

creating the Home Owners Mortgage Loan Corporation; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 14107. A bill to extend for 1 year the authority to limit the rates of interest or dividends payable on certain deposits and accounts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 14108. A bill to provide additional mortgage credit, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 14109. A bill to increase the availability of guaranteed home loan financing for veterans and to increase the income of the national service life insurance fund; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. MEEDS:

H.R. 14110. A bill to permit the people of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to provide for their own governance through the adoption of a constitution, to provide for the government of the trust territory before the approval and implementation of such constitution, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. TIERNAN:

H.R. 14111. A bill to authorize the Federal National Mortgage Association to purchase conventional mortgages, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

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By Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama (for himself and Mr. BROWN):

H.J. Res. 916. Joint resolution to supplement the joint resolution making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1970 in order to provide for carrying out programs and projects, and for payments to State educational agencies and local educational agencies, institutions of higher education, and other educational agencies and organizations, based upon appropriation levels as provided in H.R. 13111, which passed the House of Representatives July 31, 1969, and entitled "An act making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. HALEY:

H. Con. Res. 390. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress with respect to monetary, credit, and import policies which should be implemented to protect certain domestic industries; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HARSHA:

H. Con. Res. 391. Concurrent resolution urging the adoption of policies to offset the adverse effects of governmental monetary restrictions upon the housing industry; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. UTT:

H. Con. Res. 392. Concurrent resolution urging the adoption of policies to offset the adverse effects of governmental monetary restrictions upon the housing industry; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BINGHAM:

H. Con. Res. 393. Concurrent resolution to establish a Joint Investigating Committee on Military Justice in Vietnam; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. GALLAGHER:

H. Res. 562. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the United States should actively participate in the 1972 United Nations Conference on Human Environment; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. CELLER:

H.R. 14112. A bill for the relief of Maria Gomez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WOLFF:

H.R. 14113. A bill for the relief of Purita C. Banzall; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

HEARINGS SCHEDULED ON SMALL BUSINESS NEED FOR ROBINSON-PATMAN ENFORCEMENT

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the House Small Business Committee has scheduled important hearings on antitrust laws, including the Robinson-Patman Act which prohibits unfair price discrimination.

In this connection and as chairman of the committee, I have been pleased to appoint the following as members of the Special Subcommittee on Small Business to conduct these important hearings:

Representative JOHN D. DINGELL, Democrat, of Michigan.

Representative NEAL SMITH, Democrat, of Iowa.

Representative JAMES C. CORMAN, Democrat, of California.

Representative SILVIO O. CONTE, Republican, of Massachusetts.

Representative FRANK HORTON, Republican, of New York.

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this most important area, I insert in the RECORD a copy of a news release concerning these hearings:

The release follows:

HEARINGS SCHEDULED ON SMALL BUSINESS NEED FOR ROBINSON-PATMAN ENFORCEMENT

Rep. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.), Chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Small Business and the Robinson-Patman Act, (recently created by Chairman Joe L. Evin of the House Small Business Committee), today announced that hearings by that sub-

committee will open on October 7, at 10:00 a.m., in the Committee's Hearing Room, 2359 Rayburn House Office Building. Additional hearings will be held at the same hour on October 8 and 9.

Witnesses will include:

The Chairman of the White House Task Force which reported on antitrust policy to President Johnson, Dean Phil C. Neal of the University of Chicago Law School;

The Chairman of the White House Task Force which reported to President Nixon on productivity and competition, Professor George J. Stigler of the Department of Economics of the University of Chicago; and

The Chairman of the American Bar Association Commission to Study the Federal Trade Commission and Chairman of the Antitrust Section of the American Bar Association, Miles W. Kirkpatrick.

Other witnesses will include a number of individual small businessmen, trade association spokesmen, and economists. The dates for further hearings will be announced later.

Rep. Dingell said: "The Subcommittee, while focusing its attention on the Robinson-Patman Act, is also interested in other antitrust activities, including the enforcement of Section 5 of the FTC Act, the role of the Bureau of the Budget in fashioning FTC policy and the agency's need for additional powers, funds and personnel. This, of course, will necessarily entail some consideration of the question of priorities and the allocation of resources."

The Subcommittee is also greatly interested in the interplay between the Department of Justice and the FTC in the context of their concurrent jurisdiction over the Clayton Act.

"It is encouraging," Rep. Dingell observed, "to note that the ABA Commission, studying the FTC at the request of the White House, did not join those extremist critics who have recently called for either repeal of the Robinson-Patman Act or sharp curtailment of its enforcement."

Rep. Dingell continued, "I, of course, have been acutely aware of the glibly strident attacks upon the Robinson-Patman Act. Incredibly, they have included comments by some of those who have accepted the high

responsibility of enforcing the Act. It is unfortunate that self-styled purveyors of 'excellence' deem it necessary to advocate the abandonment of one of the traditional American values—fair treatment for all. These critics stress the need for a re-evaluation or re-appraisal of the Robinson-Patman Act and question the necessity for its continued existence and enforcement.

"The Subcommittee hearings will provide a complete, objective and factual analysis of the Robinson-Patman Act and its rationale, as well as a study of the current structural and behavioral background against which such judgments should be made. This re-evaluation will examine the full scope of possibilities concerning the Act, including a determination of the question of whether perhaps greater impetus should be supplied either legislatively or administratively, as well as the questions raised by the critics of the Act."

Rep. Dingell emphasized that the hearings will provide full opportunity to hear opponents and proponents of the Robinson-Patman Act, and will also explore certain other related antitrust problems of importance to small businessmen of the Nation.

Members of the Subcommittee are: Representatives John D. Dingell (D-Mich.), Chairman; Neal Smith (D-Iowa); James C. Corman (D-Calif.); Silvio O. Conte (R-Mass.), Ranking Minority Member; Frank Horton (R-N.Y.); Joe L. Evin (D-Tenn.), Ex Officio Member.

BOTSWANA: A LEADER AMONG EMERGING NATIONS

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the Republic of Botswana, one of the three countries of Lesotho, Botswana, and

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Swaziland to have recently gained independence from Great Britain, prides itself as a leading example of the peaceful mixing of races among the independent black African states. Botswana's plans for economic development and political maturity are ambitious. But the confidence with which the leaders of the Bechuanaland protectorate approached independence and their impressive actions since September 30, 1966, indicate that they will succeed in making Botswana a model republic.

Part of the praise for Botswana's achievements goes to President Seretse Khama, former Chief Khama of the Bomangwato. Educated in Africa and England, Khama is a leader with modern ideas for his country. In 1948 he made world headlines and broke tribal traditions by bringing home a new bride, Ruth Williams, an attractive English girl from London. Because Khama had married a white girl without consent of the tribe, his father and the tribe rejected him. A year later, however, both Ruth and Seretse were accepted by a large majority. But they were soon banished from the land by the British. After he was allowed to return in 1956, Khama became Deputy Chairman of Bechuanaland, Secretary of the Ngwato Tribal Council, and a member of the African Advisory Council, whose objective was to include the populace in the political process. On the select committee on racial discrimination, Khama became a spokesman for ending the color bar. In 1962 Khama formed the BPD, or Democratic Party, to "care for Bechuanaland's problems." The draft constitution of 1964 provided for internal self-government. The BPD under Khama emerged the strongest party in the election of March 1, 1965. Two days later Khama was appointed Prime Minister.

Now that self-rule has been won, the people of Botswana worked for independence. Khama led a delegation of members of the Bechuanaland Government to Marlborough House in London in February 1966. There, subject to annual election, it was decided to appoint Khama first President of Botswana, the new name chosen for Bechuanaland. Just before independence, Khama was knighted by the Queen's representative. He and Lady Khama took their places at the National Stadium in Gaberones just before midnight September 29, 1966. At 12 o'clock the Union Jack was lowered. People cheered to "Tatshe la Rona," the Botswana national anthem, as the white and blue national emblem of Botswana climbed the flagpole for the first time. Independence at last. Bonfires were lit throughout the land as the people rejoiced in their new freedom.

The Republic of Botswana has undertaken a national development plan for the period 1968-73. With a target of 6 percent annual growth, the objective is to make this country where per capita income is \$55 into a viable state. The biggest project is the Shashi Complex, which includes the development of copper and diamond mines, salt and soda-ash deposits, and associated industrial complexes. By working within the wealth

and means of the country, it is hoped that Botswana will avoid the pitfalls of "conspicuous industrialization," that is, roads that lead nowhere, impressive steel plants in a country without iron deposits, airlines that operate at a chronic deficit. With the intelligent leadership, racial equality, and political maturity already demonstrated, we are certain that Botswana will overcome the difficulties which beset all emerging nations.

SENATOR RANDOLPH DISCUSSES SAFETY SITUATION AT NATION'S AIRPORTS—ANALYZES KANAWHA AIRPORT IN WEST VIRGINIA

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I have spoken on numerous occasions, in the Senate and elsewhere, about the critical conditions faced by the airport-airways system of the United States.

We have for too long given only minimal attention to this vital segment of our national transportation complex. The demand for more air service and the resultant increase in the number of planes attempting to meet it has outstripped the facilities to accommodate them. We have poured a disproportionate amount of money into airplanes while forcing the airports and airways to live on limited funds. Many of our airports and airways facilities are still geared to the DC-3 or little more.

Consequently, there are situations throughout the Nation that are far from ideal. In fact, there may be only one airport serving a major city in the United States that can be said to approach the ideal. I refer to Dulles International Airport near Washington, a facility developed with the long-range needs of a jet-oriented air system in mind and which is yet several years away from being utilized to its full potential.

On September 15, the National Observer, a respected weekly newspaper, published a lengthy article on airport safety, specifically discussing conditions at a number of major airports deemed by spokesmen for the Air Line Pilots Association to be unsafe.

One of these was Kanawha Airport at Charleston, W. Va., listed as an airport which "worries ALPA pilots."

Kanawha Airport was often cited as a unique facility when it was developed more than 20 years ago, and the community was commended for its imaginative approach to a difficult problem when it sheared off the tops of mountains and filled the space between them to create the airport. From the day it was opened, Kanawha Airport has been the principal air facility in West Virginia and serves more commercial airline passengers than all other airports in the State combined.

Unfortunately, Kanawha Airport in recent years has been subjected to much

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unjustified abuse on the basis of misinformation by those whose personal desires conflict with the facts. The public officials responsible for operating Kanawha Airport have recognized that improvements are necessary to make the airport able to accommodate the jets that are using it with greater efficiency and reliability.

The airport authority, therefore, has undertaken a \$4 million improvement program to improve facilities at Kanawha Airport, including the lengthening and rebuilding of the main runway and the removing of an approach obstruction. That the Federal Government recognized the importance of Kanawha Airport and the validity of the improvement program is seen in its decision to provide grants of more than \$1 million for the new construction.

Past controversy makes it imperative that the National Observer story be properly interpreted as it relates to Kanawha Airport and the improvement program now under way there. To this end I have discussed the situation in a letter to Henry B. Wehrle, Jr., president of the Central West Virginia Airport Authority.

Because the subject of aviation safety is of paramount importance to the Nation, I ask unanimous consent that my letter to Mr. Wehrle be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SENATE,

Washington, D.C., September 29, 1969.
Mr. HENRY B. WEHRLE, Jr.,
President, Central West Virginia Airport Authority, Charleston, W. Va.

DEAR HENRY: I have read with considerable concern the article on airport safety in the September 15 edition of The National Observer. I have also read stories, based on that article, in The Charleston Gazette and Huntington Herald-Dispatch.

There was little, if anything, in the material that was new to those familiar with the airport situation in the United States.

It is no secret that every airport is potentially dangerous under varying circumstances. There can be no assurance that every operation at the best airport in the world will be 100 per cent safe. Even if the physical facilities were to be ideal—and just what constitutes this ideal is subject to debate by the experts—there are too many variables such as weather, pilot problems or aircraft conditions to make this assurance feasible.

I discussed this subject on July 29, 1969, before the Senate Commerce Committee which was holding hearings on legislation affecting airports and airways. I said: "Under varying conditions growing worse day by day while the national airport-airways crisis becomes more acute, every airport is potentially dangerous, especially in mountainous areas and those with air traffic density."

The National Observer article reviewed the whole area of airport safety, discussing deficiencies that might contribute to undesirable operating conditions. It related these dangers at a number of airports, including some of the largest and busiest in the country, such as John F. Kennedy International in the New York City area and Miami International, and reported that in nearly every instance improvements are either under way or planned.

You and I, and citizens generally in West Virginia, are primarily concerned with the remarks about Kanawha Airport as were the State newspapers which singled out these particular opinions for their stories. Kanawha Airport in the past has been the victim of prejudiced opinions and erroneous information, and I believe we must be alert that this doesn't continue.

The main sources of information for the article were two officials of the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA), and their comments about Kanawha Airport were not substantially different from those made last year.

Pilots, individually and through their association, have every right to be concerned about all facets of air safety. I hope, however, that their zeal will not lead some of them into the trap of alliance with shortsighted individuals who would use them to promote ill-conceived and impractical schemes. This could only undermine public confidence in their own profession and in the conscientious efforts being made to improve the airport-airways system of the United States.

This is not to say that conditions exist at some airports that shouldn't be corrected. I doubt if any airport official would dispute the desirability of continued efforts to improve airport conditions. Such an effort is precisely what the Central West Virginia Airport Authority is now making in its \$4 million construction program at Kanawha Airport. You are concentrating your improvements on the landing field itself instead of the terminal, the opposite of what The National Observer said is the usual situation.

I was anything but discouraged when I compared the general complaints of the pilots association spokesmen with the facilities Kanawha Airport will provide when the improvement program is completed. They fall into several categories:

Runway length.—The 700-foot extension will lengthen the main runway to 6,300 feet, only 200 short of the ALPA's recommended length for the jets that use Kanawha Airport. (The Observer article incorrectly stated the present runway is 5,000 feet rather than the actual 5,600 feet.) And you will recall that the authority's original plan called for a 900-foot extension. The plan was modified on the basis of engineering recommendations which held that the extra 200 feet would not substantially improve operating conditions and would be a costly extension.

The extension and rebuilt "spine" of the present runway will be paved with heavy duty concrete to adequately support the weight of jets, another ALPA recommendation. The surface also will be grooved to reduce skidding or "hydroplaning" on a wet runway. Kanawha Airport, incidentally, was one of the first in the country to groove a runway, and I have been told that this has improved operations considerably under both wet and dry conditions and has the effect of a longer runway. I was gratified that in the September 23 issue of the Charleston Daily Mail, you correctly emphasized that the "Kanawha Airport is one of five in the nation that has grooved runways."

Fire and rescue equipment.—Kanawha Airport is in excellent condition with respect to the availability of fire and rescue facilities. The Air National Guard maintains a well-equipped, fully-manned fire and rescue station on airport property. The airport also owns two pieces of equipment operated by airline personnel who have been trained as a volunteer emergency force. There also are two Charleston fire stations with equipment and trained personnel within three miles of the airport.

Electronic navigation aids.—Kanawha Airport for years has had a full Instrument Landing System (ILS), including a sophis-

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ticated type of glide slope indicator especially designed to lead pilots to the runway over hilly terrain. The Federal Aviation Administration also operates a control tower to help direct and control aircraft operations in the vicinity. Certainly these installations should preclude any complaints by the pilots on this score.

Approach obstructions.—Kanawha Airport's mountain-top location, far from being a disadvantage, removes it from the potential hazards of structures near the runways. This, as the National Observer reported, is a serious problem at some airports, such as Miami and Kansas City, where there are tall buildings in the approach paths. The only possible approach obstruction affecting Kanawha was a knoll in Coonskin Park which was removed early in your improvement program.

Airport location.—This is the one category in which Kanawha, or any other existing or proposed airport in West Virginia and a good many elsewhere, can never hope to meet the wishes of the ALPA. The pilot association complains of airports located on plateaus and mountain tops or in valleys. It fails to concede, though, that it is possible to build perfectly good airports on these sites. I wonder if the pilots would deny air service to communities which didn't have the foresight to locate themselves on broad, flat plains with no trees and plenty of room for endless runways?

I agree that an airport in irregular terrain might cause optical illusions to pilots unfamiliar with it and could be a psychological factor affecting attitudes toward the airport. This, however, should not be an insurmountable obstacle if other conditions are good.

I strongly suspect that a substantial part of whatever criticism Kanawha Airport has as unsafe, can be attributed to passengers who like to hint at their bravery in flying into an airport on top of a mountain. An objective appraisal should reveal that Kanawha is no more dangerous than many other airports even though the site may suggest a certain amount of peril to the uninformed.

Runway conditions.—Rebuilding and extending the main runway with concrete will take care of any complaints about a rough, potholed surface. Poor surface conditions at Kanawha were created by the use of heavy jets on a 20-year-old runway that was never designed to support them, but these will be eliminated.

On the basis of the criteria attributed to the ALPA, therefore, Kanawha Airport should provide little cause for criticism when the improvement program is completed. The airport's useful life will be extended considerably so it can continue to accommodate more than half of West Virginia's commercial airline service with ease and safety.

There are those who will use these opinions by some members of the Air Line Pilots Association as an indictment of Kanawha Airport. They will attempt to undermine the work of the airport authority and destroy public confidence in a facility that actually has a very good safety record. This, in fact, has already started in an attempt to condemn the judgment of the people of Kanawha and promote personal interests on the basis of what some persons espouse.

I refer specifically to the Herald-Dispatch story of Sept. 16 and an editorial in The Huntington Advertiser of Sept. 18. In both publications two unrelated excerpts from The National Observer story were placed together, making it appear that there have been 138 airline accidents involving Kanawha Airport in the past 10 years. At the very least this is irresponsible or inaccurate reporting; at the worst, a deliberate manipulation to mislead the public and use the statements to support a preconceived contention.

You can be sure that if 138 airline acci-

dents occurred at any airport, I would be leading the justified public outcry for corrective action.

There are, however, other opinions held by other pilots, and there are those who have no qualms about using Kanawha Airport. I have known many pilots, and I know that they are just as anxious to complete every flight safely as their passengers, perhaps even more so since they must fly almost daily. Consequently, pilots are safety conscious, and few will take risks under conditions they feel are dangerous. Every airline pilot is in total control of his airplane, and the decisions on whether or not to land at any airport are his—and his alone.

The decision of the airlines to operate jets at Kanawha Airport and the continued confidence of the pilots in its facilities, strongly attest to the competence and good judgment of the airport authority and management.

Truly,

JENNINGS RANDOLPH.

SST DECISION RELATED TO U.S. DESIRE TO STAY NO. 1

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's decision to proceed with America's supersonic transport program was indeed a wise one, and although it has been received with mixed emotions throughout the country, it must be realized that an American SST is vital to our economy by providing many thousands of jobs throughout the land in the 1970's.

Furthermore, it is essential to our balance of payments by halting all SST sales from going to the Russians, the British, and the French. Also, it is necessary if we are going to maintain our leadership in the field of aircraft production.

Mr. Robert L. Twiss, associate editor of the Seattle Times, on September 24, 1969, clearly outlined some of the economic factors in developing the U.S. SST, and I insert his article at this point in the RECORD:

SST DECISION RELATED TO U.S. DESIRE TO STAY
No. 1

(By Robert L. Twiss)

President Nixon's decision to order two prototypes of The Boeing Co.'s supersonic transport stemmed from a variety of considerations, ranging from retention of this nation's world role as the No. 1 commercial airliner supplier to balance of trade.

The pioneering work of Boeing with its 707 series and other commercial models to fill needs on short- and medium-range routes led to American domination of the world jet-transport market.

Boeing alone has won orders for more than 2,000 jet transports of all types, with about one quarter of those 707s, 727s, 737s and 747s earmarked for the export market.

Other firms, such as the McDonnell Douglas Corp. and the Lockheed Aircraft Corp., have won major overseas orders for commercial jets to add to American supremacy in this field.

As John A. Volpe, secretary of transportation, pointed out after President Nixon's SST go-ahead announcement yesterday, from 80

to 85 per cent of the commercial jets sold in the world are made in the United States.

Volpe warned that if American SST development were postponed this nation would suffer a loss in overseas sales and in its balance of payments.

Boeing has exported more than \$2.3 billion in commercial jets and supporting spare parts since embarking on the 707 program in 1955. About a third of the orders for the \$20 million 747 superjet were placed by overseas lines, meaning more than \$1.2 billion in 747s alone will be exported in the next three years.

The nation's aerospace industry last year produced a trade surplus of more than \$1 billion. The United States' favorable trade balance has decreased from a high of \$7.1 billion in 1964 to a low last year of \$835 million.

Thus aerospace exports were the key to maintaining a favorable balance of trade, even though our overall favorable trade balance has slipped drastically in the past five years.

In the case of the SST, 26 airlines have reserved delivery positions for 122 of the fixed-delta-wing, 1,800-mile-an-hour airliners. Twelve of the carriers are domestic and 14 foreign, with the overseas lines speaking for 58 SSTs, nearly one half the total.

With a cost expected to exceed \$40 million a copy, the SST orders already on the books will bring in more than \$2.3 billion from overseas.

Market planning for the Boeing SST shows sales of at least 500 planes by 1990, based only on supersonic flights on long-range, over-water routes and over sparsely populated areas, such as the polar regions.

There are no plans to fly at speeds and altitudes which would create sonic booms over populated areas.

Forecasts indicate the total free-world passenger air traffic will increase sixfold between now and 1990, while the international traffic will increase eightfold during the same period.

Thus the reason for the greater percentage of foreign orders for the Boeing SST than for subsonic jets stems from plans to confine the Mach 2.7 airliner to over-ocean routes while the sonic-boom problem is solved and the rapid international-traffic growth rate expected.

President Nixon's go-ahead call for the SST came only a few days before the British-French Concorde SST was scheduled to attempt to exceed the speed of sound for the first time.

The Concorde has logged 40 subsonic flights and 64 hours in the air. The Russian TU-144 SST already has flown supersonically.

The next step in the American SST program is up to Congress. If it approves Mr. Nixon's request for \$96 million for fiscal year 1970 funding, the program at long last will move from the drawing boards to the production floor.

DIRECT ELECTIONS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the House has recently voted in favor of the direct election plan for electoral college reform. Mr. President, in my opinion, this is not reform at all, but is making the situation worse. It is a fundamental

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change in our republican theory of government, and is so radical in its concept that I think the Senate will want to think the subject through more fully when it comes before this body.

I was deeply disappointed by the President's statement today that he is endorsing the plan as it passed the House. In my opinion, the House plan is a step backward toward a less adequate solution to the problems of electoral reform. I have urged electoral reform for many years, but any true reform must grow naturally from the basic principles of our Government.

The smaller States in the Nation will handicap themselves very greatly if the direct election plan is adopted. In my judgment, this plan has less chance of being approved by the smaller States, even if approved by the Senate, since the plan is contrary to their best interests and to the interests of their people.

Last week, the Columbia Record of September 25, 1969, published an impressive column by David Lawrence entitled "Direct Voting Danger." This is an admirable summary of the dangers of the plan as it passed the House. Mr. Lawrence points out:

The power and influence of the States may well vanish and the Nation may be ruled by the regions with the largest populations.

Mr. Lawrence also says:

If the proposed amendment becomes a part of the Constitution, the Presidential candidates who make a good appearance on TV or who can deliver clever speeches appealing to the masses will probably be victorious.

He also goes on to point out the danger of increased campaign expenses which could move up by tens of millions of dollars. There would be major changes in the nature of the political conventions, and many other problems.

Mr. Lawrence says:

The two plans which were rejected in the House were more in keeping with tradition in America.

Mr. President, I want to thank Mr. Lawrence for this perceptive and timely column, and I am pleased that it appeared in one of the major newspapers in my State of South Carolina, and I ask unanimous consent that the column "Direct Voting Danger" from the Columbia Record of September 25, 1969, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

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

DIRECT VOTING DANGER (By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—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.

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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 state's 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 state's electoral votes in proportion to each candidate's 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 per cent 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 per cent of the popular vote would there be a run-off 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 per cent 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 per cent.

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 interest in mind, examine the matter carefully, the proposal may never be adopted.

NATIONAL 4-H WEEK

HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, it is again a privilege and a pleasure for me to salute the 4-H Clubs of America as they observe their national week beginning October 5 through October 11.

The theme of this year's national week, "Opportunity for All" is in itself a capsule definition of the purposes and principles which inspired the establishment of this outstanding organization as well as the tremendous benefits which are available to approximately 2½ million young people currently enrolled in 4-H pursuits. As we might surmise, the major aim during 4-H Week will be to expand the overall understanding of this splendid organization everywhere and project its image so well that the public cannot fail to realize that the "Head-Heart-Hands-Health" programs are no longer confined to our rural areas.

Nationally, about 35 percent of today's enrolled 4-H'ers come from farm homes, 33 percent from rural nonfarm homes, and 32 percent from towns, cities, and suburbs. I have always been impressed by the good balance that exists among these particular young people with reference to their cultural, racial, and economic backgrounds, and the diversified programs in which they become so successfully engaged. At this time when dissension is so much the vogue, I think it is especially gratifying to know that more and more 4-H projects are now adapted to the children of the inner cities.

In my opinion there is no limit to the effectiveness of the numerous projects and activities sponsored by the 4-H Clubs. We know of the tremendous accomplishments which have been attained in the past in our congressional district and the countless communities everywhere, and I have the good feeling that tomorrow's world will be all the better because of the high degree to which these young people have developed the qualities of leadership and good citizenship.

We all know that everything educates and some things educate more than others. Certainly through adapting themselves to group values and attitudes, these young men and women, at an early age, determine their place in life and go forward to become tomorrow's leaders in a great variety of professions and occupations.

Mr. Speaker, the 4-H Clubs have my admiration and full support and I want to wish all of them a future filled with continued success.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

TESTIMONY OF RAYMOND GIESECKE, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF THE COUNCIL OF PROFIT SHARING INDUSTRIES, BEFORE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, for the information of Members of Congress, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD the testimony presented to the Committee on Finance on September 16, 1969, by Mr. Raymond Giesecke, chairman of the board of the Council of Profit Sharing Industries and president of McGraw-Edison Co., Elgin, Ill., regarding those portions of H.R. 13270 which affect profit-sharing plans.

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

STATEMENT OF THE COUNCIL OF PROFIT SHARING INDUSTRIES TO THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE IN OPPOSITION TO THOSE PORTIONS OF H.R. 13270 WHICH WOULD CHANGE THE RULES FOR TAXATION OF LUMP SUM DISTRIBUTIONS UNDER QUALIFIED PROFIT SHARING PLANS

PURPOSE

This statement is submitted in opposition to those portions of H.R. 13270 which would change the method of taxation of lump sum distributions which are made under qualified profit sharing plans. Other changes contained in H.R. 13270 also would have an effect on the amount of taxes payable by employees who receive lump sum distributions. In brief, the three principal changes which would affect the taxability of lump sum distributions are:

1. Change of Method of Taxation Specifically Applicable to Lump Sum Distributions: The portion of any lump sum distribution which consists of employer contributions would be taxed as ordinary income. In the year of distribution, the amount of tax payable with respect to such ordinary income would be five times the amount of the increase in tax which is attributable to the addition of 20% of such ordinary income to other income. Five years later, the employee would be entitled to recompute what the total taxes attributable to the ordinary income portion of his lump sum distribution would have been if 20% of the ordinary income portion of his lump sum distribution had been included in his taxable income in the year of distribution and each of the next four succeeding taxable years. If the ordinary income tax which he paid with respect to the lump sum distribution in the year of distribution was greater than he would have paid under the second test, he would be entitled to file a refund claim as though he had paid his "excessive" tax in the fourth taxable year following the year of distribution. This change would apply to that part of any lump sum distribution which consists of employer contributions made after the calendar year 1969. The balance of any lump sum distribution would continue to be taxed as a long term capital gain.

2. Change in General Income Averaging Provisions: Long term capital gains would be included in the definition of "averagable income" for purposes of general income tax averaging. Since portions of lump sum distributions will continue to be treated as long term capital gains, and the balance as ordinary income, this change also would be ap-

plicable to lump sum distributions in their entirety.

3. Elimination of the Alternative Tax on Capital Gains: The alternative tax computation now provided for all net long term capital gains would be eliminated. This change would apply to that portion of any lump sum distribution which would continue to be taxed as a long term capital gain as is provided under existing law.

The latter two changes would apply to those portions of lump sum distributions treated as long term capital gains even if the first change were not made.

The Council urges no special treatment of lump sum distributions, either favorable or unfavorable, insofar as any changes generally applicable to capital gains are concerned. However, the first change would single out lump sum distributions and provide a special method of taxing portions of such distributions. Therefore, the main thrust of the Council's statement is directed at the portions of H.R. 13270 which would apply solely to lump sum distributions.

Contrary to any impression that may have been created to the effect that lump sum distributions are a means used by relatively few, highly compensated employees to escape taxation, any proposal affecting lump sum distributions would have far reaching effects. It would not affect just a few highly compensated individuals. For instance, the Council conducted a survey in 1968 among its member companies regarding the use of lump sum distributions as a means of settlement of participants' interests in profit sharing plans. That survey showed that a majority of all distributions made under qualified profit sharing plans are made using this form of payment. Moreover, 90% of the lump sum distributions made involved distributions of less than \$30,000. Nearly 70% of the distributions fell in the range of from \$500.00 to \$10,000.00. These results should be considered in light of the fact that there are now approximately 80,000 profit sharing plans in existence. Many of these plans have been established in recent years. For instance, the number of plans has approximately doubled every 4-5 years since 1946. In the year 1968 alone, according to Treasury Department statistics, there was a net addition of some 10,000 net profit sharing plans. In the period from 1964 through 1968 the net number of new profit sharing plans established was 36,119. Those plans covered a total of more than 1½ million employees. In light of the foregoing, it is safe to say that the proposed change in method of taxation would be of far reaching effect and could eventually involve taxpayers numbering in the millions.

The Council opposes those portions of H.R. 13270 which would tax, as ordinary income, a portion of any lump sum distribution made under a profit sharing plan for the following reasons:

I. The Council believes that this change of law is based upon a misconception as to the nature of profit sharing and the nature of an employee's interest under a qualified profit sharing plan.

II. The Council believes that the results which the change in method of taxation would produce are inconsistent with some of the underlying premises of the Tax Reform Bill of 1969.

III. The Council believes that the added costs of administering the revised method of taxation together with other collateral effects which the changed method would produce should be balanced against any estimated revenue gains which would be produced by the change and that when all factors are taken into account, the relatively modest revenue gain now anticipated would be practically eliminated, or might even result in a net revenue loss.

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I. Misconceptions regarding profit sharing

The change in the method of taxation of lump sum distributions is based upon the proposition that an employer's contributions under a qualified profit sharing plan are nothing more or less than "deferred compensation". The Council disagrees with this proposition. Perhaps the best way to demonstrate why the Council disagrees with this proposition would be to describe what profit sharing is and what the nature of an employee's interest in a qualified profit sharing plan is.

A. What Is Profit Sharing?

Profit sharing is a means of enabling employees to share in the fruits of the companies for which they work. Without profit sharing, millions of employees who now have a stake in the company for which they work would not have such a stake. There are many reasons why they might not have such a stake. For example, inflation and taxes (both federal and local) makes the accumulation of a "nest egg" for investment purposes difficult for the vast majority of employees. Moreover, many companies are not publicly owned and traded. Therefore, even if an employee is able to accumulate sufficient funds of his own in order to acquire an ownership interest in the company for which he works, he often is unable to do so for the simple reason that such ownership or part ownership is not for sale.

Through profit sharing an employee has an opportunity to share in one of the benefits of ownership—a chance to share in the same thing in which the investors in a business share—the profits resulting from operations of the business.

The Council believes that its concept of profit sharing fairly describes what profit sharing is. Article II, Section 1 of the Constitution and By Laws of the Council states:

"The Council defines its concept of profit sharing as any procedure under which an employer pays or makes available to regular employees subject to reasonable eligibility rules, in addition to prevailing rates of pay, special current or deferred sums based on the profits of the business." [Italics added.]

Thus, profit sharing is something extra—something over and above normal compensation. Profit sharing is not a substitute for paying going wages for average performance. It is an "extra" for doing better than average. True, employment is a requirement for participation in a qualified profit sharing plan. To that extent it can be said that an employer's contribution is in consideration of the employee's services. However, since it is something in addition to regular compensation, the Council believes that it is an oversimplification to simply characterize it as "deferred compensation." The objective of profit sharing is not simply to compensate employees. The Declaration of Principles contained in Article III of the Council's Constitution and By Laws set forth the Council's views as to the objectives of profit sharing.¹

Coupled with the Council's concept of profit sharing as being something in addition to regular compensation, the Council's Declaration of Principles clearly indicates that something other than simple compensation to employees is sought as an objective in establishing a profit sharing plan.

B. What is the Nature of an Employee's Interest in a Qualified Profit Sharing Plan?

If an employer's contribution under a qualified profit sharing plan is nothing more or less than a compensating event, that compensating event occurs at the time the employer makes its contribution under the plan. Thereafter, whatever happens to the contribution also happens to the employee. No guarantees are involved. The employer has no beneficial interest whatsoever in the contribution, once it has been made, and neither

receives any benefit from, nor bears any burden of, the investment results which apply to the employer's contribution. On the contrary, the results of investment of the employer's contribution, whether good or bad, affect only the employee. Thus, once the contribution is made on behalf of an employee and is invested, it becomes risk capital. In this respect, it is no different than any other investment of risk capital and therefore should be treated no differently than any other risk capital.

Should the employer's contribution, therefore, be taxed to the employee at the time it is made on his behalf? There are at least two reasons why this should not be done. First, at the time the contribution is made it is not at all certain that the employee on whose behalf it is made will eventually receive it. Most plans provide for graduated vesting of employees' interests, including the employer's contributions, over a period of years. Whatever an employee does not receive because of premature separation (for example, on account of resignation) is reallocated among all other participants in the plan. Second, and perhaps of equal importance, because of future investment results an employee may never receive an amount equal to the employer's contribution which is made on his behalf even though, at the time it is made, his interest in that contribution is fully vested and cannot be defeated by his subsequent termination of employment for any reason.

Since, for the reasons stated, it would be inequitable to exact a tax from the employee with respect to the employer's contribution at the time it is made, should it not be taxed as ordinary income when it is distributed? There are at least two reasons why this should not be done. First, throughout the time that the employer's contribution is held for the employee's benefit it is subject to risk. Second, when the employer's contributions are distributed in the form of a lump sum distribution they represent "bunched income" which may have been accumulated over an employee's working lifetime—perhaps as much as 35 or 40 years. H.R. 13270's answer to this problem would be a form of averaging. However, that averaging would be based on the employee's total ordinary income (including a part of the lump sum distribution) and his highest tax rates in a single taxable year. Unless those factors had remained constant throughout his working lifetime (a most unlikely possibility) this would result in more tax being paid by an employee than he would have paid had the contribution been taxed to him in each year when and as it was made. Clearly demonstrative of the fact that income, and hence marginal tax rates, do not remain the same is the fact that in the period from 1958 to 1967 the number of taxpayers with gross incomes in the \$10,000.00 to \$15,000.00 range quadrupled. The number went from about 2½ million such taxpayers to more than 10 million such taxpayers. Those 10 million taxpayers alone comprised about ¼th of all of the taxpayers reporting income on individual returns in 1967.²

It has been argued that deferral of taxes on contributions when they are made justifies the imposition of tax on an ordinary income basis when distributions are made. In essence, the tax deferral is a "tax subsidy" and therefore one should not complain if one's taxes, as eventually determined, are higher than they might have been if taxes had been payable on employer contributions when and as they were made. This argument also ignores the fact that it is the employee who has borne the risk all along. That the employee would continue to bear all risks is borne out by H.R. 13270 itself. As drafted, H.R. 13270 would tax, as ordinary income, an amount equal to the employer's post-1969 contributions even though, through market conditions which could prevail in the future, those contributions would be in a loss posi-

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tion. For example, assume that as of December 31, 1969 an employee's account consists of \$20,000.00 broken down as follows:

Actual Employer Contributions up to December 31, 1969	\$8,000.00
Reinvested Earnings and Appreciation	12,000.00
Total Value	20,000.00

Suppose that after 1969 the employer's contributions total an additional \$10,000.00. However, because of temporary market conditions at the time, when the employee retires and receives a lump sum distribution in 1979, he receives only \$15,000.00. Under H.R. 13270, \$10,000.00 out of the employee's total distribution of \$15,000.00 would be taxed as ordinary income. All the risk of future market performance would have been borne by the employee.

In view of what profit sharing seeks to achieve and the nature of an employee's interest under a profit sharing plan, it is respectfully suggested that it is inaccurate to characterize any part of it simply as "deferred compensation".

II. Inconsistencies of the proposed method of taxation with the premises of H.R. 13270

For the taxable year 1967 over 71 million individual income tax returns were filed. Those returns were prepared and filed under a self-assessment system and produced a total of nearly \$63 billion of revenue. That record attests to the willingness of American citizens to be taxed and to their willingness to voluntarily calculate and report their income and to pay the tax liabilities which result therefrom.

The Council agrees completely with the Ways and Means Committee's statement to the effect that:

"Our individual and corporate income taxes, which are the mainstays of our tax system, depend upon self-assessment and the cooperation of taxpayers. The loss of confidence on their part in the fairness of the tax system could result in a breakdown of taxpayer morale and would make it far more difficult to collect the necessary revenues. For this reason alone, the tax system should be improved."³

A. Is the Proposed Method of Taxing Lump Sum Distributions Fair?

Conceding, for purposes of argument, that employer contributions are nothing more than deferred compensation, what is "fair" in determining the tax which shall be paid on that deferred compensation on the basis of the employee's income and marginal tax rates in the year of distribution? Is it to be assumed that an individual employee's taxable income and his marginal tax rates will remain the same throughout his entire working lifetime? Only if the latter proves true can it be said that there is no element of unfairness in using his income and marginal rates in a single year, perhaps the year in which he reaches his highest peak of earnings, to determine the tax on employer contributions which may have been made on his behalf over his entire working lifetime.

A further element of "unfairness" in the changed method of taxation of lump sum distributions is the fact that an employee will be compelled to pay a tax in the year in which he receives his distribution and then will be compelled to wait five years to find out whether or not he paid too much tax in the first instance. For employees whose income is drastically reduced following the payment, a refund probably will be payable following the fifth year. In the meantime, of course, the employee involved will have lost completely the use of the excessive tax which he paid in the first instance. In the interim, this money might be put to good use in meeting his retirement needs. The new method of taxation would not even allow him in-

Footnotes at end of article.

terest on the excessive tax which he paid in the first instance and which he must seek by a refund claim five years later.

Is the proposal fair to all employees? Looked at from the standpoint of an employee whose working life is behind him at this time, the proposal seems fair. It is to apply to future employer contributions only. However, looked at from the standpoint of the younger employee who is just joining a qualified plan, the proposal seems most unfair. The taxes which will be payable by him with respect to his employer's contributions may be substantially greater than those payable by his fellow employee who retires in the near future even though they have been treated exactly the same under the plan.

B. Will the Revised Method of Taxation Improve the Tax System?

Quite apart from any questions of fairness, the workability of our self-assessment system of tax collection clearly depends upon the capacity of the self-assessor to determine his tax. In this respect, the revised method of taxation will result in incredible complications in determining the amount of tax finally payable with respect to a lump sum distribution. For example, assuming that an employee is going to seek to pay the least amount of tax in the year in which he receives his distribution:

1. For the year of distribution he would have to compute his tax on two alternative bases.

(a) First, he would divide his lump sum distribution into the portion which will now be taxed as ordinary income (i.e., post-1969 employer contributions) and the portion which will continue to be taxed as a long term capital gain. With respect to the ordinary income portion, the new special averaging provision will apply. In essence, this new special averaging provision is the same averaging provision which was added to the Code with respect to self-employed individuals as a part of H.R. 10. This provision was added to the law in 1962. To date no form for calculating taxes payable under such special averaging has been published. In calculating the capital gains tax payable on the portion of his lump sum distribution, if his capital gain exceeds \$20,000.00 and if he itemizes his deductions, he will have to allocate his deductions between his "preference income" and his other income, as required by Section 302 of the Tax Reform Bill of 1969.

(b) Next, after calculating his taxes as indicated above, he also will have to calculate his taxes on the entire amount of his distribution using the general income averaging provisions of Sections 1301-1305 of the Code, as amended by the Reform Bill. Even after simplifications of general income averaging which H.R. 13270 would provide, the form for calculating taxes under general income tax averaging alone will consist of 22 separate lines.⁶

2. If he paid his tax in the year of distribution on the basis of the special provisions which will now apply to lump sum distributions rather than on the basis of general income averaging, then after five years he will have to recompute what the tax would have been if he had received the ordinary income portion of his lump sum distribution ratably over the year of distribution and the next succeeding four taxable years. This alone will entail recomputation of the tax attributable to such ordinary income in each of four tax returns. Whatever complications already existed in preparing those four returns will be compounded by the addition of 20% of his special ordinary income to his other income in each of those years. If, after all of the foregoing, it develops that he paid too much income tax with respect to his special ordinary income at the

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time of distribution, he will then be entitled to file a claim for a refund.

Returning to the subject of "fairness", is it fair to require an average employee who receives a lump sum distribution to go through what has been described? Doubtless he will have to employ professional help to calculate his tax liabilities in the first instance, and then to recalculate them in the fifth year following his retirement in order to determine whether or not he is entitled to a refund. Moreover, if it develops that he is entitled to a refund, he no doubt will require assistance in preparing his refund claim. For a lower paid employee whose ultimate tax might actually be reduced below what his tax would be under existing law, the cost of calculating his tax and filing a refund claim, if applicable, probably would exceed the amount of any savings which the net method might produce for him. Suppose that events prove that the employee is entitled to a refund of under \$100.00, but that the costs of both determining the amount of that refund and collecting it will exceed \$100.00. Will he bother to collect it? If he does not, will not the tax collecting agency have been unjustly enriched since, in fact, he paid more taxes than he should have paid? Is this fair?

C. Where do the Burdens Imposed by the Changed Method Fall?

One of the alleged bases of the proposed change in method of taxation is that, since employer contributions under qualified profit sharing plans consist simply of deferred compensation, qualified profit sharing plans are a means whereby highly compensated individuals escape ordinary income taxation on substantial amounts of their income. At the same time, one of the clear objectives of H.R. 13270 is to ease the tax burdens on middle and lower income bracket taxpayers. The Ways and Means Committee Report indicates that the more significant benefits under the existing method of taxation accrue to taxpayers with adjusted gross incomes in excess of \$50,000.00.⁶ At the same time, of the estimated additional revenue of \$70 million per year which would be produced by the proposed change in method of taxation, more than one-half will come from taxpayers whose adjusted gross incomes are less than \$50,000.00.⁶ In this connection, it is noteworthy that many lower and middle income bracket taxpayers may be in the "over \$50,000.00 class" in the year in which they receive their lump sum distributions simply by virtue of the fact that the lump sum distribution is made to them.

On the basis of the latest available published information,⁷ in 1962 54,484 individual returns were filed showing net long term capital gains arising from lump sum distributions under qualified plans of all types. Of that number, 53,364 returns, or 97.9% of the total, involved returns showing adjusted gross incomes of under \$50,000.00. Moreover, 42,932 of those returns, or 81.3% of the total, involved returns showing adjusted gross incomes of less than \$25,000.00. The returns showing adjusted gross incomes of less than \$50,000.00 involved 81.3% of the total dollar amount of gains so reported. It seems clear that although the objective of H.R. 13270 is to eliminate alleged favorable tax treatment for persons whose adjusted gross incomes exceed \$50,000.00, the major portion of the burden will fall upon persons whose adjusted gross incomes are lower than that figure.

Those who are fortunate enough to have adjusted gross incomes in excess of \$50,000.00, exclusive of any long term capital gains resulting from lump sum distributions, no doubt will employ (and probably currently employ) professional assistance in preparing their income tax returns. However, those whose adjusted gross incomes are in the middle and lower brackets frequently do not employ professional assistance in preparing

their income tax returns. To the extent that any complications introduced by the revised method of taxation require the employment of professional assistance, added burdens will be imposed upon persons against whom the revised method is not directed.

D. Is the Present Method of Taxation an Abuse?

One of the key objectives of H.R. 13270 is the elimination of tax preferences which enable a relatively few persons with high incomes to escape tax on a large proportion of their incomes. Thus:

"From time to time, since the enactment of the present income tax, over 50 years ago, various tax incentives or preferences have been added to the internal revenue laws. Increasingly, in recent years taxpayers with substantial incomes have found ways of gaining tax advantages from provisions placed in the code primarily to aid some limited segment of the economy."⁸

It is respectfully submitted that distributions from qualified profit sharing plans are not one of the alleged preferences which benefit a relatively few high income individuals. Earlier it was pointed out that qualified profit sharing plans cover millions of employees. These plans have been approved under a provision of the Internal Revenue Code which forbids discrimination in favor of highly compensated individuals, both in the matter of eligibility and the sharing of employer contribution. These provisions were added to the Code 27 years ago to insure that any tax provisions which apply to such plans would not be limited to a handful of individuals.

Moreover, the Code currently limits employer deductions for contributions made under qualified profit sharing plans to an average of 15% of participating pay of employees who are covered on a nondiscriminatory basis. Even if it be assumed that an employer's contributions on behalf of a given employee amount to 15% of his pay in every single year of his employment (a most unlikely possibility) depending upon the employee's terminal pay the total of those contributions would amount to from 2½ to 4½ times the employee's annual terminal pay after 30 years of participation. Can the accumulation of such an amount as a "nest egg" to take care of an employee and his spouse for the balance of their lives after retirement, which may be as much as 15-25 years, be characterized as an abuse? In the vast majority of cases it is unlikely that the average employee will receive employer contributions of 15% of pay in each and every year that he participates in a profit sharing plan. For example, a survey by the Council indicates that in 1968 the average of the percentages of contributions related to participating compensation was 8.6% in the case of the companies responding to the survey. The results break down as follows:

Size of company by number of employees and employer contribution to deferred profit sharing plan as a percentage of participants' pay

	Percent
Under 100 employees	10.6
100 to 499 employees	8.8
500 to 999 employees	7.5
1,000 to 5,000 employees	8.8
Over 5,000 employees	7.3

Average of the percentages..... 8.6

That survey covered 445 plans embracing 1,423,640 employees. The Council has no reason to believe that the results produced are in any way atypical. Of course, if employer contributions on behalf of an employee over his entire working lifetime average less than 10% of his participating pay, the portion of his nest egg at retirement which is attributable to employer contributions will be even smaller. It might amount to less than twice his terminal pay. Whatever else

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he receives in addition to his employer's contribution will result from his having had his share of employer contributions and his own contributions (if he made any) at risk.

In view of the requirement that the benefits under a qualified profit sharing plan must be nondiscriminatory among employees and in view of the limits on the amounts which may be placed in a qualified plan for employees, can it be said that the method of taxation of lump sum distributions made under such plans gives rise to an abuse or a tax preference available to a limited segment of the economy?

III. The revenue effects of the proposed change of method

At the outset it is estimated that the revised method of taxation will produce less than \$2½ million of additional revenue in the year 1970. In 1971, it is estimated that \$5 million of additional revenue would be produced, and by 1979 it is estimated that \$50 million of additional revenue would be produced. It should be noted that in 1971 the estimated increased revenue arising from this single change will comprise only about $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1% of the total revenue recoupment contemplated by H.R. 13270 and by 1979 will comprise only $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1% of the total revenue recoupment.

While H.R. 13270 is intended to be a reform bill, practical considerations which may outweigh the modest revenue recoupment envisioned by the change which the bill would make in the method of taxation of lump sum distributions cannot be ignored. The increased burdens which would be cast upon the tax collecting agency must be balanced against any estimated revenue gains which otherwise might result from the changed method of taxation. Further, other reasonably predictable revenue reducing effects of the proposed change must also be added to the increased administrative costs. The Council believes that the combination of increased administrative costs plus any collateral revenue reducing results might well eliminate practically all of the estimated revenue gain and, in fact, might lead ultimately to a net revenue loss. In view of the great care otherwise exercised to see that the revenue cutting portions of the bill would be matched by revenue increases produced by the bill, this possibility should not be ignored.

A. Increased Costs of Administration Must Be Balanced Against the Estimated Revenue Gain

The complications introduced by the revised method of taxation are almost certain to increase the costs of collection of taxes. The Council believes that the complications introduced by the revised method of taxation inevitably will require the employment of many additional, highly skilled personnel by the Treasury Department in order to administer the revised method of taxation. These additional personnel will be needed to review returns initially filed under the revised method, and thereafter to review all returns involved in determining whether a refund is due. The Council believes that experience would demonstrate that all of the direct costs which would be incurred by the federal government would significantly offset the estimated revenue gains envisioned by the bill.

B. The Indirect Revenue Losses, When Added to the Administrative Costs, Might Well Eliminate Any Net Revenue Gain and Could Even Produce a Net Revenue Loss

In addition to the direct costs which must be balanced against the estimated revenue gain, the Council believes that there are at least two reasons why the changed method might eliminate most of the estimated revenue gains and might even produce a net revenue loss.

