. But I have read some of the old pork barrel laws. They make our House of Representatives look like a mock Congress.

But freedom for freedom, Greece will match and, as in the days of Marathon, outrace the Communist totalitarianism to the north. Why then is this vital ally of the U.S. being hacked by the same camarilla which woos the avowed enemies of America? Makes no sense.

NOW HEAR THIS

(By Victor Riesel)

ATHENS, GREECE.—Absorbing the Greek has been a tough assignment for the communist international apparatus and its underground here which plays political blackmail by threatening anticommunist Americans with unpleasant plastic bombs.

The point of the bomb is to have us rush to the nearest cable office and warn President Nixon not to be friendly to this little beach-lined nation because of its military government.

For those of us who know that "Never on Sunday" is not Greece's national anthem, this blackmail by explosion obscures a few facts of geopolitical life: Greece—and some do believe our own national interests—is in a Maoist-Moscow pincer.

Over in Albania, ruled by Premier Enver Hoxha's Communist Worker Party, is a concentration of Peking air, naval, submarine, military and nuclear missile "Advisers." That's on one Greek border. On another is the operational headquarters of the Soviet's "Slav Section." That's in Bulgaria. And over yonder is Tito's Yugoslavia. Not very pleasant company.

Meanwhile, welcome in Greece are some key U.S. bases, a most strategic mammoth NATO complex on Crete and a warm reception for the sleek U.S. Sixth Fleet which weighs anchor here regularly.

Now that this backdrop is painted along with the Acropolis, the Parthenon and Olympus, one can turn to the outcries against the military strong men now running the Greek

government. We hear from Congressman Don Edwards (D-Calif.) and some 47 other Representatives that this is a very bad thing.

But we don't hear outcries from Mr. Edwards and his colleagues for the withdrawal of our ambassador from Peru, where the left-wing military government has ordered the shooting and capture of American fishing boats; or for the withdrawal of recognition from the Soviet Union whose troops machine-gunned university youngsters in Prague's martyred streets the other day; or for the end of diplomatic relations with brutally anti-Semitic Poland.

Fact is, the Greek government of 26 ministers and minister-alternates, of which three are former army men, is tough. But not as tough as any of the governments on its border—governments with which Congressman Edwards would exchange cultural missions.

There are at least 56 cruel slave-labor camps, including the unknown Potma, in the Soviet Union, camps in which AFL-CIO President George Meany says tens of thousands of workers, writers and intellectuals are dying slow, brutal deaths.

There are no slave labor camps in Greece. It is not true that "hundreds of thousands" of oppositionists have been picked up by a secret police. There are no dragnets.

There are about 1,700 prisoners who could be labelled "political." Most of them, about 1,100 are on the Aegean island of Leros. About 100 of them are women. Some 500 can leave for their city homes and villages immediately if they sign agreements not to agitate against the government.

The professorial Minister of Justice from the University of Salonika, Ilias Kyriakopoulos, who answered my questions for more than an hour and a half, says they can go free even if they give their word verbally.

He adds they don't want to get out of the island detention because they fear they'll be liquidated by the Communist underground if, when free, they refuse to take orders. There are informed sources who say those who refuse, do so on principle and fear nothing. But no one disputes they can go free.

This would leave about 600 on the island. At least 500 of these are hard-core communists with long "CP" records, many of whom have been picked up by previous administrations.

No doubt some noncommunist, antigovernment activists have been picked up and imprisoned elsewhere—but so have the remains of their bombs been picked up along with many wounded.

Many leaders of what were political parties before the April 21, 1967 military revolution come and go as they wish. They can leave the country. They can practice their professions. They can agitate. True, some can't leave Greece. They're a handful, however, but neither can one take a taxi from his home to Moscow's airport and live it up in the free world.

One of those who loves Greece is Panos G. Troumbounis, leader of the newspapermen's union which is the counterpart of the U.S. American Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO. He is unhappy. He thinks the draft of the proposed press law is too tough, too restrictive, too tight to permit his followers to get the news, write it and comment freely on it.

We talked about this for a long time in his headquarters. He's a newsman's newsman. The get-it and print-it type.

But he's free. He argues with strong man, Prime Minister George Papadopoulos. He moves in and out of Greece. He goes to meetings of the International Federation of Journalist in Belgium and Switzerland and agitates for resolutions critical of Greece's press laws.