Footnotes at end of article.

First, whatever the reason for the change, it would tend to discourage the spread of the principle of profit sharing among employers. To the extent that it does so, it will constitute a reversal of long standing Congressional policy. The Council believes that the federal government has long been a silent partner in profit sharing. Why? Because it has been shown that where profit sharing works successfully, everybody, including the federal government, benefits.

A study covering 175 companies in a broad spectrum of industry is now complete and will be published next month. The study has been conducted under the auspices of Northwestern University. While the Council has supported the study, it was in no way in a position to control the results of the study. The purpose of the study has been to compare the performance of profit sharing companies with the performance of companies which do not have profit sharing plans. The industry groups covered were: chemicals, drugs, electronics, machinery & metal fabricators, oil-integrated domestic companies, publishing, retail department stores and mail order houses, retail food chains and tobacco (cigarettes). Ten measures of performance were used to compare the profit sharers and non-profit sharers in each industry. The indices were: operating income margin, net income margin, return on operating investments, return on investments, return on common stock equity, earnings per employee, sales, earnings per share, dividends per share and market price per share. The study covers the years 1948 to 1966.

Among the results shown by this study was that the absolute level of performance by profit sharing companies was superior in over one-half of the cases studied and inferior in less than one quarter of the cases. Moreover, the trend of performance of the profit sharing companies was even more significant in that the margin of superior performance was even greater than when measured on absolute levels. The following is a quotation from the summary and conclusion of that study:

"There are innumerable factors that bear on the operations of a particular business. They all, to a greater or lesser extent, affect its revenues, expenses, or asset investment and hence its financial performance. Obviously it would be improper to conclude that the adoption of a profit-sharing plan leads directly to superior financial results. Nevertheless, the strong showing made by profit-sharing companies in this study would indicate that it is an important factor in the final result."

This study confirmed the results of more limited studies confined solely to the retail department store industry and retail food industry conducted under the auspices of the Profit Sharing Research Foundation, Evanston, Illinois, which covered the years 1952 to 1959 and was published in 1960.

Profit sharing works! Because it works, employees, shareholders and the federal government all benefit. To the extent that profit sharing companies are more profitable, employee security is enhanced. To the extent that profit sharing companies are more profitable, investors in those companies benefit through increased values in their investments. To the extent that profit sharing companies are more profitable, the federal government benefits through the increased taxes which result from those increased profits.

Finally, as pointed out earlier in its statement, the Council believes that employees' interests in profit sharing plans are truly risk capital. That capital provides jobs. People who have jobs pay taxes.

While it would be difficult, if not impossible, to measure, the Council believes that whatever Congress does which has a dampening effect on profit sharing also will have an indirect dampening effect on revenues. If the incentives of profit sharing are removed, companies which share profits prob-

ably will perform less efficiently. Profits and dividends, and hence income taxes, would be reduced as a result of reduced performance. To the extent that the invested capital furnished by profit sharing is reduced, fewer jobs would be provided. Fewer jobs mean fewer taxpayers and lower revenue collections. Since there are some 80,000 profit sharing plans in existence today, it is not unreasonable to speculate that any dampening effects produced by the change in method of taxation could result, indirectly, in a reduction of revenues which, alone, exceeds the estimated revenue gains envisioned by H.R. 13270.

Second, estimated revenue gains of necessity must be based upon the assumption that employees will continue to receive lump sum distributions. However, if the taxes payable with respect to lump sum distributions become unduly burdensome, it is likely that this form of distribution will lose its appeal. For many employees, spreading of distributions over their lifetimes could result in either no income taxes being payable with respect to their benefits or lesser taxes being payable than would have been payable under the revised method of taxing lump sum distributions. Revenues derived from distribution of benefits to such individuals would be reduced below those which are derived under the existing method of taxation where lump sum distributions actually are made. Wealthy individuals having outside means will be in a better position to "let it ride" at retirement rather than to receive lump sum distributions than will average employees. Thus, the effect of the revised method of taxation may well be not to produce revenue, but simply to compel employees to change the method of receipt of their benefits. Yet there will be many whose major assets consist of their profit sharing interest. These employees, for other compelling reasons, will continue to want to receive their benefits in a lump sum distribution. It is on such employees that the burden will fall. Others who are more fortunate will seek distribution in a form which will reduce the taxes payable by them below what might have been paid by them under the revised method of taxation.

IV. Conclusion

The Council commends the drafters of H.R. 13270 for what is clearly an effort to change the method of taxation of lump sum distributions with a minimum of dislocating and unsettling effects upon millions of employees. The prospective feature of H.R. 13270 bears witness to this. Moreover, in continuing to treat part of any lump sum distribution as a long term capital gain, H.R. 13270 recognizes, in part, what the Council sincerely contends and has long contended—that at least a part of an employee's interest in a profit sharing plan is risk capital and should be treated as such. While H.R. 13270 would change part of a lump sum distribution from a capital gain to ordinary income, it also recognizes, through a special averaging method, that lump sum distributions which represent employer contributions also constitute "bunched income". The bunched income concept, of course, is what underlies the entire concept of treatment of certain types of income as capital gains rather than ordinary income. However, the special averaging provision contained in H.R. 13270 which is designed to recognize the bunched income problem introduces extreme complications of administration as contrasted with the present, relatively simple method of taxation of bunched income received in the form of a lump sum distribution. For these reasons, the Council believes that the present method of taxation of such distributions should be retained.

It remains the duty of Congress, however, to make a final decision. Should that decision be to change the present method of taxation of lump sum distributions to some other averaging method, then for the reasons which have been given above, the Council

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offers the following principles which it believes should be kept uppermost in mind in formulating any alternative method of taxation:

1. Any change should recognize, as does H.R. 13270, that part of an employee's interest in a profit sharing plan is clearly risk capital and should be taxed as such.

2. Any averaging method which is to apply to the balance of a lump sum distribution which is not treated as a long term capital gain should not be based upon the recipient's income and marginal rates in a single taxable year.

3. Any averaging method which applies to part of a lump sum distribution should contemplate payment of the taxes due on the distributions once and for all at retirement. The possibility of refunds following calculation and payment of taxes should be avoided.

4. Any averaging method should be simple. It should not entail complications such as those which H.R. 13270 would entail.

Since the present method of taxing lump sum distributions meets all of the foregoing tests, it should not be lightly discarded.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Declaration of principles:

"Section 1. The Council believes it to be highly important to develop an economy in which there is freedom of opportunity for each to achieve his maximum personal development. The Council holds that profit sharing offers a most significant means of bringing into being such an economy.

"Section 2. The Council considers well-planned profit sharing to be an effective means of developing group cooperation and efficiency.

"Section 3. The Council holds that widespread profit sharing will tend to stabilize the economy.

"Section 4. The Council holds that the true spirit of partnership which sound profit sharing engenders is of paramount importance.

"Section 5. The Council is dedicated to the purpose of extending soundly conceived and administered profit sharing in every practical way. At the same time it does not offer profit sharing as a panacea, nor does it minimize the importance of other means of fostering its broad objectives."

Article III, Constitution and By Laws of the Council of Profit Sharing Industries.

² Source: Preliminary Report, Statistics Income—1967, Individual Income Tax Returns, U.S. Government Printing Office, Publication No. 198, 1-69.

³ Report of the Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives, to Accompany H.R. 13270, p. 9.

⁴ Report of the Committee on Ways and Means, p. 85.

⁵ Ways and Means Committee Report, p. 154.

⁶ See Table 5, Ways and Means Committee Report, p. 15.

⁷ Source: "Statistics of Income, 1962, Supplemental Report, Sales of Capital Assets Reported on Individual Income Tax Returns," table 8.

⁸ Ways and Means Committee Report, p. 1.

RESOLVING WORLD PROBLEMS

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, at the recent World Peace Through Law Conference in Bangkok, Thailand, in which 1,200 lawyers from over 100 countries participated, the following resolutions were adopted at the final plenary session, and I would like to call them to the attention of my colleagues.

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While all are addressed to resolving world problems, Resolution 13 concerning aircraft hijacking is particularly timely.

BANGKOK CONFERENCE ON WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW, SEPTEMBER 7 TO 12, 1969

(Resolutions adopted at final plenary session Sept. 11, 1969)

RESOLUTION 1

Appreciation to Thailand

Whereas, the great contributions to peace provided by this World Conference on World Peace Through Law and World Assembly of Judges have been made possible by the generosity, hospitality, support, and cooperation of those who were its hosts,

Resolved, that the Conference and Assembly extend their profound gratitude to His Majesty the King of Thailand, Her Majesty the Queen of Thailand, His Royal Highness the Crown Prince, and His Majesty's Government, the Judiciary, the Bar, and the law students of Thailand, and the Thai people for their great contribution to World Peace;

Further resolved, that special thanks are hereby extended to Judge Sansern, who served as Chairman in coordinating all arrangements for this Conference.

RESOLUTION 2

Individual petitions by individuals to United Nations on human rights

Whereas, the World Peace Through Law Center, at its various conferences and in its work program, has repeatedly emphasized the interrelationship between effective protection of human rights and the peace of the world.

Resolved (1) that the Bangkok Conference reaffirm the recommendation of the Geneva Conference urging all States to ratify the optional protocol to the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights granting to individuals the right to petition the Human Rights Committee, established by the Covenant, and that in the meantime individuals be given access to a United Nations Commission or Commissioner for Human Rights; and

(2) that lawyers throughout the world are urged to see ratification by their governments of the aforementioned optional protocol, if they have not done so already, and, in any event, to seek more effective means for the United Nations to deal with the complaints of private individuals which evidence a consistent pattern of violations of human rights.

RESOLUTION 3

Strengthening United Nations Charter

Whereas, the stated purpose of the World Peace Through Law Center has been to work together to build law rules and legal institutions for World Peace Through Law;

Whereas, time is of the essence due to the spread of arms and tensions in the world; and

Whereas, the United Nations is the most realistic center for effective law rules and institutions,

Resolved, that the Center establish forthwith a special study committee on possible revision and strengthening of the United Nations Charter.

RESOLUTION 4

Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties

Whereas, the interests of world peace demand a good-faith effort toward the development of universal rules and procedures for cooperation among nations and the establishment of the "conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties can be maintained".

Resolved, that the World Peace Through Law Center urges the governments of the world to sign and ratify the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties adopted and opened for signature on 23 May 1969 by the United Nations Conference on the Law of Treaties.

RESOLUTION 5

Hague Convention on Taking of Evidence Abroad

Whereas, in view of the immense increase in international litigation, it is increasingly important to facilitate the taking of evidence abroad and to accommodate the different methods of doing so that are now used by the courts in various countries under various systems of law,

Resolved, that each State:

(1) sign and ratify, as soon as possible, or accede to, the Hague Convention on the Taking of Evidence Abroad in Civil and Commercial Matters, which was adopted in 1968 by the Hague Conference on Private International Law;

(2) refrain, if possible, in doing so, from making use of the reservation permitted by Article 33 of the Convention; and

(3) permit, as far as it is not, or wishes not to become, a Party to the said Convention, the taking of evidence on its territory in civil or commercial matters by diplomatic officers, consular agents or commissioners under conditions similar to those existing under the Convention.

RESOLUTION 6

Independence of the judiciary and of the legal profession

Resolved, that this Conference call upon the States of the world to recognize that a free and independent judiciary and legal profession are essential to develop the rule of law and guarantee the rights of man.

RESOLUTION 7

To encourage the adoption of treaties and compacts

Whereas, the adoption of and adherence to multilateral treaties and compacts is the most effective method whereby the rule of law can be developed,

Resolved, that the President appoint a Center Committee of qualified experts to:

(1) review and publicize the commitments of nations to multilateral treaties and compacts which presently exist;

(2) encourage States to adopt such multilateral treaties and compacts as will further the peace and welfare of mankind; and

(3) report on an annual basis to the Center Secretariat on the progress of its work.

RESOLUTION 8

Genocide convention

Resolved, that all members of the legal profession, residing in States in which such action has not yet been taken, are urged to take all possible steps to achieve ratification of the Genocide Convention by their governments.

RESOLUTION 9

Law research

Whereas, the development of rules of law internationally is in a critical phase, in which the quality of scholarship and craftsmanship can have decisive influence on the entire future development of the international legal system,

Resolved, that lawyers throughout the world are urged to recognize the importance of careful research in their own fields and the importance of closer cooperation with other disciplines so as to understand, and cope better with, the increasing complexities of society;

Further resolved, that a greater and more appropriate proportion of resources be allocated to legal training and research; and

Further resolved, that all members of the Center seek to persuade more law schools to include the study of international law as a required subject in the curriculum.

RESOLUTION 10

Accurate communications among nations

Whereas, interchange of accurate information is essential to peaceful development and improvement of the world community,

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

and to mutual understanding among the nations,

Resolved, that the Bangkok Conference advocates as unrestricted communication of information as possible among States and, at the same time, condemns the use, by any State, of inciting and aggressive propaganda against another State or its people; and

Further resolved, that the Center Committee on International Communications consider the desirability of a Convention on Transnational Communications to implement the above.

RESOLUTION 11

Religions

Whereas, it is desirable that religion be harnessed to the cause of peace,

Resolved, that the Center's President seek the creation of a committee of prominent leaders of various religions to analyze and suggest ways in which religious thought and institutions may be marshaled to support World Peace Through Law.

RESOLUTION 12

Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty

Whereas, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty offers a special hope for the control of nuclear weapons by legal means and imposes special responsibilities on those States equipped with nuclear weapons,

Resolved, that each member of the Center is urged to exercise influence to call upon his government to ratify and sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty at the soonest possible date, if that government has not yet done so; and

Further resolved, that Center members do all in their power to encourage their respective countries to work toward effective armament control.

RESOLUTION 13

Aircraft hijacking

Whereas, hijacking of aircraft is causing grave and immediate concern to the world, both national and international law are necessarily involved in its control, and the legal measures taken so far have proven largely ineffective,

Resolved, that this Bangkok Conference:

(1) calls upon all governments and international authorities concerned with civil aviation forthwith to take the necessary measures and enact the necessary laws to insure that persons on aircraft and the aircraft itself are protected from the presence of firearms, weapons, explosives and other objects capable of injuring such persons or property, or threatening the lawful operation of civil aircraft; and

(2) urges all States to decline to give any aid or comfort to persons involved in such hijacking; to automatically and instantaneously release and return all equipment, personnel, and passengers; and to apprehend and punish the persons involved in the offense; provided that all persons accused of hijacking should have a prompt judicial hearing, with due process of law, regarding their return to a country which requests their extradition; and

Further resolved, that the Center immediately mobilize its legal resources to draft, for consideration by governments and appropriate international aviation authorities, those conventions and rules of law necessary to the solution of the problem, and that the President forthwith appoint a Center committee of legal aviation experts for this purpose.

RESOLUTION 14

International regulation of weather control

Whereas, weather control can be either a threat to international peace, or a means of bettering mankind's condition,

Resolved, that the Bangkok Conference instructs the President of the Center to appoint a committee of experts to draft a treaty on transnational weather control providing for the establishment of international machin-

ery for the regulation of all weather control activities having possible international consequences in order to insure their use for peaceful purposes only, and for the betterment of mankind as a whole; and

Further resolved, that the United Nations is urged to take appropriate action to implement the foregoing objectives.

RESOLUTION 15

World Law Code

Whereas, the Center has long recognized the need for and utility of a World Law Code to identify treaties and conventions of general application together with other sources of international rules of law,

Resolved, that the World Charter of the Rule of Law be implemented by:

(1) appointment of an editor for the Code, and

(2) isolation and assignment of topics within the Code to eminent legal scholars, and the creation of an appropriate commission to review such Code for corrections, additions or deletions as may be deemed necessary, such commission to report to the Center as soon as practicable.

RESOLUTION 16

Computers

Whereas, presentations to the Bangkok Conference have demonstrated that the application of computers to law is developing internationally at an accelerated pace, and it is necessary to coordinate such world-wide activities,

Resolved, that the Center pursue vigorously the storing of statutes for retrieval on a paying basis, and that this Conference calls upon lawyers and legal scholars:

(1) insofar as is practicable, to create an international system based on existing organizations, the Center review entitled "Law and Computer Technology," and the Center Section on Computers and the Law, to improve the reciprocal exchange of information between lawyers and scholars;

(2) to develop and promote the activities of the International Institute for the Computerization of Law; and

(3) to make available courses in the law schools on cybernetics and on the use of computers.

RESOLUTION 17

Resources of the ocean bed

Whereas, Resolution No. 15 adopted at the Geneva Conference in 1967 was widely circulated and distributed to every delegation in the United Nations, was given world-wide publicity, and had an important influence on the introduction of the concept of international jurisdiction over the resources of the ocean bed beyond national jurisdiction before the United Nations;

Whereas, the United Nations Committee of the World Peace Through Law Center subsequently prepared a draft of a proposed Treaty Governing the Exploration and Use of the Ocean Bed which was circulated by the World Peace Through Law Center as No. 10 in its Pamphlet Series and received worldwide attention; and

Whereas, the complex problems involved in the negotiations of a multilateral treaty on this important subject are now under official consideration by various States,

Resolved, that the World Peace Through Law Center commends its United Nations Committee for its constructive contributions in this field and urges that any such treaty embody the following minimum principles:

(A) that there is an area beyond present national jurisdiction in the ocean bed which is not subject to national appropriations;

(B) that the limit of present national jurisdiction should be more precisely defined;

(C) that the resources of the ocean bed beyond national jurisdiction are the common heritage of all mankind, and that a suit-

able portion of any income derived therefrom should be used for the betterment of the poorer countries of the world;

(D) that the ocean bed beyond national jurisdiction not be utilized for military tests or the implantation of weapons of mass destruction; and

(E) that strict safeguards to prevent pollution, or destruction of the ecology of the sea, should be adopted.

RESOLUTION 18

Pollution

Whereas, increasing pollution of space, air, water and land is a threat to the health, welfare and commerce of mankind,

Resolved, that the President appoint a Center Committee of qualified members to acquaint itself:

(1) with the nature and causes of serious pollution affecting more than one country, and

(2) with proposals made, laws enacted, or treaties proposed for legal protection against such pollution; and to recommend to the Center, if deemed appropriate, international steps that might be taken by the Center and others to control pollution.

RESOLUTION 19

International mediation and conciliation service and compulsory arbitration of international disputes

Whereas, the need for utilizing all promising procedures for peacefully settling disputes between nations is all too evident,

Resolved, that the Bangkok Conference urges the establishment within the framework of the United Nations of a permanent available service of competently trained mediators and conciliators to facilitate peaceful settlements between nations in conflict; and

Further resolved, that the United Nations Charter be amended to provide a method for the compulsory arbitration of international disputes.

RESOLUTION 20

International Criminal Court

Whereas, the International Criminal Law Committee of the World Peace Through Law Center, under the chairmanship of Professor Julius Stone of Australia, is engaged in preparation of a work entitled *Toward a Feasible International Criminal Court* which will include contributions by ten outstanding jurists and lawyers from six countries,

Resolved, that the Bangkok Conference commends Professor Stone and his associates in the project, including particularly Professor Robert Woetzel, for their diligence in pursuing this endeavor, and requests the Center to give them every aid in the completion of this project.

RESOLUTION 21

Desirability of worldwide participation in work of center

Whereas, the effectiveness of the World Peace Through Law Center is directly related to the interest, support and activity of individual men of the law from all nations, regardless of political creeds or systems,

Resolved, that this Bangkok Conference reiterates the Center's desire to secure the support and participation in its work of individual men of the law from all parts of the world.

RESOLUTION 22

Peoples' funds to support the United Nations

Whereas, there has been established in the United States of America a "United States Peoples' Fund for the United Nations" for the purpose of enabling private individuals, corporations, foundations and charitable and religious institutions to contribute to the humanitarian activities of the United Nations, and said Fund has been granted tax exemption; and

Whereas, during United Nations Week,

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1969, it is planned to establish a World Council with the objective of fostering other similar funds in other nations.

Resolved, that the Bangkok Conference endorses in principle, and urges those in attendance to press for, the establishment of such Peoples' Funds in as many nations as possible throughout the world.

RESOLUTION 23*Intellectual and industrial property*

Resolved, (1) the World Peace Through Law Center recommends that the various States have the closest cooperation as concerns the procedure and law for the granting of patents, and it endorses the Patent Cooperation Treaty as drafted by the United International Bureau for the Protection of Industrial Property (BIRPI);

(2) the Center recognizes that inventive ness and industrial development can be best encouraged through adequate protection for inventions and that the grant of patents has been the most effective means of encouraging inventive activity and the necessary investment for research and for industrial development of inventions; and the Center therefore recommends that every country should adopt a well-balanced patent system with such modifications as are necessary to be in keeping with national requirements and the stage of development achieved and as are necessary to avoid abuses of patent rights;

(3) the Center recognizes that patents and licenses pursuant thereto are a form of property which should not be expropriated by any nation without fair and adequate compensation;

(4) the Center recommends that the developed countries, either individually or collectively, in giving financial aid to developing countries, provide funds:

(a) to facilitate the transfer of technology whether by advances to the governments or by investments in or advances to companies in such countries; and

(b) to meet the royalty expenses on patents; and

(5) the Center recommends that international institutions be set up capable of giving information on technology available for transfer to developing countries or desired by such countries and which can facilitate contacts between governments or enterprises for transfer of technology.

RESOLUTION 24*The development of nations*

Whereas, development is the most important challenge to the contemporary world and developed nations are, alone, capable of assisting the developing nations.

Resolved, that the Bangkok Conference urges governments and international organizations to study the feasibility of the following measures where they are not already in effect:

(1) the creation of regional common markets to assure coordinated programs for agriculture and industry, such common markets to constitute supra-national organizations and international forums;

(2) the encouragement of institutions and industry by governments of developing countries so as to develop foreign investment in private and public national resources;

(3) so as to allow nonindustrial nations to produce what they now import, the encouragement of:

(a) education in administration and planning;

(b) technical information centers to facilitate the development of small and medium industrial enterprises;

(4) so as to relieve the administration of developing nations, the encouragement of centers for legal and administrative information retrieval by computer, in accordance with the Center proposals;

(5) the encouragement of education in economics for young law students and promo-

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tion of their participation in international organizations; and

(6) the development of international labor law; and

Further resolved, that the Bangkok Conference urges the President of the Center to create a permanent Committee to study, with representatives of all countries, the legal and economic problems concerning the development of developing countries, in order to facilitate a faster realization of the programs dedicated to World Peace.

RESOLUTION 25*Court of Human Rights*

Whereas, the protection and enforcement of fundamental human rights requires a permanent forum where justice may be accomplished for human rights.

Resolved, that a Universal Court of Human Rights should be established where violations of fundamental human rights may receive resounding condemnation and individual rights which have been infringed may be enforced, and that in establishing such Court the Court of Human Rights established by the Council of Europe should be studied and, to the extent deemed desirable, used as a precedent.

RESOLUTION 26*Legal education*

Whereas, the province of the law and the meaning and significance of the Rule of Law are little understood throughout the world;

Whereas, in many parts of the world there are not sufficient trained lawyers or judges;

Whereas, it is desirable for there to be closer international cooperation in legal education; and

Whereas, the Bangkok Conference recognizes and affirms that without an independent and efficient judiciary, a fearless, upright and well-trained legal profession, and adequately equipped law schools staffed with properly remunerated teachers, there can be no sound foundation for the peaceful and orderly development of the political, social, and economic life of a country.

Resolved, that the Bangkok Conference:

(1) draw the attention of Heads of State and Government to the necessity for including in the general educational curricula studies to acquaint students better with the province and function of law and lawyers in the community;

(2) assist by every means available to it the development and maintenance of legal education, particularly in those countries where, due to lack of financial resources or to an imperfect realization of the importance of fully trained lawyers, magistrates and judges, the needs of legal education are not being met;

(3) investigate the feasibility of creating an International Graduate School of Law where the best legal minds of each country can meet and study, and teachers can continue training; and

(4) investigate the feasibility of forming a global association of law schools and law teachers; and

Further Resolved,

(5) that the Center forward a copy of this resolution to appropriate interested parties for implementation including heads of all Bar Associations in the world, deans of all law schools in the world, presidents of all private philanthropic foundations, and heads of organizations interested in legal education such as LAWASIA, the Association of American Law Schools, the Association of Canadian Law Schools, the Association of Public Law Teachers of the United Kingdom and the All India Law Teachers Association.

RESOLUTION 27*Enlisting world-wide public opinion*

Whereas, numerous delegates to this Bangkok Conference have emphasized the increasing responsiveness of governments to public opinion and the potential effectiveness of

world-wide public opinion as an aid in achieving world peace through law; and

Whereas, lawyers have special competence to bring about such better understanding.

Resolved, that each participant in the Bangkok Conference should dedicate himself, on his return, to speak seriously and enthusiastically both in private and public about the objectives and programs of the Center, and the extent to which public opinion can play a substantial role in achieving such objectives; and

Further resolved, that the Center rededicate itself to an increased program to educate world public opinion in support of its programs to achieve World Peace Through Law.

RESOLUTION 28*Civilian populations of occupied territories*

Resolved, that the Bangkok Conference calls on States occupying territories of other States to treat the civilian populations of such territories in accordance with due process of law and in conformity with the Geneva Conventions of 1949.

COMMUNISTS FRONTS AND PARTY FRACTIONS USED AS TOOLS OF SUBVERSION**HON. PAUL J. FANNIN**

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, recently with all the talk about pressuring the President to do this or that—particularly in the field of foreign policy—I became more concerned with just where some of this pressure was coming from.

The American Research Foundation has put together some information that is very helpful in this field. A short history and explanation of front organizations and fraction organizations has assisted understanding of how the Marxist-Leninist ideological and political systems are operating. We can see the relationships between these, sometimes seemingly innocent, operations and their political and military efforts.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the articles to which I have referred, a listing of front organizations, and information about them and their activities be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FRONTS

It is not clear how the term *front organization* originated, but it is being used because mass organizations (non-party), though directed and controlled by the Communist Party apparatus, (faction) pretend to be independent and endeavor to attract as many non-Communists as possible so as to appear respectable and legitimate. They thus become *fronts* or facades behind which Marxism-Leninism operates. They are characterized by their common origin: the rigid conformity with Communist principles based on "unity of will and action", "democratic centralism" and "proletarian internationalism". Communist organizational pattern, their interlocking personnel (fractions) and their methods (tactics) generally used to deceive the general public. Being a part of a subversive and conspiratorial movement, their essence is *semantic aggression, subversion, deception and subterfuge*.

The Marxist-Leninist Communist system

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of front organizations had its inception in the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921, when the concepts of the *United Front* were first defined. It was Lenin himself, who decreed that Communists while carefully preserving their own identity, should try to establish contact with the masses by either collaborating temporarily with the leaders of Socialist and other non-Communist organizations (*United Front from above*), or by appealing to the rank and file members of such organizations over the heads of their leaders (*United Front from below*).

It has always been a basic principle of Marxist-Leninist doctrine that a Communist Party, by its nature, must be a small band of professional revolutionaries. But to accomplish its true aims, members of this elite group cannot and dare not remain in isolation from the society in which they operate. Their job is not only to conspire and, when necessary, to undermine, but also influence and direct the opinions and actions of all the people from workers to the national bourgeoisie.

Marxist-Leninist emphasis upon the role of mass organizations predates the Bolshevik Revolution (1917) as Lenin in his "What Is To Be Done" and elsewhere began to stress the difference between the functions of the Communist Party (CP) and non-party mass organizations such as trade unions, parliaments, cooperatives, political parties, and other groupings. He pointed out that under the indirect (hidden) control and guidance of the Party such organizations could attract far greater support than the disciplined and doctrinaire Party itself could ever hope to get. He wrote about the importance of *transmission belts* from the CP to the masses without which no CP could hope to maintain itself. Stalin was even more explicit on the need for infiltration and penetration as an indispensable step along the road to the domination of the world by the "working class." He wrote, "The proletariat needs these transmission belts, these levers, and this directing force (the CP) because without them, in its struggle for victory, it would be a weaponless army in the face of organized and armed capital."

Comintern's instructions on this aspect of work among the masses (people) are clear and to the point: "The first part of our task is to build up, not only Communist parties, but other organizations as well, above all mass organizations, sympathizing with our aims and able to aid us for special purposes. We must create a whole solar system of organizations and smaller committees around the Communist Party, smaller organizations so to speak, actually working under the influence of the Party but not under its mechanical control." From the above we may conclude that mass organizations were designed to act as instruments of the Marxist-Leninist Communist general (strategic) and specific (tactical) party line while masking their real purpose behind an ostensibly non-political and non-partisan facade of social, political, economic and other goals which have wide acceptance and appeal to "progressive," "democratic," "liberal," and other "peace-loving" public opinion.

In accordance with Marxist-Leninist ideological and organizational concepts, therefore, the functions of mass organizations may be summarized as follows: to spread, select elements of basic tenets of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine among the masses; to mobilize, broad support for immediate domestic and foreign policy objectives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) conveyed through the USSR government and other Soviet-Russian mass organizations (fronts) and the People's Republic of China (PRC), the "Socialist" Parishes, their governments and other mass organizations; to support and strengthen the *Socialist World System* against the Capitalist World System in the systemic, violent or

non-violent, conflict between the two antagonistic class systems; to recruit, and test potential party members; and to serve as training grounds for future Party functionaries and mass organization leaders in local, national, or world-wide leadership of the *World Communist and Workers' Movement*. In addition, their meetings, conventions and other gatherings furnish good opportunity for "national" and foreign Communist leaders to get together and "exchange mutual experience and information" without arousing undue suspicion.

In the past decades, Communist parties were successful in penetrating and infiltrating many established organizations, institutions, political parties and even governments by inserting their own members (fractions), into strategically important positions which, in turn, could be used for the dissemination of agitation and propaganda (agitprop) designed to influence the policy and activities of organizations where they secured a foothold. Marxist-Leninist transnational semantics are the main tools of aggression, subversion and deception manipulated by Party fractions in all mass organizations (fronts) where they have adapted themselves to all possible situations. Based on the foregoing discussion of mass organizations, we may define a Communist front (organization) as a party fraction guided and controlled auxiliary (or reserve) of the *World Communist Movement*. It may be only a "national" one, in which case it assists the local CP on all levels of organization; or a world (international) front organization, such as the World Peace Committee, WFTU, WFDY, etc., which are fraction directed and controlled by CPSU and satellite parties' fractions augmented by additional fractions from "national" CP's.

In many states and countries fronts have added advantage that as they are legal and open organizations, the fear of Communist control did not arise and many persons who have nothing to do with Communism as such, take an active part in these organizations and their activities wrongly believing that their own beliefs and trusts whatever they may be, can never be subverted by the Communists. Soon, however, the disciplined Party fraction (not cell nor faction) within the front, controlled and guided by the corresponding party unit on all functional levels (national to local) begins to take direct or indirect (hidden) leadership and turns the penetrated organizations' functions and activities away from its specific aims into the realm of Marxist-Leninist policies and corresponding subversive aggression. Converts are also made, and the Party fraction uses its balance of power to see that "friendly" elements remain in control of the organizations. Eventually a member of the Party fraction, whose membership in CP is usually not widely known, is elevated (elected) to a leading position in the organization, (i.e., secretary general's post or other). If objection is raised that the infiltrated organization, not even excluding government is following a Marxist-Leninist line, then fraction members retort that they are "only" following the policy "democratically" formulated by representatives of their compatriots at home and by "democratic" and "progressive" peoples, in other countries and states of the world. If not checked, the numerically small Party fraction and its ideo-partisans (sympathizers) are soon in the position where they pose as spokesmen for "all" the "democratic", and "progressive", "peace-loving", "freedom-loving" youth, women, students and others, and throw the support of their organization behind the program and its pre-ordained activities of the "national" Marxist-Leninist Communist or Worker's Party, whether it is legal or illegal, of true as assumed name.

The culmination and apex of Communist front activities is the formation of a *United*

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Front (UF) also appearing under a multitude of attractive names, a roof or super-front organization built upon the fusion of all fronts and cooperation of other non-party organizations. The UF may be world-wide, regional, national, and local. It may be also of a general character (peace council) or specific (trade union), or any other special character. The formation of a UF facilitates various "appeals" to all social classes and all members of all parties and organizations, to join with the Communists in a "Common Front" (not coalition!) in which the Communists "will jointly" struggle for the "democratization", let us say of Vietnam. This, of course, does not mean installation of real democratic institutions there, but a complete political, social and economic, violent or nonviolent, transformation of the existing antagonistic "capitalist (exploiter) class society" into a "peaceful classless socialist" one, i.e., the establishment of "national democracy" and later a "people's democracy", the first phase of the "dictatorship of the proletariat." (Algeria, Mongolia).

To a considerable extent (the C.P. of) the *Soviet Union* (SU) with its affiliated front (and infiltrated) organizations also serves to strengthen the "alliance" between the Marxist-Leninist Communist and other "genuine revolutionary" and "national" (actually people's) liberation parties and movements" by eventual cooperation in the genuine movements (Middle East) and use them as a facade through which to carry on their propaganda and actions, and to gain recruits to the Marxist-Leninist cause, particularly among nonworker classes, the national bourgeoisie, professionals and others.

Another very important purpose of the UF is the establishment of a *propaganda and action base* for the laying of foundations of *dual power* whose main object is the challenge of the existing "exploiter class establishment (system)" and its power, its eventual overthrow and establishment of a new "people's (classless) power" through People's Councils (Soviets), also appearing under a variety of appealing names, followed by the dictatorship of the proletariat—the ruling Communist Party.

Many front organizations also function as "non-governmental" channels for sponsoring cultural relations, libraries and reading rooms, bookstores, press and radio, tourism, free or low cost trips for groups and individuals in whom the local party, the CPSU or other CP's are interested in. Occasionally they also act as cover for crypto-Communists (sleepers) or where the Party has been outlawed, for the Party itself. The whole Communist "solar system of front organizations" is considered by the Marxist-Leninists as a single action and support force (reserve) of the *Socialist World System* headed by the CPSU whose declared systemic conflict (class war on a world-wide scale) against the *Capitalist World System* aims at the complete destruction of "capitalism-imperialism" by either non-violent (co-existence, semantic subversion, aggression, etc.), or violent military tactics, (partisan warfare-aggressive insurgency), or a combination of both. The ultimate goal of the systemic conflict is the establishment of a "classless society" throughout the world, i.e., total elimination of the *Capitalist World System*.

From the Marxist-Leninist doctrinal point of view, the *systemic conflict* of the two mutually antagonistic world systems, (capitalist, socialist) has a *transnational character* which transcends and disregards established international and national nation-state and/or country boundaries and considers nation-states (USA, USSR, CB, etc.), as *fraction controlled mass (front) organizations (superstructures)* of this system, therefore, of primary importance in the *systemic (class) conflict* for socialist (Communist) world supremacy.

Accordingly, the present conflict (people's liberation war) in South Vietnam is not a

war between two nation-states (S. Vietnam vs. N. Vietnam or USA vs. USSR) but an "armed class conflict" between the South Vietnamese capitalist society and its government (superstructure) part of the *World Capitalist System* headed by *US Imperialism* (Wall Street) and the (class) liberated society of North Vietnam, a unit of the Socialist World System, against which the US imperialists and their South Vietnamese "lackeys" are committing criminal (systemic) aggression by attacking one of its superstructures—the National Liberation Front—which is attempting to establish and widen by force a "socialist order" in South Vietnam areas where the NLF has already established "dual power"—village, struggle, and other committees and councils under various names—and lately, the "Provisional Revolutionary Government of S. Vietnam". (Russia Feb. 1971)

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the head of the Socialist World System—the material-technical base of the (Commonwealth) of the Socialist Countries is also the ideological leader and base and force of the World Communist and Workers' Movement, rather than the USSR (Nation-state, superstructure), is in reality instigating and fully supporting "anti-imperialist", "just", "people's", "class" wars in Vietnam or elsewhere throughout the world. The USSR (State) and its governmental counterparts within the Socialist World System are bound by international conventions and membership in the United Nations not to interfere in the "internal affairs" of other states. These interdictions, however, because of their "capitalist" origin were and are totally rejected by the Soviet Union as the head of the "new" world Socialist Systemic Order which refutes all non-socialist (capitalist) international capitalist interference affecting its own movements such as mass organizations people's liberation wars, "disarmament" and other Communist systemic activities.

FRACTIONS

The question of Communist party fractions in non-party mass organizations¹ is closely connected with the necessity of Communist Party's gaining of influence over large non-party masses. In order to achieve this, every Communist Party whether operating under its true name (CPUSA) or assumed name (SED), legal or illegal, in power or seeking power must have organs to conduct a Marxist-Leninist policy within non-party (mass) organizations. Among these organs are *Party fractions*. Their proper organization determines the correct application of the directives of the Communist party, and guarantees the implementation of "unity of will and action," "democratic centralism," and "proletarian internationalism" within those mass organizations where the Party fractions have established themselves. A *Party fraction* must not be confused with *Party faction* which is a dissident (deviationist) group within the Party itself.

"Wherever there are three or more Communist Party members² within a mass organization and its organs, they must form a *Party fraction* (also called nucleus, caucus, kernel, group, etc.), and carry on active Party work. Such a Party fraction must work with all energy to bring the majority of the mass organization (front) members under its influence and to link up the struggle for immediate tasks with the fight for the final aim of the World Communist movement—the establishment of a "classless socialist world system." This work, however, must be conducted within the framework of the programs and statutes (by-laws) of the respective mass organizations. Party members must keep always in mind that Party fractions are not Primary Party Organizations

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(cells) and that they therefore can deal only with the questions of their special field of activity. It is not the individual member of the fraction, often not even the fraction itself, but always the Communist Party as a whole that is held responsible for the activity of Party fractions and for every activity of a Party fraction, as well.

The Communist Party Executive (Committee) determines the political and tactical line of the Party fractions, directs and instructs them, and controls their organization, activities and behavior. The decisions of the Party Executive must be carried out unconditionally by Party fractions, non-fulfillment constitutes serious breach of party discipline.

Candidates for all congresses, conferences, and committees of mass organizations are to be nominated by the *Fraction Executive* (Committee) and approved by the proper Party Executive. If necessary, the Party Executive itself can nominate candidates. The respective Party Executive is authorized to correct or annul Party fraction decisions and to remove or appoint fraction functionaries or leaders. In such cases it is necessary to explain these measures to the members of the Party fraction. Within the limits of the General Party Directives, (Party Line) the Party fractions deal independently within the questions of the inner life of a mass organization and its current work. The Party Executive must not interfere unnecessarily in the daily work of the Party fraction and should let it have all possible freedom of action and initiative within a given mass organization (front). The *fraction functionaries* are obliged to give regular reports to the corresponding Party Executive or to the proper Department and higher Fraction Executive.

Local party fraction functionaries must not, as a rule, maintain direct contact with the Primary Party Organization (PPO). This contact must be made through the PPO Executive. In special cases, in order to deal with definite problems these Party fraction functionaries can, with the approval of the proper Party Executive, deal directly through the PPO Executive with the individual PPO's.

On a national scale and downward, Communist Party members of the respective Executive Committees of a mass organization must also form a Party fraction, which at the same time is the *Fraction Executive (leading fraction)* for the entire mass organization. In order to bring about systematic and united action, joint discussions of Party fractions of various mass organizations must be called by the proper Party Executive according to necessity.

Party fractions in the committees of various mass organizations receive instructions from the Party Executives are responsible for guiding the work of Party fractions by sending their instructions to the lower party fractions. On special occasions, or in cases where the direction of Party fractions of individual mass organizations is difficult, the Party fraction of an individual mass organization is guided directly by the Party functionaries in question.

Party functionaries are responsible for the selection and training of candidates for congresses, conferences, and meetings of mass organizations. They must call *fraction meetings* in advance, and guide and control the Communist Party interest during the sessions. For the period of a given congress meeting or conference, the Party fraction must elect a *Fraction Bureau* to deal with current work. The *Fraction Bureau* works under the leadership of the respective Party functionary who is fully responsible for its work to the Party Executive in question. Members of the Party fraction must maintain strict party discipline and unanimity in their action at all sessions.

Every Party fraction must maintain contact with the non-party oppositional but sympathetic elements. In order to make joint

and unanimous action on important occasions possible, conferences and meetings must be held with these sympathizers (ideopartisans). This applies not only to important questions of Marxist-Leninist principles, but also to organization and activities of the masses (people). Previous to these conferences, Party fractions must discuss all pertinent questions among themselves and decide on their actions and the carrying out of same on the basis of the strictest party disciplines (democratic centralism).

There are no special fraction dues. The regular revenues of the Communist Party provides the means of Party fraction work.

Agitation-propaganda activities of Party fractions are based on the application of Marxist-Leninist transnational semantics. A mass organization in which the Party fraction secured a solid foothold may be called a front organization, an auxiliary of the World Marxist-Leninist (Communist) and Workers' Movement headed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and to certain degree by the Communist Party of China (CPCh.)

All activities of Party fractions are directed and controlled by programs, party line and statutes of individual "national" Communist and Workers' Parties. (Note: According to Marxist-Leninist principles of organization, mass organizations belong to the super-structure of given production base or system. There are two "mutually" antagonistic World Systems, the Capitalist (imperialist) and Socialist (Communist). Mass organizations (fronts) in the former are auxiliaries of the World Communist movement, whose ultimate goal is the complete liquidation of the Capitalistic World System, therefore, the Communist support force in the SYSTEMIC CONFLICT (class-war) during the non-violent and/or violent stage of transition to the World Socialist (Communist) System. Mass organizations in the latter, however, are parts of the Socialist World System which they must support unconditionally. The roles consequently are different and occasionally "opposite".

WORLD (INTERNATIONAL) COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL).

International Federation of Resistance Fighters (FIR).

International Medical Association (IMA). International Organization of Journalists (IOJ).

International Radio and Television Organization (OIR).

International Union of Students (IUS). Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF).

World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFWSW).

World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY).

World Federation of Teachers' Unions (FISE).

World Federation of Trade Unions (FWTU).

World Peace Council (WPC).

World Peace Movement (WPM), etc.

Other world-wide Communist sponsored activities (select).

Introduction

Before examining the background and activities of World (International) Communist Front Organizations, let us recapitulate briefly the Marxist-Leninist (Communist) theory on the nature and purpose of mass (front) organizations and their relationship to the local Communist Party and the World Marxist-Leninist and Workers' Movement, an integral part of the Socialist World System headed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

These world-wide mass organizations are designed to act as instruments of the CPSU (and CP China) general and specific party

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line while masking their real purpose behind an ostensibly non-political (and non-partisan) facade of social, economic, political and other goals which have wide acceptance and appeal to "progressive," "democratic," "peace-loving," "anti-fascist," and "patriotic" public opinion.

The function of these fronts is to spread basic concepts of the Marxist-Leninist ideology; to mobilize support for immediate "foreign policy" objectives of the CPSU (Soviet Union) and CP China; and to recruit and test potential party members. In addition they serve as *training ground* for future party leadership cadres.

Their world-wide congresses, conventions, consultations, festivals and other similar gatherings furnish an opportunity for "fraternal" communist leaders to get together without arousing undue suspicion. In many countries, fronts have added advantages that, as they are not open parties, the fear of Communist control did not arise and many persons who have nothing to do with Communism as such take active part in these organizations and activities.

Communist emphasis upon the role of these mass organizations predates the Russian Revolution as Lenin in his "What is to be Done" distinguishes between the function of the *Party* itself and the role which could be played by mass organizations such as Trade Unions, which though under hidden control of the Party, could attract broader mass support for Communist causes.

Membership of these fronts is drawn from many countries and states. Guidance and control of these front organizations is effected by PARTY FRACTIONS within each organization which is in turn guided and managed by the corresponding C.P. organizational unit on all organizational levels irrespective of its legal or illegal status and true or assumed name.

Many of the World Communist Fronts have "a consultative membership" status in the United Nations Organization.

International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL)

Headquarters: The Secretariat is at 234 Rue du Trone, Brussels, having been expelled from Paris in 1950 by the French Government. A certain amount of organizational work has also been carried on from Moscow.

History: The Association was founded in 1946 at the International Congress of Jurists held in Paris under the auspices of a para-Communist organization, the Mouvement National Judiciaire. Many lawyers attended this congress and subsequently joined the organization without realizing its political nature. However, the Communists had control of the organization from the beginning and by 1949 most of the non-Communists had resigned.

Membership: Membership is open to organizations, groups, or individual lawyers. The IADL has never issued a total membership figure but claims to have members in over 100 states and countries.

Avowed Aims: The Main Aims of the IADL are, according to its statutes:

1. To develop mutual understanding among the lawyers of the world;
2. To support the aims of the *United Nations*, especially through common action for the defense of democratic liberties;
3. To cooperate with other groups to ensure respect for the rule of law in international relations and the establishment of a "durable peace."

Actual Policies: In practice the IADL has:

1. Supported every move in CPSU foreign policy and attacked Free World policies whenever this was in line with USSR propaganda;
2. Denounced as a "violation of human rights" any prosecution against Communists or Communist parties outside the Soviet orbit, while denying or ignoring the existence of any violations of human rights behind the Iron Curtain. For example, the Rosenberg

trial in America was castigated as "judicial murder" but the Slansky trial in Czechoslovakia was never mentioned;

3. Assisted wherever possible the dissemination of USSR/CPSU propaganda, particularly the notorious "germ warfare" allegations. It has also supported the various campaigns of the WPC;

4. Organized, as a contribution to "mutual understanding," visits of groups of "progressive" (i.e., pro-Communist) lawyers to the USSR, its satellites and China, who, in return for lavish hospitality, extolled the perfections of "people's democracy," particularly its legal system (even in Hungary since the revolt);

5. Attacked the West for "imperialist aggression" in Korea, Indo-China, Malaya, Kenya, Cyprus, Algeria and Middle East and other countries. (But failed to make any protest against the brutal suppression of freedom by Soviet tanks in Poznan, Poland, Budapest, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Recent Activities: Attended the "Second International Conference in Support of the Arab Peoples", Cairo 25-28 January, 1969.

Also attended the "Consultation of the Attorneys General of European Socialist States, East Berlin, 28-29 January, 1969.

Session of the IADL Secretariat, Vienna, February 1969.

"Ninth Congress of IADL, Helsinki, July, 1969.

International Federation of Resistance Fighters (FIR)

Headquarters: The headquarters are at Castellezasse 35, Vienna 2, but a small secretariat is also maintained at 10 rue Lereux, Paris 16. The headquarters were in Warsaw until 1952.

History: The FIR was founded at a congress organized in Vienna in July 1951 by its predecessor the "International Federation of Former Political Prisoners of Fascism" (FIAPP). FIAPP itself had been founded in Paris in 1947 but did not include Resistance Fighters (R.F.).

Membership: Membership is open to organizations of former partisans, resistance fighters, political prisoners and "victims of Nazism or Fascism." It is also open to individuals and there is provision for associate membership. A total membership of 4,000,000 is claimed drawn from European and other countries.

Avowed Aims: These are to keep alive the memory of those who died fighting Fascism underground, to protect the rights of those who survived to prevent a re-emergence of "Nazism or Fascism" and to ensure "world peace."

Actual Policies: In practice it has not collaborated with Resistance associations organized on a national, non-party basis, but only with those under Communist control.

While genuinely fighting "Fascism" it has also supported every move of CPSU foreign policy. Opposition to "Nazism" has been used as a lever to attack the NATO, CENTO, SEATO, OAS, etc., and any other attempt by the Free World to defend itself.

Recent Activities: "Sixth Congress of FIR" projected for May 1969.

"Meeting of Resistance Fighters from the Portuguese Colonies and South Africa". 23 Jan. 1969, Khartoum, Sudan, (in USSR Cultural Centre).

International Medical Association (IMA)

Headquarters: The headquarters were transferred from Rome in April 1953 to Wollzeile 29/3 Vienna, Austria. In September 1957 it moved to its present address, Helferstorferstrasse 4/12 Vienna I.

History: The organization began under the wing of the World Peace Movement, but in June 1954 it was established as an independent organization. It originated at the II World Peace Congress in Warsaw in 1950, when 61 doctors who attended decided to form an "International Union of Doctors for Peace" and a conference was proposed to deal

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with the "pernicious influence of war preparations" on the health of the people. In February 1951, the WPC instructed its executive bureau to support the project and an International Preparatory Committee was set up. National Committees were also established and in November 1951 a preparatory meeting was held in Rome. Plans to hold the first World Congress of Doctors in Montecatini, Italy in October 1951 fell through. It was not held until May 1953 in Vienna. Meanwhile, the International Preparatory Committee had become the "International Secretariat of the World Congress of Doctors," superseding the original "International Union of Doctors for Peace." The "World Congress of Doctors" was formally established in Vienna as a permanent organization in June 1954 and was registered under Austrian law in December 1955.

In October 1957 it was reconstituted and its title changed to "International Medical Association."

Membership: Membership is open to medical organizations or individual members of the medical profession. No claims as to total membership have been made.

Avowed aims: The avowed aims of IMA are the promotion of health throughout the world by the prevention rather than the treatment of disease. To this end it concentrates mainly on questions of living standards.

Actual policies: In practice the IMA has concentrated mainly on two problems: first, the danger to health through the lowering of living standards caused by wars and preparations for war (in the Free World only); second, the radiation hazards caused by the testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons (again by the Western Powers only; Soviet test explosions are discreetly ignored).

International Organization of Journalists (IOJ)

Headquarters: Originally in London, the headquarters were moved in June 1947 to Opletalova 5, Prague 3, Czechoslovakia, presently located at Parizska ulice (street) 9, Prague I.

History: The IOJ was founded in June 1946 at a congress in Copenhagen. The pre-war International Federation of Journalists and the wartime International Federation of Journalists of Allied and Free Countries were both formally disbanded.

At first, several Western journalists' unions joined the new organization and for a short time it was truly representative. But, from the beginning the Communists had succeeded in capturing the key posts and gradually turned it into yet another front organization. By 1950 all the non-Communist unions had withdrawn because of the IOJ had become, in the words of its first President, Mr. A. Kenyon, "a branch office of the Cominform." Confirmation of this assertion was provided in 1950 when the IOJ expelled the Yugoslavs because "Stalin had quarreled with Tito." In 1955 when Soviet hostility to Yugoslavia was relaxed, the IOJ apologized for their "error" and invited the Yugoslavs back (so far in vain). Those who had left the IOJ in 1950 restarted the IFJ.

Membership: Membership is open to journalists in the following categories:

1. National Unions of Journalists.
2. National Groups of the IOJ.
3. Individual members.

Avowed Aims: According to its constitution, as published by the IOJ itself in a booklet dated April 1956, the IOJ is "a union of progressive and anti-fascist journalists." Its aims are listed as:

1. "The maintenance of peace and the broadening of friendship among the peoples, as well as international understanding through free, accurate, and honest informing of public opinion. The struggle against the spreading of war psychosis and war propaganda, against the creation of international tension by means of falsehoods and calumnies."

2. "The protection of freedom of the press and of journalists against the influence of monopolists and neo-colonialist financial groups. The defense of the right of every journalist to write according to his conscience and conviction. The protection of the rights of colonial peoples and of national minorities to publish in their native language. Support to journalists who have been persecuted for having taken up their pens in defense of peace, progress, justice, the liberty and independence of their countries.

3. "The protection of all journalists' rights. The struggle for bettering material conditions of their existence. The gathering and dissemination of all information concerning the living conditions of journalists in all countries. (Collective agreements, salaries, right to organize). Support of the trade union movement in the struggle for journalists' demands.

4. "The protection of the people's rights to receive free and honest information in the struggle against falsehood, calumnies and systematic misinformation by the press, as well as against every form of journalistic activity in the service of individuals or particular groups of society whose interests are contrary to those of the working masses."

Actual Policies: In practice, the IOJ's "struggle for peace" has been the defense of the "peaceful policies" (coexistence) of the CPSU and attacks on the "imperialists" and "warmongers" of the West. Its opposition to "war propaganda" and press "calumnies" has meant condemning any article criticizing the USSR or Soviet Communism.

As for the "protection of press freedom" and "journalists' rights" this has been most blatantly selective. Alleged cases of persecution in the U.S.A., Latin America and remaining British and Portuguese colonies are constantly being publicized and journalists of the Free World criticized for being under the thumb of "capitalists." On the other hand, nothing was ever said about the censorship, official directives and stringent measures of press control which are common to all Communist countries (e.g. Czechoslovakia).

Publications: The Democratic Journalist. **Recent Activities:** IOJ Executive Meeting, May 1969.

International Radio and Television Organization (OIRT)

Headquarters: The headquarters are now at Liebknechtova 15, Prague 16, Czechoslovakia (formerly Mozartova 15).

History: This organization was founded in 1946 at a conference in Brussels under the name of Organization Internationale de Radiodiffusion (OIR). This was later changed to the present one in July 1959. Many countries participated in it at first except the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) which in 1950 took the initiative setting up a rival body, the European Broadcasting Union (EBU). All the leading non-Communist countries have left the OIRT, mostly to join the EBU and the OIRT has since been under complete Communist control.

Membership: Membership is open to any broadcasting organization. At present, organizations from all countries of the Soviet orbit belong, plus Finland, Syria, Iraq, the Arab Republic and other non-orbit countries.

Avowed Aims: OIRT's official aims are non-political, such as mutual assistance of broadcasting stations, etc.

Actual Policies: In practice the OIRT and all its Soviet bloc and non-bloc affiliates have constituted an official mouthpiece of CPSU and propaganda. No attempt has been made to maintain any pretense at impartiality.

Recent Activities: "General Assembly of the OIRT, Helsinki, Autumn 1969 (projected).

International Union of Students (IUS)

Headquarters: The headquarters have always been in Prague, formerly at Vojtesska

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12. Prague 11. The present address is Vojetova 3, Prague 2, Czechoslovakia.

History: The IUS was founded at a World Student Congress held in Prague in August 1946. It was attended by students of all political and religious persuasions who all, except for the Communists, thought that they were founding an impartial and universal student body—or, as the constitution put it, "the representative organization of the democratic students of the whole world who work for progress." But the Communists managed to gain control of the organizations from the beginning through fractions by securing the key posts and by providing both the headquarters and most of the funds. They proceeded to turn it into the "student section of the Cominform," as it was once described by a president of the British National Union of Students. In spite of great efforts by the Communists to keep the non-Communists within the fold, most of them had left by 1950 as a result of the IUS's pro-Communist activities. For many of them the decisive factor was the expulsion without a hearing of the Yugoslav Union of Student Youth in 1950 because of the Stalin-Tito quarrel. (After Stalin's death Moscow's orders changed and the Yugoslavs were urged to return. But they have so far refused.)

The non-Communist unions who left the IUS decided to form themselves into a new body called the Coordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students (COSEC) with headquarters at Leiden, Holland, which organizes an annual International Student Conference (ISC).

Membership: Membership is open to national unions of students or to groups of students where no national union exists.

In an attempt to keep contact with non-Communist unions, the IUS created a form of limited affiliation called associate membership. Several unions, such as the British NUS, became associate members for a time but withdrew when they found that they were still drawn into IUS politics. At present only the unions of Algeria (UGEMA), Ceylon and Tunisia are associate members.

Avowed Aims: According to its Constitution as revised in 1956, the IUS "shall strive for" a list of aims which include the following:

1. "The right and possibility of all young people to enjoy primary, secondary, and higher education, regardless of sex, economic circumstances, social standing, political conviction, religion, color or race;

2. "The promotion of . . . the love of freedom and democracy;

3. "The realization of the aspirations of students in colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries struggling against colonialism and for full national independence, which is a prerequisite for the full development of education and national culture;

4. "World peace, international friendship among all peoples . . ."

Actual Policies: The above aims may sound generally acceptable to students, but in practice the IUS has been much more partisan. Like all World Communist Front organizations, it has carefully followed every twist and turn of CPSU policy. Every opportunity is taken to criticize conditions in the Free World, while eulogizing those in the Soviet camp. For example, the IUS pamphlet *U.S. Education in Crisis* alleged that the "depressed state of education" in America was "clearly similar to the general economic crisis in the United States as a whole, for which the banks and monopolies seek war as their only solution." The pamphlet *Twenty-one Unforgettable Days in the Soviet Union*, on the other hand, praised the high standards and democratic nature of Soviet education thus: "The life and conditions of the Soviet youth and students, proud of the leading role of their country in the world struggle for peace, help to show the

way to a brighter future for all student youth."

Anti-Colonialism Students who have allegedly been fighting against "imperialism" or "colonialism" as in Latin America, Greece, Burma, Indonesia, Cyprus, North Africa, or the Middle East have always been given full IUS support. This concern for freedom, however, did not extend to those students who dared to fight against Soviet imperialism—in Prague in 1948, in East Germany in 1953, and particularly in Hungary in late 1956 and again in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and 1969. Regarding the Hungarian rising, the IUS issued a statement expressing its "sincere condolences" to Hungarian students and offering aid, but not daring to support the freedom fighters in their struggle against the Soviet forces of repression, even though the students were in the forefront of the battle.

Peace Campaigns: Special support has been given to the various campaigns of the WPC, in particular those against the defense preparations of the Free World. The high cost of armaments is blamed for lack of education facilities, and conscription is attacked ceaselessly as a disruption of student life—in the Free World only. Nothing is said of the fact that conscription in Soviet orbit is more rigorous than in any non-communist country.

Publication: World Student News.

Recent Activities: "International Student Forum in Support of the Arab Peoples", Cairo March 1969.

Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF)

Headquarters: Until January 1951 the headquarters were in Paris, but at that time WIDF was expelled by the French Government. Since then the headquarters have been at Unter den Linden 13, Berlin W8, German Democratic Republic, (East Germany).

History: The federation was founded in Paris in November 1945 at a Congress of Women organized by a Communist-dominated organization, Union des Femmes Françaises. The WIDF has been under Communist control from the beginning. No non-Communist women's organization of any importance has ever joined it.

Membership: Membership is open to women's organizations, groups of women, or (exceptionally) individuals. Associate Membership with limited cooperation is also provided for.

Avowed Aims: According to the Charter of the WIDF, its aims are broad, innocuous and acceptable to most women of the whole world, regardless of race, nationality, religion and political conviction in order to:

1. "oppose war, oppression and misery, and build a future of progress, freedom, justice and peace;

2. "defend women's rights as citizens, mothers and workers, and achieve full equality with men;

3. "protect children;

4. "ensure peace, democracy and national independence, including the reduction of armaments, prohibition of thermonuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples;

5. "promote economic, scientific and cultural cooperation among nations on a basis of equality."

Actual Policies: In practice, however, the WIDF has strayed far from such noble aims. Most of its statements and activities have been in support of current CPSU policies or of campaigns launched by other front organizations, notably the World Peace Council. Never has it deviated from the CPSU line. However, much of it contradicted itself. For example, it expelled the Yugoslavs in 1949 because Stalin quarreled with Tito but "annulled" this decision in April 1956 because Khrushchev had patched up the quarrel.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

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The WIDF's constant theme is that the living conditions of women and children in the Soviet camp are ideal whereas in "capitalist" and worse still, in "colonial" and developing countries there is still oppression and exploitation, with inadequate food, housing, medical attention or education.

Poor conditions in non-Communist countries are, it is alleged, largely due to "war preparations" which depress the standard of living. Nothing, however, is said about military expenditure in the Commonwealth of Socialist countries.

In supporting the various campaigns of the "Peace Movement," much stress has been laid on the danger to women and children of radiation from atomic weapon tests as well as the threat to their future constituted by the danger of atomic war, but always it is American and British tests which are condemned and never those conducted in the U.S.S.R.

Publications: Women of the Whole World.

Recent Activities: Meeting of the "Preparatory Committee for the Sixth World Congress of the WIDF," Jan. 1969.

Worldwide celebrations of the "International Women's Day", (8 March). Theme: "Day of the Worldwide struggle for the ending the US aggression in Vietnam"

Session of the "Bureau of WIDF", East Berlin, 25 March 1959. (Preparation for the VIth Congress of the WIDF to be held between 14-17 June 1969 in Helsinki, participation in the World Peace Conference, East Berlin, 21-24 June 1969.

Sixth World Congress of the WIDF, Helsinki, 14-17 June 1969.

World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW)

Headquarters: The headquarters are in London, although there are regional centers in Calcutta, Prague, and Paris. The address is Parizska ul.11, Prague I, Czechoslovakia.

History: The WFSW was founded in 1946 at an International Conference organized in London by the British Association of Scientific Workers. Eighteen organizations of scientists from 14 countries were represented. Although it purported to be a non-political organization, Communists succeeded in obtaining most of the official posts and soon had control. There has been no mass walkout, as with other world communist front organizations, but some affiliated bodies are known to be restive as a result of the pro-Communist policies pursued by the WFSW.

Avowed Aims: According to its constitution, the aims of the WFSW include:

1. "The fullest utilization of science in promoting the peace and welfare of mankind;
2. "International cooperation in science and technology . . . through close cooperation with UNESCO;

3. "Freedom and coordination of scientific work both nationally and internationally;

4. "Closer integration between the natural and social sciences."

Actual Policies: In practice the WFSW has faithfully carried out its role as a Communist front organization. It has invariably attacked the "imperialist" countries and praised the Communist ones (with the exception of Yugoslavia during the Stalin-Tito quarrel).

It has waxed indignant at the "victimization" of scientist in the United States, when from time to time a Communist scientist has been refused a passport or removed from his job on security grounds. It has said nothing about the purges, trials and continual restrictions on scientists in the Sino-Soviet orbit, from which most of its members come.

Some idea of the WFSW's real attitude to scientific truth may be gained from an illuminating speech made by General Hrushka at a scientific conference organized in Brno, Czechoslovakia, in February 1952 by the WFSW's Czechoslovakia affiliate. He said, inter alia: "It is essential that Marxism-

Leninism should penetrate into every branch of science . . . a particularly strong attack must be delivered on cosmopolitanism. . . . An attack must also be launched on the deliberately misleading reactionary hypothesis of the 'non-political' nature of science and its position 'above party.' The fight against cosmopolitanism must be stepped up and an end put to scientific objectivism." (Prague Radio, February 26, 1952.)

Publications: Scientific World.

Recent Activities: "Third Scientific Peace Conference", Debreczen, Hungary. Theme: Problems of the Third World.

Ninth General Assembly of WFSW, April 1969.

World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY)

Headquarters: Until 1951 when they were expelled by the French Government, the headquarters were in Paris. Since 1951 they have been at Benczur-utca 34, Budapest VI, Hungary. During the Hungarian rebellion at the end of 1956, the staff fled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, for safety. But once the Soviet tanks had made it safe again for them, they returned to Budapest.

History: The WFDY was founded in November 1945 at a World Youth Conference convened in London by the World Youth Council, a Communist controlled body which has since been disbanded. Many bona-fide youth organizations joined in the belief that they were founding a non-political organization for bringing the youth of all races, countries and creeds together. They were soon disillusioned, for the Communists captured all the key posts and quickly proceeded to turn the WFDY into a pro-CPSU propaganda organization. By 1949 most of the non-Communists had left in disgust to found their own organization, the World Assembly of Youth (WAY).

Membership: Membership is open to any youth organization, national or international, two-thirds of whose members are under 27 years old.

In 1965 WFDY claimed to have over 200 member organizations uniting 87 million members but the bulk of these come from the Sino-Soviet orbit, largely from U.S.S.R. and People's Republic of China. Membership in the Free World is mostly confined to small pro-Communist or fellow-traveling organizations. There are a number of associate members in addition to the full members.

Avowed Aims: According to its constitution, the aims of the WFDY are such as to command wide support. They include:

1. "The promotion of international understanding among young people;

2. "International cooperation of youth in economic, political, educational, cultural and social activities;

3. "The maintenance of freedom of speech, press, religion and assembly;

4. "To support the demands of youth, particularly as regards standards of living, education and conditions of employment."

Actual Policies: In practice, however, the WFDY has been less concerned with the promotion of understanding among young people than with waging political and semantic warfare on behalf of the CPSU/KOMSOMOL (youth organization). It made its real aims clear in a Manifesto addressed *To the Young People of All Countries* in September 1949, which included:

1. "Condemnation of the warlike preparations of the capitalist countries led by the American imperialist;

2. "Attacks on the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other treaty organizations;

3. "Allegations of the violation of democratic freedom in imperialist countries (i.e., the Western Powers);

4. "An appeal to youth to support the invincible army of peace partisans headed by the mighty Soviet Union;"

5. "A call to youth organizations to render

utmost support to the young democrats of India, Vietnam, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, and other colonial and dependent countries in the struggle for peace and the independence of their peoples."

6. Etc.

Publications: WFDY News.

Recent Activities: "Ordinary Session of the Council of the International Bureau of Tourism and Exchange of Youth of the WFDY, Budapest, first week of February 1969.

"Appeal" by WFDY calling for action to be taken—Against the Extension of the NATO Pact and for European Security", Budapest, March, 1969.

The 8th of May was declared a "Youth Action Day for the Recognition of the GDR and Against Neonazism in West Germany."

"Third International Conference of Editors of Childrens' and Pioneer Newspapers" organized by the International Committee of the Children's and Adolescents' Movements (CIMEA) of the WFDY, Poland, May 1969.

Projected Activities: "International Youth Congress" on the occasion of Lenin's 100th birthday. Theme: "Leninism and the Struggle of Youth for Peace, Democracy, National Independence and Social Progress". Ulanovsk, USSR.

"International Conference on Children's Rights," November 1969.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TEACHERS' UNION (FISE)

Headquarters: Until 1952 headquarters were in Paris, but the Federation was then expelled by the French Government for "fifth column activity." Following its parent body, the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), it settled in the Soviet Sector of Vienna until February 1956, when it was again expelled as a danger to neutrality (this time by the newly independent Austrian Government). It was then run from the office of its Secretary-General at 10 rue de Solferino, Paris 7, until it moved to Prague in October 1959.

History: Though founded in 1946, FISE only became a trade department of the WFTU in 1949. It is noteworthy that this step was taken when the Free Unions had just left the WFTU leaving it completely in Communist hands. FISE has never enjoyed non-Communist support as have some front organizations in their early years.

It is more of a professional association than a Trade Union International, and, unlike the other Trade Departments of WFTU, leads a largely independent existence. Hence it merits a section to itself.

Membership: The leading teachers' organizations in the Free World are not affiliated with FISE but with the non-Communist World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP). The bulk of FISE's members come from the Sino-Soviet orbit. Membership is open to teachers' organizations catering to all grades.

Avowed Aims: The avowed purpose of FISE is to organize teachers of all grades in one worldwide organization. It claims to fight for teachers' "rights" and for higher educational standards. In particular, according to a resolution adopted at its Warsaw conference in August 1949, its aims include:

1. "The establishment of universal free education;

2. "The outlawing of textbooks propagating militarism, imperialism or racial domination;

3. "Opposition to military training and corporal punishment;

4. "The training of teachers in a democratic spirit and their inclusion in the active struggle against reaction and for peace, progress and democracy;

5. "The emancipation of schools from church influence."

Such aims are, of course, acceptable to many beside Communists.

Actual Policies: In practice, however, FISE's aims have been distorted to serve the

political ends of the CPSU. First of all, a dual standard is applied. Education in the Soviet orbit is lavishly praised as a shining example to the rest of the world while education in the Free World, particularly in the U.S.A. and the British Commonwealth, is ceaselessly criticized. Secondly, educational problems are never studied as such, but always from the "class war" or Marxist-Leninist point of view. Thirdly, FISE, like other world Communist front organizations, never fails to follow every twist and turn in CPSU foreign policy and to give it all possible propaganda support.

One of the chief aims of FISE, constantly reiterated, is to integrate teachers into the working class and to cure them of their "bourgeois" outlook. Teachers, like scientists and other professional groups, are to form the vanguard of the working masses, the brains of the proletariat. They are also essential for the large-scale indoctrination of youth with Marxist-Leninists ideas. According to Lenin: "He who has the Youth, has the future."

Recent Activities: "World Conference of Teachers," East Berlin, June 1969.

World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)

Headquarters: The headquarters were first established in Paris in 1945. But in January 1951 the WFTU was expelled by the French Government for subversive activities. It then moved to the Soviet sector of occupied Vienna where it remained under U.S.S.R. protection. In February 1956, however, the Australian Government, having regained its independence with the departure of the occupation forces, ordered the dissolution of the headquarters on the grounds that the WFTU had broken its own statutes and was endangering Austrian neutrality. The headquarters were thereupon transferred to their present address, Janska 100, Prague I, Czechoslovakia.

History: Ironical as it now seems, it was the British Trade Unions' Congress which took the initiative in setting up the WFTU. In 1943 it issued invitations for a preparatory conference which finally took place in London in February 1945. An Administrative Committee was set up to draft a Constitution. When this was ready, a Foundation Congress was called in Paris in October 1945.

In recognition of Britain's leadership, Sir Walter Citrine was elected the first president of the new organization. But the Soviets insisted, as the price of their cooperation, on having their nominee, Louis Saillant (France), as Secretary-General. Saillant called himself a "Socialist," but actually proved to be a dedicated Communist. He followed CPSU's directives implicitly and proceeded to pack the Secretariat with other Communists. As a full-time official he became more powerful than the president of the WFTU.

He was still, however, answerable to the General Council, the Executive Committee and to the Executive Bureau but this did not trouble him long. These bodies were elected—the number of votes for each affiliated organization depending on the size of its membership—so Saillant and his Communist friends set to work to gain control by increasing the Communist vote. First of all, the Trade Union Centres of East and Western Europe were all brought under Communist fraction control. Then came the CP conquest of the Chinese Republic (nationalist) in 1949. Lastly, membership figures of these and other Communist-controlled National Union Centres (which could not be checked) were artificially inflated until the Communists had control. By January 1949 the position of the non-Communists had become intolerable and, led by the British TUC, the American C.I.O. and the Dutch NVV, withdrew from the WFTU. In November 1949 they set up their own organization, the International Confederation of Free Trade Union (ICFTU); inaugurated in London and established its headquarters in Brussels.

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Membership: According to its Constitution, membership of the WFTU is only open to National Trade Union Federations. But in practice, many splinter groups from the Free World have been accepted because the National Centers mostly belong to the ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions).

Avowed Aims: According to its Constitution, which was adopted in 1945, the WFTU exists "to improve the living and working conditions of the people of all lands." The Constitution further states that the prime purposes of the WFTU are:

1. "To organize and unite within its ranks the trade unions of the whole world irrespective of considerations of race, nationality, religion or political opinion;

2. "To assist, wherever necessary, the workers in countries socially or industrially less developed in setting up their trade unions;

3. "To carry on the struggle for the extermination of all fascist forms of government and every manifestation of fascism, under whatever form it operates and by whatever name it may be known;

4. "To combat war and the causes of war and work for a stable and enduring peace."

Such aims are acceptable to most trade unionists.

Actual Policies: Since the Communists gained full control in 1949, however, the WFTU's methods of fulfilling these aims have been unacceptable to any but Communists and their fellow-travelers. It has acted as a major propaganda agency for the CPSU bringing political and semantic war tactics into the trade union field. It has followed every twist in CPSU policy. Its vast apparatus and numerous publications have churned out propaganda and agitation in support of the current CPSU political line including the "peace movement." Owing to its world-wide well-organized machinery, its status in the U.N. and its pretense of defending the workers, it has probably had more influence than any other World Communist front organization. If it has been less successful than the World Peace Council in ensnaring non-Communists, this is because of the existence of the non-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. WFTU remains potentially the most dangerous of the world front organizations because of the number of "organized troops" (Red Army) at its command, i.e., workers in Communist controlled unions, such as the French CGT and the Italian CGIL. Though not all Communists, they are completely under Communist domination.

Publications: World Trade Union Movement.

Recent Activities: Participation of the WFTU in the "All-African Trade Union Federation" Meeting, Cairo, 26 Jan. 1969.

Attendance in the "Second International Conference in Support of the Arab Peoples", organized jointly by the World Peace Council (WPC) and the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), Cairo, Jan. 1969;

"Fourth Congress of the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU), Cairo, 29 Jan.-1 Feb. 1969.

Proclamation issued by the Secretariat of WFTU to "all international trade union centers to support the working class and the people of Spain jointly with the WFTU or similar actions within international organizations, within the United Nations (emph. added), within the International Labour Organization (ILO) or in another appropriate form." (Pravda, Moscow, USSR, 6 Feb. 1969).

Support of "Declaration" by the Coordinating Chairman of WPC (Isabelle Blume, Belgium) to the press: "All those who want peace and security in Europe protest against the election of the President of the West German Federal Republic in West-Berlin"

(Komsomol Pravda, Moscow, USSR, 15 Feb. 1969.)

Participation in: the "Solidarity Conference of the Trade Unions of Africa and Europe" sponsored by the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF), Conacry, Guinea, 21 March 1969.

Meeting of the Administrative Committee of the Food, Tobacco, and Beverage Industries and Hotel, Cafe and Restaurant Workers' TUI (Trade Unions International) of the WFTU, Moscow, USSR 25 Feb. 1969. Theme: "Socialist Countries—the Basis (base) of the Anti-Imperialist Front in the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress" (emph. added).

Participation in: the "International Seminar on the Palestine Problem" initiated by the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU), Conacry, Guinea 1969.

"World Conference on Functional Literacy" Cyprus, 1969.

"International Conference of the Transport, Port and Fishery Workers' TUI" of the WFTU, East Berlin.

"World Assembly of Peace Forces", East Berlin, 21-24 June 1969.

Projected: "Seventh World Congress of Trade Unions, WFTU", Budapest Hungary, 17-31 October, 1969.

"Conference on European Security and Cooperation" to be organized on the initiative of the World Peace Council, (WPC).

World Peace Council (WPC)

History: The World Peace Movement really dates from August 1948 when a "World Congress of Intellectuals for Peace" was held at Wroclaw, Poland. A continuing organization called the "International Liaison Committee of Intellectuals" was set up which called the First World Peace Congress in Paris in April 1949. (Part of the meeting had to be held in Prague because of visa difficulties.) This launched the World Committee of Parisians of Peace which was renamed the World Peace Council in November 1950.

Headquarters: Originally the headquarters were in Paris but in 1951 the WPC was expelled by the French Government for "Fifth-column activities," and moved to Prague. In 1954 the organization moved again. This time to Vienna, Austria, where it established itself under U.S.S.R. protection at Estate-Haus, Mollwaldplatz, 5 Vienna IV. The Austrian Minister of the Interior protested strongly because permission by his government had neither been sought or given. He added: "A sharp watch will be kept on the World Peace Council for it has nothing to do with peace. Vienna is becoming more and more established as the headquarters for Cominform organizations plotting to undermine the Free West."

When the U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. occupation forces withdrew and Austria regained her independence, the WPC was for a time permitted to remain on the condition that it observed Austrian laws, but on February 2, 1957, the Ministry of the Interior announced that the WPC had been banned and its offices closed because it "interfered in the internal affairs of countries with which Austria has good and friendly relations." Its activities were "directed against the interest of the Austrian State." (Observer, London, February 3, 1957.) Though invited to Prague, it never in fact went there. It has no official headquarters at present. Its business is conducted under cover of a new organization established in Vienna in 1957 called the International Institute for Peace (IIP).

The World Peace Council has been more successful than other Communist front organizations in winning non-Communist support. From the beginning it has attracted a certain number of neutralists, Internationalists, pacifists and left-wing Socialists. Though many have become disillusioned and resigned, the WPC has succeeded in keeping up a flow of replacements, particularly from Asia. The diversity of its membership has, however, led

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to special difficulties and its officers have had more trouble than those in other front organizations in keeping the membership in line with CPSU policy.

Membership: Membership of the World Peace Council is organized on a national basis. No exact figure of the total members has ever been given but it must be very large. National Peace Committees are affiliated with more than 120 states and countries. These, in turn, run local branches open to anyone who cares to join. It is, in fact, the only world Communist front organization designed to appeal to everyone. Many join under the illusion they are supporting a genuine pacifist organization that is above politics.

Publications: Perspectives-WPC, Information Bulletin of the WPC.

Avowed Aims: The avowed aims of the WPC are simple. They are to mobilize the peoples of the world, if necessary in opposition to their government, in defense of "peace" to expose the "warmongers" and to bring about a "peaceful" settlement of international differences.

Actual Policies: As Marxist-Leninist doctrine has divided the world into two mutually antagonistic systems, the Socialist World Systems (the "Peace Camp") and the Capitalist World System (the "War Camp"), the defense of peace becomes, for the WPC, the defense of the interests of the CPSU and of World Communism.

From the beginning, the WPC has devoted its energies to defending the policies of the "Soviet Union" (CPSU) and attacking those of the Free World. In particular, it has attacked the Marshall Plan, the European Defense Community and the NATO, CENTO, SEATO, Common Market, etc., in short, every attempt by the Free World to defend itself against Communism.

Recent Activities: "The Second International Conference in Support of the Arab Peoples," Cairo, 25-28 January, 1969.

"Preparatory Meeting for the World Assembly of Peace Forces (East Berlin, 21-24 June, 1969).—Themes: Vietnam, European Security, Middle East conflict, (neo) colonialism, national independence, disarmament, etc.

"Forum, convened by the Permanent Working Committee for Peace, National and International Understanding, West Berlin, 17 Feb. 1969.

"World Assembly of Peace Forces, East Berlin, 21-24 June, 1969. (See Congressional Record—Speech of Hon. Paul J. Fannin, 31 July 1969).

Participants in the World Assembly for Peace, East Berlin, 21-24 June 1969 (select)

Dr. Herbert Aptheker, director of the American Institute for Marxist-Studies.

American Friends (Quakers).
Association For a World Constitution and World Parliament.

Christian Peace Conference.
World Association for Education for Peace.
International Committee of the Red Cross (observer).

International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace (observer).

Conference of Youth and Students for Supporting the Vietnamese People, (italic added).

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

International Students Movement for the United Nations.

Hemispheric Conference of Montreal.
Latin American Trade Unions.

World Federalist Youth.
World Federation of United Nations Associations (observer).

Youth Section of the World Council of Churches.

Esperantist World Peace Movement.
All World Communist Front Organizations.
International Fellowship of Reconciliation.
International Committee for Support for Arab Peoples.

Stockholm Vietnam Conference, et alia.
Other world-wide Communist sponsored activities

Afro-Asian Latin American People's Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO), Havana, Cuba.

Vietnam Solidarity Movements (world-wide) Theme: Struggle Against U.S. Aggression.

Liberation Committee of the Organization for African Unity (OAU).

Baltic Week.

Palestine Liberation Committee (s).

Friendship Societies.

International School for Cooperatives;

Youth and Student Festivals.

Exhibitions, Film Festivals; "Months of Culture".

Writer Societies; Meetings of Parliamentarians; Rostock, East Germany, July 1969.

Conference of Red Cross Organizations in Socialist Countries (emphasis added).

Theme: "The part played by the International Red Cross as a contribution to peace and international friendship. Closer cooperation between the Red Cross and the various national and world organizations involved in the struggle for peace." Sofia, Bulgaria 13 March 1969.

United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland, adopted a "Resolution in Praise of V. I. Lenin and His Humanistic Ideas and Activities".

FOOTNOTES

¹ The term mass organization is all inclusive. It covers human endeavor in all fields of activities (governments, trade unions, leagues, PTA's, etc.).

² Statutes of the CPSU contain a model definition of a Party fraction (Paras. 67 and 68).

POLL SAYS POPULAR VOTE FA-
VORED FOR PRESIDENT

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, a poll was recently taken by Nation's Business magazine which indicates State legislative leaders favor electoral reform and ratification of a constitutional amendment for direct popular vote might be expected from three-fourths of the States. I call the attention of my colleagues to this article:

POLL SAYS POPULAR VOTE FA-
VORED FOR PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON.—By 6 to 1, state legislative leaders polled by Nation's Business magazine favored a new system of electing the president.

Two-thirds of those backing a change say the president should be elected by direct popular vote.

While a heavy majority favor the popular vote, slightly more than 20 percent support a district plan in which one elector would be chosen from each congressional district and two at large from each state. Their electoral votes would go to the candidate who won the popular vote in the respective district or state.

Opposition to the popular-vote method was based mainly on concern that smaller states would lose their present advantage of getting two electoral votes regardless of population, the magazine said.

Seventy-five percent of the leaders favoring the direct vote indicated their legislative houses would back a constitutional amendment to that effect, although some said it would take all-out campaigning.

September 30, 1969

SUPersonic TRANSPORT APPROV-
AL QUESTIONED BY PRESS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon recently announced plans to proceed with the \$662,000,000 supersonic transport project.

Two of the Nation's leading newspapers—the New York Times and the Nashville Tennessean—have raised the question of priorities with reference to the President's decision to allocate funds to the supersonic jet, primarily designed to compete in international air traffic competition.

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this important project, I place in the RECORD herewith articles from the New York Times and the Nashville Tennessean.

The articles follow:

[From the Nashville Tennessean, Sept. 27, 1969]

MR. NIXON'S SST DECISION SAYS MUCH ON PRIORITIES

It is quite revealing of President Nixon's priorities for America that he has given the go-ahead for development of the Supersonic Transport (SST) and is determined to pour another \$662 million into the program.

The SST will have absorbed about \$1.3 billion—or perhaps more—before the test vehicles ever fly. That is to be the U.S. contribution. The manufacturers will provide about 10% and federal funds will be about 90%.

As the British and French have found out in their development of the Concorde airliner, final costs were far and away above projections and the Boeing SST project may follow that pattern.

In approving more government funding for the SST, Mr. Nixon said, "I want the U.S. to continue to lead the world in air transport." That is a view most share since the SST's will come, whether the U.S. builds them for the world's airlines or not.

The most pressing issue is not whether the SSTs should be built, but who should pay for the building of them. And this is a philosophical point in which the Nixon administration has now come down on the side of federal subsidy.

During the campaign, Mr. Nixon said the "greatest failure" of the Johnson administration was "its disinclination, or inability to take on the hardest job in government"—the setting of priorities. He went on to assert that the budget needed exhaustive review and that some programs such as public works and the SST would have to be content with much less than maximum funding.

At that point, the SST seemed to be low on his list of priorities. Once in office, Mr. Nixon ordered cuts in school aid, in library money, in housing and other areas. He scuttled the urban mass transport trust fund and has ordered cutbacks in federal construction in the states. But he is now prepared to supply the funding so that private enterprise can continue with the project.

When the SST plan was first brought up, the government agreed to help underwrite the planning. But at that time the Vietnam war was not in full swing and making such a heavy drain on federal funds.

So there is a difference in demands on the budget, and the supposition had been that Mr. Nixon was planning to reduce the SST on his scale of priorities.

The administration had under discussion

for a while a plan by which alternative financing might be had, and the SST be continued on funds derived from shareholdings or pool financing.

The aircraft, airline industries and Wall Street could easily provide the necessary funds for the SST development. And the question is: Why do they not do so if prospects for the super-sonic plane are so good?

It has long been a tenet of Republicanism that for government to do what private enterprise can do is a near socialistic heresy; that government should act only when private enterprise cannot do the job. Even so, President Eisenhower once referred to TVA as "creeping socialism." One might wonder what the general would have called subsidizing the SST—supersonic socialism?

[From the New York Times, Sept. 28, 1969]
A CONTROVERSIAL PROJECT MOVES INEXORABLY AHEAD

(By Christopher Lydon)

WASHINGTON.—For most of a decade now, the supersonic transport has been stalking policy makers here. With no encouragement from either the airlines that will fly it, the commercial passengers who will use it, much less the general public that must pay \$1.2-billion in taxes to develop it, the SST continues its steady advance.

This advance is impelled by international competition, pressures from the domestic aircraft manufacturers and, above all, a technological spirit that makes the current subsonic seven-hour flight to Paris seem like an outrageously long passage at a time when men fly to the moon in just a few days.

Last week, the SST took another of its seemingly inexorable steps forward. President Nixon announced, after more than six months of study, debate and hesitation within the Administration, that "the SST is going to be built," and asked Congress for the remaining \$660-million required to build two working models of the plane before 1974. For the current fiscal year, the Administration is asking only \$96-million—a temptingly small down-payment that will get the SST off the drawing board and into the construction stage for the first time.

NIXON'S VIEW

President Nixon noted enthusiastically that the SST carrying up to 300 passengers, 1,800 miles an hour (more than three times as fast as present planes) will "bring the world closer together in a true physical and time sense." But the essence of his announcement was still the somewhat reluctant concession that Presidents Kennedy and Johnson made before him: That for reasons of prestige and manufacturing supremacy, the United States can't afford not to proceed.

The Russians' TU-144 and the British-French Concorde have already had their first test flights, and though both of these rival supersonics are slower and smaller than the American SST, they may be ready for marketing in three or four years.

And so, President Nixon concluded, the only meaningful question is "whether in the years ahead the people of the world will be flying in American supersonic transports or in the transports of other nations."

As the debate moves now to Congress, the SST appears likely to become a favorable villain in the discussion of "priorities." Just within the context of the transportation budget, it is noted that the Federal Government has already spent about twice as much on this one plane as on mass transit in all the nation's cities.

The Administration's pledge that the SST will never be flown over land tends to undermine the protests against the thunderous "sonic boom" which will follow the plane's supersonic course like a 50 to 90-mile-wide carpet. But the SST's forced exclusion from the heavily traveled domestic routes leads to

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fundamental questions about the plane's economic viability.

The American SST is expected to retail at \$40-million—about eight times the price of the first big passenger jets that burst on the market in the late 1950's and nearly crippled the airlines with debt. Almost inevitably, the supersonics will raise the cost of flying after the new "jumbo jets" (scheduled for service early next year) have further popularized jet flight at lower-than-ever fares.

Congressional critics will doubtless ask again why—if supersonic flight is commercially promising—the airlines and the aircraft industry together have refused to put up any more than 10 per cent of the SST's development costs. The SST is the only aircraft ever to have been commissioned and directly subsidized by the Government for strictly commercial use.

MELTING OPPOSITION

The hallmark of the SST program, however, has long been its ability to transcend and survive hard analysis of the plane's merits.

When Alan S. Boyd was chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board in 1963, he stated vehemently that the SST would frustrate, rather than satisfy, aviation's goals of "expanded markets, reasonable fares . . . and reasonable profits." Yet when Mr. Boyd took over executive responsibility for SST development as the first Secretary of Transportation, he somehow became a believer.

Early in 1967, an eight-member advisory committee, headed by former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, advised President Johnson that the Federal Aviation Administration's optimism about the SST was based on faulty economic assumptions and concluded that there was no justification for building the plane. Yet President Johnson proceeded to request, and easily win from Congress, another \$143-million for further design work in his 1968 budget.

Soon after President Nixon took office, he appointed an 11-member interdepartmental task force to review the SST. Four specialized reports—on the plane's economics, on its environmental effects, its technological value and its impact on the balance of payments—were all reliably reported to have made negative findings. Yet John A. Volpe, the Secretary of Transportation, integrated these reports into a powerfully favorable recommendation, and after a long summer of haggling, won the President's support for further development.

Clearly there are many obscure pressures, psychological as well as political, that make the SST a fascinating, perhaps irresistible, endeavor. The guessing on Capitol Hill this week, even among the plane's opponents, was that these same forces would triumph again in Congress this year.

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

SPEAKING OF ECONOMY

After what he describes as a "spirited debate within the Administration," President Nixon has finally decided to ask Congress for \$662 million to develop a supersonic transport plane. However spirited the discussion, it was evidently not spirited enough.

No impressive evidence has been brought out to warrant the use of public money to subsidize a venture of this sort at this time. Approximately \$600 million has already been spent by the Federal Government on preliminary designs, and now the President requests more than that much again—at the very moment that consumers are being asked to pull in their belts, when the social needs of the cities are reaching an explosive level, when the price of exploring outer space is a heavy charge on the public purse and the costs of war are staggering. Most ironically, these funds for supersonic travel are to be

laid out by a Government that spends only grudgingly to improve a surface transportation system grown shockingly inadequate—even for carrying people to and from airports.

Balancing off the benefits of extreme speed, such as they may be, are the dangers of explosive noise and sonic boom, problems thus far completely unsolved by the project's engineers. Even if the SST is forbidden to fly over land at supersonic speeds, as Secretary of Transportation Volpe promises, it threatens communities near airports with a deafening racket at every take-off. But is the overland prohibition tenable? There is authoritative opinion that the planes will not pay off unless they can share in the hugely profitable cross-country traffic—and if they have to fly those routes at normal airplane speeds, what justification will be left for the enormous costs, especially with the taxpayer footing the bill?

If and when the SST becomes a necessary, practical and environmentally tolerable vehicle, as some day it probably will, it is hardly to be doubted that private capital will be attracted in sufficient volume to limit the Government's role to backing up the bonds of the enterprise. America's competitive position in the aviation industry, not even remotely challenged now, will not be hurt, as Senator Proxmire of Wisconsin says, by allowing the case for the SST "to be made in the market place instead of in the councils of Government."

As for national pride, the other major argument of supersonic enthusiasts, surely a people that can put a man on the moon will not be thrown off its stride because others are first to try out an airplane that may well prove more of a nuisance than a blessing.

JUSTICE WALTER V. SCHAEFER IS AWARDED AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION MEDAL

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, the highest honor which the organized bar can bestow—the American Bar Association Medal—was awarded a few weeks ago to my constituent and longtime friend, Justice Walter V. Schaefer of the Supreme Court of Illinois.

It has been my privilege to know Justice Schaefer, his wife, and members of his family intimately over the entire period of his legal and judicial career.

Mr. Speaker, knowing Justice Schaefer as I do and being aware of his high ideals and distinguished judicial service, as well as his exemplary personal life, it seems most appropriate that he should be singled out for this highest award of the American Bar. Placing the name of Justice Walter V. Schaefer with those of such earlier recipients of the American Bar Association Medal as the late Justices, Oliver Wendell Holmes and Charles Evans Hughes—as well as the other leaders of the bench and bar who have been honored since this award was first made in 1929—marks him as the outstanding jurist in the Nation today.

In order to bring the citation and other pertinent facts regarding Justice Schaefer's career to the attention of the Members of the House and to citizens

across the Nation, I submit for inclusion the article which appears in the September 1969, issue of the American Bar Association Journal in the RECORD:

JUSTICE WALTER V. SCHAEFER IS AWARDED THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION MEDAL

Walter V. Schaefer, a Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois, became the thirty-fourth recipient of the American Bar Association Medal at the Association's 92d Annual Meeting in Dallas last month. The presentation was made to Justice Schaefer at the Annual Dinner in the Regency Ballroom of the Fairmont Hotel on August 13.

The medal is the highest honor the Association can bestow. It is awarded at the discretion of the Board of Governors to a person chosen for "conspicuous service to the cause of American jurisprudence." Established in 1929, the medal was first awarded to the late Samuel Williston.

The medal is fourteen-carat gold, three inches in diameter. On the obverse is the St. Memin profile of John Marshall with an inscription from the Massachusetts Constitution: "To the end it may be a government of laws and not of men." The reverse side shows a seated figure representing Justice, with the single Latin word, *Justitia*.

The Schaefer citation reads:

The caliber of the judiciary bears directly upon the quality of life in our society. In no other country, as Mr. Justice Frankfurter observed, is the incidence of law as pervasive as it is with us. And in no other country do the judges, especially those of the appellate courts, wield comparable authority to shape the character of the law and influence the standards of the community.

We have been fortunate over the years to have had many outstanding judges on the state supreme courts. One of the most distinguished, a Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois, is Walter V. Schaefer. His influence as a leader of legal thought and the recognition of his judicial eminence have extended far beyond the borders of the state on whose highest tribunal he has served for eighteen years.

Justice Schaefer received his law degree at the University of Chicago in 1928. He chose to pursue his legal career in Illinois, gaining wide experience in private practice, in state and federal government service, and as a professor of law at Northwestern University. His many enduring contributions have included his coauthorship of the Illinois Civil Practice Act, adopted in 1933, and his chairmanship of the "Schaefer Commission," created by the Illinois legislature to study and modernize the structure of state government in 1949-1951.

With this broad background he became a Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court by interim appointment of Governor Adlai E. Stevenson in 1951. He has twice been elected to the Court and in the most recent instance he had the unusual distinction of being unopposed.

Justice Schaefer has brought to his judicial office a comprehensive knowledge of the law, deep insight, broad vision and a wise, humanitarian approach. He is neither a liberal nor a conservative, neither a strict constructionist nor an activist. He is aware both of the obligations and limitations of his judicial position. He has helped keep the law of Illinois abreast of the times without undue assertion of judicial prerogative.

The reputation of Justice Schaefer for judicial scholarship is national. He is invited frequently to lecture, and his papers have been published in many law reviews. Two of these merit particular mention. In 1956, he gave the Oliver Wendell Holmes Lecture at the Harvard Law School on the topic "Federalism and State Criminal Procedure," presenting one of the first comprehensive considerations of the problems of criminal law in the state courts under the Federal Con-

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stitution. More recently, in 1967, he delivered the Benjamin N. Cardozo Lecture before The Association of the Bar of the City of New York. His address was entitled "The Control of Sunbursts: Techniques of Prospective Overruling," constituting an important contribution to the literature on the subject.

Justice Schaefer is a rare craftsman, a lawyer's judge whose opinions are models, of clarity and judicial learning. He believes that any judge's greatest outward recognition lies in the respect, admiration and affection of his fellow lawyers, and that his greatest inner satisfaction comes from the devotion of his mind and heart to the achievement of the ideal—perhaps unattainable but still inspiring of—universal justice for all men.

Such is the measure of Justice Schaefer's own judicial stature. The Association takes pride and pleasure in conferring upon him the highest honor within its power to bestow, the American Bar Association Medal, in recognition of his dedicated service to the cause of American jurisprudence.

Justice Schaefer was born in Grand Rapids, Michigan, on December 10, 1904, and obtained his undergraduate and legal education at the University of Chicago (Ph.B. 1926, J.D. 1928). After his admission to the Illinois Bar in 1928, he served with the Illinois Legislative Reference Bureau as a statutory draftsman and then returned to Chicago in 1929 to enter the private practice of law with the firm of Tolman, Sexton and Chandler.

He went to Washington in 1934 as a litigation attorney for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. He returned to Chicago the following year and served with the legal department of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and as an assistant corporation counsel of the City of Chicago. He became a professor of law at Northwestern University School of Law in 1940.

In 1949 he was appointed chairman of the Illinois Commission To Study State Government and guided the commission's work until 1951 when he was appointed to fill a vacancy on the Supreme Court of Illinois. In June of that year he was elected to a full term on the court and was re-elected in 1960.

On the bench Justice Schaefer has enhanced his reputation as a legal scholar and has developed a reputation as one of the nation's outstanding state appellate court judges. He has been a noteworthy and popular lecturer. In 1955, he was Ernst Freund lecturer at the University of Chicago, and in 1966, he delivered the Rosenthal lectures at Northwestern University.

RECIPIENTS OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION MEDAL

- Samuel Williston, 1929.
- Elihu Root, 1930.
- Oliver Wendell Holmes, 1931.
- John Henry Wigmore, 1932.
- George W. Wickesham, 1934.
- Herbert Harley, 1938.
- Edgar Bronson Tolman, 1939.
- Roscoe Pound, 1940.
- George Wharton Pepper, 1941.
- Charles Evans Hughes, 1942.
- John J. Parker, 1943.
- Hatten W. Sumners, 1944.
- Carl McFarland, 1946.
- William L. Ransom, 1947.
- Arthur T. Vanderbilt, 1948.
- Orie L. Phillips, 1950.
- Reginald Heber Smith, 1951.
- Harrison Tweed, 1952.
- Frank E. Holman, 1953.
- George Maurice Morris, 1954.
- Robert G. Storey, 1956.
- William Clarke Mason, 1957.
- E. Smythe Gambrell, 1958.
- Grenville Clark, 1959.
- William A. Schnader, 1960.
- Jacob Mark Lashly, 1961.
- Tom C. Clark, 1962.
- Felix Frankfurter, 1963.

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Henry S. Drinker, 1964.
Edmund M. Morgan, 1965.
Charles S. Rhyne, 1966.
Roger J. Traynor, 1967.
J. Edward Lumbard, 1968.
Walter V. Schaefer, 1969.

CONGRESSMAN JACK McDONALD ADDRESS ON THE FUTURE HIGHWAY PROGRAM AND HIGHWAY SAFETY

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, September 25, my distinguished colleague, Congressman JACK McDONALD, delivered an address in Washington to the "Road Gang," a group composed of prominent representatives of the highway industry.

Congressman McDONALD'S excellent remarks related to the plans for a post-1975 highway program and highway safety. I believe the Congressman presents a meaningful approach to the problems of insuring the future of our highway program and a novel approach for promoting highway safety, and I submit the full text of his remarks for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

"HIGHWAY SAFETY—EMPHASIS ON YOUTH AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR" AN ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN JACK McDONALD BEFORE THE ROAD GANG, SEPTEMBER 25, 1969

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

What makes the occasion all the more significant for me is that this particular meeting falls right in the middle of National Highway Week. And for you members of the highway fraternity, National Highway Week has a special meaning—one that the average citizen does not fully appreciate primarily because he is now accustomed to taking this great highway system of ours for granted.

Because you Road Gang members are quite knowledgeable about the many direct and indirect benefits this nation derives from its system of highways, it is unnecessary for me to dwell on any related data or information to prove the point. The fact is, however, the nation's highway system has reached a critical point in the course of its development. Great progress has been made but a great deal more needs to be done. And the question that is being asked with increasing frequency is "where do we go from here?"