And Mr. Troumbounis says that he has not been threatened nor told to stay home. Only one newspaper has been shut down since the revolution—the official commu-

nist daily. Two new ones are publishing. No editions of any paper have been suspended or banned.

One, in Salonika, was held up for printing a picture of the million-dollar-a-year King Constantine at the inauguration of President Nixon. When the Prime Minister was told of this by brother Troumbounis, word flashed immediately and the paper rolled in two hours. A second daily was held up for an afternoon.

There are now newsmen in prison here. If one is picked up for collaboration with the underground, the newspaper union chief alerts the Prime Minister and the reporter is freed.

And, while we're talking about Salonika, which for many hundreds of years until the Nazi storm troopers invaded this land, was the center of great Jewish learning, let's for a fleeting second look at freedom of religion. There is absolute freedom of worship. The Roman Catholic minority and the surviving 6,000 persons of Jewish faith go to their churches and temples in utter freedom.

They are freer here than in any communist land. All of which is not to say that the regime is not tough, nor that it believes that Spartan measures and Draconic laws are unnecessary, or that they featherbed the opposition.

But why is this a reason for alienating an ally in a part of the world where we have mighty few? Why is this a reason for depriving Greece of arms when it is unsparr-

ing of its soil, and its sons, in defense of the free world?

Why suddenly is it the fashion in some circles back home to skewer Greece because it has a tough government—yet fawn on the totalitarianism of the Soviet Union? Why are we asked to desert our Greek allies and yet woo the mocking military regime in Peru and tolerate those who once shouted Ho Ho Ho?

Why the double standard?

REVENUE SHARING WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I strongly support President Nixon's proposed revenue sharing with State and local governments.

Ten years ago I incorporated this idea of revenue sharing in a bill to provide assistance to the States in meeting the needs of education. My idea was to return a percentage of the income tax collected by the Federal Government to the respective States in lieu of Federal aid to

education. By this means I hoped to avoid Federal control of our schools which I think are properly the responsibility of the States. Likewise such decisions as compulsory busing of schoolchildren to provide racial balance, to me, are properly a matter for local school boards and the parents who elect them.

However, I think the basic argument in favor of revenue sharing is that it would protect our dual system of government and federalism under the Constitution against eventual control.

The States and local communities have been desperately attempting to meet their needs for adequate public service. More and more they have been forced to turn to the Federal Government for money and the result of this growing dependence on Federal largess has been more and more control on the national level. In many instances Federal programs bypass local authorities who certainly know best their own needs and priorities.

So, as I say, Mr. Speaker, I applaud the President in asking Congress to provide means of financing State and local needs without the Federal Government saying how and where the money must be spent.

SENATE—Tuesday, September 30, 1969

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon and was called to order by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. METCALF).

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou who didst bless and guide the pioneer founders of the Republic, imbue us with their fortitude and wisdom that we may be pioneers of the spirit and molders of a better world. Help us, O Lord, to make this good earth the city of God—a city of righteousness where none shall harm his neighbor; a city of brotherhood where success is measured by service, and honor is accorded to nobleness alone; a city of plenty where evil and poverty have vanished; a city of peace, where order shall not rest on force but on personal goodness and the love of all for the common life and weal. Inspire and strengthen all in the service of the Government and all citizens of the Nation that we may give time, thought, and sacrifice to speed the day when Thy kingdom comes on earth as it is in heaven; for Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, September 29, 1969, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILLS

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated

to the Senate by Mr. Leonard, one of his secretaries, and he announced that on September 26, 1969, the President had approved and signed the following acts:

S. 83. An act for the relief of certain civilian employees and former civilian employees of the Bureau of Reclamation;

S. 348. An act for the relief of Cheng-hual Li; and

S. 1686. An act relating to age limits in connection with appointments to the U.S. Park Police.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, the Acting President pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2068) to amend section 302(c) of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 to permit employer contributions to trust funds to provide employees, their families, and dependents with scholarships for study at educational institutions or the establishment of child-care centers for pre-school and school-age dependents of employees, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 13369) to authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, until October 1, 1971, to set interest rates necessary to meet the mort-

gage market for guaranteed and insured loans under title 38 of the United States Code, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (H.R. 10420) to permit certain real property in the State of Maryland to be used for highway purposes.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H.R. 13369) to authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, until October 1, 1971, to set interest rates necessary to meet the mortgage market for guaranteed and insured loans under title 38 of the United States Code, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.