I am sure you have heard it said many times before that the high level of civilization achieved by well developed societies of the past invariably was related to the development of their roadway systems. The obvious analogy is that a dynamic society needs an adequate road system in much the same way that the human body needs a good circulatory system to maintain good health. The development of the motor vehicle in the early 1900's was actually nothing more than man's successful quest for the ultimate in personal highway locomotion. In fact, we were so successful in building and marketing motor vehicles that their usage almost outstripped our ability to provide adequate roadway to accommodate them. This is why the Eisenhower Administration launched the great 1956 federal-aid highway program.

But, as you know, the current program is primarily concerned with the development of the Interstate System which is now scheduled to be completed sometime around 1975. The challenge that will confront the federal-

state partnership after completion of the Interstate System is the modernization of the primary, secondary and urban extension systems. Given today's anti-highway climate, the question before us is, can sufficient public support be mustered to achieve enactment of such a vitally needed post-'75 program?

All of you no doubt are aware of the many magazine articles and editorials that appeared this past year attacking the highway program. You are also familiar with the utterings of certain members of Congress and other prominent voices who are calling for a curtailment of the program so that highway funds can be used for all modes of transport or for the "critical" social needs and the like. Then, too, you know that there is an important lead-time factor built into the complex task of planning, engineering and constructing highways. Critical also to the success of the highway program is its funding mechanism which, under the current program, is supported by a series of taxes paid by the user and held in trust for the specific purpose of supporting the program. There is no reason to doubt that the present concept of paying for our highways cannot be extended to a post-'75 highway program.

However, as I view the current overall highway situation today, and the prospects for a post Interstate program, I would say that highway interests will have a rough row to hoe during the coming year or so. The question of what to do about a post-'75 highway program must initially be put before the Congress next year if a smooth transition from current to future programming is to be achieved. But because of the significant changes taking place in our society—and their impact on the seemingly routine job of constructing a system of highways—it is obvious that congressional consideration of a new program will hardly be the bed of roses it was before and during the enactment of the 1956 act.

It should be obvious to all highway interests that the rules of the game have changed considerably during the past thirteen years and that new and fresh approaches are needed to cope with the many socio-economic and other related issues that have been woven into the business of highway development during this period. All of these heretofore secondary issues can now be expected to be made an integral part of the legislative picture, whether we like it or not, when the new program is being considered by the Congress.

Urban transportation and relocation, beautification, safety and other related issues—most of which were dealt with on a piecemeal basis since the 1956 highway act became effective—will be injected into the legislative debate to a degree never before experienced when the next program is submitted. Anti-highway representatives will be making their presence known with greater force than before at the appropriate time—some with the sole intent of stopping any future program altogether. In a word, you can rightly assume that congressional consideration of a post-'75 highway program will open a pandora's box of related issues which your industries will find difficulty in coping with unless adequate groundwork is laid in advance. As I see it, the post-'75 highway program will not be a highway program as such but will have to be devised within the framework of a total transportation network. No doubt this will be a difficult concept for some old-line thinkers to accept. But the writing is clearly on the wall for all to see and I sincerely hope that we do not end up with a nationwide stalemate similar to the one that has delayed overall transportation development in the nation's capitol.

I would like to comment on a segment of the highway program which all interests should view as common ground for agree-

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ment—and that is safety. As most of you know, the House Roads Subcommittee held hearings earlier this summer on the status of the highway safety program as it applies to state standards. Some of the information developed during these hearings revealed a situation that should be given page one treatment by all elements of the news media. The truth of the matter is, however, that highway safety is not newsworthy enough to warrant headline treatment. A thousand deaths a week on the nation's highways are usually written off as the price we have to pay for enjoying the use of the automobile. Nothing could be further from the truth. The great majority of these deaths do not have to happen. They can be prevented if a good deal more emphasis is given to the most important elements of highway transportation and those are the driver and the roadway. While there is no doubt that the post-'75 highway program must give greater emphasis to the construction of safer highways through the elimination of roadside hazards, dangerous bridge abutments, signs and the like, there is no question that a great deal more has to be done to improve driver capabilities and responsibilities—and particularly with those drivers in the 15-24 age bracket who are killing themselves at a shocking rate.

The fact is that our young people in this age bracket are dying on the nation's highways in numbers far exceeding the death rate in Vietnam.

Consider, for instance, the findings of a study on teen-age male drivers recently completed by Dr. Donald C. Pelz of the University of Michigan Survey Research Center. The study showed that suburban male drivers aged 18 to 20 had more automobile crashes and got more violation tickets than one would expect on the basis of exposure alone. As Dr. Pelz said, drivers in this age bracket "drove more but also became bolder and began incurring crashes and traffic tickets in excess of what could be expected." He concluded that:

"The onset of adulthood just before 21 was an intersection point of several motivational trends: hostility and thrill seeking were still high, driving confidence was rising, and life changes and new responsibilities were maximum. This turbulent combination may help to explain the excessive hazard of the 18-to-20-year male."

Let me cite a set of figures that dramatically and shockingly underscores the highway safety problem that exists among our youth today.

Since January 1, 1961, to August of this year, a period of almost nine years, a total of 30,859 U.S. military men in the age bracket 17 to 24 have been killed in Vietnam combat. However, during this same period, a total of 103,707 young Americans in the age bracket 15 to 24 years have been killed as a result of automobile crashes. About 70% of these were male. In my own state of Michigan, for the month of August, of the 220 persons killed in auto crashes, 68 were in the 15-25 age bracket with the 15 to 19 year olds accounting for almost twice as many as any other comparable age group.

The newspapers reported on a recent demonstration held by young Michigan motorcyclists in opposition to the mandatory rule that motorcyclists wear safety helmets. Somehow these young demonstrators cannot understand why they must wear these helmets or face a safety violation even though they know there is conclusive proof that fewer deaths will result when helmets are worn.

Youthful dissension is not a new phenomenon. Although the motives of some people may be questioned, there are many deeper causes than the use of motorcycle helmets which are disturbing the young. The war in Vietnam was the initial catalyst. Now, the student battlefield has been expanded to

include such social issues as poverty, hunger, housing, education, and unemployment. Our young are frustrated because they fear they have no say over the events that immediately affect their day-to-day lives. School administrations, and officials at all levels of government are all too often remote and unsympathetic listening posts. Generally speaking, people under twenty-one are virtually hammerless in the political arena because they are legally precluded from voting. Furthermore, due to their youthful zeal to correct injustice, they are impatient because our government and institutions do not respond more rapidly to correct these situations. But I would like to call upon young Americans to involve themselves in a cause wherein they can make a direct and positive contribution towards saving the lives of their fellow countrymen. I would like to challenge the youth of this nation to take an affirmative position and demonstrate for the cause of highway safety.

I have today suggested to President Nixon that he sponsor a Rock Festival as a national demonstration for highway safety on the Washington monument grounds to which students from all over the country should be invited. President Nixon could address the group and help launch a program designed to involve these students in the implementation of the sixteen highway standards now being promulgated by the National Highway Safety Bureau.

Students who attended this constructive demonstration would then be instructed in how to hold similar demonstrations on their respective campuses. It seems to me that the many privately supported highway safety organizations located around the country could counsel and assist in conducting these campuses demonstrations. And this leads me to another important element that has been overlooked in our quest for safer highways. I am referring to the many national, regional, state and local organizations devoted exclusively to the cause of highway safety and which are largely supported by the business community.

A number of organizations represented here in the Road Gang membership are already involved in the Safety Through Action To Enlist Support program—better known as the STATES program, which operates through the Governor's traffic safety representative in each State. It is industry's way of helping to rouse support at the grass roots level for the federal safety program. In addition, there are many privately supported state and local traffic safety organizations such as the Traffic Safety for Michigan organization, the Traffic Improvement Association of Oakland County and the Detroit Traffic Safety Association, all of which are from my area and engaged in this activity on a day-to-day basis in one way or another. I am sure all of you could name many other similar organizations.

Unfortunately, in its haste to point the accusing finger at the motor vehicle manufacturers, Congress has virtually turned a deaf ear to organizations such as these, many of which have been fighting the battle against highway deaths and injuries for some time. Yet the evidence is conclusive that vehicles design and construction are the cause of a very small percentage of crashes, and that the driver and certain roadway conditions are to blame for the overwhelming majority of vehicle crashes. The state highway safety standards, are aimed primarily at the driver and the roadway and these are the areas of major concern to the many privately supported traffic safety organizations operating around the country.

The highway safety legislation presently on the books does not give adequate recognition to these privately supported traffic safety organizations nor does it provide them with a direct role in the program. Yet it is a well known fact that many of these organizations have been doing a magnificent job notwithstanding.

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standing the low priority given to highway safety by just about every strata of our society. Their front line efforts in the nitty gritty of traffic safety at the grass roots level have largely gone unnoticed by the federal establishment and certainly by the Congress. I am hopeful that the recent Administrative changes made by DOT Secretary John A. Volpe, putting the Federal highway safety program on the same Federal-State partnership as the highway program, will help to improve this situation.

And in order to assure congressional recognition, I have asked the Chairman of the Roads Subcommittee of the House Public Works Committee to hold hearings on this matter. It is my hope that spokesmen from these organizations will come before the Subcommittee and let us know what can be done to help make the federal program more effective and what could be done to give their organizations a more active role. The fact that the basic safety legislation of 1966 all but disregarded the important role of the private sector in the attack against highway deaths is a clear indication that Congress was remiss in not looking at the total highway safety picture.

President Nixon has called for voluntary help in dealing with our social problems; surely traffic safety is such a problem. This is an area where the grass roots machinery is already in existence and where competent manpower stands ready to act in concert with the federal program. But if we are really going to make progress in highway safety there must be greater recognition of the role of the private sector by the Congress and the Federal establishment.

I am certain that you gentlemen know that whatever is done to improve the safety characteristics of the driver and the roadway will accrue benefits to you personally and your business affiliations as well as to the nation as a whole.

Next year promises to be a most active legislative year in the field of highways—one that will generate a number of controversial issues. Storm warnings are now flying and I believe that it would be wise for all of us to do our homework within the next few months so as to be prepared to look at the highway picture from the total transportation viewpoint. It will do us no good to mouth the old cliches in the legislative campaign for a new highway program.

It has certainly been a pleasure for me to meet with you and I thank you for having provided me this opportunity.

NIGERIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, today, we celebrate the ninth anniversary of the birth of a nation, the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Past independence days have undoubtedly been more happy for Nigeria. Today, the very nationhood of Nigeria is being challenged by the secession of Biafra. Whether Nigeria should exist as one, two, or many nations was a question thought to be settled in 1960. Instead regional wrangling over political issues and tribal animosities has split the union asunder. Unfortunately, no settlement of the tragic civil war appears to be in sight.

Though the glory of Nigeria's independence celebration has been tarnished by the civil conflict between Biafra and

Nigeria, there is still much hope for the future. If an equitable and lasting solution to the Biafran question can be found, Nigeria will once more hold the potential for political and economic leadership in Africa.

The war has done little damage to seven-eighths of the country. With the increased economic growth resulting from Nigeria's booming oil industry, Nigeria should have the economic resources for an adequate economic rehabilitation program. Many plans for economic cooperation in West Africa await the full participation of Nigeria in order to assure their success. Nigeria itself possesses the largest market in all of Africa.

If Nigeria can find a basis for settlement with Biafra that is also acceptable to its other ethnic groups, the Nigerian plan may serve as a pattern for the solution to tribal rivalries throughout Africa. One of the biggest problems affecting African political development could be on the way to being solved.

Yet all this speculation centers around an all-important contingency: The discovery of an equitable and lasting solution to the Nigerian/Biafran problem. Therefore, on the occasion of the ninth anniversary of Nigerian independence, the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, the administration of Biafra, the Organization of African Unity, and all nations should rededicate themselves to a renewed and revitalized search for settlement of the tragic Nigerian/Biafran civil war.

HANOVER'S LOSS

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, recently the State of Virginia, Hanover County, and the Republican Party lost a dedicated servant in the death of Jim Kent. James C. Kent, of Ashland, Va., was known not only as a lawyer but for his efforts to promote the Republican Party in Virginia.

One of the two gubernatorial contests in our country is taking place in Virginia this year. The Republican Party may well be successful in electing one of its own to be chief executive of the Commonwealth. Jim Kent would have liked nothing better than to have been present at the inaugural ceremony.

I extend my sympathy to his wife, Gene, and insert at this point in the RECORD an editorial of September 26, 1969, from his hometown newspaper the Herald Progress:

HANOVER'S LOSS

The two party system in Hanover county has lost one of its chief founders and leaders in the death of James C. Kent.

The Republican party here had struggled along with a valiant few until the early 1950s when young attorney "Jug" Kent convinced us all that there is indeed room here for two legitimate and opposing political points of view, that not all Republicans are "Reconstructionists," and that men from the Grand Old Party might indeed find a proper place in local political offices.

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Mr. Kent's contributions to this country's political standards have been significant. Nothing he loved better than to wake a "sleeping dog," to call some self-satisfied office-holder to account for himself, to take a jab at the status quo. He crusaded in favor of a general registration system, for the realigning of the county's unequal magisterial districts, and the splitting of Ashland's overcrowded voting precinct. His criticisms were usually justified; they were never cruel; and they were always softened by his gentle humor. By pointing out her weaknesses, he helped to make Hanover strong; by strengthening the loyal opposition, he helped to keep her politically alive and young. Mr. Kent will indeed be missed.

STATEMENT OF HONORABLE JOHN V. TUNNEY BEFORE THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON MIGRATORY LABOR

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, Congressman JOHN V. TUNNEY, submitted today the following statement before the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor. Because I believe it makes a meaningful contribution to the current dialog on the proper utilization of pesticides by farmers in our country, I am inserting Mr. TUNNEY's remarks in the RECORD so that they may be brought to the attention of all my colleagues:

STATEMENT BY MR. TUNNEY

At least 1,000 farmworkers in California were injured by pesticides last year. This has been going on for years. In 1964 for example, there were over 1,300 reports of injury blamed on pesticides. The true figures may be even higher, taking into account an assumption of unreported injuries and illnesses.

When a farmworker tried to find out from the county agricultural commissioner in Riverside, a part of my district, just what pesticides were being used, he was given the cold shoulder. These facts according to long tradition were trade secrets, he was told, and could not be released. He had to go to court to try and obtain disclosure of the information. The state attorney general's office joined in the suit, and the action is still pending. Trial was held last month, and the result is expected soon.

It seems incredible to me that a member of the public, whose health is possibly endangered by the use of various chemical poisons, has no right to know what kinds of pesticides are being used and in what quantities. The California Attorney General's Office put the problem very well in pointing out that the Fish and Game Department can inspect this information when there is a fish kill; human beings are simply asking for the same advantages as striped bass, but before they are injured.

Fortunately the California Legislature recently responded to the unfairness of this situation, and passed a bill which requires that companies report all sales of pesticides classified as injurious materials. There are some 30 of these, including 10 very toxic phosphates and 6 chlorinated organic chemicals, among them DDT.

In addition, the County Agricultural Commissioners must report the quantities of these pesticides which they permit to be used. Pesticide users must give statements of amounts which they use in their fields. All

this data will be public. This is certainly a necessary first step in creating an open atmosphere where experts can begin to study whether pesticides are being applied appropriately.

The strong implication is that they are not.

I am appalled by the situation which is developing in California, where in most cases pest advisers are nothing but salesmen for the chemical companies, without extensive ecological training or understanding of environmental problems. Application of chemical poisons has been likened, by one scientist, to drug usage: the more you use, the more you find you need. Insecticides can kill off necessary predators which would otherwise help to control the harmful insect population. In this way the chemical companies rub out a competitor who might otherwise horn in on their business of killing insects. If there is a resurgence of the harmful pest, or a secondary outbreak, or if the pest develops resistance to the insecticide initially used, the answer is to apply more of the same poison or more of a combination of poisons. Clearly what is harmful to the farmer is helpful to the chemical manufacturer. The more outbreaks of pests there are, the more poison has to be used. Heavy repeated doses of expensive chemicals are not in the interest of the farmer and are destructive to the environment—to the detriment of man—most directly the farm-worker—and to nature.

It is so much easier to develop a broad spectrum poison that will kill everything in sight, including useful predators and wildlife, than it is to develop specific pesticides which are safe for man and wildlife, and which do not kill useful as well as harmful insects.

Such selective pesticides would be expensive to develop, and when developed, would have less of a wide market. It does not seem to matter that such pesticides would be more economical for the farmer in the long run. The farmers remain lulled into accepting the nostrums of the pest advisers—more and more chemical poison.

I am informed by a California entomologist, with over 20 years experience with insecticides, that because the phosphate poison, azodrin, was so lethal to insects, it won overnight acceptance even though the Agricultural Extension Service had recommended against its use. This material was applied in great quantities to over 1 million acres, not all of which were infested. Although this chemical is not long-lived as DDT is, it caused widespread destruction of wildlife, because of its undifferentiated toxicity.

The very preventive use of this hard insecticide, many scientists feel had an opposite effect from that intended, by killing off predators of later appearing pests, requiring the application of even greater quantities later on, compounding the environmental contamination.

A new requirement passed by the California Legislature produces a glimmer of hope. County Agricultural Commissioners, under this law, must consider environmental effects in granting permits for pesticide use. The same holds true for the registration of new pesticides by the State Department of Agriculture. The meaning of this is clear to me, and my impression echoes that of a person holding an important position in the California Department of Agriculture—it means that if the pesticide has harmful effects on fish and wildlife, it better not be used.

In the San Joaquin Valley alone, $1\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds of DDT are still used on about 725,000 acres of crops. This is so although total domestic use dropped by about 50% between 1958-59 and 1966-67, representing a decrease of 39 million pounds. It is most heartening to see that it will decrease even further when the expected California ban on its use for 35 farm crops and 12 farm seed crops goes into effect. We must go further

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than this. Justifications for continued use on remaining crops should be clearly stated. Alternative controls should be carefully explored.

Environmental consideration calls for a complete ban on DDT. The California law—requiring consideration of environmental effects of insecticide use—should be given strict construction.

DDT does not dissolve in water and it breaks down very slowly in the environment. Each year more is added than disintegrates, and we are therefore accumulating a stockpile of this poison. The poison passes up the food chain, where it again accumulates in the tissue of fish, wildlife and in man.

Bit by bit evidence is coming in which underlines the disastrous effects which DDT could have on our whole environment. Most disturbing is an experiment which indicates that small quantities of the poison interfere with the oxygen producing ability of marine plankton, a small single-celled algae which helps to replenish the earth's supply of air. Equally disturbing is the confiscation by Government authorities of coho salmon from Lake Michigan, and the confiscation of jack mackerel caught in the Pacific off southern California, because of excessive DDT content. Recently a million young salmon were killed in Lake Michigan because, it is believed, of the presence of DDT in the water. DDT is everywhere. It has penetrated all our oceans, and to the polar icecaps.

The effects of this pollutant on our water resources is critical, because of the hope that we can harvest food from this source to meet the nutrition needs of an exploding population. It is one thing for pesticide supporters to scoff at those who assert the threat to wildlife. I react to their insensitivity with disbelief and alarm. The approaching extinction of the bald eagle, the falcon, the brown pelican, and other wildlife, due to their inability to lay viable eggs, is a terrible thing, and it strongly implies that the effects on man's own physiology may not be so benign either. Still the insensitivity of these scoffers nowhere nearly matches their opaqueness when they argue for the use of chemical poisons to boost world food production, when the use of those same poisons threatens to destroy and contaminate tons of equally important nutrient from the seas. The demise of the Dungeness crab, formerly a bay area delicacy, is a case in point.

Laboratory tests have shown that large doses of 11 pesticides including DDT and three other persistent insecticides produce a high incidence of tumors in mice. We can all remember the part mice have played in our experiments with the effects of cigarette smoking. The difference is that we can give up cigarettes, although many of us cannot give up breathing the polluted air of our cities, which amounts to smoking two packs of cigarettes a day. Where DDT and other persistent pesticides are concerned, we absorb these poisons into our system now whether we like it or not, and whether we choose to do so or not. I believe that all of us have a right to an environment which does not endanger our well being. Intensified studies of the effects of DDT and other insecticides are urgently needed. In the meantime, the indiscriminate use of these poisons must be halted. The development of more selective chemical poisons, and the use of alternative methods of control actually promise surer, cheaper control of certain pests. For example, biological controls are being developed which raise the hope of controlling insect populations through the release of hundreds of thousands of sterilized males. The males are released over an infested field, where they mate with females. Since the eggs are never fertilized, the insect population does not perpetuate itself. Since the sterilized males flood the site of the infestation, the odds are that few new insects will

be produced by the limited number of virile male insects already in the area.

Experiments of this kind, sponsored by the United States Department of Agriculture are now going on in parts of Kern County, and in the Coachella Valley, which is part of my district. These experiments involve a cotton pest, the pink bollworm. There are problems of breeding a sufficient number of sterilized insects, but there is every expectation that this control method will prove effective. The result will be greatly reduced dependence on chemical poisons to kill insect pests.

Even more exciting to me are various forms of nontoxic sprays consisting of hormones which are specific for a single variety of insect. These so-called third-generation pesticides arrest the development of a whole species of harmful pest so that they do not reproduce. At least one company has begun commercial development of such a pesticide.

I am planning to introduce legislation which will significantly increase the amounts of Federal money available for research and curriculum planning in the field of pest control. I believe that this kind of support will develop nontoxic methods of pest control, using highly specialized chemical poisons as a last resort.

We must undoubtedly face the fact that the chemical companies are not going to enthusiastically develop cleaner pesticides, or alternative controls any more than the automobile industry is going to energetically develop a pollution free vehicle. Both may talk about the need for improvement of their product. But when it comes to protection of the environment, Government incentives are going to be necessary. We are going to need Federal funding as well as legislation and strict regulation, if we expect our environment to remain a suitable place for us to live and work, without great danger to our health.

The time has come for the quality of our environment and the health needs of our people to be given the same importance and recognition as the annual growth in our gross national product. In fact, it might be more accurate to begin speaking of a new kind of national product. Measured against the gross national product would be the costs on the other side of the balance sheet—the foremost of which is reflected in the pollution and destruction loosed upon our environment in creating what is hailed as unparalleled material success. That pollution has now become a burden and a concern to the vast majority of us, while the illusory gains of an ever-expanding, but misdirected, gross national product contribute less and less to improving our quality of life.

HANOI DEVELOPS POW GAME TO A FINE ART

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, on September 17, I joined in introducing House Concurrent Resolution 362, calling world attention to the arrogant violation by North Vietnam of the Geneva Convention concerning the treatment of prisoners of war. At that time I also inserted in the RECORD a recent speech of the Honorable James D. Hittle, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, describing in detail the nature and extent of these violations. It was particularly encouraging, therefore, when I noted that the State Journal of Lansing, Mich., devoted its

editorial column on Monday, September 22, to this very issue and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues and everyone else concerned with obtaining humane treatment of these brave men and their families. The editorial follows:

HANOI DEVELOPS POW GAME TO A FINE ART

Behind every North Vietnamese maneuver on the battlefields or at the negotiating table there is a motive not always apparent at first but which usually emerges in time.

Probably the most agonizing practice for hundreds of American wives and parents, however, is the persistent refusal of Hanoi to release prisoner of war lists, or permit international inspection of POW camps.

James D. Hittle, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, commented recently that the Communists have refused in general to provide "the most rudimentary humanitarian information concerning U.S. prisoners of war held captive by the Hanoi government."

The most clever of the Hanoi games, however, deals with the whereabouts of an estimated 1,000 American servicemen listed as missing in action over a period of years. Hanoi has refused to acknowledge if any of these men are prisoners or if they have knowledge that they are dead or alive.

North Vietnamese officials frequently have released propaganda photos of U.S. prisoners but they are always of such poor quality that it is impossible to clearly identify any of the men.

The motive unquestionably is to encourage anti-Vietnam war sentiment in the United States, using parents, wives and other relatives as the tool.

The wives of four missing American airmen found out how the game is played when they went to Paris last week to plead with North Vietnamese officials for information about their husbands.

They finally secured a promise that efforts would be made to find out if the men are prisoners or if they are known to be dead, but not before the Communist officials subjected the wives to a lengthy tirade about American participation in the war along with requests that the women carry the message back home.

The Hanoi government incidentally, is a signatory of the Geneva Convention (June 28, 1957) which among other things, requires the release of names of prisoners held.

THE AMERICAN DREAMS

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, this past weekend, the Nation's Capital played host to the 15th biennial convention of the National Federation of Republican Women.

It has long been known that much of the success of the Republican Party can be attributed to the perseverance and hard work of the ladies of the organization, who are vital to, and interested in, the mechanics of good government, and take their time and resources in order to participate.

In Missouri, we are fortunate to have a national committeewoman who exemplifies all that is right with Republican women. I speak of Mrs. M. Stanley (Rosemary) Ginn. She is hard working, skilled in the art of politics, a natural leader, respected by all who know her,

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and a tremendous asset to Republicanism.

On September 27, Rosemary had the honor of addressing the morning session of the NFRW's 15th biennial convention here in Washington. Her speech was very well received and should be an inspiration to all who will read it.

The address follows:

THE AMERICAN DREAMS

(By Mrs. M. Stanley Ginn)

Psychologists tell us that most sleeping dreams last for only a very few minutes. They tell us that most of them occur when we are in a level of light sleep and most of them change and ramble and are without much sustained sequence.

We seldom visit with anyone who has had a similar dream to one we have had. In fact, I don't know any two people who have discussed the matter and found that they had each dreamed exactly the same. And yet most of us have dreamed. Have you? Have you had a nightmare? A plain old nightmare... heart palpitating, sweat producing, cramp grabbing, cover threshing, screaming nightmare... Did you ever have one of these?

This morning, however, our concern for the American Dreams is a broader one than these. Webster says, "To have ideas or images in the mind while asleep; to experience sleeping visions; to let the mind run on in idle reverie; to give oneself over to effortless thought, especially of a fanciful nature... To fancy, imagine, or contemplate as if in a dream; to consider the possibility of; to suppose vaguely." Kingsley said: "Do noble things, not dream them all day long."

Are these interpretations those we mean by a dream? Or do we mean, ideal, or to do wishful thinking? This must be the shade of meaning useful to us here.

Think with me a little about the first American Dreams. Our early settlers sought homes for their families. One where their children might grow—free of oppression and interference. They wanted enough to eat. They wanted warm clothes and enough feather covers to keep out the wintry blasts. For some it was oxen to pull the plow; for some it was an axe to cut the trees; for some it was a kettle for the fire, and for others it was a chance to come here... Those pilgrims, those blessed pilgrims, hardy, fearless people that they were, they wanted a chance to come here. But greater than all else, they wanted to express their faith in God in the manner that they chose... They wanted to live in a free society among free men.

Richard C. Cornuelle in his book, *Reclaiming the American Dream*, said: "We wanted from the beginning a free society, free in the sense that every man was his own supervisor and the architect of his own ambitions. So our founders took pains to design a government with limited power, and they carefully scattered the forces which could control it.

"We wanted as well, with equal fervor, a good society in which helping hands reached out to people in honest distress, in which common needs were met freely and fully."

"As a frontier people accustomed to interdependence, we developed a genius for solving common problems; people joined together in bewildering combinations to found schools, churches, opera houses, co-ops, hospitals, to build bridges, canals, and to help the poor.

"The part of the system least understood, then as now, was the network of non-governmental institutions which served public needs... They took on almost any public job and so became the principal way Americans get things done.

"We limited government, not only because people knew its limitations and wanted it

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limited, but because we left little for it to do."

One day last summer Uncle Stanley and I were in the bush country hunting Indian Artifacts. It had been a fruitless search, and in despair Stan sat down on an old stump and said, "I would settle for the day to find one good little point." And his eyes dropped to the earth, and there was a perfect little late woodland point. Naturally great exuberance followed, and I figured that the hunt was over for the day. But he was hunting again, hard, here and there with great energy and gusto.

Said I to him, "Didn't you say that if you found one good point you would be satisfied for the day?"

"Yes," he said, "but that was before I found one."

This only illustrates the change of dreams, the change of goals. Quickly as one becomes achieved, another one moves into view and calls for fulfillment. The wants and needs of the human are insatiable.

It was so with our American patriots. With freedom to do, to produce, to expand, to achieve, came also the time to think. Citizens in the western part of our country crystallized their attitudes first, and it is of specific importance to this group today, that a part of their thinking and hopes included the proposition that women should be allowed to vote. In 1869 Wyoming believed that women should be equal in acts of citizenship with other citizens, and granted voting rights to them. But it took a long time for the country as a whole to thus accept the ladies, and so this year we celebrated only a fifty-year span that you and I may vote as other American citizens.

Thus we might comment that the dreams of our founding fathers changed, political ideals change and even our husbands change. I expect that your own dreams have changed.

When you were seven, your greatest goal may have been to be allowed to stay up until eight o'clock.

When you were eleven, you wanted to wear your big sister's lipstick.

When you were sixteen, your life's ambition was to drive your Father's car.

And when you were twenty-one, it was probably to be on your own.

Then when you were twenty-nine, and had three small ones, it was to have a whole night's uninterrupted sleep.

Probably at thirty-nine, your dream was a twenty-two inch waistline...

At fifty-nine, of course, a new grandson or granddaughter.

And sixty-nine, and a lady politician, well, maybe some nights the chance to be in bed before eight o'clock.

You have dreamed, you have achieved, and you have dreamed anew. Your goals have changed. Your needs are different. This is universal.

Let me now ask a question. What is your attitude toward the goals of others? Do you respect the goals and needs of your fellow man? Do you understand that his dreams are not the same as yours, and yet are equally as valid?

Our greatest challenge is that we should think big enough for America so that the dreams of all can have a chance to be fulfilled... to become realities.

It is no wonder that when so many American Dreams are dreamed that we have a few national and individual nightmares. We have one now—the Vietnamese nightmare. Pray God to give President Nixon strength and wisdom to bring it to an early end.

Wednesday a week ago I boarded a plane at the same time a young American Japanese soldier was leaving his wife, his Mother, and his two little babies, to go to active duty. You know there are no words for that hour. You can look and hold your breath, but there are no words. And as he turned and walked away from them, and went through the boarding

door his wife and mother hugged the babies and cried the unflowing tears. The two little people leaned toward him and each stretched an arm to him with an urgent plea, "Back to me . . . Daddy." But there was no sound. And 85 others of us marched over their good-bye.

Nightmare? Yes. Nightmare.

Pray God again that we have strength to endure; that we sustain the families left behind; that we back our President in his efforts to end the war.

Yet though we recoil from the bitter such as this, should we give up, despair, say all of life, all of the dreams, all hopes and ideals are a nightmare?

Give up only if you are lesser stock than your great grandparents. Give up only if you are lesser stock than your great grandmother. In each of our families there has been one of greatest strength among its women. Each of you remember your own. It might have been your Mother, your Aunt Sallie, your grandmother . . . black, white, brown, yellow, freckled . . . someone didn't give up whatever the problem. Someone didn't give up, even with you at three, thirteen, nineteen . . . whenever that year was that you knew more than anyone else. But she had faith in her dreams. She knew that it wasn't all good and it wasn't all a nightmare. She knew that you worked and kept on working and somehow you achieved food, clothing, shelter, education, and a chance to go to church for your family. And with each generation, each need was fulfilled more than it had ever been before until today more American dreams are realized than have ever been achieved by any peoples on this earth.

I suspect that it is difficult for us to empathize with our neighbor, to understand his dreams or ideals or goals. Those we have achieved, which he still seeks, are difficult for us to place in priority . . .

Keep always in your mind that no two people dream the same dreams, share exactly the same wants, and pursue the same goals at the same time. Consequently, in serving our country and our party, we must avoid a cliche of pseudo understanding which would attempt to appraise the American people by one dream. To say there is one dream is not much of a dream at all. We must forever dream big dreams—enough room for the hopes and aspirations of all our American people.

Much has been written and said about the great technological advances in our country, the fearful and wonderful development of things. Surely a nation that can move from the Mayflower to the moon should express great satisfaction with itself and gratitude for the millions of minds that have made this possible, and still be respectful of the new dreams and hopes that such an accomplishment brings.

With one small step for a man, and one giant step for mankind, how many billion new dreams came into the minds of how many billion little boys and girls . . .

And here lies an essential difference. Where we achieve a technical dream or goal, it is achieved in things relatively predictable. But where we achieve a dream in a human relationship or in a human mind, the infinite combination of hopes and desires and ideals is so vast it staggers the comprehension.

We achieve our technical American Dreams with imagination and brilliant success. We will achieve the hopes and dreams for the human and his relationships to society. These we must do in terms of the individual, and this takes us a little longer.

President Nixon points the direction for us by his encouragement of the small splendid efforts of the individual . . . not the achievement of dreams in a mass. He understands the individuality of personal dreams and goals. He has encouraged our Pat Hitt, our illustrious Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, to seek in-

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dividual solutions for individual needs, and problems.

Elly Peterson achieves this understanding in her community involvement programs, which bring encouragement to each neighborhood to provide the realities of the specific dreams and goals uppermost there, for these specific people, at that specific time.

Each time that Gladys O'Donnell and the Federation opens doors for the satisfaction of needs and dreams and goals of your people, you show understanding of individual needs and dreams and contribute to their fulfillment.

But to meet the challenge that is with us now, whenever you make a plan, just think it twice as big as you started. Big enough for all of our people.

Would you now like to make a note?

The American dreams are real; they are both good and nightmares. American dreams are constantly changing and growing. They are never satisfied at an identical level. American dreams are both technological and human in demands for fulfillment. They can all be realized . . . some sooner . . . some later.

President Nixon understands the American Dreams and inspires us to our highest effort to fulfill them.

You fulfill the American Dreams every time you do any small deed for someone besides your own sweet self.

Why is it important for you and me to visit about our American Dreams? Because you and I can do something about them. It is our good fortune to have grown up in families who felt that we had a responsibility to repay our debt to society, to leave our earth a little better because we were here. To help people to look after folks, to solve problems. Not everyone shares our commitment to this. Not everyone has been taught this philosophy. Not everyone feels he should do something to solve human problems.

You and I do. And because we do, because we have the commitment, the energy, the vehicle in the Republican Party, the leadership of Richard Nixon to encourage us, let us do all we can to make American Dreams a reality.

ARKANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL URGES NO HIGHWAY CUTBACK

HON. JOHN P. HAMMERSCHMIDT OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, development of our national highway system is a matter of great concern for all of us. In Arkansas there is overwhelming sentiment for dependable and reliable planning and contracting, based upon a steady flow of money from the highway trust fund.

Fear that limitations may be imposed on this program is reflected in an official resolution of the Arkansas Legislative Council. It urges the Congress and the executive branch to continue the present orderly processes in construction, expansion, and improvement of the Federal-Aid Highway System.

The council, comprised of 24 distinguished senators and representatives who are members of the Arkansas Legislative Assembly, states a position which I share wholeheartedly in the following resolution:

RESOLUTION NO. 8

Whereas, the President of the United States has ordered cut-backs in construction

expenditures of Federal funds in a number of existing Federal programs, in an effort to check the increasing inflationary pressures of the Nation's economy; and

Whereas, such cut-back in the Federal expenditures has not, at the present time, included the Federal Aid Highway construction program; and

Whereas, the Federal Aid Highway construction program is supported from Highway Trust Funds consisting of taxes paid by highway users of this country; and

Whereas, the various State Highway Departments, in cooperation with the Bureau of Public Roads, have developed long-range plans for the construction, reconstruction and improvement of the Nation's interstate, primary and secondary road systems, and thousands of contractors and suppliers of highway construction equipment and materials throughout the Nation have invested significant sums of money in gearing up to provide the necessary construction services, equipment and materials required in the orderly construction and improvement of the Nation's highway system; and

Whereas, much of the investment of highway contractors and suppliers in equipment and supplies has been on a credit basis, and the orderly purchasing and payment for such equipment and supplies is dependent upon the planned continuation of the orderly expenditures of monies in the Highway Trust Fund for continued expansion and improvement of the Nation's highway system; and

Whereas, highway construction contractors and suppliers cannot operate on a stop-and-go type economy, and it would be disastrous to thousands of such contractors and suppliers if the Nation's highway construction and improvement program were severely curtailed at this time; and

Whereas, statistics reflect that construction costs in the highway construction industry have increased at only about one-half the rate of increased construction costs reflected in the building and similar trades, thereby indicating that highway construction is not a major cause of the inflationary conditions in the Nation; and

Whereas, it would be unfair to the highway construction and supply industry to require such industries to bear the major burden of reducing the inflationary conditions of this country, and it would be unfair to the motoring public who is paying the bill for the construction, maintenance and expansion of the Nation's system of highways and streets to be deprived of the use and benefit of the taxes paid into the Trust Fund for highway construction, maintenance and improvement; and

Whereas, the Nation is faced with the ever increasing highway safety problem and much of this problem was created by the Nation's neglect of its highway system in previous years; and

Whereas, the creation of the Highway Trust Fund and the development of a cooperative Federal-State program for the orderly and planned expansion and improvement of the Nation's highway system is essential to an improved highway safety program which is vitally necessary to reduce the appalling loss of life, injuries to persons, and property damage resulting from motor vehicle accidents; and

Whereas, any significant cut-back in highway construction and improvement programs now under contract, and cutbacks in the orderly and planned improvement and expansion of the Nation's highway system would be a serious detriment to the Nation's highway safety program and would be disastrous to the progress being made throughout the Nation in attempting to catch up with the years of neglect in the planning and expansion of the Nation's highway transportation system,

Now, therefore be it resolved by the legislative council of the State of Arkansas:

That the President of the United States and the United States Congress are respectfully requested to continue the present cooperative program through the use of Federal Highway Trust Funds for the orderly construction, expansion and improvement of the Federal Aid Highway systems in this country, and are urged to oppose any cut-back in the expenditure of Federal highway construction funds now committed in the Highway Trust Fund.

Be it further resolved that a copy of this Resolution shall be furnished the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Department of Transportation, and to each member of the Arkansas Congressional Delegation.

Respectfully submitted,

G. W. TURNER, Jr.,

Representative, District 33.

Filed: September 18, 1969.

SUPPORT FOR HOUSE-PASSED DIRECT POPULAR ELECTION BILL

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon is to be congratulated on his message today supporting the House-adopted bill to replace the antiquated electoral college system with the direct popular election of the President and Vice President.

The most compelling weakness in the electoral college is the possibility of electing a President who is not the popular vote winner. The House bill squarely meets and solves this problem by providing that the winner of the popular vote will become President.

A recent broadcast editorial by the WTMJ stations in Milwaukee makes this point very neatly. I am placing it in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues with the hope that the other body will follow our lead:

The House of Representatives wisely has chosen to abolish the electoral colleges in favor of the direct, popular election of the President and Vice President. The electoral college was designed by our nation's founders to cope with the problems of their times. We have new and different ones that should be met.

Last year there were fears that third party candidate Wallace might throw a monkey wrench in the election machinery and that neither major candidate, Nixon or Humphrey, would be elected. Last year also witnessed a North Carolina elector cast his vote for Wallace although Nixon had carried the state ...

In brief, the House action means that the votes across the nation would be totaled without regard to state boundaries. The candidate with the most votes, providing they were at least 40% of the total cast, would be elected. If no candidates received 40% of the vote, the two top vote-getters would go into a run-off election.

The Constitutional change still needs a two-thirds vote in the senate and approval by three-fourths, or 38, of the 50 states. It would be a momentous accomplishment if these tough requirements were met in time for the 1972 elections. The better election system it would bring is certainly worth a try.

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CLEMENCY FOR L. CPL. DENZIL ALLEN

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, dismissal of charges against eight Green Berets has won the applause of the American people and the U.S. Congress.

About all the American people and the Congress have been told about this case is that the Green Berets eliminated a Communist double agent.

Why charges would be brought in the first place is difficult to fathom, but it is not the first time that cases against American servicemen have been pushed when the circumstances do not stand scrutiny.

Perhaps the most flagrant case involves a young marine hero from the Fifth Indiana Congressional District of Indiana, which it is my privilege to represent here in the House.

L. Cpl. Denzil Allen, of Lebanon, Ind., is now serving a 20-year sentence for his alleged participation in the deaths of five Vietnamese civilians.

Corporal Allen's civilian attorney now believes he has the proof that at least four of the five were hard-core Vietcong.

It is incomprehensible to me how our military can train these young men to do a job, send them to combat in a situation where the enemy is not easily identifiable, and then prosecute them without mercy.

Denzil Allen is no long-haired hippie who burned his draft card and marched in a demonstration carrying a Communist flag.

Denzil Allen volunteered for the Marine Corps; served two hitches in Vietnam; suffered wounds on two occasions; rallied his men to save a strategic bridge while under heavy enemy attack; called his own artillery fire on his position to thwart the Communists; led his squad to safety without a casualty; was cited for the Navy Cross by his commanding officer and court-martialed by the Navy Department.

Corporal Allen should be enjoying the pleasures of civilian life with the respect, admiration, and honor of his Nation.

Instead, he languishes in a Navy brig as the result of a trial in Vietnam during which his defense counsel appears to have been less than adequate.

I have presented President Nixon with the names of more than 30,000 petitioners from Indiana and throughout the United States who urge clemency for Denzil Allen.

It is tragic that the spotlight of publicity that shown on eight Green Berets cannot be turned on the Denzil Allen case where a great injustice has been rendered to this young man.

Some of the incredible facts of this case are contained in the following article from the Lebanon, Ind., Reporter of September 26, 1969.

The article follows:

September 30, 1969

DENZIL ALLEN'S DEFENSE CHARGES COURT FRAUD

A hearing for Lebanon Marine Cpl. Denzil Allen by the U.S. Department of Navy has been scheduled for October 7 at 9 a.m. It was learned today.

The scheduled time comes on the heels of a petition handed the Navy Department by U.S. Congressman Richard L. Roudebush.

Allen's attorney George Martz, of Indianapolis is basing his appeal for a new trial on the grounds that the court has been frauded—a seldom used approach in which the acts of the defendant's first attorney are questioned.

Martz in his petition for Allen attacks the defense presented by Capt. Sandy McMath, son of a former Arkansas governor, who had been legal counsel at the time of Allen's trial. It was McMath who reportedly persuaded Allen to plead guilty to the charges of slaying five Vietnamese. Martz also brings out in his petition that it is now proven that at least four of the five who were slain were "hard core Viet Cong."

In a 175-page petition to the Navy Department, the Indianapolis attorney says he has never gone on record prior to this instance in directly "attacking another counsel in the handling of a case. However, counsel for the petitioner (Allen) has never seen a case where a defense counsel has done less for his client," he said.

Martz questions whether Allen had been entitled to competent counsel in his defense and hits hard at the fact that McMath failed to present evidence of Allen's mental condition at the time of the slayings. He tells the court that "his many failures to act when justice demanded it ... constitutes the rankest kind of fraud."

Martz strikes out by saying that "Captain McMath will probably never again have a factual situation with as much going for him as he had in this case. With all this information, he negotiated a guilty plea to five specifications of premeditated murder. In so doing, he alone resolved all of the reasonable doubts against the defendant and in favor of the government. He alone decided against his own client, that which justice places in the hands of the court."

Also revealed in the petition by Martz is the fact that McMath had entered into a contract with P&P Productions of Hollywood, Calif., allowing it to use the Allen story in television syndication. A prospectus prepared for P&P said that Peter Fonda had agreed to portray the part of Allen in the television show which had been planned. And "Tony Perkins has agreed to play the brilliant young defense attorney in real life Capt. Sandy McMath, who has been described as 'the Clarence Darrow of Vietnam,'" the prospectus read.

Martz also has statements taken from officers serving in the company at the time of the alleged slayings and also from attorneys who were able to free their clients also charged in the same case.

William J. Cosgriff, attorney for Martin Alvarez, gave a statement in which he said he relied heavily on psychiatric testimony obtained in defense of his client.

Martz raises his own test of mental competency by questioning Allen's executive officer who was at the Hue combat area at the time the offense allegedly occurred. John F. Bouldin, who admitted he did not personally like Allen, said he had warned the commander of the company just days before the slayings that Allen had been acting in a strange manner. He said three incidents brought him to that conclusion. These were an event in which Allen struck two small Vietnamese children in the head with his gun butt, his request for a transfer to Khe Sahn where he could "get where the action

was," and his laughing while watching a Vietnamese die after he had been severely wounded.

Bouldin in his statement said he had never been approached by Capt. McMath to learn of this.

In a statement from Capt. McMath which also accompanies the thick file, he says that he did not raise the mental condition issue at the time of the trial for fear that Allen would receive a more severe sentence than the agreed upon life term which was cut to 20 years. He said he felt that psychiatrists available in the Vietnam area would not be sympathetic to such a plea and that he intended to wait until he returned to the U.S. before then appealing for a review of the sentence on the grounds of temporary insanity.

McMath was relieved of the case when Martz took over.

Included also in the petition are a plea by Capt. James Panther requesting the Navy Cross, one of the highest awards made, for Allen as the result of heroic duty when Panther's unit was attacked near Hue just days before the slayings, and a psychiatrist's report by Dr. William C. Driscoll in which Allen was described as being a paranoid schizophrenic.

BIG TRUCK

HON. FRED SCHWENDEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. SCHWENDEL. Mr. Speaker, my editorial for today is from the Denver Post in the State of Colorado. The editorial follows:

[From the Denver Post, July 29, 1969]

GIANT TRUCK BILL THREATENS AGAIN

The motoring public is to be treated to the edification of another full-blown legislative campaign by courtesy of the American Trucking Assn.

With the remains of last year's super truck bill just barely laid to rest, the truckers again are harnessing all their faithful congressional horses for another go at redoing truck standards for the Interstate Highway System, and, indirectly, state roads, too.

One of the most surprising things about the current bill, sponsored in the House by Rep. John C. Kluczynski, D-Ill., a former truck driver, is the fact that in addition to putting a few more dollars into the pockets of the truckers, the bill would have the curious effect of improving highway safety. By what means would this be achieved?

You'd never guess it! By the simple device of increasing the permissible truck width from 8 to 8½ feet, the top weight from 73,280 to 108,500 pounds and possibility clearing the way for triple-trailer machines 105 feet long in states not now prohibiting three-unit "trains."

Solemn industry spokesmen say, as they dream of correcting the "gross injustice" built into the "1965 truck technology" regulations, that the safety advantage in the new bill would obtain from the greater size of the tires. They would grip the road better than tires on today's trucks.

Without this bit of technical information the average motorist about to be run down by a super truck from behind or crowded off some narrow, winding road in a mountain state probably wouldn't be in a position to realize he was going to be dispatched to eternity, or at least to the nearest hospital, by a tractor-truck with an "optimum" as opposed to a "minimal" road-grip factor.

Kluczynski is of course not averse to hearing from any of the home folks who'd like

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to do their bit to pave the way for the super truck and get started paying the \$8.5 billion extra in costs the Bureau of Public Roads estimates these freighters would occasion on the interstate system alone during the next 10 years.

WINT SMITH: KANSAS' CONSERVATIVE IN RESIDENCE

HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Leroy Towns of the Topeka Daily Capital and Journal magazine Midway is known for his colorful features that describe the Midwest with rare talent and poignancy.

Such was the case in the September 21 issue of Midway magazine when Mr. Towns wrote about former Congressman Wint Smith, "Kansas' conservative in residence."

We in western Kansas have been blessed with elected officials that not only have made unique contributions within the normal process of government, but who also seemingly stand out in the political crowd. Our people will never forget the Christian character of our statesman Senator Frank Carlson. The farmers will never again be represented as well as as they were when the "farmer's true friend," Congressman Clifford Hope, Sr., served in the House of Representatives. And, to use an old expression, they threw away the political mold when they made Wint Smith, described by Mr. Towns in his article as "an unflappable bundle of conservative independence."

Mr. Speaker, I know my colleagues will greatly enjoy this article as will the constituents of the "Big First" District of Kansas. The story has special meaning to me, as it mentions Congressman Smith won his last primary election by only 51 votes. His opponent that election was KEITH G. SEBELIUS and I can honestly say Wint Smith won a hard-fought and well-deserved victory.

The article follows:

MANKATO.—The gray ribbon that is US-36 runs straight west through this quiet community, then on into the vastness of the First Congressional District of Western Kansas.

Once, not so long ago, you could tell exactly where the big, sprawling district began by the multicolored campaign posters tacked haphazardly to every other utility poll. "Wint Smith," the posters read, and you were greeted for mile after mile by the image of a heavy-faced man, his dark brows half-hidden under the wide brim of a white Stetson. "Wint Smith for Congress," the posters screamed, and you knew exactly where you were.

They are gone now and have been for nine years—almost forgotten, unknown to a whole generation of Kansas young people who never knew the unflappable, the crusty bundle of independence that was—and is—Wint Smith.

Not that today's generation would want very much to know Wint Smith: they would have considerable trouble understanding each other.

Leaning forward in an overstuffed chair at his Mankato home one day recently, Wint Smith curled his face into a pout. "The person who is most contemptible in our society today is the guy who gets up on the stand

and says college kids today are the best we've ever had in America.

"I say kids today are economically, historically and morally illiterate." And the big man doesn't smile when he says it.

Then Wint Smith's eyes twinkle, just slightly, and he adds: "I had an evil reputation when I was in Congress. There wasn't a day that I didn't have a copy of the Constitution in my pocket. They wouldn't understand that, kids today. If you don't have the Constitution, you don't have anything."

Wint Smith. Fifteen years ago the name belonged to a six-foot, four-inch tall hulk of a man, and it was hated by men like James Hoffa, labor leader.

Wint Smith. Today, the name belongs to Kansas' 75-year-old conservative in residence, a man who seems as ageless as the pioneer country which spawned him, a man now living in quiet retirement at Mankota, a place he always has loved.

It will be nine years ago this fall that Wint Smith—after serving 14 years as a representative from Kansas—told his constituents he would step down. His words were blunt. He told a reporter, "I've found that I'm getting a little out of step. I think it's time that someone with a little more elasticity took my place."

There were people who thought that was an understatement; Wint Smith made a career out of saying exactly what he believed.

It was a career that spanned much of Kansas' history.

Smith was born on a farm his grandfather homesteaded near Mankato in north-central Kansas. But much of his early childhood was spent on horseback in the hills of Oklahoma. There were plenty of men to teach young Wint the rough-and-ready life of the plains—and only one to encourage the instinct for books and education.

Grandfather Ethan A. Chilcott, a brother of Sen. Miles Chilcott, was the student of the family. Wint still remembers him, a powerful man, seated under a tree reading his Bible and brushing away flies.

Wint Smith finished rural school at Mankato, then high school. He told friends that some day he would be graduated from Harvard—quite an ambition for a Kansas farm boy with no money. His father was the courthouse janitor.

Smith finished high school in 1915 and entered the University of Kansas. Cooking in local restaurants paid for the education. He lettered three years on the KU football team, playing tackle and guard.

Wint Smith's future was beginning to take shape. He joined the National Guard as a private and in 1916 was assigned to the Mexican border.

That was when Wint Smith started complaining about things. He hated the Army food, didn't hesitate to tell an officer—and quickly was assigned to do the cooking himself.

The day after war was declared against Germany in 1917, Wint Smith left school and applied for officer's school. He was commissioned and left for France three months later.

Wounded twice—once during fighting in the Argonne—Smith returned to KU and was graduated in 1920.

Some of Smith's dislike for the new deals and the fair deals he encountered later in politics may stem from the fact many of the political brain trusters were Harvard men. He had finished the war with an intense dislike for Harvard men.

In 1922, Smith was graduated from Yale University with a law degree—he cooked to earn the money. One of his teachers was William Taft.

After graduation, he returned to Kansas and established a law practice in Kansas City.

Politics began calling in 1931. Wint Smith

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went to Topeka as attorney for the State Highway Commission.

Early in 1934, Kansas Gov. Alf M. Landon asked Smith to do something about the bank robbers who were terrorizing the state. Smith's answer was to form the Kansas Highway Patrol. He armed troopers, gave them fast cars, then began waging a small war across the Kansas hills. Criticized by the Legislature for using the Highway Patrol as a police force, Smith didn't bother to argue the point: robbers were tactlessly shot on sight.

The memory was still vivid as Wint Smith sat in his Mankato home one day recently and reminisced.

"We had the robbers pretty well cleaned out of Kansas," he said. "But some were holed up in the Cookson hills of Oklahoma."

Smith recalled that the situation angered him. Discarding the notion his authority stopped with the state line, Smith stomped into the Oklahoma governor's office one afternoon and demanded written permission to chase bandits in the Oklahoma hills. He received permission; the Kansas Highway Patrol began making guerrilla raids across the border.

Then came World War II mobilization in 1940. Smith, a lieutenant colonel in the Reserve, returned to the service in the fall of 1940. He organized and commanded a tank destroyer battalion. In 1943, the unit was sent to Europe. It landed on D-Day, fought through the Battle of the Bulge and ended near Vienna.

"I like to collect things," Wint Smith conceded as he showed a visitor two rooms full of relics of two wars. One basement wall is covered by a collection of firearms "liberated" from Nazi Germany. The home also is full of other treasures collected during Smith's lifetime.

"You take a jar of buttons someone has collected," the smiling Smith said, "and chances are you'll find one button that is different or valuable."

Included among the varied collections is a shelf of Kansas history books, several pictures of Abraham Lincoln and a signed picture of Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

Smith rose to the rank of General in the Army. And in 1946 his mind turned to thoughts of politics.

"I listened to the BBC during the war," Smith recalled. "I got damned tired of the labor leaders—Reuther and the rest of them—telling what labor was doing to win the war."

"Well, I decided to find out if labor leaders were really running the country. I went to Congress and by God, I found out they really were."

Smith's 14 years in Congress were turbulent. Immediately after his first election he volunteered for a post on the House Labor Committee. Then in the 1950s came controversial hearings on unfair labor practices. Smith chaired a subcommittee charged with investigation of unfair labor practices. Eighteen union officials were indicted. He took on James Hoffa. Political enemies soon outnumbered political friends. Vocally and with relish, Smith took on the United Nations, labor unions, foreign aid. Although a Republican himself, the congressman from Kansas fought President Eisenhower and several of his programs. He lambasted presidential appointments and tangled with Agriculture Secretary Ezra T. Benson. He won his last election by only 51 votes and his popularity, even in the conservative Western Kansas district, was sliding downhill steadily.

"I will not demagogue," he declared at the time. "I've always spoken what I believe and I've always been death on smart-alecks. I don't think I've been a very good congressman. I didn't have enough finesse."

"They gave me a lot of trouble once because I made a statement that I don't trust the government—I don't trust what it'll do

with your money. I guess I'm the world's worst politician."

Then in 1960 came the announcement from Wint Smith that he was retiring from Congress.

"I had a rough time out here toward the end. I wouldn't go along with Eisenhower, the federal aid to education or with foreign spending."

"My trouble was with young people just getting established. Those liberal programs appealed to them because the government was promising to take care of Mom and Dad."

Wint Smith stretched his big frame one day recently, glowered at the ceiling and explained Wint Smith's view of the world in the nine years since retirement. It hasn't mellowed.

In short, Wint Smith claims he is watching—and has watched for some time—the decline of America.

"The seeds of decay are everywhere—in urban renewal, in giving money to people who won't work for it, in foreign spending. I'm pessimistic as hell about the future of America . . ."

"There's the war. The biggest mistake we ever made was getting involved in Asia. Take the agitation from left-wing college professors. When I sit here and think about what's going on at Yale and what they did to the statue of Nathan Hale . . . Why, what must he be thinking? They are abolishing ROTC there!"

Wint Smith's eyes squinted under the wide brim of an ancient straw hat. He hunched forward in the seat of the dirty green pickup, his big, rough hands caressed the steering wheel as though holding the reins of an excited cow pony. And his boots played on the foot pedals as though they were stirrups.

"Buffalo are strange creatures. Unpredictable," said Wint Smith from the corner of his mouth. The pickup bounced over a hill, suddenly in the center of Smith's private herd of 14 shaggy buffalo.

"I like to preserve things," he explained. "When my grandparents homesteaded near here, they killed a buffalo. I thought it would be appropriate to have these here."

Then he pointed. "See those longhorns? You don't see too many of those anymore. They're registered, too. See that one over there? That's Dick. And there's Hubert. And Ike. Oh, yes, see that critter over there? That has to be the ugliest steer I have ever seen. He was so ugly I couldn't resist buying him. That's Spiro . . ."

Wint Smith hopped gracefully out the door of a pickup and approached the herd's huge bull, which stood silently, head lowered. "Look at the size of him," Wint Smith said slowly. Then he stood there nearly silhouetted on a hill in a pasture near Mankato. He looked for a long time at the shaggy bull, which stood, like something out of a Remington painting, and looked steadily back at Wint Smith.

When Wint Smith was president of his senior class in 1920 at KU, there was a simple way of dealing with impudent students.

Smith still remembers the freshman "who felt he was too good" to wear the prescribed cap.

"Somebody called me over," Smith recalled, "because they had him backed up against the wall and wondered what to do with him. Well, I just stood there and said he didn't have to wear a cap if he didn't feel like it." The corner of Wint Smith's mouth twisted into a smile. "Somebody said, 'Throw him in the lake.' That's exactly what we did with him—threw him in Potter's lake."

The incident probably expresses best how Wint Smith feels about agitation on college campuses today.

"Hell, there's no generation gap. Nobody really cares if kids want to wear sideburns and different clothes. It's just that kids are economically illiterate; they have no concept

of history. And they can't distinguish between anarchy and capitalism."

"They are led by some liberal professors who are bitter because some high school dropouts are driving a truck and making more money than they are. These professors can't distinguish between academic freedom and liberty."

If Wint Smith sees any hope at all in bringing order to a chaotic world, it is in middle class America. "I don't care about the indigent—or the rich," he once said. And during his 14 years of representing Western Kansas in Washington, it was the middle class that Smith always felt himself closest to.

"There's a movement on in America that most people don't realize," he said. "You give a man a home, a garden and two cars in the garage and he's going to think twice before he goes out to raise hell. The labor unions are finding that out."

"That middle class—which believes in going to church on Sunday and in saluting the flag when it goes by—is getting damn sick and tired of supporting somebody who won't work; they're getting damn sick and tired of trouble on the colleges."

"I'll tell you, it's the middle class who'll end up getting some sense into the political structure."

Smith said he believes George Wallace of Alabama pulled much of his support from the middle class. "It's the middle class who will someday throw the rascals out," Smith said.

Ask Wint Smith for his thoughts on something and they're not long in coming. Views on almost everything. They aren't especially new; he's presented them before:

"The greatest word in the English language is My. To be able to say My home, My family, My wife, and My church."

"The most disgraceful picture I've ever seen was the one in Life Magazine that showed those hippies at the music festival. That's the kind of civilization those people want."

"I don't blame kids today for not wanting to go to war. There's no patriotic feeling today in America. Nobody cares."

"I used to be against the draft. I'm not now. If you had an all-volunteer army, it would be mostly colored and that wouldn't be good."

"The tax situation has elected a Democrat twice in this state. What are they going to do about it?"

But the talking is mostly in Wint Smith's past. Living quietly in Mankato with his wife Blanch, "I don't talk much; I just listen a lot."

He does intend to stay active, working for conservative candidates. He intends to remain a Republican.

Smith pulled his wide-brimmed straw hat lower against a noon sun and strode purposefully down the center of Mankato's main street.

"You know, there was a time when a man could put on a Stetson hat and walk into about any bank in the country and cash a check. That's when it was a badge of honor," he said.

Much of Wint Smith—or at least the material side of him—is housed in a weather-beaten downtown building. It is full of antiques—antiques of every kind: oak dressers, ancient china, chairs, butter churns, a kitchen he re-created from the memory of a kitchen he saw in London in World War II, a re-creation of his mother's kitchen. It is a private museum overflowing with early Kansas. Most of the objects have been restored.

Wint Smith passes it off simply: "I like to collect things. This is just something for an old man to do with his money."

But Wint Smith is at home and relaxed as he wanders slowly through the building that reflects a major portion of his life.

"If you had it to do over again—those 14

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years in Congress—would you do anything differently?"

He contemplates the question.

"I tried to tell people what was happening to America. Yes, I think there is something I would do differently. I would be more outspoken."

THE DIPLOMA: A MEANINGLESS, IF POWERFUL, PIECE OF PAPER

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I recently read an excellent editorial in the Sunday, August 3, Los Angeles Times which I would like to share with my colleagues. It is entitled "The Diploma: A Meaningless, If Powerful, Piece of Paper," and shows exactly how sacred the sacred cow called a diploma is becoming. The writer is David Hapgood, a senior research fellow at New York University.

Twenty-two Members of this body recently completed a tour of about 50 college and university campuses. Over and over we heard the word, "relevancy." It meant a number of things, but mostly that the world of college education as the system is now set up is not answering the needs created by the rest of our society. Students are not learning what they are going to need to know in the jobs and professions out in the real world; they are not getting the practice they need to know how to live and work and react in the adult society into which they are soon to be thrust; and they are not getting the historical perspective they need to judge their own and other talents and actions in this outside world.

This editorial defines the problem as "diplomaism." I recommend it for serious reading:

THE DIPLOMA: A MEANINGLESS, IF POWERFUL, PIECE OF PAPER

(By David Hapgood)

"Education is the greatest growth industry in America," proclaimed Dr. Grayson Kirk of Columbia University not long before the children of that growth rate drove him into exile.

Neither the rebels nor Kirk connected the cause of the growth rate with the students' dissatisfaction. Both are the result of diplomaism.

In the genuinely democratic society, jobs and promotions would be awarded strictly on the basis of performance. But in the United States the disease of judging people by paper credentials has been spreading rapidly and few occupations are still exempt. Sports and the arts are virtually the only pursuits in which performance is the exclusive test of merit.

Of all the paper credentials now on the market, the bachelor's degree is the one with the least meaning and the most power. It has become the almost indispensable passport to good jobs and to the advanced degrees that offer better ones.

In no field of endeavor, with the possible exception of the health industry, does reward have as little connection with performance as in education. The industry has acquired immense power as the agency that sorts out those who will be discarded.

Education now spends \$58 billion a year, second only to the military and coming up fast. (Some defense contractors such as

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Raytheon and Litton have been buying into the school business as a hedge against the danger of peace.)

Measured in time, the power of education is still more impressive. More than 60 million Americans are engaged full time in the industry—57 million as students, 3 million as teachers and administrators. It may well be that the time devoted to school is growing faster than our life expectancy.

The years in school are bound to increase, for the diploma system contains built-in forces for escalation that have nothing to do with learning. Sorting people out by diploma for their eventual employers works only as long as graduates are scarce. Once there is an ample supply of graduates, the diploma loses its value, and the system must escalate by requiring a "higher" diploma.

This escalation has already deprived the high school diploma of most of its monetary value as a job credential. Now the cry is college-for-everyone (a goal quite different from assuring equal access regardless of race or income in a nondiploma system, where one would be free to compete for jobs without college credential).

State and community colleges are sprouting like pizza stands. Graduate schools are booming and the end is not in sight. When the cornerstone of New York University's new library was laid not long ago, President James Hester entombed in its concrete a prophecy that "advanced degrees beyond the Ph.D." are on the way.

Diplomaism is supreme within the industry itself. Teaching ability is not a criterion for being hired to teach in a university or a school. At the university, the diploma you need is the Ph.D., a degree that proves little beyond your tolerance for boredom. Some universities are even imposing the Ph.D. on those who teach art.

In the primary and secondary schools, you need a diploma from a school of education and you must have taken a list of prescribed courses. Again, whether you can teach remains an unanswered question. Similarly, promotion in the industry is by credential, not ability.

The professor is promoted according to the number (not the quality) of his publications; if he devotes his time and energy to being a good teacher, his career chances are hurt. In most school systems, the only way a teacher can be promoted is by going back to the industry for graduate credits.

On the rare occasions when diplomaism in education is challenged, forces in the industry mobilize like white blood cells to meet the threat. Recently, the board of education of a suburban community—Princeton, N.J.—was taught a lesson in diplomaism. The story is educational.

The high school principal had resigned, unable to cope with a school beset by racial conflict and troubled, in a less measurable sense, by the nameless malaise of white suburban youth, children of the bourgeois intelligentsia. In a rare reach of the imagination, the board decided to go outside the industry for a new principal.

They chose a local notable, Raymond F. Male. Male was a remarkable choice. He is a former mayor of Princeton who had sided with the young in generational conflicts. He is also the state commissioner of labor and industry and an expert in public administration. In the selection of Male, the school board seemed to be saying that the troubles of high school students had mostly to do with the students' relations with the world outside the walls.

But Male is not certified to be a high school principal. When his case went to the Board of Examiners, a sort of supreme court within the state's public education bureaucracy, the examiners voted, 7 to 2, that Male was not qualified to be principal of Princeton High School.

Their grounds were that he lacked a teaching certificate and 24 credit hours in school

administration. The last although Male has taught public administration and holds a master's degree in the subject from Princeton University.

Far from fearing that Male would fall, the examiners had more reason to be afraid he would succeed as a principal—for his success would tend to undermine the barriers so carefully erected against outsiders.

The examiner's power, like that of the guilds whose interest they represent, is essentially negative. By their control of the gates, they see to it that the only people in the industry are those who have paid their respects—and their cash—to the schools of education by getting the proper diploma.

In the suburbs, guild control has the effect of keeping out creative outsiders like Male. In the cities, the effect is to keep out creative, but degreeless, ghetto people.

If the diploma system stands in the way of giving credit to human achievement, and if it sentences us to ever more years of passive boredom and frustration, then why not abolish the diploma?

The question is hardly ever raised, even among those most critical of the education industry. They believe in reforming the industry but not in breaking its monopoly of access to the job market. The popular attitude is that school means learning and that learning is measured by the diploma. Let us then briefly examine the arguments commonly offered for the diploma system.

Our technological economy needs a growing number of people with advanced education, or, you have to get a degree to get a good job. The second half of the statement is unanswerable but it does not prove the accuracy of the first part.

Of course, many jobs do involve highly specialized skills. But that does not mean that the rigid diploma system—four years of college, followed by three or four years of professional school before you go to work—is the only or even the best way to produce people with those skills.

The common assumption is that employers have sound economic motives when they require a college diploma. That assumption needs to be revised as a result, mainly, of the landmark work of Ivar Berg of Columbia University.

Berg found that graduates and nongraduates doing the same jobs performed about equally well. In no case could any significant difference in productivity be attributed to education.

But Berg also discovered that employers did not care about such comparisons. Most employers, even those who devoted considerable attention and money to personnel programs, made no effort to find out whether their diploma requirements made any sense.

The belief that changes in employers' tastes, not changes in the nature of the work itself, are responsible for the diploma race is supported by a study of the 1960 census by John K. Folger and Charles B. Nam, "Education of the American Population."

In surveying the decade from 1950 to 1960, a time of escalating diploma requirements, Folger and Nam concluded that only 15% of the increased demand for diplomas could be accounted for by changes in the nature of work. The other 85%, they found, was the result of added diploma requirements for the same jobs.

This new insight into how people are hired raised a question of exceptional theoretical importance, for it challenges a basic assumption about our system.

Students of the capitalist order assume that business firms' actions are motivated by the desire to maximize profits. Individual exceptions exist and employers can make mistakes, but when a phenomenon is as general as the employers' preference for diploma-holders, the classical theory tells us that their preference must make economic sense.

At this point, believers in diplomas-for-jobs reply: "All right, most education has no direct vocational value, but our economy needs people who have something called 'general educational development.'"

That term coined in the U.S. Employment Service, means basic reading and arithmetic and a capacity for abstract reasoning. The more time you have served in the institutions, the higher you rate on the GED scale. Then we are told the economy benefits if we put in more years in school.

More hole than cheese is visible in that argument when it goes beyond the commonplace that the nation has fewer jobs for people who cannot read and count. At most, a diploma from an elite university such as Harvard suggests an intellectual ability needed for some pursuits—but the diploma requirement tends to rule out other ways of developing and measuring that ability. School is, in any event, an extraordinarily inefficient way to acquire what the job market supposedly wants.

James Coleman, or "The Coleman Report," estimates the high school students are mentally alert for an average of 10 minutes of the school day, and James B. Conant holds that high school—the point applies to college as well—is geared only to the 15% of students who are academically inclined.

Now the believer, if he hasn't already abandoned us, will retreat to higher and fogtier ground: School isn't for jobs—it's for culture. You go to school to learn civic virtue—good marks in citizenship. You soak up the values of our civilization—especially good old deferred gratification, that marvelous excuse for incompetence. If the first grader will only sit still for another 20 years, he'll discover why he's there. You also go to acquire an appetite for Western culture.

Reason can scarcely be brought to bear on such misty sentiments.

What remains is what the believer is reluctant to say: School is the place where the young are taught to behave the way adults want them to behave. The diploma proves you have conformed enough to be turned loose in adult society.

The escalating demand for diplomas in the marketplace has made of education a huge, sluggish beast, as alert and competitive as a grass-eating dinosaur.

Blessed with a monopoly on the diploma and the fastest growth rate in the nation, the industry is under no pressure to change. It does not have to hustle its clients. The product sells itself.

The next outsider who wants to be principal of Princeton High School will have to buy those 24 credits in administration, so why bother to invest the courses with any content? The dinosaur, its waistline bulging as it digests the latest crop of diploma-seekers, smiles blandly at its critics.

Indigestion is the dinosaur's only complaint, and it is a real one. The growing number of years of dependence imposed on youth as the price of the diploma is producing today's backlash. Independence and adulthood are reached later in life.

Extending the years it takes to get the diploma may seem like "educational opportunity" to adults—how can they be so ungrateful when we're paying for their tuition?—but from the inside it looks like a longer sentence.

Hardly anyone is proposing a revolution against the tyranny of the diploma. Paul Goodman, a lonely prophet, stalks the land, calling down anathema on the schoolmen, preaching less institutionalization and more freedom to learn. But about all the response Goodman gets is "puzzled looks."

The world that Goodman and a few others see in their dreams could be made reality by the abolition of most diplomas, beginning with the bachelor's degree.

If degrees were deprived of their market value, then the schools that issue them

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would have to produce something in return for the time and money their clients now spend just for the diploma. A free market would prevail, and schools would have to compete with other ways of learning.

Some people would choose to learn on their own, or by apprenticeship. Some would work for a while, then, having decided there was a branch of knowledge they need or want, would shop around for courses that could provide it.

It is this freedom to shop around that is the key. The life preserver of the incompetent teacher and the irrelevant course is the degree requirement—you have to take 120 points even if after 30 or 60 or 90 you've run out of good, well-taught courses.

Denuded of the academic figleaf, we would all have to examine ourselves—and be examined by others. Personnel departments would have to learn how to examine their applicants' abilities instead of counting their diplomas. Hundreds of educational institutions, especially colleges, would go out of business, and doubtless it would be necessary to provide insurance for unemployed professors and deans.

But the result would be a freer society, one much closer to the set of ideals we call the American Dream.

Such a revolution is not even on the horizon today. Only a few people are combating diplomatism. The trend is still in the opposite direction. So the diploma mills grind on, and they grind exceeding bland.

CAMPUS UNREST

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, all of us are concerned about unrest expressed on college campuses last year. I am happy to see the news media, and especially television, take the initiative in pointing out what can be done about the problem. In that regard, I insert in the RECORD the following editorial broadcast over WTOP in Washington, September 22 and 23, 1969:

CAMPUS UNREST

This may be the year when our universities become crippled as universities.

It will happen if academic freedom is throttled by the reaction of an angry community.

Washington has special cause to appreciate these dangers. At Howard, American, Georgetown, and George Washington universities, disruption or violence was an ugly presence on the campus last year.

The reaction to that unrest from government in his granddaddy of government towns was sharp. Congress was deterred only by a whisker from enacting some harsh and punishing laws to deal with disturbances. The same Congress sits on the Hill this fall.

The administrators of the universities continue to be the key people. This may be their last chance to exercise control in their schools before outside control is forced upon them. Most administrators in the Washington area have promised firmer resolve in dealing with such situations.

The administrators also have the key responsibility for defusing unrest before it can explode. All Washington campuses have undertaken reforms of various kinds since last spring. Whether they're enough remains to be seen.

A very special obligation falls on otherwise-reasonable students and faculty who in the

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past have supported the anything-goes tactics of the genuine radicals. By condoning violence and abandoning reason and persuasion, they are helping to pull down the pillars of the academic world around us all.

The tear-it-down revolutionaries must not prevail. The alternative to a free university guided by reason is a university guided by tyrants. And that would be no university at all.

NEGOTIATING WITH COMMUNISTS

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, one would think that after the years of Korea and Vietnam, it would dawn on those to whom we entrust our negotiating powers, that Communists hate anything free and the United States in particular. Freedom and justice including freedom of speech and press is utterly and completely antithetical to the Communist creed. Likewise with mercy, compassion, and charity.

If the balance of power ever changes to a point at which we and our remaining allies become vulnerable to attack and destruction we will be wiped out. It is up to those who represent us to make sure that as long as they live this does not happen.

Sympathy for the underdog, a sense of fair play, restraint on brutality and slaughter—such things are to Communists merely examples of American weakness. No amount of pleading, rational thought, logical argument, or simple persuasion, can alter the basic truth that world communism is completely and fanatically dedicated to the destruction of the United States of America and all that it stands for.

It is against this background that concerned Americans should judge the attempts to reason with Communist governments whether Red China or the Soviet. In this connection the following column by Richard Wilson appearing in this week's Washington Star is significant:

TALKS WITH CHINESE COMMUNISTS VIEWED DIMLY
(By Richard Wilson)

An instructive little document on how to go mad negotiating with the Chinese Communists has been issued by Sen. Henry M. Jackson's subcommittee of the government operations committee.

If Secretary of State William P. Rogers, who is eager to negotiate with Peking, can find any comfort in it he is welcome to it. The document outlines the experiences and trials of various negotiations over the past 15 or 20 years as related by the participants.

These experiences and frustrations give little encouragement to the fondly held belief that if we are nice to the Chinese they will reciprocate. The recounted experiences do not encourage the idea either that there is anything to be gained by the United States from China's hostility to the Soviet Union. To the contrary, as Rogers has pointed out, a war between China and Russia could be a world disaster.

Chinese hostility to the United States has increased during the Nixon administration. Peking passed judgment on President Nixon last Feb. 18 when it notified the U.S. ambas-

sador to Poland that it would not participate in the 135th meeting of the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks on Feb. 20 as scheduled. The reason given was that the U.S. government incited a former member of the Chinese diplomatic mission in The Netherlands to betray his country and defect. "All this once again enables the people of China, and the rest of the world, to see clearly the vicious features of the Nixon administration of the United States, which has inherited the mantle of the preceding U.S. government in flagrantly making itself the enemy of the 700 million Chinese people," proclaimed the Peking foreign ministry.

The Nixon administration then turned the other cheek and announced the relaxation of travel and trade restrictions that had been applied to Communist China since 1950. U.S. citizens traveling abroad would be allowed to bring back \$100 worth of goods produced in Communist China and six categories of citizens, including congressmen, journalists, doctors and post-graduate scholars, were automatically cleared for travel to China.

These relaxations have so far proved meaningless, as the secretary of state expected they would. He says that he is trying to show that the stubbornness on improving relations lies all on the Chinese Communist side.

It may be concluded that what he is trying to do also is to disarm the congressmen, journalists and scholars who seem to think there is some easy or trick formula for improving relations with Peking. On the basis of past performance it can be questioned if such relaxations have anything but a negative effect on the government of Mao Tsetung.

The studies of the Chinese negotiating position indicate clearly one pre-condition for anything more than tactical discussions such as have been held in Warsaw. The United States must renounce its support of the government of Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa, get out of the Western Pacific and bring to an end 70 years of involvement in Asia.

Says Kenneth T. Young, president of the Asia Society, with experience as a negotiator at Panmunjom and Geneva behind him: "The line and movement have a single objective: total and final victory."

"The Chinese negotiators and policymakers do not seem to consider cooperative negotiations and concessions as valid bargaining devices to find a common ground for genuine and lasting agreement, or for seeking a compromise of principles in order to conclude a basic agreement."

"Dogmatically and fanatically, the Chinese Maoist negotiator appears to assume that the American negotiator is similarly motivated in viewing China as the adversary to be beaten, destroyed and never appeased. Only hostile motives and irrevocable goals determine the strategy and techniques of both sides according to Peking's views."

In these circumstances negotiation is merely war in another form.

It is easily understandable that some commercial interests in the United States should wish the Nixon administration to push for improved relations with China. Shipping wheat to China as the Canadians are doing has attractive possibilities. It should be taken into consideration, however, that China does not regard Canada, as it does the United States, as an implacable enemy over whom it must win "total and final victory."

RESTORING THE RIGHT TO PRAY IN OUR SCHOOLS

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, yesterday a number of my esteemed colleagues

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joined together in a special order on school prayer. Today, I would like to add my voice to theirs in calling for restoration of the right to voluntary expressions of faith in our public schools.

Ever since the Supreme Court reached its unfortunate decision, I have actively supported efforts to pass a constitutional amendment restoring the right to pray, introducing legislation to that effect with each succeeding Congress.

The Memorandum of the American Hungarian Federation, quoted by my colleagues yesterday, sums up the need for a return to spiritual values in a time of mounting turmoil and moral stress. It is powerful testimony to the need for deep faith and firm moral precepts, and I can think of no better place to reaffirm them, on a voluntary basis, than in our schools.

I hope that Members of the Congress who have previously reserved their judgment on this crucial issue will give this new discussion the attention it deserves in forming their opinions.

A nation built on faith cannot long stand without it.

COMBAT MEDIC KILLED IN ACTION

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. John P. Lambooy, a fine young man from Maryland, was recently killed in Vietnam. I wish to commend his courage and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

COMBAT MEDIC KILLED IN ACTION—PFC. JOHN P. LAMBOOY HAD PLANNED MEDICAL CAREER

A 22-year-old Army private who was drafted while attending graduate school at Yale University was killed in action in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

Pfc. John P. Lambooy, serving as a combat medic with an infantry unit, was reported killed Friday when rocket attacks were launched against his unit as it was moving into a defensive position.

PLANNED MEDICAL CAREER

Private Lambooy, who had been in Vietnam less than two months, was the son of Mr. and Mrs. John P. Lambooy, of 904 Huntsman road, in Towson.

According to Mr. Lambooy, who is associate dean of the graduate school of the University of Maryland's Baltimore campuses, his son had planned to continue with his graduate studies at Yale, where he had studied under a scholarship, and to go to medical school.

The family had moved to Towson from Omaha, Neb., in August.

Private Lambooy, according to his father, felt there was a great need "for medicine to be delivered to the people," and in order to do that, he needed "an understanding of people."

The young Lambooy was graduated from Central High School in Omaha, and from Carlton College, in Minnesota, cum laude in 1968.

At the time of his induction into the Army in February, he was in the middle of his first year at Yale, his father said.

Planning to write a book about his experiences in Vietnam, Private Lambooy wrote long letters to his family. "He wondered

whether we were serving any purpose over there, and whether, if somebody needed him, he would be able to help," his father said.

Private Lambooy was stationed about 50 miles southeast of Da Nang.

Besides his parents, he is survived by twin brothers, Peter and Phillip; a sister, Kathleen, a student at the University of Maryland; and two grandmothers, Mrs. Karl W. Lambooy, of Kalamazoo, Mich., and Mrs. Patrick Slattery, of Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

A SPACEMAN'S SENSE OF BALANCE

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Friday, September 19, issue of the Washington Post carried an editorial reflecting on the remarks of Astronaut Neil Armstrong before the Congress. This editorial discusses Astronaut Armstrong's comments and reviews the President's space group recommendations, and does much to place in perspective the need for a vigorous and balanced national space program for the future.

The editorial follows:

A SPACEMAN'S SENSE OF BALANCE

The report of President Nixon's Task Group on Space and, indeed, even the speeches to Congress of the three men who rode in Apollo 11 have brought some rationality back to the discussion of whether the space program. That report recommends that the President commit the nation to a "long-range goal of manned planetary exploration" aimed at a landing on Mars in the early 1980s, the mid-1980s, or the 1990s. Acceptance by the President of the basic recommendation would eliminate talk of abandoning manned space flight, which would be a foolish course of action, or of proceeding toward Mars in a crash effort to get there as quickly as possible.

It is difficult for anyone to reach any other conclusion except those who blindly opposed manned space travel or those who, equally blindly, favor giving it the nation's top priority. Space exploration ought to proceed in an orderly way, maximizing at every step the advance of knowledge and the utilization of it here on earth. In fact, it is not at all clear that the President should set a "goal" of a Mars landing in any particular year.

What is important is for the nation to push ahead on the immediate recommendations of the Task Group—exploring the moon, developing the tools that are needed for systematic exploitation of our space travel capability, and extracting from the space program more benefits for those of us who are earthbound. This means that NASA would continue its moon flights, perhaps reaching the day in the 1970's when semi-permanent colonies would be established on the moon's surface. At the same time, it would push development of a nuclear rocket engine, which would make long-range space travel more feasible, a space vehicle that could be landed on earth and used over and over again, which would reduce the costs of each mission sharply, and a space station to hold a dozen or so men that could be flown in orbit around the earth or the moon or, when the time comes, Mars.

This kind of program would keep NASA operating for a while on about the budget it now has. It would have the advantage of allowing the agency to keep together the remarkable team of scientists and engineers it has created by giving them new and interesting problems to solve. At the same time, it would encourage those in NASA who want

to tailor the space program to produce more information directly useful in the solution of earthly problems—surveys of natural resources, weather prediction and control, and so on.

Although parts of the speeches the three astronauts of Apollo 11 delivered to Congress Tuesday were open pleas for money for future space flights, they were carefully balanced by the recognition each man gave to the needs of domestic programs for the funds that might otherwise be spent in space. The words of Neil Armstrong, the first man to walk on the moon, are worth repeating because they catch the spirit of the delicate balance that must be made between the dreams for adventure and the practical realities of life:

"Several weeks ago, I enjoyed the warmth of reflection on the true meaning of the spirit of Apollo. I stood in the highlands of this nation, near the continental divide, introducing to my sons the wonders of nature and pleasures of looking for deer and elk. In their enthusiasm for the view, they frequently stumbled on the rocky trails, but when they looked only to their footing, they did not see the elk.

To those of you who have advocated looking high we owe our sincere gratitude, for you have granted us the opportunity to see some of the grandest views of the Creator. To those of you who have been our honest critics, we also thank, for you have reminded us that we dare not forget to watch the trail."

RESTORATION OF CLEAN WATER

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the American Fisheries Society at its 99th annual meeting in New Orleans on September 12, 1969, adopted a resolution urging that Congress provide full funding of the construction grant program of the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966.

So that my colleagues may be aware of the American Fisheries Society's views on this vital issue, I insert the text of its resolution at this point in the RECORD:

APPROPRIATIONS FOR RESTORATION OF CLEAN WATER

Whereas, fish and other organisms dependent upon aquatic habitat comprise a natural resource that is important to all Americans for many reasons; and

Whereas, this resource has suffered significant damage as the result of water pollution; and

Whereas, the restoration of clean waters is necessary as the first step in the restoration of lost fisheries; and

Whereas, the Congress of the United States did pass the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 (P.L. 89-753) authorizing waste treatment plant construction Grants-in-Aid to the states totaling \$3.6 billion over a five-year period, with the first year's authorization (Fiscal 1968) amounting to \$450 million, second year's authorization (Fiscal 1969) amounting to \$700 million, third year's authorization (Fiscal 1970) amounting to \$1.0 billion, and fourth year's authorization (Fiscal 1971) amounting to \$1.25 billion; and

Whereas, the last Administration requested only \$203 million in its Fiscal 1968 budget for this purpose, and only \$214 million in its Fiscal 1969 budget, and the program, widely recognized as being barely minimal at its full level of authorization is falling badly behind in this area of most importance to all Americans; therefore be it

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Resolved, That the American Fisheries Society press for full funding of the authorized appropriation so that this essential program can be adequately revitalized; and be it further

Resolved, That to this end arrangements be made to distribute copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Bureau of the Budget, the Secretary of the Interior, and to the appropriate congressional committees.

HAWAII STANDS UP FOR ADEQUATE HOUSING

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, if our national goal to provide a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family is to be fulfilled, it is apparent that immediate remedies, as well as long-term solutions, must be found to the deepening housing crisis confronting this Nation.

In this respect, I call to the attention of my colleagues in Congress, and others concerned with the need for adequate housing, the recommendations adopted by the board of directors of the Home Builders Association of Hawaii on September 25, 1969. These recommendations deserve weighty consideration by the Congress.

Mr. Fred Hirano, president of the Home Builders Association of Hawaii, brought these timely and pertinent proposals to my attention in connection with the national housing industry's "a call to action" program which began today. A brief outline of the Hawaii homebuilders' position follows for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

"A CALL TO ACTION—THE TIME HAS COME TO ARREST THE DECLINE IN HOUSING PRODUCTION ACROSS THE NATION"

House production, in our Nation, under the impact of tight money has been falling for eight straight months—if a correction in this trend is not made at once—the Nation's housing goals will not be met. The impact of tight money must be relieved—a correction of the economy's imbalance must be made immediately to bring funds to housing. We must have a tax policy that will provide a healthy climate of housing.

The National Association of Home Builders has recognized the following program. The Home Builders Association of Hawaii supports their recommendation—this support was unanimously carried in today's Board of Directors meeting. We urge your serious consideration and support:

That the Federal Reserve Board be directed by Congress to purchase obligations of the Federal National Mortgage Association and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board in order to support housing financing.

That the President and Congress authorize full use of all Government National Mortgage Association special assistance funds to assist the mortgage market in building low and moderate income housing. It is estimated that some \$2 billion is available by Congressional authorization for this purpose, but has not been released.

That pension and retirement trust funds be directed by Congress to invest a substantial portion of their funds into the mortgage market.

Exemption from taxes of the first \$750 of the interest earned on savings in institutions

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which invest a great bulk of their funds in residential mortgages.

Congressional enactment of the Teague bill to use a portion of GI insurance trust funds to support the VA mortgage market, thus creating a greater credit flow and obtaining a higher return on investment for the fund.

A rollback in the prime rate charged by commercial banks.

The FED to call on its member banks at once to slow their loans to business.

Enactment of credit controls to give housing a more equitable share of credit.

WATER POLLUTION CONTROL

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the increasing rate of pollution of our Nation's waterways is a matter of primary concern to us all. Our natural water resources play a fundamental role in almost all aspects of our society, and it is for this reason we must improve the present condition of our lakes and rivers before the damage is irreparable.

I feel a deep concern over the manner in which the present administration has faced the problem of water pollution control. In what has become known as the growing money gap, actual appropriations for assisting States in water pollution control measures have fallen drastically short of the amounts authorized by Congress.

In 1966, Congress recognized the need for decisive response to the problem of water pollution. The Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 provided for increasing Federal assistance for such anti-pollution measures as sewage treatment facility construction. This act called for increasing appropriations amounting to \$2.3 billion over the years 1967 to 1971. The authorization for fiscal year 1970 was set at \$1 billion, but of this amount, only \$214 million has been requested by President Nixon, despite the fact that water pollution has grown more predominant than it was in 1966 when an authorization level of \$1 billion was first established.

The administration's request for such a limited amount of funds has hit our States and communities extremely hard. Many localities have already begun construction of water pollution control facilities expecting matching funds from the Federal Government. In my own State of Michigan, the administration's present appropriation request would provide funds estimated to meet only 5 percent of my own State's total needs instead of the 50 percent which had been expected. Are we going to force our State governments to further deplete their own revenues and shoulder the burden of unpaid Federal commitments?

Even now, a total of 4,648 applications for construction grants are piling up in regional offices of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration and in State water pollution bureaus. Naturally, these applications cannot be granted if funds are nonexistent, and while they lie

dormant, construction costs are rising at a rate of over 20 percent a year.

The problem of water pollution control is not going to diminish by ignoring it. It must be faced now, but it can only be dealt with effectively with the full appropriations for fiscal year 1970 as authorized by Congress. Many States are expecting and depending upon the support we pledged to them. If we fail to fulfill our commitments, State-Federal relations will be set back immeasurably. This is a breach of faith we surely must avoid.

In one of his many campaign promises, President Nixon, referring to the Water Pollution Control Act, promised that—

A Nixon Administration will continue and build on this commitment.

A budget request for \$214 million for water pollution control in 1970—only slightly over one-fifth of the congressional authorization, hardly fulfills this promise. Secretary of the Interior, Walter Hickel, made a special plea for \$600 million. I would strongly urge upon the President and upon my colleagues that we heed the advice of the President's own advisers. It would be false economy indeed to waste a chance to stop the ugly process of pollution. In the long run we would pay and pay dearly for such pennywiseness and pound foolishness.

The American people do not want this. They want their streams, lakes, and rivers saved. The many pollution control bond issues passed in municipalities all over the country demonstrate the people's willingness to pay to save the beauty of their country. It is time for the Federal Government to do its share, too.

CRISIS IN HOUSING

HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, the present monetary problems in America have caused a crisis in the field of housing. We must endeavor to ease this crisis by whatever means foreseeable.

As one means of relieving some of this pressure, I am today introducing legislation which would authorize the Federal National Mortgage Association to purchase conventional mortgages in addition to its present powers. By giving the FNMA the power to provide a secondary market for this type of mortgage, we are taking a step in the right direction to solve the diminishing supply of mortgage money.

This bill gives the FNMA authority to purchase, service, sell, lend on the security of, or otherwise deal in these conventional mortgages, much as it does in the Federal Housing Authority—veterans authority market.

We need a national secondary market, especially now, when the dollar is so inflated and its buying power stretched so thin. I hope that my colleagues in the House will give this bill the major consideration that it deserves.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THREE MARYLANDERS KILLED IN VIETNAM

KUZNETSOV DEFLECTION DESERVES WIDER PUBLICITY

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Capt. John H. Camp, Jr., Pfc. John L. Burton, and Pfc. Carl A. Dean, three fine young men from Maryland, were killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend their courage and honor their memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

THREE MARYLANDERS KILLED IN ACTION IN VIETNAM WAR

Three Maryland soldiers have been killed in action in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

The men were identified as:

Captain John H. Camp, Jr., 24, an Army officer of Camp Springs, Md., in Prince Georges county, who was killed by enemy fire September 11.

Pfc. John L. Burton, 20, a Marine who lived in the 5900 block Glenfalls avenue. He was killed in action September 24.

Pfc. Carl A. Dean, an Army enlisted man of the 400 block Cherry drive, Edgewater, in Anne Arundel county. He was killed in a battle September 21.

Captain Camp, who had planned an October marriage to Miss Vanna Smith, 23, of Fayetteville, N.C., during a planned leave in Hawaii, was the son of Lt. Col. and Mrs. John H. Camp, Sr., USA (Ret.) of Camp Springs.

FAITH IN HIS MISSION

He was born in Coral Gables, Fla., was graduated from the University of Georgia in 1967 with a bachelor's degree in English, and received a commission as a second lieutenant in the Army.

After serving at Fort Bragg, N.C., he was sent to Vietnam six months ago and promoted to Captain in June.

A skiing, swimming and wrestling enthusiast, Captain Camp had deep faith in his mission in Vietnam, according to his mother.

Besides his parents, the artillery battery commander is survived by a brother, Charles H. Camp, and a sister, Marlon L. Camp.

Private Burton had been in Vietnam for four weeks before his death. He was a 1967 graduate of Poly, and had married the former Joann Woodruff in July, before leaving for Vietnam.

Private Burton's interests ranged from old cars to bowling. His survivors include his wife, Joann Burton, his parents, Mr. and Mrs. John C. Burton, 6300 block of Eastern Parkway, and two sisters, Susan and Janice Burton.

He will be buried in Baltimore.

Private Dean, who graduated from Annapolis Senior High School in June, 1968, and enlisted in the Army three months later as a medical corpsman, had been in Vietnam since last April.

HOPED FOR REPLACEMENT

In his last letter home, received by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Harry J. Dean, Sr., on September 11, Private Dean wrote that he hoped "to get a replacement for me next month—but (it seems) almost hopeless."

According to his father, Private Dean had volunteered for duty in Vietnam although "he could have gotten out of it because he had a brother over there already."

His brother, Seaman Harry J. Dean, Jr., a radioman third class who has been stationed off the Vietnam coast in a Coast Guard cutter, will escort the body home.

HON. JOEL T. BROTHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. BROTHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Edward J. Sloane, a friend and constituent of mine in Springfield, Va., recently called my attention to an excellent article by columnist Paul Scott concerning Anatoly V. Kuznetsov, the Soviet writer who defected to the West while visiting Great Britain recently.

Mr. Sloane feels, and I agree, that the revelations made by Kuznetsov deserve wider publicity than they have received. I submit the text of the Paul Scott article for inclusion in the RECORD as follows:

THE KUZNETSOV DEFLECTION

(By Paul Scott)

WASHINGTON, September 19.—Anatoly V. Kuznetsov, the popular Soviet writer who defected while visiting Great Britain recently, has caused a major sensation in Western intelligence circles with his details of Kremlin intrigue and foreign operations.

The 39-year-old author, who had close contact with Soviet leaders for several years, has revealed that the KGB, the Soviet Secret police, has agents in the highest levels of most Western governments—including Great Britain and the U.S.

His startling revelations of Communist penetration of the West, Kuznetsov reported, came from conversations with high-ranking Russian officials privy to the KGB espionage and spy operations throughout the world.

As a member of the editorial board of the magazine *Yunost*, which has a circulation of more than two million, Kuznetsov attended meetings at which top Kremlin planners frankly discussed Soviet plans to dominate the world.

"The long objective of the foreign policy of the present Soviet leaders is to dominate the world," Kuznetsov told British intelligence officials during one debriefing session. "And they all agree that the U.S. is the only nation that can keep them from achieving this goal in their life time."

In high-level discussions of the war in Vietnam, Kuznetsov said Soviet officials stressed that it was in the interest of the Soviet Union to keep the U.S. bogged down in North Vietnam to try to break the will of the American people to oppose communism in the future.

Kuznetsov confirmed what many U.S. military officers have long contended: that Russia as the major military supplier of North Vietnam could end the war tomorrow, if it wanted to, by cutting off supplies to Hanoi.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS

The most important thing to remember about Moscow's foreign policy, according to Kuznetsov, is that it is conceived by the communist party not the Soviet government and it is largely applied by the KGB, and GRU, military intelligence service.

Kuznetsov pointed out that these are really the organizations that carry out most of the activities abroad which are known in the West as "diplomacy". The combined membership of KGB and GRU, he said, is far larger than the roster of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

The GRU is subordinate to the Defense Ministry. The more significant KGB, which really applies major diplomatic policy, is administered by the Communist Party's Central Committee.

Kuznetsov reported that sixty percent of the approximately 6,000 Soviet officials stationed outside the USSR today are actually career officers of either KGB or GRU. The proportion is even higher among accredited Russian diplomats. The entire Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow includes only some 1,300 people, and even among them at least a third are intelligence professionals. The Moscow staff of the KGB approximates 6,000.

More than half of Russia's 75 envoys to non-communist countries today are affiliated with KGB or GRU. The present Soviet ambassadors to U.S., Great Britain, France, Italy, West Germany, India, and Cambodia are KGB officials.

The work of KGB and GRU is enhanced, Kuznetsov stressed, by agents in key Western positions. Known as "agents of influence"—persons working secretly for Moscow to influence decisions of their own government—these persons reputedly include parliamentarians, politicians and ambassadors in several Western countries.

THE UNUSED WEAPON

These and other Kuznetsov revelations passed along by the British have had a tremendous impact on American intelligence officials but not the advisers of President Nixon who shape U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union.

The latter headed by Henry Kissinger, presidential adviser on national security affairs, have vetoed all suggestions that Kuznetsov be helped to use his talents and popularity with Soviet youth to discredit the present communist system in Russia.

American intelligence officials, who say Kuznetsov will gladly cooperate with the U.S., believe he could become a major cold war weapon in winning Russian youth away from communism.

Kuznetsov's articles in *Yunost* and his books, they claim, had an appeal to the educated young people in Russia unmatched by any other modern day Soviet writer.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE OUT

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the American people have accepted the action of the National House of Representatives electoral college veto with approval.

Newspaper editorials and endorsements from nonpartisan organizations and civic groups throughout the Nation endorsed the popular presidential vote legislation by a large margin.

The following editorial from the Gary, Ind., Post Tribune is only one of many favorable comments:

FOR POPULAR GOVERNMENT

The House has loudly stated what we believe is the public feeling on the proposal to elect Presidents by popular vote. It approved the proposed constitutional amendment by a decisive 339-70.

Democratic Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, an experienced taker of the senatorial pulse, says he believes the necessary two-thirds of the Senate feels the same way.

Does that then mean Congress is ready to take the vital step of approving the amendment which, if then ratified by two-thirds of the states, would do away with the archaic Electoral College system?

Not necessarily.

For Mansfield also predicted his estimate of Senate approval on the ability to get the proposal out of the Judiciary Committee.

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The trouble—if trouble persists—then lies in a congressional committee system even more archaic at times than the Electoral College itself. A few powerful men—or men powerfully located—in either house are at times able to bottle up legislation wanted by both the people and a congressional majority. That could be the case here.

It shouldn't be. Not only does the Electoral College system open the way to election of a man who gets a lesser total of the popular vote. It also leaves the possibility of throwing a stalemated presidential election into the House where politicians could upset the public choice.

There seems no immediate way of upsetting the congressional committee system. It might even be dangerous to tamper with it, for sometimes it works in the public interest. However, this definitely seems a place where hard shell opponents better understand the public desire or they may find themselves in trouble on other points.

Indiana Sen. Birch Bayh has been the leading advocate in the Senate for the choice. He understands the problem and is doubtless working on it. We wish him every success.

But we wish him success not for Bayh's sake primarily, but for the sake of the democratic system in the United States. That actually is what is at stake.

NEW AND NOVEL FACTORY FOR ST. PAUL, MINN.

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, recently I was informed that Control Data Corp. will soon establish on an experimental basis an electronic subassembly plant in my congressional district.

This new facility, to be located in the Summit-University—model cities—area of St. Paul, is unique on at least two counts. All personnel, with the exception of staff, will be hired as part-time employees. In addition, the plant will operate on a pilot project basis.

Control Data thus expects to hire:

Mothers who are heads of households, or who must supplement their family income and have school age children.

High school students who need to assist in bringing income to the family unit.

Technical school and college students who must pay for their own education.

The range of positions to be filled include: electronic assemblers, mechanical assemblers, inspectors, production control personnel, and clerical personnel. Individuals would start at \$2.36 per hour and there will be about 100 employees.

This will be the fourth facility established by this fine company in so-called ghetto or disadvantaged communities. There is one plant in Minneapolis, one in Washington, D.C., and one in the Appalachia area of eastern Kentucky. The basic concept of these plants is to bring together Control Data's need for people and the communities' need for jobs. Total employment for these three facilities is approximately 600 at this time.

I want on this occasion to thank and commend this public spirited corporation for their vision and foresight in adding a new dimension to such operations. They have provided an important additional

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opportunity to St. Paul—Summit-University—residents to obtain gainful, part-time employment, and thus supplement family incomes.

I want, therefore, to wish both the community and Control Data Corp. well as they embark on this novel and worthwhile effort.

THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY RESTS WITH GOVERNMENT—TESTIMONY BY CONGRESSWOMAN SULLIVAN BEFORE THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON PRODUCT SAFETY

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the National Commission on Product Safety, created by Public Law 90-146 to investigate the safety of household products and recommend legislation needed to protect the American family against hazardous appliances, tools, materials, equipment, devices, et cetera, today opened a new series of hearings, this one directed to the subject "Who Tells Us About Safety—Education, Advertising, Public Information?" The hearings are taking place in the House caucus room, in the Cannon Building.

It was a privilege and honor for me to appear as the first witness in this series. Other witnesses today were Congressman BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL of New York; Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee Staff Director S. Jerry Cohen appearing in behalf of Senator PHILIP A. HART; the lovely and talented Bess Myerson Grant, commissioner of consumer affairs in the office of the mayor of New York City; and spokesmen for Parents' magazine; Good Housekeeping magazine; the Code Authority of the National Association of Broadcasters; and for the Soft Drink Workers Union, Local 812 of New York. I believe Mrs. Virginia Knauer, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, and Congresswoman FLORENCE P. DWYER of New Jersey, are among witnesses scheduled for tomorrow.

MEMBERSHIP OF COMMISSION

Six of the seven Commissioners, including Chairman Arnold B. Elkind, New York City attorney who has served as chairman of the Consumer Protection Committee of the American Trial Lawyers Association, were present when I testified. They included Mr. Emory J. Crofoot, of Portland, Oreg., general counsel of the Columbia-Willamette Air Pollution Authority; Mr. Henry A. Hill of Haverhill, Mass., president of Riverside Research Laboratory; Mr. Sidney Margolius, Port Washington, N.Y., columnist and author on consumer issues and truly a pioneer in this field; Mr. Michael Pertschuk, general counsel of the Senate Commerce Committee who has handled on the staff level much of the landmark legislation from that committee on consumer issues; and Mr. Hugh L. Ray of Chicago, Ill., director of the

Merchandise Development and Testing Laboratory for Sears, Roebuck, and Co. The seventh commissioner is Mr. Dana Young, of San Antonio, Tex., senior vice president of the Southwest Research Institute and former dean of the School of Engineering of Yale University.

TESTIMONY BY CONGRESSWOMAN SULLIVAN

Mr. Speaker, the Congress is vitally interested in the work of this Commission and I hope we will find its recommendations for legislation so convincingly documented by its research and investigations that we will write them into law. One piece of legislation already recommended by the Commission, dealing with unsafe toys, passed the Senate on June 30 and the House on September 4 and has been sent to conference.

The final report of the Commission, with its recommendations for legislation, is due June 30, 1970.

Mr. Speaker, my testimony before the Commission this morning was as follows:

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSWOMAN LEONOR K. SULLIVAN OF MISSOURI AT HEARING OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON PRODUCT SAFETY, CAUCUS ROOM, CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, SEPTEMBER 30, 1969

Chairman Elkind and Members of the Commission: I am delighted to have this opportunity to participate in the excellent series of hearings conducted by this Commission into unregulated hazards to the American consumer, particularly in products used in the home environment where so many accidents occur each year. I believe that a letter to me more than five years ago from Mrs. Floris R. Mills of Webster Groves, Missouri, in St. Louis County, may very well have been the precipitating factor in the development of the legislation which led to the establishment of this Commission. Hence, I am extremely interested in the work you are doing, and I look forward to your final report as a guide to the kind of legislation we should pass and Government should enforce, to further protect consumers from harm.

Mrs. Mills' letter to me of April 29, 1964, said, in part:

"Dear Mrs. Sullivan: It should be mandatory for all persons responsible for the health of the public to report to a central agency all accidents or diseases clearly related to some product which has been shipped in interstate commerce.

"The average person, including many public health officials and doctors, does not know what to do when such a product causes an accident. Usually, each incident 'dies' with the patient, or is forgotten if recovery is made. Many such accidents may happen before someone who cares takes action and brings a report to the proper authority. Therefore, the U.S. Public Health Service, or other designated agency, should place in the hands of all doctors, etc. mandatory reporting forms with adequate provision for the gathering of sample material, and information necessary for the tracing of the source of the material. Such reports should cover accidents to non-human life as well as human. Such reporting could be provided for under laws now being administered without further Congressional action."

Several days later, in 1964, I sent copies of her letter to the Commissioner of Food and Drugs, to the Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service, and to the Chief of the Children's Bureau—all in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare—and to the Administrator of the Agricultural Research Service in the Department of Agriculture, asking for their comments and suggestions and advice in connection with Mrs. Mills' recommendation.

The responses I received from the Federal

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agencies I contacted, and particularly the research material on the work of the Poison Control Centers, led me, at the start of the 89th Congress in January, 1965, to revise H.R. 1235, my omnibus bill to rewrite the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938, to incorporate a new provision banning the sale in interstate commerce of flavored aspirin for children. For I had discovered, as a result of the inquiries I made in response to Mrs. Mills' letter, that the so-called baby aspirins took the life of a child in this country every third day, and was the leading poisoner of children under 5.

Candy-flavored aspirin may sound a little remote from the work of this Commission. But here is what happened: The proposal in my omnibus bill to ban the baby aspirins as a lethal menace to pre-school youngsters received so much publicity and inspired so much interest that the Johnson Administration, which would not go along with the idea of banning candy aspirin entirely, proposed legislation instead to provide authority to the Government to limit the number of flavored aspirin tablets in a single bottle. This was included along with several other provisions in an Administration bill called the Child Safety bill. When I testified on that legislation before the Subcommittee on Public Health and Safety of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, protesting this very limited approach to the baby aspirin hazard (and even this timid reform was dropped from the bill before it became law in 1966) I submitted for the hearing record the correspondence from Mrs. Mills and the extensive replies I received from the Government agencies I contacted on the idea for a central registry of all data on product dangers. The Public Health Service in 1965 felt that the task of amassing all information on unsafe products would be "impractical," but outlined in some detail what was then being done to keep track of product injuries. All of this information was included in the printed hearing on the Child Safety Act and I think had much to do with generating the thinking which later led to the establishment of your Commission.

You may find this background material useful for your hearing record, so I will submit the correspondence and research data used in the 1966 hearings. It points up the special role of a Congressional office in pursuing citizen complaints and suggestions, as kind of an ombudsman, and I never know when I get into one of these matters where it is going to lead in terms of legislation or administrative action. It is one of the most interesting, and most rewarding, aspects of my work. Letters from constituents, and from consumers all over the country, during the past 17 years have provided me with numerous instances of painful personal experiences with hair dyes, hair sprays, other cosmetics, therapeutic devices, defective automobile tires, appliances, pressurized food containers, and so on—information which I have then passed on to the appropriate regulatory agency or used as the basis for proposing legislation.

But no Member of Congress can be a central clearing house for all information of this kind. Until your Commission was established, no government agency was able to devote the necessary time and funds to concentrate on this vital function. You have demonstrated that the work not only had to be done but should be a permanent responsibility of government.

I have never felt that American industry deliberately wants to harm its customers. But I also know, from long association with consumer issues, that competitive factors encourage, and may even sometimes force, businesses to market new products before they are adequately tested for safety. This has always been true in the cosmetic field, and in the medical device area—two of the most serious loopholes in the loophole-ridden Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. It has

also been true in the whole range of home appliances, toys, building materials, do-it-yourself tools and gadgets of all kinds, as your work has disclosed and dramatized.

The bill which I have co-sponsored with Congresswoman Florence P. Dwyer of New Jersey, ranking minority Member of my Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, and ranking minority Member of the House Committee on Government Operations, to establish a statutory Office of Consumer Affairs in the White House, would assign to that agency the responsibility for continuing your work after this Commission goes out of existence. This may or may not be the right place for this function, but I deeply believe there must be a continuing oversight responsibility somewhere in Government to handle the work you are now doing.

Consumers have a right to the assurance that products offered for sale in the marketplace are safe to use in the manner intended, and that any unnecessary and preventable hazards growing out of the product's misuse or abuse—deliberate or accidental misuse—should be designed out of the products insofar as this is feasible. So you have my full support for your efforts in that direction. Even though you are concentrating on products in areas not now covered by protective legislation, I hope you will also exercise your statutory authority to look into the adequacy of all of our existing consumer protection laws, such as the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, with particular reference to the changes proposed in H.R. 1235, which covers a whole multitude of loophole situations in the present law.

Most of its loopholes were deliberately written into that law 31 years ago, in order to appease one or another powerful industry. Senator Royal S. Copeland of New York, a physician who handled the bill on the Senate floor, frankly acknowledged in the debate that soap was exempted from the law because the soap manufacturers, who were the biggest advertisers in the country, would otherwise join other big industries to fight the whole bill. So soap was officially declared in the law not to be a cosmetic. Few soaps are sold with therapeutic claims making them drugs under the Act, and no soaps are food products. So, generally, soap is a "nothing" under our basic consumer protection statute—presumably it doesn't exist. The railroads and truckers got a special loophole, too; so did the dairy industry; so did many others. These loopholes are still in the law 31 years later.

The hair dye manufacturers were given a license to market known dangerous products, just so long as they placed a specified warning on the label—but what woman in a beauty parlor ever sees the label on the bulk container in which the hair dye was shipped? Occasionally a customer loses her hair. Too bad; the law can't help her, or prevent recurrences. Other cosmetics items can be taken off the market if dangerous, but there is no power to prevent their marketing before they do harm. I hope you will study the provisions of H.R. 1235, and at least note the wide range of problems it seeks to correct in an area in which consumers think they are now well protected.

I realize that my remarks so far this morning have not been directed to the specific subject of this present series of hearings—how consumers can best be informed on which products are safe, which hazardous. Who has the responsibility to inform the public on these hazards—government, industry, advertising, the press? It is my conviction that every avenue of communication should be utilized, but that government has the primary responsibility for discovering the dangers and bringing them to the attention of everyone else, including industry, advertising and the press, and also the general public.

First of all, only the government has the

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manpower and the resources to make thorough investigations of products that may be dangerous. Furthermore, there is—or should be—no conflict of interest when the government makes such a study. It is not selling a product; it is not dependent on revenues from advertising what may be an unsafe product; nor is it dependent on the contributions to private researchers from industries profiting from the marketing of such a product. Consumers Union has done an outstanding job over the years not only in investigating unsafe products, but in causing reforms in government testing. But CU cannot begin to match the Bureau of Standards, the Public Health Service, the Food and Drug Administration, Department of Transportation, the VA and all of the other agencies which have vast resources and the scientists needed in product safety research. So Consumers Union, in addition to its own important research, can, and does, publicize widely the facts on safety developed by government agencies. A member of this Commission, Mr. Margolius, has done a marvelous job as a columnist on consumer issues and was virtually alone in this field for years: Commercial newspapers, magazines and television are now demonstrating far more courage in this respect than they used to, but the cigarette advertising issue is proof of the fact that the commercial media are reluctant to cut off advertising revenues without a monumental struggle of conscience.

You cannot expect the advertising industry to do this job on its own. The anti-smoking commercials used on television were forced on that industry by the FCC. That was a proper role for government—one I defend. But to expect each station and each network to originate this material on its own would be asking far too much. Except for educational TV, these are businesses, and no business likes to go out of its way looking for ways to reduce its profits.

The press, generally, and radio and TV, in their news columns or news programs have been increasingly consumer-minded and will report facts about consumer dangers. But they were not always willing to do so. They do so now—to a remarkable extent. But the media need protection against libel; hence, they need official information, not hearsay or rumors, particularly where brand names are involved. And I think they are entitled to such protection.

Your experience in Boston, when you made public as official U.S. Government information, in an official hearing, data you had acquired on dangers to infants from certain brands of children's cribs, only to find that no newspaper except the Washington Post would carry the specific information, was discouraging. But I feel this situation is improving, and will continue to improve. The automobile safety drive has helped to strengthen the courage of the print and broadcasting media in reporting facts on unsafe cars by brand name. I feel that if government is vigorous in digging out the facts, by brand name and product item, the press will increasingly be willing to report those facts.

The consumer movement has now reached the point where the public refuses to tolerate the aggressions committed against consumers in the marketplace every day. But the Congress, despite all of the talk in our committees and on the House and Senate floor about consumer rights, has always been agonizingly slow in passing urgently needed consumer protection laws.

My omnibus Food, Drug, and Cosmetic bill, H.R. 1235, has been pending since January 3, 1961, virtually in its present form, although I have made many changes and improvements in its coverage since then. In all of these nearly nine years, we have had one week of hearings in the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on the range of issues covered in that bill—one week's worth—back in 1962. There has never

been a comparable Senate bill, so no hearings have been held in that body since 1938 on most of the issues in legislation of this broad scope. Yet until this year, every President and every Secretary of HEW since 1961 has spoken on the need for nearly every major provision of that bill.

We tend to legislate in bits and pieces, a little here and a little there—never enough at any one time, particularly if a lot of powerful interests are involved on the other side. We have to be pushed and prodded and forced into tightening consumer laws—and we usually succeed only after some tragedy has pointed up the disastrous limitations of existing laws.

Each of us in the Congress is so busy on so many issues before our own committees, and on legislation coming before us from other committees, and committee jurisdiction on consumer issues is so divided that there is no one focus on the Hill for a mass attack on the whole problem. You seven commissioners now hold the center stage—the focus I mentioned as being needed in government—to get the facts and to make very sure the facts are accurate. Then all of us who endorse your efforts must use every means available to us to publicize these facts—and the Congress, the press, radio and television, the increasingly effective consumer movement, and the general public must use that information to bring about the reforms and corrections needed.

President Kennedy, in 1962, first described the need for inspection of all meat sold in intrastate commerce, and I introduced a bill on it that same day; but it was not until the Department of Agriculture in 1967 provided the horrifying facts about the extent of bad meat sold within the states that legislative action resulted. The Government must take the lead.

But until the government has the power to crack down on unsafe hair dyes and hair sprays, we will undoubtedly continue to see television commercials showing glamorous girls using dyes which could blind them or make them bald, or squirting dangerous hair sprays at their eyes, and breathing possibly lethal fumes. Don't expect commercial television to police this in the absence of government action to regulate these products. Don't expect the automobile industry to sell safety in its advertising unless and until it knows unsafe features can no longer be built into their cars. Don't expect Good Housekeeping to be a Bureau of Standards and test every product so extensively that it would have little left to advertise—let us make sure that unsafe products won't be advertised because they can not be marketed. The primary responsibility rests with government—and that means that, until your work is completed, the responsibility rests with you. How well you do your job will largely determine whether we can write your recommendations into law.

Education of the public to the hazards of today's technology is essential, of course, because even a safe product can be dangerously used. But, in the final analysis, only strong laws—vigorously enforced by agencies adequately funded and with officials dedicated to their tasks—can achieve a truly safe environment for our consumers—at home, in the car, at the office, in the plant, at the swimming pool or recreation center, or just walking down the streets of our sometimes dangerous cities in our dangerously polluted atmosphere.

When you write your report, don't be afraid of scolding Congress and the Administration. Both are just as guilty as any careless manufacturer for the unnecessary hazards which take lives and cause injuries in day-to-day living. We are guilty because the consumer drive to force us to act is still in low gear. If you can educate the public into pushing Congress and the Administration to pass the laws you deem necessary, and to fund them and enforce them, you will have accomplished

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what few Commissions in the past have ever achieved.

Hard as it will be for you to reach that objective, you owe us the effort it will require. You have a mandate from Congress to tell us what has to be done—to tell it to us so forcefully that the public insists we act, regardless of the strength of the opposition.

We expect you to be thorough in your research and fair in your assessments, even if they cause some political embarrassment, so don't ask for too little, and don't pull your punches.

RED WHITEWASH FOR BLACK TRAITOR

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, as one of the many Americans sickened by the lavish attention which the communications media gave to the return of accused kidnaper, race agitator, and avowed seditionist and traitor, Robert Williams, I noted with some satisfaction the attempt of noted columnist James J. Kilpatrick to put the record into some sort of perspective in tonight's local paper.

Lest we forget, while a criminal is whitewashed into a misunderstood hero, I include Mr. Kilpatrick's remarks, quoting news accounts of the kidnaping and badly bungled 1961 revolution, following these remarks:

LIBERAL WHITEWASH PREPARED FOR BLACK MILETANT

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

If you listen carefully these days, with an ear cocked to the liberal press, you will hear the unmistakable slosh-slosh sound of whitewash being mixed. Robert F. Williams, the black revolutionary, is about to get two coats of respectability and a top coat of hokum. By the time the job is done, he will emerge as a born-again statesman, pure as the driven snow.

The tipoff came a couple of weeks ago in a lyrical interview carried on page one of the Washington Post. The story began by identifying Williams as the North Carolina Negro who fled from the United States eight years ago in the face of a kidnaping charge. Why had he returned? "I felt it my duty to come back."

The interview took place in a neat ranch house in an integrated suburb of Detroit. Williams' family and close friends sat around the room, hanging on each word of the returned exile. They were filled with laughter and delight, but they responded with a hush of awe, anger and respect as Williams described the oppression he suffered from a mob of local whites in Monroe, N.C.

"Now, looking much as he had before he left, having aged little in the Cuba and China years, he sat in his Mao-styled suit and spoke of himself as a changed man, a man who has seen a different light through the window. . . ." He longs for a selfless society, composed of selfless men. If his people want him, he will be at their service. He is looking for progress. He wants to change men as well as systems. Taking gentle exception to the emotional appeals of some black nationalists, Williams said: "I've learned that we have to be less emotional about this thing. . . ."

The Post's 1,500-word account, to put the matter mildly, was what is known in tougher city rooms as a bucket of mush. It was the old snow job. A backward look may be useful.

On the evening of Sunday, Aug. 27, 1961,

the town of Monroe was gripped in racial disorders. By happenstance, a rural couple, Mr. and Mrs. Bruce Stegall, drove into the riot area. On the following day, The New York Times reported:

"Mrs. Stegall told newsmen she and her husband had been forced from their car at gunpoint, taken to the Williams home, and bound back to back with tape from a Venetian blind. Williams, she said, had called Chief A. A. Mauney of the Monroe police and told him that if those in jail were not released the Stegalls 'will be killed or sacrificed or done away with' within 30 minutes."

Williams fled the country that night. Two days later, in a search of the Williams home, police found 56 sticks of dynamite, a large-caliber Japanese rifle, and nine steel helmets. Williams wound up in Cuba, traveled on to Red China, later appeared in Tanzania. By his own description of the Monroe incident, "we had enough force and arms to reduce the entire city to ashes," but his guerrillas lacked "extensive outside forces to pin down, ambush and destroy the State reinforcements moving in to overpower us."

From Cuba, Williams published a newsletter, "The Crusader." In his issue for May-June, 1964, he wrote of the weapons to be used by Afro-Americans in revolt: "Gasoline fire bombs, lye or acid bombs (made by injecting lye in the metal end of light bulbs) can be used extensively. . . . Hand grenades, bazookas, light mortars, rocket launchers, machine guns and ammunition can be bought clandestinely from servicemen, anxious to make a fast dollar. . . ."

"Extensive sabotage is possible. Gas tanks on public vehicles can be choked up with sand. Sugar is also highly effective in gasoline lines. . . . Derailing of trains causes panic. Explosive booby traps on police telephone boxes can be employed. High powered sniper rifles are readily available. . . ."

Once in China, Williams flooded the U.S. with pamphlets urging Negroes not to fight in Vietnam. If they were sent there, "they should eliminate as many of their real enemies (white Americans) as they can at the front, so that these racists will not be able to return home."

This is the gentle fellow of the Post's adulation. Will the real Robert Williams stand up?

JUDGE INVITES VIEWS IN SMOG ANTITRUST CASE

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, 3 weeks ago the Justice Department requested that a consent decree be accepted as settlement of the antitrust suit brought against automobile manufacturers accused of conspiring over a 15-year period to limit development of effective air pollution controls.

Response to the Department's request has been significant, and many persons, organizations, and Government units have severely criticized the use of a consent decree in so major a case. I have joined with many of my colleagues here in Congress in asking that the decree not be granted, and, that instead, a full open public trial be held.

Last week, along with 28 of my colleagues, I requested that the Attorney General make the evidence accumulated in the 2-year investigation leading up to the suit available to any municipality or private groups or citizens who

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might file in this case. The material should provide additional information to my colleagues who are interested in following the continued development of this case. I now submit that letter to Mr. Mitchell for inclusion in the RECORD:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., September 25, 1969.

Re: United States of America v. Automobile Manufacturers Association, Inc., et al.
Civil Action No. 69-75-JWC

HON. JOHN MITCHELL,
U.S. Attorney General,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MITCHELL. The consent decree which has been entered into between the Department of Justice and the Defendants in the above-styled and numbered cause raises serious and important questions about the administration of justice in questions of such public magnitude.

The justifications which your department advances for this consent settlement are justifications that were made and considered by the Antitrust Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary when they investigated fully the matter of consent decrees. Their report on "Consent Decree Program of the Department of Justice," January 30, 1959, pursuant to H. Res. 27, stated "notwithstanding these benefits, use of the consent decree device presents serious problems." In the following language of the Report the philosophy behind our serious reservations is supported:

"(C)onsent settlements by the Antitrust Division result in a substantial lessening, if not the virtual elimination, of the deterrent effect the antitrust laws have on business operations."

The unfavorable publicity aspects attendant in antitrust proceedings are avoided by consent decrees and the only penalty imposed on the defendants is an agreement. This agreement depends largely on self-enforcement by the wrongdoers if it is enforced at all. Since it appears from Justice's investigation of this case that General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, and American Motors have not applied self-restraint in the past, there seems to us to be no indication that they will engage in self-enforcement in the future.

A consent decree raises yet another barrier to remedial and deterrent process. Now private individuals and groups and municipalities are de facto foreclosed from private treble damage suits. Again, we are supported in this proposition by the language of the report:

"A consent decree all but removes the possibility that a company, if it undertakes a program of doubtful legality, will be held liable in private treble damage suits for resulting injuries to competitors. In antitrust litigation in recent years, the threat of such damages has become an important factor to be considered by corporate officials in the conduct of their affairs."

The complexity, the expense, and the time demanded in antitrust suits require that private litigation follow government action. Without the benefit of the investigative process which the government conducts, the ability of private citizens or public groups to redress their rights are severely diminished, if not altogether extinguished.

The secret negotiations that took place on this consent decree made it difficult for interested, public-minded citizens and groups to take positive steps to protect the public interest. As the Judiciary subcommittee concluded, "the element of secrecy that surrounds the entire consent decree program is contrary to the general policy established by Congress in 1913 that antitrust enforcement proceedings shall be public." In spite of this secrecy, three groups have still intervened on

behalf of the public interest. These observations were made in our original letter to you.

The whole policy of consent decrees needs examination. We conclude, as did the subcommittee which studied this problem thoroughly, that "there are too many consent decrees in relation to litigated judgments." The consent decree in the instant case is a particularly good example.

One way in which the Department of Justice might partially offset some of the disadvantages of this consent decree would be to make the results of their two-year investigation available to private individuals and groups who contemplate legal action for treble damages.

Suit has already been filed in Chicago against several of the automobile companies charged in the above cause and the claim is made that these manufacturers conspired to prevent research, development and installation of anti-pollution devices for cars, trucks, and buses.

The undersigned would like to know the specific policy you intend to follow in releasing information and evidence in regard to the above-styled cause. If your department is willing to make its investigation available to the public, justice might well be served yet.

We invite your views and request your position on these points.

Sincerely,

George E. Brown, Jr., Bob Eckhardt, Phillip Burton, Shirley Chisholm, James Corman, Emilio Daddario, Don Edwards, Joshua Elberg, Leonard Farbstein, Don Fraser, Richard Hanna, William Hungate, Andrew Jacobs, Joseph Karth, Robert Kastenmeier, Edward Koch, Abner Mikva, George Miller, John Moss, Richard Ottinger, Bertram Podell, Thomas Rees, Benjamin Rosenthal, Edward Roybal, William Ryan, William St. Onge, Robert Tiernan, John Tunney, Jerome Waldie.

In vital situations such as those presented with this suit, it is imperative that all opinions be heard—both by the Attorney General and the Justice Department, and by the court considering the judgment. One feature of the consent-decree apparatus is that there is a 30-day waiting period between the initial request for the decree and in the final judgment.

Since September 11 when Antitrust Division Chief Richard McLaren announced the move for the decree, a number of public bodies and individuals have filed intervening petitions in the case; still more interventions are expected. However, some potential critics, and intervenors, have hesitated because they felt that such actions would be unduly construed by the district court judge as being high-pressure tactics. But, this is not the case.

On September 17, Judge Jesse W. Curtis issued the following order which clarifies the matter of outside opinions and interventions. Judge Curtis invites the views of "all interested persons and public bodies, including, but not limited to, State of California, county of Los Angeles, city of Los Angeles, and the Air Pollution Control District."

All such views must be presented to the court by this Friday, and on October 28 Judge Curtis will hold a hearing on final judgment dealing with the award of the decree.

Even though time is short, I urge all my colleagues who are concerned over the quality of our environment and the crucial efforts being made to maintain

and improve that quality to let their opinions be heard in this key case.

Earlier analyses and legal documents pertaining to the suit can be found on pages 24035, 25667, and 26442 of the RECORD. I now submit Judge Curtis' order for inclusion in the RECORD at this point:

[U.S. District Court, Central District of California]

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, PLAINTIFF, v.
AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION,
INC.; GENERAL MOTORS CORPORATION; FORD
MOTOR COMPANY; CHRYSLER CORPORATION;
AND AMERICAN MOTORS CORPORATION, DEFENDANTS

(No. 69-75-JWC)

On September 11, 1969, the parties hereto lodged with this Court a proposed final decree, which purports to dispose of all issues raised by the pleadings. Accompanying this proposed decree is a stipulation, signed by all parties, providing that such decree, if approved by the court, may be signed at any time after the expiration of 30 days from its lodgment, provided the plaintiff has not previously withdrawn its consent.

In considering whether or not this Court should approve the proposed final decree, the Court invites the views of all interested persons and public bodies, including but not limited to, State of California, County of Los Angeles, City of Los Angeles, and the Air Pollution Control District.

It is ordered that all those wishing to appear shall file their presentations in writing, through their attorneys, with the clerk of this Court, not later than October 3, 1969, and that the plaintiff and defendants shall file any response thereto which they may wish to make on or before October 17, 1969.

It is further ordered that a hearing upon the matter of the approval of the proposed final judgment shall be held in Courtroom No. 10 of the above entitled Court on October 28, 1969, at 10:00 a.m., or as soon thereafter as counsel may be heard.

It is further hereby ordered that the clerk of the Court shall mail a copy of this order to the Attorney General of the State of California, the County Counsel of the County of Los Angeles, the City Attorney of the City of Los Angeles and the Air Pollution Control District.

Dated: September 17, 1969.

JESSE W. CURTIS,
U.S. District Judge.

DE GAULLE'S RETIREMENT HELPS FREE WORLD UNITY

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the new French Government leadership indicates that France will participate with the United States and other democratic nations for world unity and future peace.

The following editorial from the Gary, Ind., Post-Tribune reveals that the new French President, Pompidou, will shed French isolation formerly sponsored by De Gaulle:

OPEN MIND IN PARIS

It is strange in Paris where every politician used to speak his personal piece regardless of resultant chaos that a professed "open mind" should seem so refreshing, yet it does.

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An "open mind" is what French President Georges Pompidou has pledged for the French consideration of British entry into the European Common Market when the issue comes up at a summit session in November.

An "open mind" is precisely what former President Charles de Gaulle repeatedly refused to exercise in previous confrontations with this same issue. In fact the twin goals of De Gaulle policy appeared to be embarrassment of the British and defiance of the United States. More sympathetic observers of Gaullism held that the only real De Gaulle purpose was rebuilding French pride. Deep down, that probably was the case, but it was difficult to escape the feeling that De Gaulle too often was prompted by memory of what he considered slights by his British and American allies back when they were carrying the western load in World War II.

But Pompidou, in his first formal presidential press conference, did more than pledge the "open mind" on Britain. He also lauded the United States for developing what he called the "most dynamic" economy in the world.

Whatever results from the November Common Market meeting, there is new hope on the French horizon for the simple reason that the nation's present leadership appears to recognize two basics too long ignored:

1. West Europe's chief hope in an era of ideological and economic conflict between U.S. and U.S.S.R. is to operate with some sort of unity, and 2. That the best hope for Western Civilization as most want it to develop is for cooperation between that unified West Europe and the United States.

SMOG CONSPIRACY CONSENT DECREE

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the issuance of a consent decree by the Justice Department in its case charging auto manufacturers with conspiracy to delay the development and use of anti-smog devices has sparked criticism from many concerned parties representing diverse interests throughout the United States. I have been particularly concerned with this suit and urged Attorney General Mitchell and his Anti-Trust Division Chief McLaren to proceed with a public trial on the merits of this case. Unfortunately, the Justice Department saw fit to grant the consent decree, ignoring my plea which was sent to the Department along with those of 17 other concerned Congressmen.

Since that time, Los Angeles County has instituted action to quash the out-of-court settlement of the suit. Ralph Nader, the now well-known and highly respected consumer advocate, has also raised important questions regarding the issuance of a consent decree in a case such as this. The effectiveness of anti-trust laws has been challenged and the rights of the ordinary citizen as opposed to the large corporation have been placed in danger. I include for my colleague's information an article brought to my attention by Los Angeles County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn, that appeared in the Los Angeles Times of Thursday,

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September 25, bearing on this subject. The article follows:

RELEASE OF SECRET SMOG TESTIMONY TO BE SOUGHT—COUNTY DEMANDS FULL DISCLOSURE OF DATA GIVEN AT JURY QUIZ

(By Ray Zeman)

Opening of "a roomful of federal grand jury evidence in cardboard files and transcripts" will be sought by Los Angeles County in its effort to quash an out-of-court settlement of the federal smog suit against major automobile makers.

Supervisor Kenneth Hahn announced Wednesday in a press conference that the county will demand unsealing of testimony gathered here during 18 months in 1966-67 by a special grand jury headed by Martin Waisbren.

"Mr. Waisbren told me he is boiling mad to think that the Department of Justice is going to settle out of court," Hahn said.

"The county will file a petition asking the federal judge to un gag the foreman and he would be able to tell the truth," Hahn said.

"Federal law now seals his lips. He cannot divulge any of the testimony."

RELEASE TRANSCRIPTS, EXHIBITS

County Counsel John D. Maharg said Asst. County Counsel David D. Mix will petition U.S. Dist. Judge Jesse W. Curtis before Oct. 3 for an order to release the transcripts and exhibits.

The Department of Justice on Sept. 11 announced settlement of the Sherman Act suit accusing Ford, Chrysler, General Motors, American Motors and the Automobile Manufacturers Assn. of conspiring to delay development of smog control devices.

The consent decree, which prohibits auto makers from conspiring to delay or obstruct development and installation of the devices on cars, will be submitted to Judge Curtis for final approval.

Judge Curtis has invited "any interested person or public body" to file written opposition to the decree with the clerk of his court not later than Oct. 3. It will be considered at a hearing which has been continued to Oct. 28.

In a separate move, the county seeks \$100 million smog damages from the manufacturers.

"NOT ENCOURAGED BY U.S."

"Something could have been done other than the handslapping which the federal government has done to date," Waisbren said at the press conference.

"Certainly the grand jury should have returned, and could have returned, probably, some kind of indictment but it wasn't encouraged to do so by the federal government."

Asked if there is something more to the antitrust case than the consent decree suggests, Waisbren said: "Yes."

"How much more?"

"A great deal more," he replied.

"If the federal judge refuses (to release the grand jury testimony), what are you going to do?" Waisbren was asked.

"There isn't much I can do unless I wish to risk going to jail," he answered.

"The presidents of General Motors, Ford and Chrysler should be brought to trial right here in Los Angeles," Hahn interjected.

"The big manufacturers all conspired. If one wouldn't put the devices on, the others wouldn't either."

"This case is the most important legal battle in the history of the air pollution fight. If we lose it, we will go back 20 years."

Two Chicago city aldermen have filed a taxpayers' suit against the auto makers and Hahn believes Riverside County and Multnomah County (Portland), Ore., will join Los Angeles County in the legal fight.

LEON M. HERMAN

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, several short months ago Leon M. Herman, senior specialist, Soviet economics, Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, passed away. With his death we—the people and the Government of the United States—lost one of the most perceptive and important students of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the United States.

Mr. Herman was a rare individual who devoted his entire working life to Government service yet was continually sought after by nongovernmental institutions and groups for his expertise. He was also a member of the faculty of the School of International Service at American University. His many achievements brought prestige and recognition to the Legislative Reference Service. His writings are recorded in an impressive bibliography.

The Columbia Journal of World Business, volume IV, No. 4, July-August 1969, contained the last article written by this worthy scholar and governmental servant. I am pleased to include this piece entitled "COMECON Reform Depends on Trade With World Markets" with my remarks. The article discloses the perception and insight of the individual in his analysis of the Russian armed intervention in Czechoslovakia from a world tracking viewpoint.

The availability of his services together with his contribution have provided Members of Congress with an extremely valuable capability which I know we shall miss. His loss has also been felt by his many friends and associates and in this connection I am happy to include with these remarks the eloquent and moving remembrance of Leon Herman by his associate, Joseph G. Whelan, specialist—Soviet and East European Affairs—Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, in my remarks:

COMEON REFORM DEPENDS ON TRADE WITH WORLD MARKETS

(By Leon M. Herman)

The Soviet military invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 signaled an important turning point in relations among the countries of Eastern Europe. By its very nature, this abrupt departure in policy—from a reliance on political instruments to the open use of armed force—released a powerful beam of light over the political landscape of the region, illuminating not only the character of preceding events but also the shape of things to come. All formal explanations apart, this outburst of Russian fury against a small and intensely loyal ally revealed the existence of a powerful urge on the part of the upper echelon of the Soviet leadership to halt and reverse, if possible, the process of economic detente toward the West that had begun to unfold gradually within its own alliance.

Although the blow descended directly on Prague, it was designed, at the same time, to carry a message of warning to all capitals within the Soviet political orbit. The meaning of this multiple-target message was clear

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enough. The uneasy rulers in Moscow, who alone feel responsible for the integrity of the socialist "commonwealth," had been watching the spread of unorthodox economic ideas among their allies with a growing sense of anxiety. Their patience had at long last been exhausted, and they could perceive no alternative but to use the most awesome instrument of power at their disposal "to secure the economic and political unit of the socialist system of states." Presumably, the evidence filtering back to Moscow from the other capitals of the region was sufficient to constitute a grave threat to the psychic security of the Soviet leadership. Everything they heard and observed bore witness to a declining sense of loyalty among some of the nations of Eastern Europe to their own socialist economic community, the Moscow-based Council of Economic Mutual Assistance (COMECON).

Glancing backward over the recent past, one is impressed by the strong pull which Western Europe had come to exercise upon that region, primarily by virtue of its technically developed and diversified industry. While the effect of this economic attraction could be felt throughout Eastern Europe, it worked its particular magic upon the smaller, more trade-conscious, less politically ambitious countries. These countries were visibly deriving a strong sense of elation from the very experience of "going back to Europe." On the more practical plane, they felt drawn in that direction by the improved opportunities for diversifying their exports, for earning hard currency, for meeting the multiple needs of economic modernization, which could not be adequately satisfied within their own, more narrowly developed, regional system.

The opportunities at hand were real enough. Within the past four years alone, the smaller countries of Eastern Europe doubled their commodity exports to the Western half of the continent. By comparison, Soviet sales to the same markets increased by about 50%. In monetary terms, the six smaller nations earned \$3.0 billion worth of purchasing power in non-Soviet Europe during 1964-1967, as against Russia's \$1.8 billion.

Nor was this heightened interest in Western economic resources limited to the exchange of commodities. More importantly, the drive to increase their earnings in hard currency was prompted by a palpable concern for their own economic future. There has been for some time a growing awareness among the countries of Eastern Europe that industry within the COMECON region was not, for a variety of reasons, capable of developing a broad enough research base to sustain a competitive pace of technical innovation in production. Once perceived, the existence of such deficiency made it imperative for members of COMECON, the USSR included, to set aside some of their export revenue, as a regular practice, for the purpose of importing the ripe fruit of innovation from abroad. They needed this hard cash for the purchase of patents, for entering into license agreements to manufacture industrial products, for acquiring production processes newly developed in the West.

Within the past few years, as the record shows, the countries of Eastern Europe were able to use imported "turn-key" plants fairly systematically to help modernize complete segments of their industrial plant. As a matter of experience, this turned out to be a wholly rational way to proceed. It was thoroughly consistent with one major economic goal of the political leaders of the region, namely to save the time and heavy costs involved in new product development. At the same time, given the nature of their own future foreign trade needs, the practice of buying production licenses in the West was the best method at hand by which the industrial enterprises of Eastern Europe could raise the quality of their own export product

and, thereby, broaden the range of commodities that could be profitably sold to competitive markets in any part of the world.

JOINT VENTURES

To that end, several East European countries began to follow a still more enterprising route leading to the modernization of their industrial plant with the aid of Western know-how. They encouraged their state-owned factories to enter into formal "joint venture," or coproduction, contracts with Western firms, providing for the cooperative manufacture of finished industrial products, chiefly machinery. Under such an arrangement, as a rule, the capitalist firm in the West contributes certain technically advanced components which the Eastern partner uses to turn out a finished product suitable for sale in highly competitive markets. To cite a typical example: A state-owned factory in Hungary enters into a contract with a British firm under which the latter provides 40% of the component parts, including an advanced type of diesel engine, which are then used by the Eastern partner to assemble a modern mining combine. The joint product is sold in the countries of the two partners as well as in third markets.

The benefits that flow from joint ventures of this variety are self-evident. To the Western firm, they represent an opportunity to expand its market, while reducing to a minimum the drain on the limited hard currency funds of the East European partner. To the state enterprise in the East, a joint venture provides a practical opportunity to broaden its technological horizon, to study advanced management practices and to learn the contemporary marketing techniques of the commercial world.

On the evidence, no individual country in Eastern Europe could be singled out by Moscow as the principal offender in the recent drive to expand economic cooperation with the West. The fact is that most countries in the region, including loyalist Poland, have been actively urging their factory managers to find ways and means to enter into cooperative industrial exchanges with Western firms. Even the Soviet contract with Fiat of Italy, signed in May 1966, has come to assume the features of a joint venture rather than of an industrial sale pure and simple. The Fiat contract, for example, provides for such "extras" as (a) the transfer of know-how during the several stages of construction and installation of equipment; and (b) the stationing of Italian technicians in the Volga town, recently named Togliatti, until such time as planned production capacity is achieved. Here, after all, is an eminently practical method by which countries undergoing a process of forced industrialization can manage to adjust from time to time to such economic realities as ongoing technological change and increasingly sophisticated patterns of consumer demand. This, moreover, is precisely the method by which the Soviet Union succeeded, some four decades ago, in modernizing its own basic industries, i.e., with the aid of foreign designers, engineers, managers, along with the latest production equipment and processes imported from the West.

For their part, the smaller countries of Eastern Europe soon discovered that the process of active international economic relations can also develop its own momentum. Having accepted more trade and closer industrial cooperation with the West as a prime economic necessity, Russia's trade partners found themselves impelled to take the next logical step: to look after their rights as regular exporters to these markets, free of discrimination, on a par with other suppliers. To secure these rights, some of the countries moved to join existing international agencies which deal with such matters as nondiscrimination in tariffs and trade. In October 1967, following the example of Yugoslavia, Poland became a regular member of GATT, the

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Geneva-based agency which sets the rules by which the bulk of the world's trade is conducted. Since then, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania have been admitted to the 76-nation GATT as observers, with an option to apply for membership. Rumania applied for a full membership in November 1968. Incidentally, Czechoslovakia has been a charter member of the organization since its establishment in Havana in 1947.

WORLD MARKET NICHE

There is, of course, a perfectly simple reason why the smaller countries of Eastern Europe, unlike their giant neighbor, feel strongly impelled to respond to the economic opportunities provided by the world market. It is, in fact, precisely because they are small economies, possessing a limited endowment of natural resources, working with a low-capacity domestic market. If they want to "escape the curse of smallness," i.e., if they wish to attain the efficiencies made possible by large-scale production, they must become actively involved in foreign trade. They have little or no choice in the matter. Whether Socialist or not, these small economies must establish their own role in the international division of production. Once they have found their niche in the world market, they can concentrate their labor resources and skills on producing a manageable list of goods, under optimal conditions of efficiency, setting aside a part of their output for export as a means of payment for the products they must import from abroad. By comparison, a country of continental size like Russia, or the United States for that matter, is largely immune from the "export or die" syndrome by virtue of its capacious internal market.

This essential difference may be observed by looking at the comparative cost of imports to the individual national economies. To a country like the USSR, the annual cost of imports from abroad (7.9 billion rubles) represents only 4% of the aggregate output of the domestic economy. A modest outlay of this size can be easily covered by an equally slight export effort. By contrast, the value of annual imports for a country like Hungary comes to 12%, for Czechoslovakia 15%, and for Bulgaria to as much as 24% of their respective national products.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the smaller COMECON members have tended to diverge from Soviet practice in recent years by applying themselves seriously to the job of placing their foreign trade on a rational foundation. One way to achieve such rationality, in the opinion of most East European economists, is to make their currencies convertible. By trading on the basis of a firm currency, having a standard value at home and abroad, the individual enterprises as well as the foreign trade ministry would be in a better position to determine the rationality of any proposed import (or export) transaction and, as a consequence, to enhance the profitability of the country's external commerce as a whole.

CONVERTIBILITY

The need for freely convertible currencies, along with mutually acceptable exchange rates, has thus emerged as a prime issue in intra-COMECON discussions. Active proponents of convertibility, such as Czechoslovakia and Hungary, have made it known that they would naturally prefer to see the COMECON community move jointly toward the achievement of "real money." However, should this prove impossible, they are prepared to pursue the goal of convertibility on their own. While in this mood, moreover, having opted in favor of more active participation in economic exchanges with the world commercial community at large, some COMECON members began to look seriously into the possibility of joining the two prestigious financial agencies of the United Nations, i.e., the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

It is not difficult to imagine how unsettling such behavior on the part of the fraternal countries appeared in the view from Moscow. The ideologically sensitive leaders of the Soviet Union could only perceive these practical, trade-oriented steps as signs of warning that a wave of political disloyalty was sweeping over their alliance. To the men in the Kremlin it looked as if their entire, carefully contrived system of trading in two separate world markets—one primary and the other residual—was in danger of being undermined from within. The whole elaborate structure for the conduct of business with the capitalist world from behind a protective wall of national trading monopolies, reinforced by a tight system of regional preferences, was in danger of being eroded away by an "unseemly rush" on the part of its allies to expand and diversify their economic cooperation with all countries of Europe, regardless of the political labels they wore.

Nor was this all. There was still more bitter fruit to taste for the hegemonic leaders of the USSR. The most galling element in this campaign to "return to Europe" was the all too negative tone in which intra-COMECON trading policies and practices began to be discussed in their economic press. Some prominent officials among the associated countries, for example, went on record complaining that commercial decisions on goods to be exchanged each year among COMECON partners tended to be made in purely physical terms, on grounds of administrative prestige, and without due regard for comparative costs and prices.

Furthermore, according to these critics, such decisions tended to be made at altogether too high a level of the political hierarchy. Once made, however, they became binding on the lower echelon of officialdom, the managerial staffs. The opinion of the latter carried little weight, despite the fact that they possess the detailed knowledge and the experience needed to make the economic calculations bearing upon the cost and profitability of individual trade transactions. Other points of criticism, regularly made in the press of the region, revealed that the trade ministries of the member countries had fallen into the habit of dividing their export products into "soft" and "hard" goods, reserving to themselves the right to dispose of the better quality products in hard currency markets where they will do them most good.

THE CZECH RATIONALE

In this respect the now historic "Action Program," issued in Prague by the Dubcek leadership in April 1968, stated rather bluntly that the whole COMECON orientation of pursuing "trade for trade's sake," largely with politically approved partners and without the benefit of economic calculation, as far as Czechoslovakia was concerned, "had resulted in a relative lag in the tempo of technical progress, in structural shifts in the economy, in an inability of our products to compete on the world market, and in the creation of a disproportionate amount of tension in our international trade and payment relations."

On the surface, the massive amount of goods exchanged in the course of a year between Russia and a country like Czechoslovakia (nearly \$1 billion each way) looks impressive. As a matter of experience, however, a giant trade partner like the Soviet Union tends, in due course, to turn into a harsh taskmaster. Under the weight of Soviet demand, for example, Czechoslovakia was induced to establish new lines of production, for which it lacked the key ingredients: the research base, the skilled technicians and the managerial experience. Given the unique character of Russia's demand, Czechoslovakia had to discontinue over time the manufacture of a number of consumer-oriented lines of production, despite the fact that these were precisely the exports for which it had

a comparative advantage in world markets and, therefore, a well established competitive position. Then, too, Soviet orders for equipment frequently shift from one type of deficit piece of equipment to another. This means that Czech industrial managers could fill such orders only on the basis of small-scale, high-cost production. At the end of this process, when it comes to agreeing on payment terms, the price paid by the USSR for these machines is based on the "world price," i.e., the price quoted by the most efficient, large-scale producers and exporters of this type of equipment.

In the recent rather candid exchange of views within COMECON, the Soviet leaders apparently could not muster the kind of arguments that would help to dispel the contents of its trading partners. Neither were they willing to experiment with alternative trading and pricing policies. For a time, in fact, Russian economists tried, by way of rebuttal, to spell out the extent of their own losses incurred in intra-COMECON trade. They cited spot figures to show that prices received by the USSR from its partners per ton of crude oil and iron ore, for example, covered only between one-half and one-third of the cost of production. This kind of evidence, whatever its intent, missed the heart of the matter: it was not helpful in building a case for COMECON as a normal, mutually profitable market. More specifically, in regard to the issues of efficiency of production and the rationality of prices, their evidence raised more questions than it answered.

THE SOVIET RESPONSE

The Russians, plainly enough, had run out of persuasive arguments. By their ultimate resort to violence, they in effect acknowledged that they could not cope with the situation. They wanted, above anything else, to call a halt to the whole fruitless exchange of arguments. If discipline had to be enforced within the community in one fell swoop, there was nothing as persuasive, or as readily at hand for that purpose, as armed force.

On this score, Soviet calculations were not too wide of the mark. Overnight, as it were, the faults of the Socialist market ceased to be a topic of discussion in Eastern Europe. Anyone reading the press of the COMECON countries since the Soviet invasion would never surmise that their regional market continues to be plagued by the same functional disorders as in the past. Nor would he deduce that its members are hopelessly divided on the remedies to be used. All trade partners are thinking in unison again, each more anxious than the other to accentuate the positive.

The leaders of Poland, who on more than one occasion in the past have ventilated some serious economic complaints against the COMECON trading mechanism are now in the forefront of promoting the community as "an instrument for cementing the political unity" of the Soviet-led alliance. In his ponderous policy address to the Fifth Congress of the Polish Communist Party, delivered on November 11, 1968, party chief Gomulka fervently called for more intra-COMECON trade as a way to achieve "a higher degree of economic coordination." Specifically, he made the following loyalty pledge, while the visiting members of the Soviet political high command were seated beside him on the platform: "Poland will increasingly take part in the international division of labor through the integration to be effected within the framework of COMECON." He then proceeded to explain that the kind of "intensified economic cooperation" he had in mind must be accepted as "the basic element of the political unit of the Socialist countries."

One day later, his public expression of loyalty to COMECON was heartily endorsed

by Russia's party leader Brezhnev, who in his own speech urged that "we thoroughly engage in expanding and improving economic cooperation among our countries." Only by means of such expanded cooperation, Brezhnev warned, will the COMECON countries be able "to use the advantages of socialism, to develop the economy of each of our countries, and still more rapidly achieve new successes in the economic competition with capitalism." Brezhnev also used the occasion of this fraternal Congress to announce that "it will soon be necessary" to examine these urgent problems at a summit meeting of the top party leaders of the COMECON countries.

It is plain to see that the Russians are searching in earnest for new ideas on how to forge more durable economic bonds among their allies. They are looking for new ways to commit the smaller countries to some formal arrangement for the joint planning of their economic development. Such a formal undertaking, they hope, would serve to accomplish two objectives: (1) help to contain the spread of unorthodox economic ideas in the region, especially in regard to enterprise autonomy and the restoration of the market mechanism; (2) counteract the strong economic pull of the financial resources and industrial know-how of the West upon the smaller East European countries. This, of course, is easier said than done. New, workable ideas on how to achieve more economic integration are hard to come by, especially in a region in which most members are interested in retaining their freedom of action to do what is necessary to diversify their economy and to improve their pattern of exchange with the markets of Western Europe.

ONE COMMUNIST WORLD

One recent Soviet proposal for a more active form of integration, which is neither new nor promising, comes from a high-ranking official economist. The latter, an Academician by the name of G. Sorokin, would like to see the countries of the region working toward the formation, stage by stage, of a single world communist economy, governed by a single economic plan. If this were done, he believes, the final stage of the process would bring in its wake "the international redistribution of the national income of all socialist countries."

It is a fair guess that the fraternal countries of the region will recognize the close kinship between Sorokin's proposal and the ill-fated political balloon lofted a few years ago by former Premier Khrushchev. In June 1962, the former Soviet leader proposed a radical shortcut to integration by way of a supranational agency empowered to carry on economic planning for the COMECON region as a whole. The proposal ran into strong resistance within the organization on grounds of national sovereignty, chiefly from Romania, and was quietly dropped.

At this stage, therefore, the Russians cannot be very hopeful about the outcome of their present effort to turn back the clock. While they can, quite obviously, whip up a storm of rhetoric on behalf of socialist political unity, accompanied by pledges of continued large-scale annual commodity exchanges, they must be well aware that COMECON, in its present state of discredit, is not the proper instrument for bringing about an acceptable form of economic integration within the region. It suffers from too many operational defects, which are only too well known to all concerned. There is little to be gained from the familiar practice of devising new slogans to celebrate its political usefulness.

As shown by the record, even the Soviet Union will stray off the reservation on occasion in order to get a better economic deal in the world market. To cite one recent instance: after buying 25 sugar refineries from Czechoslovakia and encouraging the latter to expect further orders, the trade ministry

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in Moscow was visited by an enterprising West German salesman, who succeeded in persuading the proper officials to shift their interest in the direction of a more technically advanced model.

REFORM FOR PROFITABILITY

The plain fact is that COMECON has found it difficult to pass the economic test. Thus far, it has been unable to create a true regional market, i.e., a trading area in which production is oriented to transcend the limits of national boundaries. To do this, it must be organized on a large scale, at low cost, and according to competitive world standards of quality. Neither have its members been able to agree, as they had hoped, upon a single price system, acceptable to all members as profitable, or at least within the broad range of their domestic production costs. Instead, the region has been compelled to rely on some modified form of "world prices," which has often entailed severe losses for the seller without bringing any notable price gains for the buyer. Moreover, it remains a region without "real money," in the sense that even the much-touted "transferable ruble" is only a unit of account: members with credit balance cannot use it in payment for goods either inside or outside the region.

One theme that runs prominently through the current discussion within the Socialist economic community is the urgency of introducing some basic changes in the method of doing business within the region. In short, they must begin by making this trade profitable before pressing for a larger volume of annual exchanges. Writing in December 1968, Deputy Prime Minister Apro of Hungary argued that if closer economic cooperation within the region is the objective, it "will have to be pursued on the basis of new methods." In essence, his plea suggests that intra-COMECON trade must be made "economically effective," in a word—profitable, before member countries will have the needed incentive to maximize their commodity exchanges within the region.

There is the rub. As a practical matter, how do you proceed to screen the present enormous flow of commodities within Eastern Europe for profitability? Perhaps the remedy lies closer at hand than would appear to the leaders of the COMECON community. If there is a "new method" for ordering trade relations in a way to help create a better economic climate within COMECON, it may be found outside the region. The answer may lie in a less restrictive, more economically motivated trade policy toward the world market. At present, the world market functions as a residual factor in the trade planning of the member countries. Between 60% and 70% of the region's trade resources are committed in advance, through bilateral pacts, to Socialist trade partners. If, however, each of these countries were to develop its trade with the outside world on the basis of normal commercial principles, it would in the process acquire a useful economic frame of reference. The regular markets of the world would assuredly help them to identify with some precision the commodities in which intra-COMECON costs and quality standards are fully competitive and, therefore, suitable for extensive exchanges.

An identification of this kind could be of enormous practical value to the East European economic community. Specifically, it would help to indicate the direction along which intra-regional exchanges could be expanded profitably. If pursued with vigor, such an expansion could easily compensate for the volume of trade lost by the region to the world market in other commodity areas. Once established on a basis of profitability, trade within the region would in all likelihood increase. Moreover, a more diversified exchange of resources with a broader range of markets, based on the criterion of comparative advantage, would make a more conspicuous contribution to production effi-

cency and to further growth in Eastern Europe.

The Summit meeting to deal with the future of the COMECON Community, which Brezhnev had announced as far back as last November, finally assembled in Moscow on April 23, 1969. As expected, this special session, attended by the top national party leaders of the region, came down hard on the side of political orthodoxy as a guide for the future activities of the regional organization.

In the largely rhetorical communiqué that marked the end of the four-day session behind closed doors, the assembled leaders "unanimously hailed the enormous political significance of the all-round development of economic cooperation" within COMECON. While it also admitted, in passing, that "the need had arisen to improve existing forms and methods of economic cooperation and to discover new and more effective ones," the official statement offered no new ideas and laid down no specific proposals. Instead, the communiqué placed on record a cluster of vague promises "to raise the efficiency" of such existing COMECON institutions as the regional bank, The International Bank for Economic Cooperation (IBEC), the mutual payments system, and the procedure for the coordination of national economic plans. It also promised to add something new, namely a regional investment bank.

What is more important in this context, however, is the communiqué's repeated assurances that Moscow will, in the future, eschew the use of its political weight to convert COMECON into a supranational authority. Whatever new forms of cooperation may be deemed necessary for the purpose of "deepening the mutual ties among the national economies," the document declares, will be undertaken only after "joint study to reach mutually acceptable solutions."

All this seems to leave the basic process of decisionmaking in COMECON essentially where it was before the Soviet resort to military force. For one thing, we now know, from the press of the smaller COMECON partners since the summit meeting, that the opponents of a supranational executive agency have won the day. For another, the champions of continued broad contacts with the West also made their weight felt. They succeeded in writing into the communiqué a clause to the effect that the session "advocated the development of the COMECON members' mutually advantageous ties . . . with the other countries of the world, regardless of (their) social system."

LEON HERMAN, A REMEMBRANCE

It is very difficult for me, as it is for you, to say all that is in one's heart this afternoon—the sadness, the warmth, the love, the deep sense of loss that binds us all together in sharing this burden of sorrow.

We, the family and friends of Leon, must measure for ourselves what this man has meant for each one of us; and in taking that measure, we alone can know the full weight of our grief.

For Augusta, Leon was a man of unbounded affection, of tenderness, of love; a thoroughly good man, he was, who shared with her a lifetime of joy and happiness.

For Gene and Paul, Leon was a model father who imparted, among other things, perhaps the greatest of all human values, a love for the intellectual life, a love for the pursuit of learning.

And for us his friends, Leon was whatever was lacking in ourselves; for, through his infinite generosity, his total giving of self to others, he gave strength to those in emotional distress, wisdom to those exhausted in their own intellectual resources, and confidence to those suffering from a loss of will or of purpose.

He was this, and much more—this, we all know.

For, in all he did, Leon excelled; he accomplished many things, although in his quiet self-effacing way he sought to minimize these achievements. But we all know that by these achievements he had won the respect and admiration of professional men in Government, of leaders in our national Legislature, of the scholarly community, and of men in the business world. Yet, despite this eminent and deserved recognition of worth, he remained as he had always been a genuinely humble man who deplored false pride and false prestige and commanded the esteem of his peers by the weight of his knowledge and the excellence of his professional performance.

For Leon was the complete professional man, thoroughly grounded in the disciplines of economics, Soviet affairs, and international relations; and he was gifted with a power of insight, analysis and articulation that enabled him to make a profound impact not only within the narrower sphere of Government service but far beyond in the many worlds of scholarship, education, and business.

Leon's professional activities as a specialist in Soviet economics and a long-time student of international trade and world affairs are recorded in a vast bibliography of published and unpublished writings, compiled during years of public service in the Department of Commerce and the Library of Congress. They are recorded, too, in an impressive record of active participation, often as one of the principal generating forces, in professional organizations whose purposes were to advance the study of Soviet affairs and the study of economics. And, they are recorded in his commitment to teaching in the School of International Service at American University and in the ever-lengthening list of lectures and panel participation in meetings of specialized groups too numerous to mention.

As a truly professional man, Leon moved with an uncommon grace and ease within the Government service and between it and the worlds of scholarship and business; and wherever he went, those with whom he was closely associated could not fail to feel the impress of the power of his intellect, the depth and breadth of his wisdom, and the vast dimension of his human understanding.

In this way Leon epitomized the finest of what the intellectual should be in the Government service. He should be, as Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., once said during the Kennedy years, a conduit between the intellectual world outside and the Government, a sort of vital connection for tapping an essential, life-sustaining natural resource.

This Leon was; but he was more: by his own unique professional abilities and personal qualities, his presence not only enriched the Government service, but, in a reverse way, enriched also the scholarly world; for, more than just acting as a conduit of ideas flowing into the Government, Leon himself was a seminal source of influence, generating ideas throughout the nation's scholarly community itself.

Of all the publications in both private journals and public documents for which Leon bore either direct or indirect responsibility, perhaps none illustrates this point better than the studies prepared for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress under Leon's direction. First published in 1962 and followed by numerous succeeding volumes, these studies have drawn widely upon the expertise of specialists in the Soviet economy within the Government and within the nation's scholarly community.

Besides assuming the directorial and editorial responsibilities, Leon also contributed chapters on Soviet trade.

Recognized immediately as work of extraordinary merit, these studies have become a standard source for the study of the Soviet economy in our nation's colleges and uni-

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versities and in other centers of Soviet studies throughout the West.

Thus, in this case alone (for there are many more) Leon was able to exert his energies and apply his extraordinary gifts not only for the benefit of Congress but for the good of scholars everywhere and for the advancement of knowledge.

But this is what Leon was: A person imbued with the finest spirit of intellectualism, and dedicated to the service of others. For Leon's was a life devoted to the achievement of these greatest of all human values.

Intellectually, he was a totally committed person. His interests ranged far beyond his professional concerns, to the theater, to literature, to history; indeed, he was the universal man who found infinite pleasure in contemplating and discussing the whole of the human experience. A chance telephone conversation, a casual "walk around the block" after a noon-day lunch, table-talk at dinner before a meeting of the local AAASS chapter—these could be, and more often were, occasions for a stirring intellectual engagement on the politics of the day, the social unrest in the country, the state of the theater and the arts, or an analysis of the latest developments in East-West relations.

But Leon's intellectualism was not something self-centered and self-contained: it was always placed in the service of others. This was probably his most distinguishing personal characteristic; for, as a totally involved human being, he willingly and unspareingly shared with others himself, his energy, his many gifts and talents.

In this sense Leon was a genuine humanist. As a compassionate man, he loved humanity for its better qualities; and despite the cruelties that he had seen in his own lifetime, he could not take a tragic view of life or of history. For him, the history of modern man represented the accumulated values of all civilization, and civilization for all its faults and frailties was moving to a higher plane of social betterment for all mankind.

An optimist, he was, ever hopeful, ever-expecting better things, although by no means was he unmindful of the odds that mankind faced. An essentially untragic man living in a potentially tragic world, he could look beyond the overt weaknesses and shortcomings of our country, and see its many strengths, and assessing its possibilities for achieving a greater good in this world, could cast his vision to more distant horizons and give hope and confidence, indeed faith, to those more pessimistic.

This was Leon; and one should not have expected less of so fine and sensitive a man; for, as we all know, he was the kindest of men who had a nobility of spirit that touched us all.

ROSEMEAD, CALIF., HITS JUSTICE DEPARTMENT MOVE

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, objections continue to be heard to the Justice Department's maneuver to sell out the rights of all Americans to have clean air.

Throughout the southern California area, government bodies, civic organizations, and individual citizens have raised major criticisms of the Nixon administration's handling of this key matter.

Last week, the city council of Rosemead, Calif., which is located in the 29th Congressional District, passed the following resolution which shows how the

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leaders of the Rosemead community feel about this issue.

I commend the people of Rosemead for their efforts. The smog case still can be one of the most important antitrust suits ever instituted, and rights of all citizens must prevail over the pressures by the automobile industry for fatter and fatter profits.

I now place the Rosemead resolution in the RECORD:

CITY OF ROSEMEAD—RESOLUTION 69-66
Resolution of the City Council of the City of Rosemead concerning the Justice Department's litigation against U.S. automakers

Be it resolved by the City Council of the City of Rosemead that the City Council wishes to go on record in support of the policy statement of Congressman George Brown of September 11, 1969, strenuously objecting to the disposition of the Justice Department's out of court settlement with major United States automakers and supporting the reversal of such decision and urging that the entire law suit be fully tried publicly, in the interest of all members of the public.

Be it further resolved, that certified copies of the resolution be forwarded to Congressman George Brown, Congressman Wiggins, United States Senator George Murphy, United States Senator Alan Cranston, and each member of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors.

Passed, approved, and adopted this 23rd day of September, 1969.

ARNOLD C. ANDERSEN,
Mayor of the City of Rosemead.

Attest:

WANDA E. ANDERSEN,
City Clerk.

CANISIUS COLLEGE, AGE 100

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, this is the centennial year for Canisius College, located in my district in the city of Buffalo, N.Y.

Canisius, a Jesuit institution, has a long and distinguished history. Its contributions to the welfare of the Buffalo area and its citizens are inestimable. Canisius alumni walk proudly, and rightly so.

Many kind words, all worthy, will be spoken on behalf of Canisius on this occasion. Following are two which went over the local airwaves:

EDITORIAL BROADCAST ON BUFFALO'S WYSL-AM-FM ON SEPTEMBER 18

The well-being and security of America depend upon our capacity to cultivate excellence in our educational institutions.

One of America's better educational institutions is celebrating its one hundredth anniversary this year . . . Buffalo's Canisius College.

Canisius College was founded in 1870 by a group of Jesuit priests from Innsbruck, Austria and has grown from a four room building on Ellicott Street to a modern, two campus 4000 student, 17 acre educational complex. Canisius College has been a vital force in the development and growth of Buffalo and Western New York from its very beginning.

We are fortunate indeed that Canisius alumni, for the most part, remain and work

here in the Greater Buffalo area. Canisius College has been turning out well-educated, young men and women for a long, long time . . . one hundred years in fact . . . and this year the school is having an extensive anniversary celebration. We urge the entire community to join in wishing Canisius College continued well-being and success.

This city is a far better place in which to work, live and to learn because a group of priests one hundred years ago had the courage and the foresight to begin the process that is now Canisius College. The men and women who will be graduated from Canisius College next year might well be called the "Class of the Century".

EDITORIAL BROADCAST ON BUFFALO'S WGR-AM-TV ON SEPTEMBER 22

The next year at Canisius College is going to be far busier than any in its history.

Starting this week, Canisius celebrates its one hundredth anniversary. A number of exciting events have been planned on campus and many others will take place off campus so everyone can participate.

The main thrust of Canisius College has been the contribution made by its men and women to the vitality of the Niagara Frontier. The college prides itself on being a teaching institution; a high percentage of the professional and business people in Buffalo are Canisius alumni.

A hundred years ago a handful of Jesuits planted the Canisius seed here. The college enters its second century with the strength and wisdom of its founders multiplied a hundredfold and every reason for continued success.

We're glad those brave priests chose Buffalo for their school.

AUSTRALIA'S VIEWS ON ASIAN AFFAIRS

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, on August 14, 1969, Mr. Gordon Fieeth, Australian Minister for External Affairs, addressed the Federal House of Representatives of Australia. I know that the official views of our staunch and constantly, of the country we sometimes feel comes the closest to being our exciting younger brother, as enunciated by Mr. Fieeth, will be of tremendous interest to this House of Representatives and to the people of the United States. I am pleased to be able to set forth here a portion of Mr. Fieeth's remarks, on Australia's views on Asian Affairs as they concerned U.S. policies and the Soviet Union in Asia. Following is the partial text of the parliamentary statement by Mr. Fieeth:

**AUSTRALIA'S VIEWS ON ASIAN AFFAIRS
PARLIAMENTARY STATEMENT BY EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER**

In my statement today on the international situation I shall speak mainly of the Asian region, and in doing so I shall draw not only on the reports and assessments of our Australian representatives there but also on some of my own first-hand contacts. Since April, I have visited Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines and Japan, and I have attended meetings of ECAFE, SEATO, the Vietnam Force contributors, ASPAC, the Five-Power Defence meeting, and—on August 8—of ANZUS. What I am going to say now draws on impressions I have formed from all those contacts.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

I shall discuss first the policies of the United States of America, and then the Soviet Union. I shall pass to some specific problems in our region, and end with a few words on something which is not regional but is current interest, the non-proliferation treaty.

UNITED STATES POLICIES

President Nixon has now been in office just over six months, and it is gratifying that in that time he has taken occasion to visit a number of countries in Asia. This bears out his remarks to our Prime Minister, which were reported to this House on May 15, about the importance he attached to Asia and that it was the purpose and the determination of the United States to continue to participate in the Pacific and to strengthen the forces of freedom and progress in Asia.

The first-hand contact between Australia and the United States, marked by talks in Washington in April and again in May between our Prime Minister and President Nixon, were continued last week by a visit to Canberra by Mr. William P. Rogers, the Secretary of State.

The Australian Government has followed with close interest President Nixon's recent visits to countries in Asia, and has noted that they have been not only a great personal success for the President but have made a very valuable contribution to increased understanding between the United States and the countries he visited. Australians particularly welcome President Nixon's firm statements that the United States will continue to fulfill its treaty commitments.

We had no doubt on this score ourselves—but in view of interpretations given in some quarters of the President's policies—it was useful to have the President's own clear reaffirmation of his determination to maintain those commitments.

As a Pacific nation, Australians greatly welcome President Nixon's recognition that both geographically and historically the United States was a Pacific nation and must continue to play a significant role in the region.

The Australian Government has noted that President Nixon has emphasized that the security of countries in the region must primarily be a matter for themselves. Australians have no quarrel with this. We have always believed that successful resistance to aggression, either direct or indirect, depends in the last resort on the will and ability of the peoples of the countries subjected to this aggression. Outside countries can give help and support and even, as in the case of Vietnam, assume for a while the main burden of fighting to give the people time to prepare themselves. But the enemy cannot finally be defeated unless the job is done by the peoples under attack.

We were glad to see President Nixon's strong reaffirmation that the United States will continue to give material and economic support to those countries who need it in resisting subversion and indirect aggression.

President Nixon has said that there should be no more Vietnams and this is a statement that Australians heartily endorse. The way to prevent any more Vietnams is to ensure that other countries threatened by subversion are able to develop sufficient strength themselves to prevent aggression reaching the proportions which it reached in Vietnam.

When I say "sufficient strength" I do not mean only military strength. I mean decent standards of living, efficient and honest administration, harmonious relations with neighbors, and the easing of communal tensions within a country.

While the main task of this has to fall on the country concerned, and cannot be done for it by anyone else, other countries can and should help. They can give direct assistance, economic and otherwise. They can help in building an appropriate international framework of co-operation for security and development.

This is a problem of which the Australian

Government has been conscious for many years. For example, we believe that our contribution to the defeat of armed insurrection and subversion in Malaya in the 1950's was by no means unimportant—and by establishing a radio network, building feeder roads and providing police training we have contributed something to Thailand's ability to resist subversion.

But the problem of subversion is a constantly recurring one. In trying to assist the countries threatened there are, of course, very difficult political problems, as well as practical ones, to be overcome. Substantial and active support by the United States is needed and we are glad to see from what President Nixon has said that this need is fully recognised by the United States Government.

The President has spoken during his recent tour and on a number of previous occasions about his hope that additional efforts will be made within the region to strengthen its security. Australia's own participation in the five power arrangements with Britain, New Zealand, Malaysia, and Singapore helps to build regional security and demonstrates our willingness to accept responsibilities. I will say more about our commitments to Malaysia and Singapore later in this statement.

THE SOVIET UNION IN ASIA

I turn now to the subject of the Soviet Union in Asia. During the past year or so, there has been increasing interest and activity by the Soviet Union in the Asian region. Examples are the movements of ships of the U.S.S.R. Navy in the Indian Ocean, the development of diplomatic and trade contacts with Malaysia and Singapore, and Mr. Brezhnev's speech in Moscow on June 7 when he told the world conference of communist parties that the Soviet Union was "of the opinion that events are putting on the agenda the task of creating a system of collective security in Asia".

The Australian and U.S.S.R. Governments have also been in contact, both in Canberra and in Moscow, on matters of bilateral interest and also in discussing wider issues. Mr. Gromyko, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, said in a speech in Moscow to the Supreme Soviet on July 10 that "the pre-requisite and potential for an improvement of our relations with Australia exist".

The Australian Government has naturally kept these and related developments under observation. Australia has to be watchful, but need not panic whenever a Russian appears. It has to avoid both facile gullibility and automatic rejection of opportunities for co-operation. The Australian Government at all times welcomes the opportunity of practical and constructive dealings with the Soviet Union, as with any other country, and this has been the basis of our approach to each issue. In principle, it is natural that a world power such as the Soviet Union should seek to promote a presence and a national influence in important regions of the world such as the Indian Ocean area. The limited degree of naval penetration of this area up to date was described by me in answer to a question earlier this week. Reason for concern arises when the scale or methods or objective of the promotion are calculated to jeopardize our direct national interests or to endanger the general security and stability in the region. In judging this, we cannot cast out of our minds the Russian intervention in Czechoslovakia and the pernicious doctrine of "limited sovereignty" which the U.S.S.R. attaches to other Communist States. Undoubtedly, these U.S.S.R. acts and doctrines have constituted an impediment to international co-operation, and I hope that the Soviet Union will take these repercussions into account when weighing its future actions.

The proposals of Mr. Brezhnev for collective security in Asia have not been set out in any detail. It appears that at this stage the Soviet Union itself is exploring reac-

tions of other countries before trying to convert the idea into any firm or detailed proposal.

The objective which Australia has been working for over a period of time has been, as I said earlier, the development of regional co-operation to promote and sustain the security and economic advancement of all the countries of the region. This requires many kinds of measures, including programmes of economic assistance and more international effort to provide markets for under-developed countries and to stabilize prices of commodities entering into international trade. It requires the countries of the region, through peaceful processes, to settle disputes between themselves that stand in the way of regional co-operation or which might produce suspicions and tensions within the region.

The Prime Minister suggested in his statement to this House on February 25 that a series of non-aggression pacts between countries of the region could play a part in this process of removing suspicions or fears of any resort to force from inside the region. If co-operation can be maintained and strengthened among countries of the region—including, of course, Australia—we will have made important advances towards ensuring that South-East Asia will not be a source of weakness in the total pattern of world security. If the Russian proposals prove to be in line with these general objectives, and would assist to facilitate their achievement, we would naturally consider them with close interest.

Any realistic plan for regional security, however, must take into account the possibility of large-scale invasion, or aggression from outside—and the most likely would be from China, possibly using its nuclear capacity as blackmail to support its large conventional forces and subversion.

Here I am talking about the possibility, not proclaiming the certainty of large-scale aggression from this source. I am not prejudging China's short and long range intentions. But elementary prudence does, in the light of what China itself has been saying, require us to look to the region's protection against such a threat. If such a threat eventuated, the countries of the region would naturally look for outside support and they would deserve it because of their own efforts for self-defense.

In this evolution to which I have just referred, two points seem important to the Australian Government. It is not constructive to work towards a situation where one great power simply replaces another great power as a predominant factor in the region—and we do not want to see Asia, any more than any other region of the world, divided into spheres of influence between the great powers. It follows from what I have said that a substantial withdrawal at present of American strength would leave in the region a weakness which might very well tempt Peking to press southward or let it feel free to make moves against its northern neighbour. Such a situation would not be in the interests of anyone in the region nor, indeed, of the Soviet Union, nor of the world.

RESOLUTION OF CHRISTIAN CONCERN BY LUTHERAN YOUTH

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, on August 25, 1969, I addressed the 25th Annual Lutheran Youth Camp Week at Camp Pioneer in Angola, N.Y. The topic of my remarks was the tragedy of poverty-related hunger in the United States. On that same day I was presented with

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the following resolution, signed by 150 campers, which states in graphic language the "need" as perceived by the concerned young Americans.

I am including it in the RECORD because it underscores the disgrace that hunger has brought this country and it speaks for a group of young Americans who joined together to constructively address a problem that they know deserves no quarter in this, the wealthiest Nation on earth. I urge all my colleagues to read it carefully, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF CHRISTIAN CONCERN BY LUTHERAN YOUTH PRESENTED TO CONGRESSMAN McCARTHY

Whereas, all human beings are God's children, worthy of food, decent housing, and clothing, and

Whereas, increasing automation and overpopulation cause a great scarcity of jobs, especially unskilled jobs, and

Whereas, the present welfare system has the following faults:

(a) It is financially inadequate, since many mothers and children are expected to live on less than 25¢ per meal per person, and

(b) it is degrading and inhuman because it invades people's privacy and discourages family unity, and

(c) It punishes, rather than rewards people for working, and

Whereas, presently surplus commodities are designated by the United States Department of Agriculture, and

Whereas, in past years monies earmarked for the Welfare program have been returned to the government,

Therefore, let it be declared that Lutheran Youth will study this issue and take action according to their Christian love for people, and

We therefore encourage all members of Senate and Congress to pass legislation which will guarantee human subsidy and dignity within the bounds of a national Welfare Program,

And we encourage the Senate and Congress of the United States to remove the power of declaring surplus commodities from U.S.D.A. because of a blatant self-interest for price control and place this authority in other favorable governmental departments.

We shall therefore, on our part, continue our petitions to our God to grant us mercy to carry out the tasks for which he has placed us in His world.

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT POWERLESS TO DESTROY FREEDOM OF CHOICE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I commend Assistant Attorney General Jerris Leonard for recognizing the facts of life and telling the truth at a news conference. The people are awake and are resisting tyranny—and the Federal Government does not have the manpower to enforce court-ordered integration.

Mr. Leonard was quoted as saying:

If the court were to order instant integration, nothing would change. The court cannot enforce its own order. Bodies and people have to do it, and we just don't have enough.

This is an honest admission that the great majority of the American people are too decent to sacrifice their children

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for the political benefit of far-away politicians.

So-called school integration has amounted to endangering children and denying them opportunity to learn. It means, as I have previously pointed out, the commission of genocide, denounced as an international crime—see my remarks of September 16, 1969, at page 25703. Decent Americans will not fail to do their utmost to see that their children are not the victims of such a crime.

I include in the RECORD the current local news story of Mr. Leonard's remarks, before they are denied, explained as a misquote or misunderstanding, or otherwise relegated to the limbo reserved for truth in Washington. I also include the revealing report of Nick Thimmesch, published in the Chicago Tribune only 2 weeks ago, in order that our colleagues may conveniently observe the manner in which, by exercising freedom of choice, the proponents of genocide protect their own children from the very dangers they insist on inflicting on the children of other Americans. All Americans insist on the same freedom for their children.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Sept. 30, 1969]

COURT RULING COULDN'T SPEED INTEGRATION, U.S. AIDE SAYS

(By Lyle Denniston)

"Nothing would change" if the Supreme Court now rules that the South must integrate its schools without further delay, the Justice Department's civil rights chief now contends.

Asst. Atty. Gen. Jerris Leonard told a press conference here yesterday that "the court cannot enforce its own order," and the government does not have the manpower to enforce immediate integration.

In fact, Leonard said, "I don't believe you could do it" by the opening of the school year in 1970.

Even if Congress voted funds to hire many more lawyers and educational experts to work on integration, he said, "we have a problem of orderly absorption of people into our staff."

Leonard's comments came at his first meeting with reporters since 65 of the 74 "line" attorneys who work under him began a behind-the-scenes protest against administration requests for delay in desegregating some Southern school districts.

The attorneys yesterday made public—anonimously—two statements objecting to the current policy. The latest statement, dated yesterday, said this policy "is inconsistent with clearly defined legal mandates."

Asked about that challenge, Leonard replied: "Sixty-five lawyers are wrong."

However, he said he did not expect the lawyers to continue their protest. "I don't think they will. The executive (branch) has to have a policy, and the administration has a right to make that policy. Any lawyer worth his salt—once a decision has been made—has an obligation to carry it out."

At another point, the assistant attorney general said: "I do not expect professional people with a license to practice law to do anything that is detrimental to the effort or the interests they serve. In this case, the interests are of the government, the public interest."

The administration's policy on the pace of desegregation has been surrounded by controversy since July 3, when the Justice and Health, Education and Welfare Departments first announced they would permit "some limited delay" in integration where "sound reasons" justified it.

That policy drew the most intense protest

after it was used to get a delay of desegregation in 33 Mississippi school districts. That delay provoked the 65 attorneys under Leonard to write a letter to him, President Nixon and Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell.

This protest, dated Aug. 29 and made public yesterday, challenged "a disposition on the part of responsible officials of the federal government to subordinate clearly defined legal requirements to non-legal considerations."

"Non-legal considerations" is a phrase the attorneys used primarily to cover political pressure, which they say was in getting the Mississippi delay.

At his press conference, Leonard said that he had "never been asked by any member of Congress to make any specific decision with regard to a school case, or any case."

Asked about reports that the delay had been sought in return for some Southern senators' support for funds for the antiballistic missile (ABM) program, he replied: "If there was any connection between the ABM and the Mississippi cases, it is too remote for me to see."

The delay in Mississippi has led to a major Supreme Court test case, turning on the question of whether the South is to be permitted any more delays for any reason.

Leonard said that the government has not yet made up its mind what it will recommend to the high court on that question. But then he added:

"If the court were to order instant integration, nothing would change. The court cannot enforce its own order. Bodies and people have to do it, and we just don't have enough."

[From the Chicago Tribune, Sept. 15, 1969]

INTEGRATED SCHOOLS ARE FOR OTHERS

Nick Thimmesch of Newsday reports in his syndicated Washington column that "liberal" officials and politicians in the capital who demand severe punishment of the southern states for refusing to integrate public schools send their own children to private schools or all-white suburban schools in Maryland and Virginia.

Sen. George McGovern [D., S.D.], who yields only to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy [D., Mass.] as a liberal and offers himself as a better Democratic candidate for President, has two children in the Maryland public schools, for whom he pays annual tuition of \$1,014 each. Sen. Kennedy himself, Sen. Charles Percy [R., Ill.], Sen. Birch Bayh [D., Ind.], Sen. Eugene McCarthy [D., Minn.], Sen. William Proxmire [D., Wis.], Sen. Clifford Case [R., N.J.], Sen. Abraham Ribicoff [D., Conn.], and Sen. Charles Goodell [R., N.Y.], all liberals of purest ray serene, have either sent or are sending their children to high-priced private schools.

Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell says Negro and white children should attend school together, but his 9-year-old daughter goes to Stony Ridge Country Day school in Virginia. Vice President Spiro Agnew's daughter attends the private National Cathedral school in Washington. Robert Finch, secretary of health, education, and welfare, whose heart bleeds for children in segregated schools, sends his own to a public school in white suburban Virginia. The justice department lawyers who have threatened to resign because the Nixon administration was not forcing schools in the south to integrate rapidly enough, also live in the suburbs, where their children are denied the privilege of attending racially mixed public schools.

Even Justice Thurgood Marshall, the only Negro on the Supreme court, and James Farmer, the Negro assistant secretary of health, education, and welfare, have sent their children to private schools.

The liberal proponents of racially mixed schools for other people's children all say they send their own to private or white suburban

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schools because they want them to get the best possible education. This is a natural and laudable desire, but, while sending their own children to schools of their choice, they loudly condemn the "freedom of choice" principle in the south as a subterfuge to perpetuate segregation. The United States Commission on Civil Rights, headed by the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame university, condemned the Nixon administration for what it called "a major retreat" on integration, including Secretary Finch's failure to come out against a "freedom of choice" amendment until the House had passed it.

When the Supreme court ruled in 1954 that racial segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional, the school population of Washington was equally divided between Negro and white children. Now it is 94 per cent Negro, because the whites, including the liberals who lauded the Supreme court's decision, have moved to the suburbs of Maryland and Virginia. If the same trend in other big cities continues, only a few integrated schools on the fringes of the black slums will be left and the only whites attending them will be children of working class families too poor to move to the suburbs.

The liberal integrationists cannot be unaware of the obvious effects of their policy. Apparently they feel that integration is good for the yahoos of the south and the ethnic groups of the north but not for themselves.

SCHOOL INTEGRATION BALES HYPOCRITES IN GOVERNMENT

(By Nick Thimmesch)

WASHINGTON.—School integration makes some people mad and others hopeful, but it also reveals human frailties, including hypocrisy. Some of the worst hypocrites on this controversial, yet inevitable, development in our democracy are right here in the capital city.

In its 1954 decision, the United States Supreme Court said that segregated Negro children were not only short-changed in facilities and teaching, but also lost out by not being around white kids when they grew up.

Politicians and government officials of liberal bent in both parties have been hollering ever since at the South to integrate and give those Negro kids a break. But most of these finger shakers don't practice what they preach when it comes to their own children.

The Washington public school population was evenly divided between white and Negro children in 1954. Now it is 94 per cent Negro, because whites, including those who yipe at the South, have either moved to the white suburbs or send their children to private schools, predominantly white or with token integration.

Atty. Gen. John Mitchell says he's for Negro and white children attending school together, but his nine-year-old daughter is carted miles away from his D.C. neighborhood to the stuffy Stone-Ridge Country Day School in nearby Maryland.

Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's daughter attends the private National Cathedral School.

James Farmer, the Negro assistant secretary of HEW, has his two children in private schools to "avoid boredom."

The only Negro on the Supreme Court, Thurgood Marshall, placed his children in a private school. Julius Hobson, a black militant on the D.C. school board, had a child in private school.

"Liberal" senators who live in Washington are the same way. George McGovern has two children he sends across the District line into Maryland public schools, and pays \$1,014 annual tuition for each.

Senators Charles Percy, Birch Bayh, Edward Kennedy, Abraham Ribicoff, Clifford Case, Charles Goodell, Eugene McCarthy and William Proxmire have either sent or are

sending their children to high-priced (up to \$1,900 a year tuition) private schools afflicted with the racial double-standard and status-conscious bickering that privileged folk indulge themselves with.

These folk apparently think integration is for lowbrow Southern whites, the poor and those beer-drinking ethnics in the North whose cars bear bumper stickers reading "support your police."

Integration is a moral as well as a legal matter, and the hypocrites want to unload the moral burden on lower income groups. This thinking, pervasive among affluent, better educated whites and Negroes, betrays a moral failure.

THE HOUSING SHORTAGE: OPERATION BREAKTHROUGH

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Harold B. Finger, Assistant Secretary for Research and Technology, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, recently discussed the implications and potential for Operation Breakthrough, Secretary Romney's effort to achieve larger volume in housing construction.

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this vital subject, I place the speech by Secretary Finger in the RECORD.

The address, from Vital Speeches of the Day, follows:

THE HOUSING SHORTAGE: OPERATION BREAKTHROUGH

(By Harold B. Finger, Assistant Secretary for Research and Technology, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, delivered before the Portland Cement Association, Chicago, Ill., Aug. 6, 1969)

Ladies and gentlemen: Let me start by reading from the Housing Act of 1968—"Declaration of Policy." "Section 2. The Congress affirms the national goal, as set forth in section 2 of the Housing Act of 1949, of 'a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family.'

"The Congress finds that this goal has not been fully realized for many of the Nation's lower income families; that this is a matter of grave national concern; and that there exist in the public and private sectors of the economy the resources and capabilities necessary to the full realization of this goal.

"The Congress declares that in the administration of those housing programs authorized by this Act which are designed to assist families with incomes so low that they could not otherwise decently house themselves, and of other Government programs designed to assist in the provision of housing for such families, the highest priority and emphasis should be given to meeting the housing needs of those families for which the national goal has not become a reality; and in the carrying out of such programs there should be the fullest practical utilization of the resources and capabilities of private enterprise and of individual self-help techniques.

"Reaffirmation of Goal. Sec. 1601. The Congress finds that the supply of the Nation's housing is not increasing rapidly enough to meet the national housing goal, established in the Housing Act of 1949, of the 'realiza-

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tion as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family.' The Congress reaffirms this national housing goal and determines that it can be substantially achieved within the next decade by the construction or rehabilitation of twenty-six million housing units, six million of these for low and moderate income families."

These are statements of policy and goals of the Housing Act of 1968. Can we accomplish these goals? If history is any indicator, then the answer must be, "No." We have never even produced 2 million housing units in any one year; we produced just under 2 million units in 1950. Over the past ten years we have produced fewer than 15 million housing units. Starting where we are now, we would have to produce about 3½ million housing units in 1978 to achieve the goal of 26 million housing units in ten years.

Of the 26 million housing units indicated as our goal in the Housing Act of 1968, it has been estimated that about 6 million would be required for low and moderate income families. That housing would have to be subsidized under the provisions of our various Housing Acts. We certainly are working toward that goal, but again history is not encouraging. Over the past ten years we have produced only 634,000 assisted housing units and since 1949, when the Housing Act of that year identified the goal of providing a decent home for every American family, we produced only 938,000 assisted housing units.

We should also look beyond this next decade. Extrapolation of our population trends, recognizing that the number of births will depend largely on the existing population in any year, gives us an exponential function that predicts that our population will double every 30 to 50 years, depending upon how we draw that extrapolation. But, even with a very conservative extrapolation, we can expect a population of 300 million people by the year 2000—only 30 years away. Will this nation be able to substantially increase its housing stock by that year to provide for this population? I dare say that this nation will not meet the housing goals set in the Housing Act of 1968 for the next decade, nor will we meet our needs for the decades beyond that unless we change our way of producing and providing housing.

It is interesting that though we fancy that we are ahead of everyone else in the world in almost everything we try, we are *not* ahead in the production of housing for our people. It is, of course, true that only the USSR builds more actual housing units per year than the United States. West Germany, the most productive country in Europe, is building 40 per cent as many houses as we are and Sweden is building 7 per cent as many. However, in terms of the number of dwellings completed per thousand inhabitants, which is a more significant figure, the countries of Western Europe, as well as the USSR, are outbuilding the United States.

For example, West Germany over the last five years has built at the rate of 10.1 dwellings per thousand inhabitants, while the rate in the United States has been 7.4. The United Kingdom is the only country in Western Europe where this rate (7.1) is less than in the United States. Sweden has produced at a rate of 11.8; The Netherlands, 8.9; Denmark, 8.3; and France, 8.0. In the Soviet Satellite countries, this rate ranges from 6.3 in Czechoslovakia to 4.3 in East Germany. However, the USSR builds at the rate of 9.8 housing units per thousand inhabitants and produces more housing units at a higher rate (though generally of a lower level of quality) than does the United States.

There is no question that a real national commitment is required if we are to solve the serious housing problem we face; a problem which is becoming ever increasingly difficult to solve as our population increases and

as the present stock of housing deteriorates. It requires the commitment on the part of all elements of our Federal government. It requires that the authorities provided in the Housing Acts and the Congressional funding authorizations be fully enacted through the normal process of appropriation of funds. It requires that the Administration propose such full funding—as it has in the FY 1969 Supplemental Request for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and in the FY 1970 request now being considered by the Congress. It requires that the Congress pass appropriations equal to its own authorizations. That has not happened in the FY 1969 Supplemental Request and the House actions on major assistance elements of the housing program in the FY 1970 Budget Request resulted in substantial reductions from the requested amounts.

Solving the housing problem requires a commitment on the part of State and local government. It requires that State and local authorities work effectively to eliminate the restrictive practices under the various zoning and housing and building codes that prevent the construction of housing for low and moderate income families where they are needed—near jobs, near schools, near adequate community facilities and in a good living environment. It requires that building codes be modified to encourage improved technology and volume building methods and to eliminate the numerous code variations that make regional marketing difficult if not impossible. It requires that metropolitan areas work together to solve their housing problems and that regional aggregation or pooling of the market be provided.

It requires a commitment on the part of industry to bring together the talents that are needed to make the necessary investment to apply advances in technology and modern management approaches to production of housing. The housing industry cannot be content with past approaches as the means by which future needs can be met. It requires that industry also recognize that land is a critical element of providing housing and that their land holdings can play an important part in our ability to satisfy our housing needs. It also requires that the industry recognize that the various pension and retirement funds available can be used to assist in the financing of mortgages and that such investment should be encouraged for the overall national welfare even if the direct return may not appear to be as great as the return from other investment.

And it requires a commitment on the part of labor to encourage the training of the labor supply that will be needed for the construction of all of the housing necessary and encourage arrangements for volume production of housing that will also provide greater job opportunities for our people. With our present methods of construction there will not be enough of the skilled craftsmen and the semi-skilled labor force to build the housing we need. Therefore, labor must recognize that changes in the building system are inevitable if we are to provide the housing we need. Labor must be prepared to make and encourage such changes and to adjust its operating procedures to the new systems that are established. If we cannot provide the housing we need, there will not be housing for the laboring people whose income even now frequently does not permit them to obtain the housing they desire.

And it requires a commitment on the part of the various financial institutions that play an important role in the financing of housing construction, development and ownership. Funds must be provided for mortgages. Investment institutions must encourage investment in mortgages. The return to the nation and the indirect benefits should be ample encouragement for investment in housing. The various investment institutions

should encourage their investors along these lines.

And perhaps more important, it requires a commitment on the part of all of us, upon our communities in which we live, to encourage arrangements in our communities and school districts that will provide the opportunity for low and moderate income families to live where they must even if that means living in our communities and joining our children in our school districts.

It needs the kind of commitment from us that can only come when there is a full recognition of the fact that we will never live as an internally peaceful nation in which all of us can take full advantage of all of the opportunities available within and outside of our cities until such tranquility can be restored; housing is one of the important factors in reestablishing this tranquility. Housing for the poor as well as the more well to do in all areas of the nation and the resulting mingling of children and families of various economic levels can encourage a motivation for upward growth and advancement and training among our less fortunate people and can provide the social understanding of the needs of our nation for our more affluent people.

This is a national commitment. This is what we mean by a national commitment in housing and in other domestic areas. It is a commitment on the part of each group involved, to work collaboratively toward the achievement of the goals that have been set and to be willing to give of its prerogatives for the achievement of those goals. Until this nation is committed, in this total way, we cannot assure that we can satisfy the needs of our people for housing or for any other necessity for existence. Until such a commitment is made on the part of all of these groups, we will not establish the improved systems for providing housing to all of our people that are needed if we are to meet our goals.

Secretary George Romney has recently announced a new program in the Department of Housing and Urban Development called Operation Breakthrough which is aimed at encouraging and establishing this new process for providing housing—for producing it in volume and for delivering it to an aggregated volume market to all of our people that need it. As its name implies, this housing program aims at breaking through the various constraints which inhibit the volume production of housing in this country. Operation Breakthrough alone will not accomplish all of the goals that I have described. However, this program should help to organize the process by which housing gets built and to organize the process by a clearly defined volume housing market is identified.

In Operation Breakthrough, HUD has invited proposals from the industry suggesting methods of producing housing in volume, considering the need for safety, durability, and attractive design as well as for the effective use of land. HUD has made the commitment that it will fund for the work needed to develop these concepts and to arrange for funding for construction of prototypes of the concepts that are selected on eight regional prototype sites. During the process of design and construction on the eight prototype sites, tests will be run of all of the innovative features of the concepts selected that may not now be consistent with existing building codes. Those performance test results and the test methods will be validated by a group established by the National Academies of Science and Engineering. If the performance tests indicate that the concept is acceptable and if the Academies validate the results and the test methods, then HUD will approve those concepts for use in any application for HUD program funds or mortgage insurance that

may be made by sponsors, developers, housing authorities or other groups. In addition, HUD will request local communities to accept the testing, evaluation, validation and approval in lieu of existing building code requirements in the community. HUD is also suggesting that state legislation be considered to provide for acceptance of these concepts within state code requirements.

In addition, the evaluation by consumer groups of the prototypes built on prototype sites should serve as a marketability test of the various concepts provided. For that reason it is important that the prototype sites be so designed that the housing systems are built in sufficient quantity to assure that the land use pattern is fully evaluated and demonstrated. It is our intent that the prototype site should be an example of effective design of a community in which various housing types, including single and multi-family units, and various economic level or price of housing can be appropriately arranged in close proximity to each other. On the basis of this demonstration and the evaluation made by the consumer groups that examine the concepts displayed, it is hoped that local communities will be encouraged to forego the restrictive zoning and land use requirements that have been built up over the years as a method of assuring desirable development in the community, but that has been used as an intentionally restrictive device for prohibiting multi-family construction and housing for low and moderate income families. We will never be able to provide the housing for all of the people that we expect by the end of this century if we do not break down the large lot size zoning contained in many of our zoning ordinances and if we do not provide for more land on which multi-family dwellings can be placed. HUD will provide incentives for the volume application of these Breakthrough housing concepts in the form of priorities for the various HUD grant programs. These include sewer and water grants, community facility grants, planning grants, etc. In addition, HUD will provide to the consumer groups that decide to order this volume housing for installation in their communities, priority consideration and earmarked housing program subsidy funds. These subsidies are intended to bring housing within the reach of many families that could otherwise not afford adequate housing. We hope that these incentives and the assistance we are prepared to provide to package housing developments using these advanced concepts will encourage the industry, the consumers, and the state and local governments to make the changes needed in the system of housing so that we may take significant steps toward achieving the improvements that are necessary if we are to satisfy all of our housing requirements. If they are not sufficient, then I believe that stronger approaches will have to be taken. Change is necessary and we must not wait for further crises before we recognize the need and implement improvements.

Concurrently with the preparation of proposals by industry for their concepts for volume production of housing, we have invited proposals from State and local governments and communities for regional prototype sites. The regions in which these sites will be located will be determined by an analysis of the climatic variations over the nation and the housing market variations, including variations in accepted housing design, across the nation. Important elements in the selection of the particular sites will be the assurance that the housing concepts selected by HUD can be constructed on those sites without concern for local code requirements. In essence, the development of the prototype sites must be within HUD's control. In addition, it is quite obvious that the land proposed for the prototype sites must be

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available for site development when the housing concepts and the sites are selected. It is now anticipated that site development will start early next year and that first prototype construction would start in March of next year.

The involvement of community and user groups in the evaluation of the various prototypes and the resulting selection by those groups of the particular concepts that they propose to order in volume from the producers is essential to the success of any housing program. Neither HUD nor the state nor local government nor any individual group can determine for a community the kind of housing that it requires. It is proposed that enough concepts will be developed as part of this program on prototype sites so that the variety offered will permit a flexible choice by the community groups. In addition, we will make modifications to the prototypes as determined by the evaluation by the user and community groups.

In summary, therefore, Operation Breakthrough is a multi-faceted program aimed at:

1. Encouraging industry to propose the ideas available for volume production methods that they have had difficulty applying in the past;
2. Encouraging continual housing system advancement through support of applied research and development;
3. Pooling or aggregating the market for housing, including both the demand for housing and the available land for such housing;
4. Encouraging state and local adjustments in building codes and zoning codes that now contribute to fragmentation, high cost, and the difficulty of producing for a broad market;
5. Improving methods of financing, including improved processing of FHA insurance applications;
6. Making more effective use of our total work force;
7. Conducting tests and evaluations with authoritative test validation that will serve as a basis for approval of advanced housing concepts and for development of performance standards for housing systems.

In suggesting the role of your association and your industry, we might again look at the European experience. Much of the European housing is industrialized housing, with a heavy concentration on concrete systems. A majority of the 500 industrialized building systems now in use in Europe for housing construction are concrete based systems. The prerequisites for industrialized housing of a massed or concentrated market of continuing duration were available in Europe after World War II. That war determined the housing needs of many European areas and provided a large, aggregated market. This factor, combined with the labor shortage created by loss of men and by those remaining men working to rebuild industry, encouraged Europe to develop industrialized building. Some of these companies are now seeking acceptance of their concepts in the United States under the FHA Special Construction Methods Bulletin. To date, two systems have qualified and four more are under consideration. All of these are concrete systems.

It is interesting to note that the per capita consumption of concrete is lower in the United States than almost any European country—lower than the United Kingdom, Finland, Ireland, Norway, Greece, Spain, Denmark, France, Belgium, Sweden, Italy, Germany, Luxembourg, Austria, Iceland, Switzerland. And this includes not only dwelling construction but all of the highway and other public works construction.

This bit of information certainly surprised me when I heard it. Because, in the construction industry, concrete has long been recognized as a vital and indispensable

building material. This is particularly true where concrete is used as a sub-grade material which offers economy, strength and durability. In more recent and sophisticated applications, concrete is a material that has adequately and economically solved the complex problem of secondary containment vessel design for nuclear reactors for power generation plants. Through new technologies in this application alone, the containment vessel wall, through post-tensioned construction processes has been reduced in wall thickness from six feet in cross sections down to three feet in cross sections, or a 50 per cent reduction in cross sectional area of the containment vessels concrete shielding structure.

But, concrete is finding new building applications due to the progressive technological thinking of your industry. These new technologies reflected in the American Concrete Institute Code adopted in 1963 (an unquestioned design standard in the construction industry in general) have in the recent past contributed to new high-rise construction concepts in apartment building and office structures such as the new 70 story (645 feet high) Lake Towers apartment building in Chicago or the more recent new 50 story (714 feet high) Shell Oil office building in Houston, Texas.

This is a real mark of technological achievement in material application considering that as recently as 1960 concrete was seldom considered as a structural material in buildings higher than 15-20 stories in height.

Recalling other technological developments that have been provided in the past ten years in pre-cast and pre-stressed concrete processes, new tools have been given to the architects and designers that offer boundless possibilities to their creative imaginations. It is apparent even to the layman that concrete is not only a utility material for building construction, but is a material that offers expressive art forms and provides a viable link in improving man's physical environment.

With all of these new technologies your industry is providing to the construction industry, I would like all of you to consider the challenge offered by Operation Breakthrough.

I am aware of what has been done to date in the housing area, particularly in the area of the modular construction process, such as the Habitat complex in Montreal and the Place de Rio in Houston. But I think you all will agree that these are first steps in a process of seeking new solutions in the field of housing. Your continued efforts in developing new construction processes with concrete in the housing field will most certainly contribute to the elimination of this nation's rapidly rising housing deficit.

If I may digress momentarily, I would like to call your attention to the fact that of the 28 major European concrete building systems, 50 per cent of the total production is done by prestressed-precast panel manufacturers located in fixed plant locations. In this regard, I was pleased to hear that 41 of the precast-prestressed firms formed together into a consortium in order to attack the nation's housing problems through systems construction and the fabrication of standardized parts in their 67 plants for multi-family housing. This indicates that the industry is rising to the housing challenge and will work to supply economical and quality housing units to help overcome this country's housing problems while providing a greater economic stability to its operation.

I have recently been told that there are as many as 360 precast-prestressed concrete producers in the country which concentrates mostly in architecturally oriented product lines, or more specifically, in the manufacture of precast-stressed concrete elements for

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building systems. I believe that with these resources coupled with the some 2500 construction firms across the country specifically identified as concrete contractors that your industry must play a vital role in helping to alleviate the housing shortage problems that exists in this country today.

That role must be based on the unique capabilities of your industry. Your role in construction and housing must consider all of the elements of the housing business that I have described. But that role must also be based on the commitment required of each of us if our domestic problems are to be solved. Perhaps the greatest commitment that we must make is the personal one that requires that we judge every action in terms of its effect on the solution of the problems we face and the overall benefits that can be derived if those problems are solved and balanced, stable communities with equal opportunities for all are the result. Not until such a commitment is made can we expect to solve our domestic problems.

A GENERATION OF DRUG MUTANTS?

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, this year our Nation will spend \$1.5 million on new research programs to learn the effects the chemical drugs such as amphetamines and the hallucinogens have on human beings. At the same time we will spend \$90 million on new research for chemical and biological warfare.

If ever national priorities were considered confused, the above illustration should serve as the ultimate example. The real chemical and biological warfare threat to this Nation is in the form of speed, bennies, goofballs, big D, acid, cocaine, peyote, and the dozens of other chemical drugs being abused at an alarming rate.

The battleground in this chemical drug war is the local schoolyard, the ghetto, and the suburban neighborhood. The casualties are primarily among our young.

Yet precious little of our resources are being devoted to learning what effects these new chemical drugs, when abused, have on the human being. Dr. Sidney Cohen, Director of the National Institute of Mental Health's Division of Narcotics Addiction and Drug Abuse has described the state of our knowledge on the chemical drugs as comparable to the state of our knowledge on tobacco 50 years ago.

The chemical drugs are causing problems with which our society has found itself unable to cope. We are sadly learning that we do not have either the facilities or expertise to deal with the many thousands who have become psychologically dependent, or physically damaged from abusing one, or more probably, a combination of the chemical drugs.

If there is any doubt about the extent of the problem, or the magnitude of its effect it may help to take a brief look at the latest information available on the amphetamine family of stimulants, just one of the many chemical drugs. Amphetamines are legally used and often prescribed by doctors to give their pa-

tients extra energy. About 20 percent of all drug prescriptions are these type of stimulants.

Yet, when abused, amphetamines, or "speed," the underground term, have caused such horrifying consequences that even devotees of the drug cult have warned that "speed kills," and "crank—another popular term for methamphetamine—cripples."

The availability of these pills is astounding. There is enough amphetamine produced each year in the United States to provide each person in this country with 25 doses.

Speed is becoming the most serious drug problem in southern California. The use of speed is increasing more rapidly in Los Angeles than the use of hard narcotics. Yet, the Federal Government is doing little to learn about the effects speed has on the human body, and present laws are woefully inadequate to stem the flow.

I learned these startling facts from interviews held last Tuesday with Dr. Sidney Cohen, Director of the National Institute of Mental Health's Division of Narcotics Addiction and Drug Abuse, and John Enright, Chief of the Criminal Investigations Office of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs.

More frightening was the information Dr. Cohen provided me on the latest medical findings detailing the effects amphetamines can have if abused. Recent studies, although still deficient when compared to what needs to be learned, demonstrate that amphetamines can be physically addicting. The body builds up a tolerance to this stimulant and larger doses are required to produce the same "trips." If the drug is suddenly withdrawn, recent studies indicate withdrawal symptoms, similar to a narcotic withdrawal, are evident.

I believe until recently it was commonly believed that stimulants such as amphetamine were not physically addicting. They are, according to Dr. Cohen. There is also increasing evidence to suggest that speed, when taken in large doses, causes brain damage.

This new information about brain damage and the addicting characteristics of speed contradicts widely held opinions to the opposite. However, it points up how frightening the consequences of abusing this drug are, and how little information we have had on its effects. And the state of our knowledge on amphetamines, when taken in large doses, is still deficient.

How much speed finds its way into the underground market in southern California is virtually impossible to determine. However, two recent cases brought to my attention may provide us with some clues.

Enright informed me that on June 18, of this year the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs made the largest haul in its history. Los Angeles was the site of this "historic event." On that Wednesday in June agents arrested David Rodriguez and confiscated from his home seven huge burlap bags each weighing 75 pounds. The pills in the bags were amphetamines.

When you consider that the average

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speed pill is rarely larger than an aspirin tablet, 375 pounds of these pills add up to a substantial sum—all destined for the underground market.

Another case brought to my attention by the California State Bureau of Narcotics concerned a fellow by the name of Alfonso Villasenor. This fellow, posing as a pharmacist in Tijuana, managed to order "tremendous amounts of amphetamines and barbiturates." By the time this fellow was arrested, the State bureau had managed to purchase or confiscate from him more than 1½ million amphetamine tablets—all destined for the underground market.

These of course are only two examples, and examples of the pushers who are caught. Multiply these figures by many hundreds and some idea of the extent of the speed traffic will take form.

My research and interviews led to a number of other findings which I will list. I have restricted these remarks and the report of my findings to the chemical drugs; namely, the stimulants such as speed, the barbiturates such as secobarbital sodium-seconal—and the hallucinogens like LSD. I have excluded the narcotics, not because they do not present a major problem—they do—but rather because we are well along the road in both the state of our knowledge about their effects, the rehabilitation of their abusers, and enforcement. The chemical drugs really present a different problem, and require special consideration.

My additional findings include:

First. LSD use in California, despite many reports to the contrary, has hardly decreased, and in some areas of the State it has increased; this despite its marked decrease throughout the rest of the country—from testimony of John Kramer, department of psychiatry, University of California at Irvine, August 7, before a Senate subcommittee, and Dr. Sidney Cohen.

Second. A nationwide conference of medical experts will be held in October to consider the most recent findings on the effects LSD has on chromosomes, birth defects, and other physical damage to the body. This is the first time such a meeting has been held—Dr. Sidney Cohen.

Third. Chemical drugs, including LSD, have been just recently found to produce the dangerous "flashback phenomena"—repeating the "trip" without taking the drug. It has been learned that certain antihistamines—commonly prescribed for the treatment of allergies—when abused, will produce the flashback phenomena—Dr. Sidney Cohen.

Fourth. A study released through the Neuropsychiatric Institute of the University of California reports that there could have been as many as 8,000 "bad trips" from LSD within a period of 18 months in Los Angeles County alone. And this figure only represents instances that have been reported to a physician. A "bad trip" was defined as a "trip" that included a negative or harmful experience.

Fifth. The use of combinations of chemical drugs is increasingly becoming the rule rather than the exception. It is now common for a person to be taking

overdoses of three or four different drugs at the same time. Yet there has not been any research, nor is any research taking place at this moment in order to determine the effects combinations of drugs are having on human beings—Dr. Sidney Cohen.

Sixth. The Federal Government has made only one small ward of its Lexington, Ky., drug treatment facility available for treatment of the victims of chemical drug abuse. The Government has two major narcotics rehabilitation facilities at Lexington and Fort Worth, Tex. California's State hospital at Mendocino has some facilities to deal with the problem. State and county facilities for the treatment of these people are almost nonexistent—Dr. Sidney Cohen.

Seventh. By far the largest group of abusers of the chemical drugs are white, middle- and upper-class young people. Narcotics are still largely confined to the ghetto—Dr. Sidney Cohen.

I believe these facts, as well as other current data that has already been published, clearly suggest:

First. There is little accurate or sufficient knowledge about the effects the chemical drugs are having upon the thousands of abusers here in our area, or the hundreds of thousands across the Nation. What little knowledge we do possess indicates the effects on the human being from abusing these drugs is frightening.

Second. Little emphasis is being placed on finding out this information. The Federal Government, especially, is doing as little as possible in this field.

Third. Chemical drug abuse is rising at a much faster rate, especially in the Los Angeles area, than in narcotics abuse. We have been unable to significantly check the easy availability of these chemical drugs. Dr. James L. Goddard, the former Director of the Food and Drug Administration, put his finger upon the pulse of the problem when he said:

Much of the drug abuse problem is associated with our traditional notions and experiences in such areas as alcoholism and hard narcotics.

Dr. Goddard went on to say:

Abuse of . . . (this) entirely new class of dangerous drugs . . . amphetamines, barbiturates, and hallucinogens has a most serious effect on the personality of those who toy with these chemical playthings . . . Abuse results in serious personality disintegration, destruction of the ability to make judgments, and physical or psychological dependence with ever increasing doses.

Dealing with the problem of chemical drug abuse requires new thinking, and new solutions, separate and apart from our traditional approaches toward the problem of narcotics. The effects of these chemical drugs, at least the effects we are aware of at this time, and their easy availability make this problem one of the most dangerous, yet complex, issues facing us.

The suggestive title of this statement inferred that we may be witnessing the terrifying Huxleyan prophecy of the beginning of a generation whose personality and physical appearance have been mutated by these drugs. Some of the recent facts I uncovered and mentioned

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earlier certainly suggest this weird possibility in an interview with Dr. Sidney Cohen, the possibility of drug mutations was raised. It was by raising this question that I learned that the state of our research in chemical drug abuse is so sadly deficient it would be impossible to confirm or deny mutation as an ultimate possibility. Yet, the evidence already in has led to this question being asked. The tragedy of our present situation is that it cannot be denied.

The American Medical Association has described the abuse of the chemical drugs as the "crutch that cripples." This is certainly an appropriate term. Speed, bennies, drivers, goofballs, blue heavens, acid, big D, and the dozens of other chemical drugs, when abused, will produce some of the most dangerous consequences to the abuser.

Dr. Cohen, who provided me with much of my material on the physical dangers, including brain damage from amphetamines, physical addiction to some stimulants and depressants, and "flashbacks" from antihistamine abuse, also discussed the psychological debilitating effects of these drugs.

The media has described to a great extent the "mind bending" that occurs from abuse of the chemical drugs. I would, however, just like to briefly review some of the information I learned from Dr. Cohen and many other sources about the known effects the drugs are having.

Heavy doses of amphetamines can produce a temporary mental derangement requiring hospitalization. The syndrome is characterized by a paranoid state accompanied by auditory and/or visual hallucinations. Long-term heavy users of amphetamines are usually irritable and unstable while abrupt withdrawal can result in deep and suicidal depressions, as well as the physical addiction symptoms already described. The possibility of serious psychosis and long-term personality disorders is enhanced in the case of methadrine injected directly into a vein.

Large doses of barbiturates produce an effect that resembles alcoholic drunkenness. Perceptions are distorted and reactions and responses are slowed down. The ability to think, concentrate, or work is lessened. Often there is confusion, slurred speech, and staggering. Emotional control is weakened and users may become irritable, angry, and aggressive until they finally fall into a deep sleep.

The effects of the more potent hallucinogens, particularly LSD, vary from instance to instance. Perceptions are distorted and often the senses appear to become more acute. Colors become more brilliant; flat objects seem to stand out in three dimensions. One sensory impression may be translated into another. Users are likely to perceive unusual patterns unfolding before them. Often users will report feeling two strong, but opposite emotions at the same time or a sensation of losing the normal feeling of boundaries between body and space.

The reactions of users to the effects of LSD vary widely but among the dangerous reactions that have been reported are panic and paranoia, in some cases leading to acute and long lasting mental

illness. In addition, the effects of the drug may recur days or even months after the original dose was taken.

It is a sad commentary on our Nation's priorities when more money is available to protect men from moon germs than from the known and unknown dangers of easily accessible chemical drugs. One wonders what type of society would spend many millions on the quarantine of three moon astronauts, while at the same time devote only one small ward of an already too crowded hospital for the treatment of the thousands of young victims of a different kind of unworldly "trip."

The irony of these circumstances is devastating. Is it any wonder that so many of our young find themselves early cynics of a system that at times seems to lack humanity and logic.

I will be introducing legislation which will deal with the easy availability of these chemical drugs, and provide substantially more funds for research into the effects these drugs are having.

I have already introduced two bills and in the very near future I will be introducing two more pieces of legislation. The effects of these four bills will be to: Provide funds to train teachers and law-enforcement officers so they can educate young people about the dangers of drug abuse; add 30 new customs officers to border patrols; crack down on pharmaceutical wholesale houses who serve as unwitting sources of dangerous drugs; initiate a far-ranging research program to obtain accurate information on drug dependence and characteristics; prevent juveniles from crossing the border; establish a computer information system at the border; require separate inventories for dangerous drugs; establish uniformity in State narcotics and dangerous drug laws; establish a joint Mexican-American Commission to stop the drug flow at the border; and provide funds for local communities for educational and rehabilitation programs.

There must be continuing public pressure in order to insure that this problem will receive more than just the appearance of action. We need an immense and immediate research effort. We need to learn the exact effect these drugs are causing. We need effective new laws to stem the flow of these chemical drugs into an increasing underground market. We need an effort that is in resources and energy comparable to the size of the problem, and the problem is immense. We need this effort now.

POLICEMAN OF THE YEAR

HON. JOHN J. McFALL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, I am proud that the Policeman of the Year who will receive the fourth annual Police Service Award Wednesday in Miami is Sgt. Weston S. Robinson from Manteca, Calif., which I have the privilege of representing in the House.

Every day of the year police officers throughout the country risk their lives

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to protect citizens and their property. Sergeant Robinson and 10 other officers are being honored at the convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police for individual feats of bravery, compassion, and devotion to duty.

Sergeant Robinson and his fellow honorees are outstanding examples of the type of officers every police department seeks today—courageous, intelligent, and motivated by concern for the public welfare.

Through passage of the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1968, Congress has taken a large step forward toward helping local police and other law enforcement agencies to strengthen and improve their programs.

The Congress can and should do more, and I fully expect that additional legislation will be passed to provide further assistance to hard-pressed local departments. Without officers like Sergeant Robinson and the 10 officers who received honorable mention for deeds of great valor, however, financial assistance from the Federal Government would be of minor consequence.

I know the House joins me in paying tribute to Sergeant Robinson and the other brave men who are being honored by their fellow officers at Miami.

The following is an article from Parade magazine, describing the heroic actions of Sergeant Robinson on a Sunday afternoon not long ago in my hometown, Manteca, Calif.:

POLICEMAN OF THE YEAR

(By John G. Rogers)

Every man who becomes a policeman contracts to put his life on the line without warning any time that duty calls—and, no matter what the odds against him. For Sgt. Weston S. Robinson, of Manteca, Calif., the moment of truth came not so long ago on a pleasant Sunday afternoon. He was the only policeman present when a gang of cursing, raging motorcycle bums set upon a motorist with screams of "Kill him! Kill him!"

Robinson—37-year-old college man, father of three and a policeman because he likes to work with people—didn't hesitate a second. He piled into the fray to try to protect the motorist. "I knew help was on the way," he recalls quietly. "I hoped that if I could keep them busy for a little bit, we'd have a chance of saving the man's life."

The motorist was saved, all right, but Robinson was knocked unconscious, whipped by a cycle chain, his nose broken. And as he was coming to a few minutes later, one of the bike gang gouged him in an eye.

HE'S A SYMBOL

Robinson received a commendation from his department and for his act of valor he also has been named to receive the fourth annual Police Service Award conferred by Parade and the International Association of Chiefs of Police. As Policeman of the Year, he's a symbol of all the nation's peace officers, more than 400,000 strong. Specific praise goes to Robinson, the individual, who instantly risked his life to fulfill his sworn duty. And, by extension, praise goes to all police in 50 states who've performed valiantly in time of crisis.

On Wednesday at the Chief's annual convention, which opened yesterday in Miami Beach, Robinson will be presented with a bronze plaque. Honorable mention plaques will go to ten other officers whose achievements demonstrate the broad spectrum of police duty and risk. Selecting these men was not an easy task for the judges who sifted nominations from police departments all over

the country. Hence, it's quite appropriate that the modest Sergeant Robinson insists his award represents all good police, not just himself.

Robinson doesn't impress you as a tough guy who would take on a motorcycle gang single-handed. He's stocky, 195 pounds and 5 feet 10 inches tall. He laughs easily, is soft-spoken and has a philosophical turn of mind. He's still taking college courses for a master's degree because when his police days are over, he wants to be a teacher.

"Working close to people and their problems is my big kick in life," says the sergeant, "and the police force brings you about as close to people as you can get. All around you every day is life, from comedy to tragedy, and you get so many chances to help people. As a matter of fact, I wish it would dawn on the public that a cop spends a lot more time helping people than he does arresting them."

Robinson's supreme chance to help someone came at 5 p.m. on a quiet Sunday as he sat off-duty in his brown stucco, six-room house in Manteca which is 78 miles east of San Francisco in the lush San Joaquin Valley. He was wearing brown slacks, flowered sports shirt and reading *Right and Reason*, one of his college textbooks. The phone rang. It was headquarters telling him a motorcycle gang, the Gypsy Jokers, 40 strong, was bearing down from the east. Manteca, a clean little city of 13,000 population, has had trouble all the way up to murder with motorcycle gangs, so they're closely watched.

HOW IT STARTED

"I got into my car and drove to the city line and waited," Robinson remembers. "When the Gypsy Jokers came through, I followed them, keeping in touch with headquarters by walkie talkie. The last half of the Jokers ran a red traffic light just before the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks and then one of them suddenly swerved over into the oncoming traffic lane, bounced off a white station wagon and went down in a pretty bad crash."

The station wagon turned into a side street and stopped. The driver, a young man, got out and started back toward the injured cyclist. He never got there. At least a half dozen Jokers piled on him and they weren't joking. They beat him and kicked him—they have a slogan, 'One stomp, all stomp.' They were screaming obscenities and I can remember saying to myself: 'Those animals could kill that kid.'

The next few minutes are a blur to Robinson. What happened was that he dove into the melee of fists and boots, substituting himself for the young motorist as the object of the Jokers' vicious assault. Over and over he shouted his identity as a policeman and that made the Jokers revile him as a "dirty pig" while they slugged away at him. Robinson feared to draw his revolver from under his sports shirt lest a Joker wrest it away and start shooting. Witnesses—some refused to talk because they were afraid of Jokers' retaliation—said that many of the cyclists seemed to be out of their minds, so violently were they acting. A woman said they were "mad dogs." Fights between spectators and Jokers broke out. When one of Robinson's police colleagues reached the scene, he described it as "havoc." But the swift arrival of most of Manteca's 19-man police force and some sheriff's deputies soon brought the snarling Jokers into line.

Manteca Police Chief David E. Walsh is not only proud of Robinson for his feat that Sunday afternoon—"there's no doubt he saved the driver's life"—but also proud of him as a "new breed of cop."

"By this I mean education," Walsh explains, "and because of education a far more rounded man able to do a far better job. Robinson studied political science at Swarthmore, got a B.A. in criminology from the University of California and is still going to

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college. He was on the Fremont force for six years and came to us by ranking number one in a statewide examination."

IMPRESS THOSE KIDS

On a force as small as Manteca's there is only one specialist—the narcotics officer. Each of the others is a jack-of-all-trades. Hence, Robinson functions as desk man, detective, patrolman, school lecturer, traffic officer and, especially, friend of kids.

"We do a lot of talking to young people," he explains. "It's good public relations for us and that's important because too many of our 'customers' are young people. We try pretty hard to get them on our side, so to speak. There's a lot more satisfaction in steering a kid straight than there is in arresting him."

Robinson's concern for people is reflected in the closeness of his family. He and his wife Joanne are constantly devising projects to be done with their three children—Elizabeth, 6; Bruce, 4, and John, 3. The current one is painting some furniture out in the backyard. It's going well except when Bruce and John start painting each other.

LATE FOR DINNER

Joanne Robinson, who, like any policeman's wife sometimes feels a nagging worry over the danger in her husband's career, has her own memory of the sergeant's "bloody Sunday": "I was just beginning to start dinner when the phone rang telling Wes to go check on the motorcycle gang. I asked him to try to be back on time to eat but the next thing I hear is that he's in the hospital. Sure, I worry a little but I'm glad to be married to a man who cares about what's going on in this world. There are too many people who don't."

Sgt. Wes Robinson, the gentle man who became 1969's Policeman of the Year out of an incident of ugly violence, is certain to go on caring. In recent days, on his own time, he's been trying to find the parents of a distraught hippie girl and to guide a young Manteca boy whose life has taken a serious wrong turn. "I think both of them can be straightened out," says Robinson, "and I'm glad I'm in a position to help. That's one of the rewards of being a cop."

WILLIAMS BAY YOUTH SHOWS WAY

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, there is much talk of the rebellion of youth in America but far too little publicity for students who show community leadership. I invite the attention of my colleagues to an editorial that appeared in the Janesville Gazette:

WILLIAMS BAY YOUTH SHOWS WAY

"Williams Bay is our town. The park and its buildings are there for us to enjoy. We don't mess it up, but we guess if it gets that way it's up to us to help clean up some of the mess." This is the youth of Williams Bay speaking.

Police Officer David Strand recently told some of the youngsters about the extra labor and expense at the park and its rest rooms because of vandalism. He told them, "A band pavilion will be constructed for your use next summer. The park is for you as well as for adults and we want you to enjoy it. However, in the rest-rooms alone, vandalism has been so bad we must padlock them as soon as it gets dark (which is well before curfew time), then we find the padlocks smashed. Plumbing must be replaced constantly; walls and woodwork are continually defaced. Our

work crew cannot keep up with this constant overload and at times our rest-rooms become an eyesore."

A committee meeting was held by phone (what else?), and on Sunday a volunteer group of "Junior Citizens" showed up at the park with buckets, mops, brushes and plenty of cleanser. Their afternoon was spent in overall cleaning, scrubbing the woodwork and doors, removing graffiti from the walls. They wanted the fall housecleaning to equal the spring housecleaning. The girls took the ladies' side; the boys the men's.

There were seven of them from 8th, 9th, and 10th grades: Candy Hillgoth, Sally Kunze, Judy Jacko, Cookie Hillgoth, Robert Spruce, Frank Buckles and Robert Roth.

We are proud to acclaim such civic endeavor on the part of our youngsters. Conversely, one hopes the thoughtless ones who leave such filth around for children to clean up will give this a second thought the next time they feel impelled to "decorate" or damage a public building.

NBC PRESENTS "FROM HERE TO THE SEVENTIES"

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to a forthcoming NBC news special. This is the very important two-and-a-half hour broadcast entitled "From Here to the Seventies," which will be seen from 8:30 to 11 p.m., eastern time, October 7. "From Here to the Seventies" will review the 1960's as the basis for projecting major developments of the next 10 years in all phases of the human condition the world over. "From Here to the Seventies" promises to be one of television's finest hours. Certainly, NBC has involved some of its most impressive talent, and many months of research and filming in 80 countries, in preparing for this show.

Twelve NBC News correspondents will participate in "From Here to the Seventies," for which that superb, award-winning actor, Paul Newman, will serve as guide. Correspondents reporting in "From Here to the Seventies" are Elie Abel, David Brinkley, John Chancellor, Chet Huntley, Douglas Kiker, Frank McGee, Edwin Newman, Jack Perkins, Aline Saarinen, Lem Tucker, Sander Vanocur, and Barbara Walters.

The special will cover a wide range of vital issues, including national politics, censorship, medical research, and the devastating effects of man's increased industrialization such as water and air pollution. A particular highlight will be a section on an urgent problem facing the next decade—world hunger and the population explosion.

Filming of "From Here to the Seventies" is under the supervision of executive producer Robert J. Northshield and producers John Lord and Mel Ferber, who also direct.

"From Here to the Seventies" will be sponsored in its entirety by Eastern Air Lines, which has, in the words of NBC, "been traditionally identified with major public service news programming, includ-

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ing NBC News' coverage of the last two presidential inaugurations and the pace-setting NBC News 'white paper' review of American foreign policy."

"From Here to the Seventies" should—at least on the evening of October 7—answer the often-asked question: "What's right about television?"

THE DICKEY-LINCOLN PROJECT

HON. WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, it can be said without fear of reasonable contradiction that few projects authorized by this great body in this decade have been subjected to as much debate, as much close-up scrutiny, as much in-depth evaluation as has the Dickey-Lincoln School hydroelectric power project in northern Maine.

Even before the project's authorization by the 89th Congress on October 27, 1965, the prospect of advancing consumers interests for the people of New England through the development of multipurpose resources had been the object of vigorous research. The Dickey-Lincoln project was accorded a most important role in the ultimate realization of that significant prospect.

Following its authorization, research was stepped up. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the Department of the Interior, the Federal Power Commission, an international joint commission, and other related groups and agencies participated in the compilation of a tremendous body of engineering, construction, and economic data concerning potential impact of the project on the economy of New England and the lives of its citizens.

The clear and pressing need for the project was firmly established. The reports of these objective Government agencies were of one voice—Dickey-Lincoln was desirable. It was scientifically and economically feasible. The public benefits its construction would provide were vast.

It might have been expected, Mr. Speaker, that a project of such far-reaching potential, one which could clearly serve the best interests of an important area of our Nation, would enjoy nearly unanimous support in the House of Representatives. But, sadly, this has not been the case. The private utilities of the Northeast have strenuously opposed the project and have lobbied relentlessly for its defeat. And their arguments, albeit emotional, illogical, and so obviously self-centered, have been met with some amount of congressional acceptance—not enough to kill the project outright, but, unfortunately, enough to delay its funding. In the meantime, Mr. Speaker, the residents of New England grow impatient for equities enjoyed by Americans in every other part of the country. They wait for their emancipation from the stronghold of monopoly.

It should be remembered that the Con-

gress authorized the Dickey-Lincoln project despite the protests of the private utilities. The Congress additionally appropriated project funds for fiscal years 1965, 1966, and 1967 over similar objections of the same private interests. The fact that Dickey survived these onslaughts in several tests on the House floor should satisfy even the most skeptical of our colleagues that the claims in support of the project are just and that the documentation supporting those claims is reliable.

Are some still skeptical? Permit me, then, to point to the results of an independent inquiry into the potential merits of Dickey-Lincoln that was made by the staff of the House Appropriations Committee just 2 years ago. The study was to have been the final test of the economic feasibility of the project. It was to have cleared the air, once and for all. Even the private utilities acknowledged its necessity.

Well, the study was completed—Independent, objective, painstakingly thorough. Facts that had been evaluated, reviewed, and reevaluated were finally reported. To the surprise of very few, I think, the Appropriations Committee staff report was favorable to the construction of Dickey-Lincoln. Indeed, it went so far as to say that the project was feasible and meritorious on all counts.

But the private utilities were unimpressed. Back they came in a renewed effort comprising attempts to discredit findings of the independent study they previously had so much favored. "The facts were to be avoided." They were "biased," they said. "Dickey must not be constructed at any cost."

Mr. Speaker, I would like to briefly review the initial aims and the ultimate findings of the congressional inquiry, if I may.

The objects of the study include:

First. A review and appraisal of the completeness and adequacy of the study conducted by the Corps of Engineers and the Department of the Interior on which the report was based recommending the project for authorization.

Second. An analysis of the cost estimate of the project.

Third. An analysis of the soundness of the estimated allocation of the annual project benefits to power, flood control, and area redevelopment.

Fourth. An appraisal of the plan for the marketing of power, including the proposed power rates to be charged and the payout schedule.

Fifth. A comparison of the estimated cost of power production under alternative means, including steam plants, nuclear plants, and pumped storage and nuclear combinations.

Sixth. An overall appraisal of the significance of the project in meeting power requirements in the light of the expansion program planned by the New England utilities.

And now, the study's findings:

First. Studies made prior to the recommendation that the Dickey-Lincoln project be authorized were complete, adequate, and fully documented.

Second. Cost estimates projected by

the Corps of Engineers were sound. Future adjustments, resulting from engineering refinements developed in continuing studies, would tend to reduce these estimates, the Appropriations Committee staff said.

Third. The estimated project allocation for benefits to power, flood control, and area redevelopment were found to be not only sound, but conservative.

Fourth. An adequate and ready market was found to exist for the power the project would generate.

Fifth. The Dickey-Lincoln project would produce power for consumers at substantially lower rates than would any of the alternatives suggested by the private utilities, the staff report said.

Sixth. As a source of peaking power for New England load centers and a source of low-cost firm power for preference customers, the project was found to play a potentially significant role in meeting the future power requirements of New England.

In sum, Mr. Speaker, the study so wisely undertaken by this House and so diligently conducted by the Appropriations Committee staff pointed to the irrefutable conclusion that the issues raised by the opponents of the Dickey-Lincoln project were totally without foundation. Once again, the faulty logic of the private utilities was soundly repudiated.

This year, Mr. Speaker, during hearings by the House Subcommittee on Public Works, the inconsistencies of the private utilities were exposed still another time.

Testimony before the subcommittee showed that, in the past year, the benefit-cost ratio of the Dickey-Lincoln project has risen from 1.9 to 2.0.

The project is expected to repay its costs in less than 50 years. The cost estimate for the entire project, based upon a complete reanalysis by the Corps of Engineers, was found to have risen \$10.6 million above the prior estimate submitted to Congress—nowhere close to the inflated cost projection of the private utilities. The Corps of Engineers and the Federal Power Commission both maintained, moreover, that the current \$229 million estimate was realistic and that it represents the ultimate cost of the project.

The Corps of Engineers said additionally that its extensive, updated studies show more than ever that Dickey-Lincoln is the most economical alternative plan to serve New England's needs. It is superior to all private plans, a spokesman for the corps reported, and to federally funded thermal plants, gas turbines, diesel engines, pump storage, and nuclear power.

I submit that it is time we stopped arguing with the utilities—time we recognized that no amount of reason or reference to a concern for the public interest will alter their views or weaken their resolve to delay or destroy the Dickey-Lincoln project.

I propose that we go on without them to the job of building a project which this House has already proven will benefit the people of New England.

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Sincerely and respectfully, then, I urge that when consideration of the Dickey-Lincoln school hydroelectric power project reaches the floor of this House, it be accorded support and approval.

"AMERICA SINGS"—WINDS UP OUTSTANDING 31-CITY TOUR IN NEW YORK CITY

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

"AMERICA SINGS"—WINDS UP OUTSTANDING 31-CITY TOUR IN NEW YORK CITY

"America Sings", a hit musical show that's been drawing capacity crowds on its 31-city tour, will wind up in New York City with three free performances.

Sponsored by the Theo. Hamm Brewing Company, headquartered in St. Paul, Minnesota, the show features original music as well as folk, rock, blues, popular, protest, Broadway, patriotic and Civil War songs. Interwoven is a brief narrative that focuses on the American tradition of dissent, war as an enemy of mankind, the role of youth and the establishment, the challenges of labor, the minorities and the changing times.

I bring this to the attention of my colleagues not only because of this fine civic gesture by the 104-year-old Hamm Brewing Company, but also in view of the message of hope and understanding involved in this endeavor. The company sponsored this show as a means of bringing greater understanding to our current difficulties—using the perspective of history.

In discussing the production, Barry Rowles, President of Hamm Brewing Company stated, "America Sings"—will remind Americans that as stormy as these times may seem, we have seen it all before, survived it and emerged better for it."

Since last July this 42-member group, featuring Eddie Peabody and his banjo, have attracted capacity audiences and rave notices everywhere they have appeared. The original 18-city summer tour had to be extended by 13 because of the demand for appearances all across the country.

The three final appearances in New York City begin with a Central Park performance on Columbus Day, October 12, to be followed by a concert in Carnegie Hall on Monday, October 13 and culminate in a noon-hour show at Battery Park on Tuesday, October 14.

The star of this splendid group is Banjo King, Eddie Peabody, along with the "Spirit of US", a contemporary group of 19 young singers and dancers. Variety and the Hollywood Reporter have hailed the show along with newspapers in the cities where "America Sings" has played. Such superlatives as "terrific" and "run, don't walk—for America Sings" are typical of newspaper reaction to this great effort on the part of the cast and Hamm Brewing Company.

I hope that sometime in the future "America Sings" will visit the Nation's capital so many of my colleagues and others can benefit from a great experience. In addition, I want to commend the Theo. Hamm Brewing Company, the producers, the cast and all concerned for their very significant contribution to better understanding of contemporary America through historical perspective.

September 30, 1969

YOUTH TASK FORCE

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I am taking this opportunity to call to the attention of the Congress and the Nation the activities of a group of young, bright, concerned individuals residing in my congressional district. These young men and women have gathered together and formed what they call the youth task force. It is my privilege to be associated with these, the future leaders of our Nation, in a community involvement activity that represents the finest qualities of young people today, qualities that are too often ignored by the press and the public. The group, I feel, may act as a catalyst which will attract a broad spectrum of young people into active participation in the effort to devise solutions to the problems of our community.

The task force has four main objectives: First, to provide leadership training in community organization for youth in which the youth will define and offer solutions to the critical issues in the wider community; second, to help both youth and adults to better understand and utilize the existing political system; third, to promote community involvement as an effective tool to bring about maximum participation and orderly social, economic, and political change; and fourth, to identify, define and establish a viable system of priorities, both local and national.

It cannot be denied that today's youth are actively seeking outlets for their energies and relatively advanced levels of social concern and political sophistication. It is my belief that the youth task force provides such an outlet plus constructive training in a number of relevant areas. These areas include sensitivity training, political education, individual and group problem solving and role playing, encounter group planning and positive volunteerism. These are the areas that young people feel they should place emphasis upon. The youth task force members, while coordinated by Mrs. Hester Collier and other members of my district staff, plan and define their own activities and goals. It is their group, under their own leadership and its value must be measured not only in terms of accomplishment, but also in relation to participation and development of methodologies. I, as well as members of the task force, am hopeful that the group will grow and its members will find both the membership experience and the group's accomplishments rewarding and meaningful. Since their beginning a short time ago, the constructive activism that I have encouraged has manifested itself in the participation of the task force before the Los Angeles Board of Education. Represented by Cornell Ridley and Jewel Lapesarde, the youth task force presented their views and worked for reinstitution of the then threatened

athletic and extracurricular activities of the Los Angeles school system. Subsequently, instead of total abolition of the program, 80 percent of the cut funds were restored. The voicing of community concern undoubtedly played a large role in bringing about this restoration.

Many other activities are being planned by the task force. Efforts are being made to establish lines of communication with other community action groups. Plans are being formulated to participate in the yes-in youth rally to be held at the Hollywood Bowl on Sunday, October 12. Brochures are being distributed to community organizations and churches and a press conference is being arranged. All in all, the group is on the move, and I have high hopes for its future.

The following young citizens have been elected as the first officers of the Youth Task Force:

Group leader, Maceo Braxton.
Action recorder, Denise Braxton.
Parliamentarian, Clifton Mayberry.
Treasurer, Cornell Ridley.
Program chairman, Michael Gerber.
Projects chairman, Suzanne Harding.
Ad hoc committee chairman, Paul Vukeles.
Public relations chairman, Jewel Lapesarde.

To these elected officials and the other members of the task force, let me wish the best of luck and pledge my continuing support. To my colleagues here in Washington, let me suggest that you consider assisting the young people of your communities in constructively channelling their enthusiasm, idealism, and energies by getting them involved in the governmental process. Our Nation can only benefit by it.

STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL BEFORE THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON PRODUCT SAFETY

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL OF NEW YORK IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the National Commission on Product Safety is presently holding hearings on the adequacy of public information about product safety.

My personal view, as expressed to the Commission at this morning's hearing, is that while Federal efforts to protect consumers against hazardous household products are inadequate, private profit-making enterprises, which award guarantee or approval seals, represent a fraud on the consuming public insofar as product safety and performance are concerned.

My remarks are submitted for the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, OF NEW YORK, BEFORE THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON PRODUCT SAFETY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1969

I am pleased to testify before this very important Commission on the subject, "Who Tells Us About Safety."

By virtue of my experience as Chairman of the Special Consumer Inquiry of the House

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Government Operations Committee, I am convinced that the federal government has failed in its responsibility to halt the sale of unsafe household products. If it has failed to adequately regulate the sale of potentially harmful products, it has also failed to adequately inform consumers about such products.

I am equally convinced that efforts by private product testing or rating agencies do not supply consumers with essential information on product safety. Especially is this true of those profit-making enterprises that award or, perhaps more accurately, market their seals of products as "approved", "guaranteed", "tested", or the like.

I would like to comment this morning on the value of Guarantee Seals to consumers and their relevancy to the question of "Who Tells Us About Safety".

Let me begin by quoting from *Consumer Problems and Personal Finance*, an excellent book by Professor of Economics Arch Troelstrup. In the chapter entitled "Consumer Protection: Private Aids", the author states: "The magazine seals of approval are probably more valuable to the magazine than to the public. A seal, for example, that promises 'replacement or refund of money for any product advertised in the magazine whose performance proves to be defective' has little significance or meaning."

"This points up the fact that a healthy skepticism should prevail on seals that are not directly related to know tests. . . . In short, to make intelligent use of seals, consumers must know (1) who approves the product, (2) what tests were made, (3) what the test results were, (4) what the certification includes, and (5) what the specific terms of the guarantee are and how long they are effective. . . ."

The Good Housekeeping seal and others like it, fail to answer many of these requirements.

By way of contrast, it is interesting to note what the author of *Consumer Problems and Personal Finance* has to say about Consumers Union, publishers of *Consumer Reports*: "Consumers Union has no connection with any commercial interest and accepts no advertising. . . ."

Consumer Reports has a reputation among publishers second to none in being the most carefully prepared and edited magazine in the United States. The articles . . . must be accurate in reporting the data derived from scientific testing. *The testers have the final word on the technical accuracy of the articles.*"

In contrast to the independence of the Consumers Union tester, consider the following information contained in a letter from a former assistant editor at Good Housekeeping: "I left because of their inability to take independent editorial stands on the important consumer issues of the day. It was my experience that the Good Housekeeping Institute . . . checks on articles written for the magazine. . . . Often this operation is called fact-checking, but I know it also operates as a means of suppressing both stories and statements that would be unfriendly to any of Good Housekeeping's advertisers. I saw this internal censorship operate in such areas as drugs, meat packing, artificial sweeteners and the like. . . ."

The former assistant editor continued that he had "once talked to Ralph Nader on an article about the dangers to children when riding in school buses. His comments were cut out of the story. First, my editor claimed that there was a space problem. . . . finally, he said that the advertisers would blow their collective tops if they ever saw Nader's name in a Good Housekeeping article. . . ."

"Often the editor would insert the Good Housekeeping Institute into a story to make it appear to the reader that the Institute had tested or checked out a specific product or item. This testing is frequently minimal or non-existent."

If proof of the validity of the former assistant editor's comment is necessary, consider that 12 products advertised in the pages of Good Housekeeping recently have been or are currently under active investigation by the Federal Trade Commission for possible violation of false advertising statutes.

Moreover certain shipments of many products which have been awarded the Good Housekeeping Seal, have been seized by the Food and Drug Administration:

(1) In January 1967, FDA charged that Del Monte Canned Peaches, when shipped by California Packing Corporation, were prepared and packed under unsanitary conditions. Although FDA allowed their distribution for use as animal feed, Good Housekeeping thought enough of the product to award its Seal;

(2) In February 1968 a batch of Carnation Instant Breakfast was charged by FDA with containing insect filth, while in March 1968, ads for Carnation Instant Mix could be found in the pages of Good Housekeeping;

(3) Quick Spray Enamel and Lacquer Paints had the Good Housekeeping Seal in September 1968 even though 4 months earlier the Food and Drug Administration cited the products for misleading labeling in that they were toxic and flammable and were labeled as being "non-Toxic."

There are other examples, too numerous to mention here. A quick comparison of how products advertised in the pages of Good Housekeeping fared in the pages of *Consumer Reports* is enlightening:

(1) While Good Housekeeping recommended to its April 1969 readers, the purchase of K2R Spot Remover, *Consumer Reports* 1969 Buying Guide rated K2R as "Not acceptable" because the label failed to contain a "fire hazard warning";

(2) Many of the Indoor/Outdoor carpets available in 1968, including Lees, Mohawk, and Sears, were rated "not acceptable" by *Consumer Reports* because of flammability hazard. This hazard did not inhibit Good Housekeeping from advertising those products in its 1968 editorials;

(3) Caloric Kitchen Furniture, including gas ranges, received in 1968 the Guarantee Seal even though *Consumer Reports* 1967 Buying Guide found some Caloric Gas Ranges "not acceptable".

I am not suggesting that these products are universally dangerous or even inferior. Any individual shipment of a company's products might be found to be in violation of Federal Law or not acceptable to Consumers Union. But one must wonder whether Good Housekeeping took the time or possessed the commitment to America's consumers, to inform itself of these violations of law and to ascertain whether the cause of the violation had been corrected.

A great deal has been written of late about the possible harmful effects on Monosodium Glutamate widely advertised in the pages of Good Housekeeping.

Is it really in the best interests of the consuming public, until the health question is resolved, for Good Housekeeping to continue to accept advertising revenues from products like Accent which are composed entirely of MSG?

Is Good Housekeeping concerned about the corporate conduct of Max Factor? Certain Max Factor products, such as "Touch of Youth Face Lotion", have been ordered destroyed by the Food and Drug Administration because of an attempt by the company to sell the product without first obtaining an effective New Drug application. It was reported yesterday that FDA tests on samples of Max Factor's "Tried and True" hair preparation, a Good Housekeeping Seal product, showed bacterial contamination; and that the company refused to cooperate with FDA in its effort to protect consumers.

My personal conclusion is that guarantee

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

or commendation seals or the like have no public interest value and are of little or no benefit to anyone except advertisers. A profit making magazine cannot give the consumer the information he needs. Close ties to advertisers preclude legitimate concern for consumers. A profit making magazine, dependent on advertising revenues cannot, even with the best intentions, keep its consumer information responsibilities free from bias. Such magazines cannot accept both products for testing and revenues from advertising from producers and still provide the consumer with objective information.

It is a somewhat ironic commentary on both the guarantee seal situation and our federal system for protecting consumers that one of the Nation's largest drive-in restaurant chains, McDonald's, finds it more publicly acceptable to advertise that its hamburgers have the Parents' Magazine seal than the U.S. Department of Agriculture stamp of wholesomeness!

It is not up to Congress or any federal agency to ban or limit these seals unless actual fraud is committed. But it is our job in the legislative branch and in the executive agencies to create a climate for consumers where these profit-making and commercially-motivated devices wither away. But until this takes place, Good Housekeeping should require that the seal holder furnish it with a copy of every consumer complaint or official government action against its product for study in connection with possible suspension of the Seal.

Ultimately, I see no realistic alternative to having the federal government regulate the sale of all household products by setting and enforcing minimum federal safety standards, preferably in a statutory consumer agency.

THE CULTURAL GAP

Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues the following newspaper column by Dr. W. A. Leavell of Belfast, Maine. Dr. Leavell has made quite a name for himself among the conservative writers of our country. His sound thinking and

clear writing often points out to his readers the abyss to which our Nation is heading if it does not mend its ways and return to those principles on which our Republic was founded. The column reads as follows:

KEEP OFF THE GRASS

(By W. A. Leavell, Ph. D.)

Of all the "GAPS" around today—the missile gap, the credibility gap, the generation gap, etc.—it could well be that the most important one is the cultural gap. This could be the one that changes the direction of civilization and drives man back up the trees and turns us all into the original type swingers.

The cultural gap is nothing more than the real meaning of the generation gap. The so-called generation gap is not a matter of age, it is a gap between a more civilized culture and a less civilized culture. This cultural gap started with the relatively small hippie movement a few years ago and has grown to the drug-sex-rock-dirty word-peacenick-squalor cultural gap that infects our colleges and high schools today.

Some of our glorious leaders, educational, political, industrial, just smile and tell us these nice young radicals will grow out of it. They tell us the movement only involves a small percentage of the young. As yet, these misled adults have not come up with an excuse for the phenomenon of hundreds of thousands of these odd young people attending the recent rock festivals.

What will happen to our country and civilization if these strange young people don't change their ways? It will be a different world if these unwashed, rag-tagged, drug-sex-rock orientated nuts even gain control of even a small part of things. Even if this never happens and we just continue to have part of our youth numbered among these odd types, it will be at best a culturally poorer and politically degenerated country and world.

Some evidence of this degeneration can be noted in the actions of a few of our political leaders already. The "new" look, the "youth" pitch and the "swinger" style has pushed out some of the sound thinkers. The obsession with "youth" can be seen in lowered voting ages, permissive education and the lower morals around us.

Don't confuse "culture" with "taste." It is not a matter of one type music over another, a mode of dress or hair style. These are taste and up to individual interpretation but the lack of personal and group restraint

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in such matters suggests a step down in culture. One need not be a Puritan to say that such mass displays as the recent rock festivals are regressive from the point of view of civilization.

While the drugs are obnoxious, the tendency to turn sex into a spectator sport, incredible and the lack of self restraint pitiful, the thing that stands out most is the infatuation with Squalor. How can anyone of any age want filth, and lack of personal hygiene is beyond civilized understanding. This creates the cultural gap.

A person does not have to be young to be a bum. The old share the disappointments of our present society. The thought of throwing all restraint to the wind and doing anything and everything that comes to mind is not a youth invention. The dream of being free of all physical, legal and social restraints is universal. It is just that in a world full of people, such lack of responsibility has no place.

Today, youth doesn't listen. If they did, they might have heard Professor Lawrence Lee when he addressed a social fraternity at the University of Pittsburgh recently when he said: "You have been told, and you have come to believe, that you are the brightest of generations . . . You are, rather, one of the most self-centered, self-pitying, confused generations . . . The generation gap is one of the delusions of your generation—and to some men of my generation . . . The only generation gap is that we have lived longer, we know more than you do from having lived longer, we know more than you do from having lived and we are so far ahead of you that it will take you a lifetime to have the same relative knowledge and wisdom. You had better learn from us while you can . . .

"It is not mawkish to love one's country. The country, with all its agony and all its faults, is still the most generous and the most open society on the earth . . . All generations need the help of all others. Ours is asking yours to be men rather than children, before some frightened tyrant with the aid of other frightened and ignorant men seek to make all of us slaves in reaction to your irresponsibility."

If irresponsible youth pushes too far, our political system might fall under the control of some adult tyrant who will force slavery on everyone just to control youth. If you want to ruin your life, it is alright with me but don't endanger mine. Blow your mind if you must but do it with good taste and don't pull the rest of our youth back up the tree with you. Above all, don't shake up our politicians. Some of them haven't been out of the trees too long as it is!